

Implementing English Education Policy in Japan: Intersubjectivity at the Micro-, Meso-, and
Macrolevels

Sunao Fukunaga

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2016

Reading Committee:

Sandra Silberstein, Chair

Suhanthie Motha

James Tollefson

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

English

© Copyright 2016

Sunao Fukunaga

University of Washington

Abstract

Implementing English Education Policy in Japan: Intersubjectivity at the Micro-, Meso-, and
Macrolevels

Sunao Fukunaga

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Professor Sandra Silberstein

Department of English

English education in Japan has been stigmatized by a discourse of failure and desire (Seargeant, 2008). It fails to help students attain sufficient English proficiency despite the six-year secondary school English education. The inferior discourse has condemned teachers' inability to teach communicative English. Yet, English is desired more than ever for access to new knowledge and the global market.

Responding to the situation, the 8th version of national English education policy, the Courses of Study, went into effect in April 2013, proclaiming English as a medium of instruction in senior high school English classes. Research (Hashimoto, 2009; Kawai, 2007) finds the conflation of contesting ideologies make the macro-level policy not as straightforward as it sounds. An overt goal is to improve students' intercultural communicative competence; another

covert goal is to promote to the world what Japan as a nation is and its citizens' ethnic and cultural identity in English (Hashimoto, 2013). Although studies elucidated the ideologies inscribed in the policy, few have examined teachers' lives: the agents implementing the language policy at the micro-level. This study attempt to bridge this knowledge gap.

This dissertation reports research on the implementation of the new edition of Japan's national education policy, *The Course of Study* (COS). Triangulating an ethnographic data set collected from July 2012 through June 2015 in a suburban school district, this dissertation illuminates how the teachers live with conflicting subjectivities and make meaning of their work in the nexus of neoliberalism, nationalism, and English education. A particular contribution of this study is its analysis on the implementation process's middle layer, namely the school district as a mesolevel actor, and elucidates the interplay between the school district and other microlevel actors, such as individual schools and teachers. Departing from a more common emphasis on agency in language planning and policy research, this study illuminates the ways in which intersubjectivity, interwoven with individual subjectivities, transpires through macro-, meso-, and microlevels of an English education policy's implementation in Japan. The results emphasize how local intersubjectivity mediates the teachers' understanding of rhetorics surrounding the new policy linking it to national interests that sit within a neoliberal world economy.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	iv
Acknowledgements	v
 Chapter 1. Introduction	
1.1 The Course of Study and Japan's English Education	1
1.2 Japan's Education System	5
1.3 Reality for English Teachers	7
1.4 Chapters Overview	8
 Chapter 2. The Development of the Language Planning and Policy (LPP) Field	
2.1 Chapter Overview	9
2.1.1 What is Language Policy?	9
2.1.2 Development of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) Field	11
2.1.3 Empirical Studies on LPP	15
2.2 English Education and Policy in Asia	17
2.2.1 English Education and Policy in Japan	19
2.2.2 Current State of English Education in Japan	20
2.2.3 Two Sides of the Same Coin: Discourse of Failure	21
2.2.4 Two Sides of the Same Coin: Discourse of Desire	23
2.2.5 English Education Policies in Japan	28
2.2.6 Issues of language policies in Japan: Strong Policy (COS) but Weak Planning	34
2.2.7 Empirical Studies: Classroom Instruction and the Course of Study (COS)	36
2.3 Conclusion	39
 Chapter 3. Methodology	
3.1 Chapter Overview	43
3.2 Overview of Language Planning and Policy (LPP) Methodology	44
3.2.1 Focus on State Authority: Historical-Structural (HS) Approach	45
3.2.2 Focus on Individual Agency: Public-Sphere (PS) Approach	46
3.2.3 Vantage Point of HS and PS approaches	48
3.3 Critical Study of language policy (CLP)	49
3.3.1 Historical-Structural approach to a Mesolevel Analysis of a School District	51
3.3.2 Critical Approach to Ethnography	51
3.3.3 The Emic View of the Researcher	52
3.3.4 The Etic View of the Researcher	54
3.3.5 Researcher Positionality	55
3.3.6 Methodological Limitation of the Study	56
3.4 Research Questions	57

3.5 Contexts and Scope of the Study	58
3.5.1 Japan's English Education Policy in the Global and National Context	58
3.5.2 Macro, Meso, and Microlevel Contexts of Japan's English Education Policy	59
3.5.3 Introducing Study Partners	60
3.6 Data Collection	67
3.7 Data Analysis	71
3.8 Chapter Summary	72

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1 Chapter Overview	74
4.2 Theoretical Framework for LPP Research.....	74
4.3 Discussion on Structure and Agency	76
4.4 Intersubjectivity and Subjectivity	78
4.4.1 Theoretical Development of Intersubjectivity	78
4.4.2 Defining Intersubjectivity	80
4.4.3 Subjectivity	83
4.5 Sub-Concepts	84
4.5.1 Neoliberalism	84
4.5.2 Nationalism	86
4.6 Chapter Summary	88

Chapter 5. Happy Hill District

5.1 Happy Hill District: Mesolevel Context	90
5.1.1 Board of Education and School District	90
5.1.2 Personnel Reshuffle	92
5.1.3 In-service Training	94
5.1.4 The Course of Study Curriculum Workshop	97
5.1.5 The Teacher Employment Examination	99
5.1.6 Geography and Demography	100
5.1.7 Senior High School in the Happy Hill District	101
5.1.8 Homeroom Teachers	104
5.1.9 Academic Extracurricular Classes and College Entrance Examinations	107
5.1.10 Academic Standard Deviation Scores: <i>Hensachi</i>	108
5.2 Chapter Summary	109

Chapter 6. The Intersection of Competing Subjectivities and Meaning Making of Policy Implementation

6.1 Chapter Overview	111
6.2 Teachers' Perceptions on the Policy Implementation in Happy Hill District	112
6.2.1 Japan Is No Longer NO.1	112
6.2.2 Not All Students Have To Speak English	115
6.2.3 Unrealistic CLT for 40 Students in Class	117
6.2.4 Educating Students as a Whole Person	118

6.2.5 Struggling through Long Working Hours with Little Time for Lesson Planning	120
6.2.6 New Curriculum: Let's Think About It When We Have To	123
6.2.7 Staffing and <i>Gakunen</i> System	127
6.2.8 They Are the Only Two: Center Test and <i>Shinken</i> Academic Standard Deviation Scores	128
6.3 Competing Subjectivities and Meaning Making at Purple High: 2012-2013	130
6.3.1 Principal Tokuda: <i>Fueki</i> (Immuntability) & <i>Ryukô</i> (Change)	130
6.3.2 Lead English Teacher Ms. Kodama: Educational disparity	133
6.3.3 Ms. Maeda: Troubling Nature of "Senior High School" and "English Education"	136
6.4 Before and After: Classroom Practice in 2012, 2013, and 2015	138
6.4.1 Before Implementation: Academic Year 2012-2013	139
6.4.1.1 Overwhelming Teaching Schedule	139
6.4.1.2 Classroom Practice: Seniors 2012	141
6.4.1.3 Planning on Implementation	143
6.4.1.4 Selection of Textbooks and Supplemental Materials	144
6.4.1.5 Curriculum and Evaluation Rubric Development	145
6.4.1.6 In-service Training: <i>Shidôshuji</i> from Prefectural Education Center	146
6.4.1.7 Individual Professional Development	148
6.4.2 First Year Implementation: Freshmen 2013	150
6.4.2.1 Evaluation 2013	151
6.4.2.2 Classroom Practices: Freshmen 2013	151
6.4.3 Third Year Implementation: Seniors 2015	154
6.4.3.1 Evaluation 2015	154
6.4.3.2 English-related Extra Curricular 2015	154
6.4.3.3 Classroom Practices: Seniors 2015	155
6.5 Chapter Summary	158

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Chapter Overview	160
7.2 Mesolevel Shared Practices: Intersubjectivity of School District, Local School, and Teachers' Shared Meaning	160
7.3 Intersubjectivity at Purple High in the Nexus of Neoliberalism and Nationalism Implied in the Policy	163
7.4 Coming to Terms with the New Policy: Classroom Practice	165
7.5 Theoretical Contribution	166
7.6 Implications	169
7.7 Suggestions for Further Research	171
Bibliography	173
Appendix A: Interview Questions for Principal	187
Appendix B: Interview Questions for Lead English Teacher	188
Appendix C: Interview Questions for English Teacher	189

List of Figures

Figure 1: Japan's Education System	6
Figure 2: Macro, Meso, and Microlevels of Language Policy	59
Figure 3: Study Partners.....	61
Figure 4: Board of Education in the Happy Hill District.....	91
Figure 5 In-Service Teacher Training at PEC in Happy Hill District.....	95
Figure 6 The Teacher Employment Examination Passing Magnification	100
Figure 7 Happy Hill District	101
Figure 8: Japanese Senior High School Classroom	102
Figure 9: Ms. Maeda's Teaching Schedule at Purple High	140
Figure 10: Ms. Maeda's Preview Material for English Communication I	153
Figure 11: Ms. Maeda's Preview Material for English Communication III.....	156

Acknowledgements

My sincere appreciation goes to the teachers who participated in my study. Without their generosity, trust, and kindness, my work would not have come into being. The knowledge they shared with me has expanded my understanding of what it means to be a senior high school English teacher in the Japanese educational context. Their dedication to their students' growth has made Japan's education as strong as it is now.

My dissertation committee, Sandra Silberstein, Suhanthie Motha, and James Tollefson, has my utmost gratitude and respect. Their genuine excitement over my research and critical and incisive feedback on my writing holds me to high academic standards while inspiring me to be confident in what I produce. They are the mentors, researchers, and teachers I aspire to be to my students; what I have learned from them I will take with me into my career in academia. I am greatly appreciative of Sandy for her scholarship, mentorship, and wisdom. Her confidence in me has inspired me to thrive to be an emergent scholar. Su has inspired me to see the world with an innovative and critical perspective. Jim has provided me with his insight and expertise in language policy, which has supplemented my study with greater breadth and depth.

My international ethnographic fieldwork was made possible because of research fellowships including Konosuke Matsushita Memorial Foundation Research Grants in Japan and Chester A. Fritz Fellowship from the Graduate School. Kathy Mork at the English Graduate Studies office has been an invaluable source of moral support.

I am grateful to the professors I worked with whose expertise is language learning and teaching. I thank Yasuko Kanno for encouraging me to pursue a Ph.D. in the early stages of my graduate study. Without her, I would not have set foot on this long and yet rewarding and meaningful journey. The doctoral student seminars I took with Dafney Dabach and Manka

Varghese exposed me to a different body of literature. I thank Priti Sandhu for her advice and continuing encouragement. Seiji Tsuji from my undergraduate linguistics study helped me pursue my degrees in the U.S. I am also grateful to Izumi Matsuda-Kiami for her encouragement and support.

My friends on both sides of the Pacific Ocean have enriched my life. My friendship with former colleagues, Seiko Fukuda, Michi Inoue, Hidemi Kinohara, Kyoko Myojin, Sumiko Suzuki, Yumi Takei, Yukari Uemura, Kaori Zaitu has sustained me through this journey. Thank you to my friends from high school, Yoko Misumi Soga and Namiko Suga, who have grown with me since we were fifteen, for simply accepting who I am. Sharing my cross-cultural and cross-linguistic experiences with Kathleen Brown and Laura Kusaka has expanded my understanding of my own bilingual and bicultural self. Simply knowing you all have been always there for me has given me comfort and assurance.

My support system in Seattle are Hyunjun Sophie Ahn, Elizabeth Brown, Gianna Craig, Veronika Egorova, Curtis Hisayasu, Elloise Soh-Yeun Kim, Caleb Knapp, Memmi Megumi Ochi, Sue Shon, Samantha Simon, Sasha Yanak, Colum Yip, and Jun Xu. Thank you for supporting me in many ways. You have filled my life with warmth, laughter, inspiration, and curiosity. I thank Edith Christensen for her generosity and Xiaosu Xue for her roommate-ship; I have lived in the Ravenna House throughout my study and it has indeed become my second home.

My parents, Toshiko and Yoshiomi Fukunaga, have been my most enthusiastic advocates. They shared a world of books with me when I was a child. My love for language has grown since then. Now I am about to complete my first scholarship in English, my second language, and in return I share this accomplishment with them.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation reports research on the implementation of the new edition of Japan's national education policy, *The Course of Study* (COS). Announced in 2009 and implemented in 2013, the policy operates at the macrolevel, saturating Japan's highly centralized education system, while reaching into the school districts as it is implemented by local schools and teachers at a microlevel. A contribution of this study is its emphasis on the implementation process's middle layer, namely the school district as a mesolevel actor, and elucidates the interplay between the school district and other microlevel actors, such as individual schools and teachers.

1.1 The Course of Study and Japan's English Education

The 8th version of Japan's national curriculum guidelines, *The Course of Study* (COS), came into effect in 2013¹ at all public schools across the board after an official announcement of its enactment was made in 2009. Since that time, it has been promulgated, revised, enacted, and implemented by the central government education agency, The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT), which has been in operation since 1947. The COS, as a macrolevel policy, sets the curriculum of every public school across the country.

The revision to it did not happen in a vacuum, though. It coincided with two critical revisions of Japanese educational laws. The first law, the *Basic Education Act, Kyōiku Kihon Hō* (the first version of which went into effect in 1947), was comprehensively revised in 2006; this was the first major revision since the law was enacted after the Second World War. A major revision to this law deserves note: the clear statement of patriotism inherent within the revision. The following is the excerpt of Article 2. (v), which discusses how love for the country leads to

¹ The 2009 version of COS was announced in 2009 and enacted in elementary and junior high school in 2012, in senior high school in 2013.

“respect for other countries” as well as “world peace and the development of the international community”:

Article 2. (v) to foster an attitude to respect our traditions and culture, love the country and region that nurtured them, together with respect for other countries and a desire to contribute to world peace and the development of the international community.²

While Article 2 is the second most prioritized educational principle in the law and places an emphasis on patriotism by linking it to respect for other countries and world peace, Article 1 stipulates the highest overarching aim of Japan’s education system.

Article 1. Education shall aim for the full development of personality and strive to nurture the citizens, sound in mind and body, who are imbued with the qualities necessary for those who form a peaceful and democratic state and society.³

This clarifies that the overall objective of Japan’s education system is “the full development of personality” of each child—an ideal that permeates public schools and which I observed through my study. In fact, my analysis showed a clear indication of my study partners’⁴ shared understanding of this educational perspective at both the district and local school levels—an understanding that will be discussed further in my Findings Chapter (Chapter 6).

Along with the revision of the *Basic Education Act*, the *School Education Law: Gakkô Kyôiku Hô* was also revised. This law regulates the practical aspects of Japan’s education, and it was in accordance with the revisions of these two laws that the COS was revised. The COS’s major revisions place an emphasis on the development of children’s “Zest for Living,” or *Ikiru Chikara*, which departs from the idea of Cram-Free Education, *Yutori Kyôiku*. The Yutori

² Original Japanese Version: “第2条5：伝統と文化を尊重し、それらをはぐくんできた我が国と郷土を愛するとともに、他国を尊重し、国際社会の平和と発展に寄与する態度を養うこと。”

³ Original Japanese Version: “第1条：教育は人格の完成を目指し、平和で民主的な国家及び社会の形成者として必要な資質を備えた心身ともに健康な国民の育成を期して行わなければならない。”

⁴ I will provide the rationale for calling my study participants my study partners in Chapter 3: Methodology.

Generation and the corresponding Japanese term *Yutori Sedai* has been used to describe the generation educated under the previous COS (MEXT, 1999), which went into effect in elementary and junior high schools in 2002 and in senior high schools in 2003. The characteristic of this 1999 version was a relaxed curriculum and a five-day school week that had not been utilized before 2002. The first *Yutori Sedai* students were born in 1987 and therefore overlapped with Japan's "lost decade" or *Ushinawareta Jyūnen*. After the explosion of the economic bubble in the early 1990s, Japan suffered a prolonged economic recession, and most *Yutori Sedai* were born and educated during this time period. Much of the learning content used during this time was removed by the 1999 version of the COS as Japan's education system had previously been so intense it was derided as "Examination Hell." The idea of the 1999 COS was that children and students could enjoy learning and school life in a relaxed environment in which unrealistically high academic standards were lowered for public schools. However, as it turned out, relaxing standards caused the achievement scores of Japanese students on tests such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) developed by Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) developed by International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) to discernibly drop when compared to those of other countries. A feeling of crisis was reached, and MEXT decided to revert the 2003 COS back to the old type of curriculum, with more emphasis on the previous content in accordance with revisions to the Basic Education Act and the School Education Law.

The COS (COS), as a whole, has experienced seven major revisions (1956, 1961, 1971, 1980, 1992, 2002, and 2009) since the first COS was announced in 1947, and the revision cycle occurs about every ten years. The Course of Study itself is published in book form. Each school

level from kindergarten through senior high school has different volumes: General Provisions, General Instruction Subjects, Specialized Instruction Subjects, Moral Education⁵, and Special Activities. The volumes that are the most influential in affecting teachers' teaching practices is the English and the Specialized Instruction for English Courses, which is contained in the volume on "Foreign Languages." Three major factors undergo change in accordance with every revision of the COS: textbooks, school curriculums, and in-service teacher training.

In regards to the text book and curriculum changes, the content to be taught in each subject area is re-categorized and formed into new courses. For example, in the 1980's version of the COS, the subjects categorized under English were English I, English II, English IIA, English IIB, and English IIC, with no emphasis on communication or communicative language teaching (CLT). In the 1992's version, though, new subjects emphasizing communication skills were introduced, including Oral Communication A, Oral Communication B, Oral Communication C, Reading and Writing, and English I and II. Senior high school English in the 2009 version of the COS, on the other hand, contained Communication Basic English, Communication English I, Communication English II, Communication English III, English Expression I, English Expression II, and English Conversation. The old courses, such as Reading and Writing, were removed and integrated into Communication English to target integrated language skill development. Other than the minimum credits each subject is required to have under the COS, schools are individually responsible for the new curriculum development and must cater to the needs of their local students.

The teachers' instructional hours and teaching contents also increased under the 2009 COS, the focus of this study, for all school levels, and pedagogical changes became necessary at the senior high school level. At the elementary level, students from 5th to 6th grade were now

⁵ The senior high school level does not have a Moral Education volume.

required to take 35 hours of English instruction per year, remaining relatively consistent with the English activities required under the 2003 version of the COS. In junior high schools, though, students from 7th to 9th grade had their target vocabulary size increased from 900 to 1200 words and experienced an increase in instructional hours. Students from 10th to 12th grade, meanwhile, had their vocabulary increased from 1600 to 1800 words and took the fullest brunt of the most striking curriculum change, namely the official declaration of English-only instruction in high school English classes, which was introduced for the first time in Japan's education history and caused controversy surrounding English Medium Instruction (EMI) across the board at the high school level.

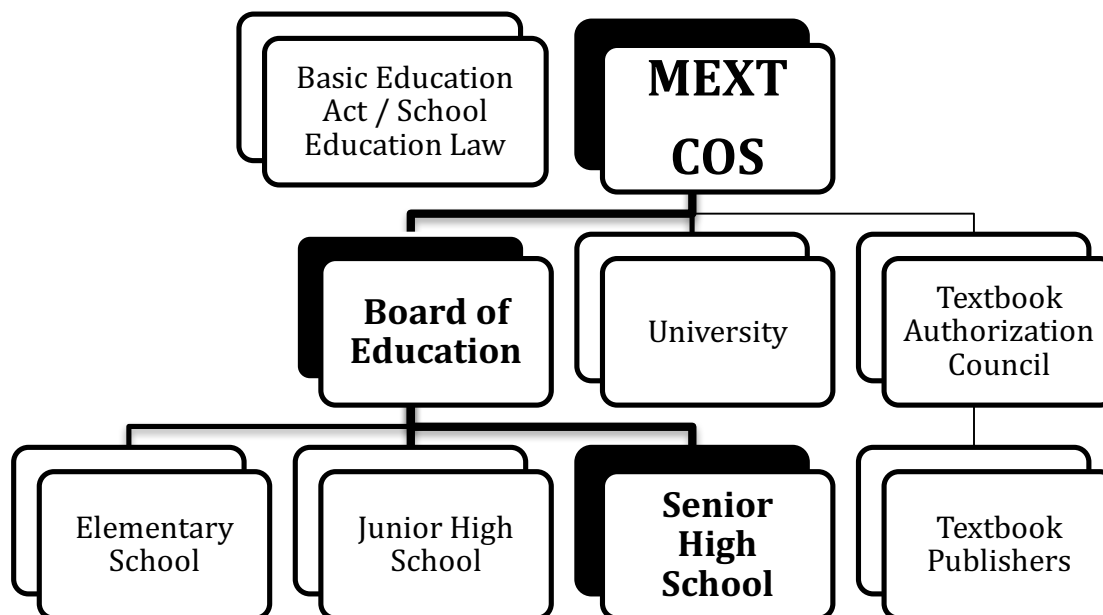
In addition, all textbooks used at public schools were revised in accordance with the school curriculum change. This revision process, which is called “*kyokasho kentei*: Textbook Authorization,” occurs because, under the School Education Law, all elementary, lower, and upper secondary schools are required to use textbooks that are either authorized by MEXT or contain MEXT copyrights. Textbooks are written and edited by private sector publishers, but the Minister approves them in accordance with the COS and the Standards for Textbook Authorization through deliberations by the Textbook Authorization and Research Council (MEXT, n.d. a).

1.2 Japan's education system

Figure 1 shows the circulatory change Japan's English education policy, the COS, created within Japan's education system, causing ripples that affected individual teacher's teaching practices. Japan's education system, as shown in Figure 1, functions as an apparatus that structures the ways in which the English education policy saturates through its many layers. The figure illustrates the multiple institutions and organizations that operate within the education

system, including the Textbook Authorization Research Counsel in MEXT, which screens all of the textbooks used in both primary and secondary education.

Figure 1: Japan's Education System



As can be seen in the figure above, MEXT and the COS, the School Board of Education, and the Senior High Schools are listed in bold as they are the focus of this study. MEXT's COS controls the national school curriculum, so the strong presence of MEXT is undeniably influential. In this study, I focus on three layers of actors within Japan's educational sphere: the macrolevel actors, that being MEXT and the COS and their relation to language policy; the mesolevel actors, or the Board of Education, the School Districts, and their corresponding relation to language policy; and microlevel actors, or individual senior high schools and teachers who also must make a relation to the policy.

1.3 Reality for English Teachers

According to a report compiled by MEXT, as of 2008, the number of English teachers teaching at public senior high schools in Japan was approximately 29,255 (MEXT, "*Kôtôgakkô*

Eigo Kyôin Sû”, n.d. b). The dominant language for the vast majority of these teachers was Japanese, so English functioned as a Foreign Language⁶. How many of these teachers read through the new COS approach to English teaching, agreed with the spirit of its ideal, and committed to its implementation is unknown, though in-service trainings and seminars for implementation were offered through the local government to combat the challenge of the revisions. I asked my study partners—five English teachers—if they had read the COS through or at least read all of the sections related to senior high school English education. None of them gave me a clear yes and all responded in an elusive manner. This shows that while teachers attended a one-day mandatory in-service seminar on the new COS revision, they selectively listened to information, only assimilating information they believed would be personally useful in curriculum development. As a result, the teachers did not spend significant time reading the COS guide, which offered supplemental reading explaining how to implement the COS. They were not interested in what was written and therefore did not take the time to learn it. This unresponsive attitude toward the COS revisions has been somewhat characteristic of all revisions, but this time the teachers’ reactions were markedly emotional concerning one specific change: English-only instruction in all senior high school English classes. The COS revisions were supposed to make Japan’s English education better and more helpful to students, enabling them to become competent users of English, but the teachers did not seem to approve of this means of creating English competency. This begs the question, why? What is it about the policy that caused teachers to respond to English-only English education in such a fashion and what rational and meaning lay behind the teachers’ responses to the new COS revision? These questions and more are what my study set out to answer, and I, in particular, focus on the analysis of the

⁶ Only 59 teachers are reported as native speakers of English besides Assistant Language Teachers (ALT). Detailed 2006 Statistics on JET Programme Participants (PDF) retrieved from http://www.jetprogramme.org/documents/stats/sanka_ninzu_kunibetsu.pdf.

relationship between the mesolevel context and actors, namely the school district itself, and the microlevel context and actors, or the local schools and teachers within the district.

1.4 Chapters Overview

Chapter 2 of this study provides an overview of the relevant literature on language planning and policy and includes English education research in Asia and Japan and discourse surrounding Japan's English education. Chapter 3 introduces the concept of intersubjectivity and how it pushes the boundaries of the structure-and-agency discussion long held in social sciences, unpacking further ideologies such as the nationalism and neoliberalism that surround English education in the era of globalization. Methodology in Chapter 4, locates my research approach in relation to the recent research trend in the field of language planning and policy with an emphasis on my positionality as a researcher, and Chapter 5 provides a detailed account of a school district and its mesolevel contextual factors. Chapter 6 analyzes the ways in which my study partners make meaning of the new COS in the nexus of nationalism, neoliberalism, and English education in a Japanese senior high school context at a microlevel. And I conclude my study in Chapter 7, offering implications for policy makers, researchers, and teachers as well as my humble theoretical contribution to the advancement of the field of language planning and policy.

Chapter 2: The Development of the Language Planning and Policy (LPP) Field

2.1. Introduction

The field of language planning and policy (LPP) research has evolved along with the development of new social orders and paradigms since WWII (Ricento, 2006b). Along with the shift of epistemological perspectives on social structure and the idea of agency, the LPP field has extended its analytical scope to an understanding of the language planning and policy process as a social phenomenon in relational terms, not in a fixed and static sense of language. That is, LPP research is now being situated in a relationship between a dominant language and a minority language, between contested ideologies inscribed in policy texts, or between policy as texts as well as practice in the nexus of the contexts where the policy is situated. In the first half of the chapter, I provide a chronological overview of the evolution of language planning and policy (LPP) research and introduce representative literature on LPP. In the second half of the chapter, I outline educational language policy studies in Asian contexts with a focus on Japan's English education and policy.

2.1.1. What is language policy?

Contemporary conceptions of language policy underscore the basic understanding that language policy is intrinsically political or ideological, and, thus, language planning is necessarily saturated with politics and ideologies (Hornberger, 2006). The same goes for LPP research, which also never takes place "in a theoretical and methodological vacuum" (Ricento, 2006b, p. 11). That is, a researcher undertakes LPP research necessarily with his/her own epistemological perspectives. Researchers suggest what a language policy is constitutive of various political and ideological characteristics of given linguistic communities. For instance,

Spolsky (2004, p. 5) proposes three components of a speech community's language policy: 1) "language practice"; 2) "language beliefs or ideology"; and 3) "specific efforts to modify or influence" the language practice. Language practice refers to "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (p. 5). The second component addresses the community members' beliefs about language and language use, which can inform the third component, the intervention into the speech community's language practice. Spolsky (2004) terms the implicit intervention efforts "language management" (p. 8), while researchers in North America (Hornberger, 2006; Johnson, 2013; Ricento, 2006a, 2006b) predominantly use the term "language planning."

This notion of language policy does not only entail "the explicit, written, overt, *de jure*, official, and 'top-down' decision making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, *de facto*, grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumption" (Schiffman, 2006, p. 112). Many countries do not have an official language policy, and, yet, their dominant languages function as a *de facto* language policy. English in the United States and Japanese in Japan are such examples. This covert form of language policy is sustained by "language beliefs and ideology" (Spolsky, 2004), which Schiffman (2006) coined as "linguistic culture" and defined as "the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture" (p. 112). "Linguistic culture" (Schiffman, 2006) or "beliefs and ideologies of language" (Spolsky, 2004) can "have real effects on language policies and practices" (Ricento, 2006a, p. 9). That is language users' beliefs and attitudes toward a certain variety of language amass and collectively establish covert rules about the language, and become a *de facto* language policy. Such a covert language policy internalized in language users of a speech community is another strong form of

language policy.

Language policy is, whether it is overt or covert, now conceptualized and understood as a discursive formation of linguistic, ideological, and political practice of language as “a code with various forms (written, spoken, standard, non-standard, etc.), functions (usually expressed in terms of domains and relative status within a polity), and value (as a medium of exchange, with particular material and non-material qualities)” (Ricento, 2006a, p. 3). I subscribe to a notion of language policy that views language and language policy in relation to all sorts of social factors as well as local contexts in which a particular language policy is situated. My understanding is such that my discussion of language policy particularly attends to the discursive relationships among local agents as language users and language policy implementers, beliefs and ideologies toward a given language shared by the local agents, and the macrolevel of policy that imposes authoritative control onto both the local language users and their language use.

2.1.2. Development of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) Field

The LPP field as an academic discipline has significantly developed since WWII (Baldauf, 2012). It underwent three major developmental stages influenced by three instrumental factors: “macro sociopolitical,” “epistemological,” and “strategic” (Ricento, 2000, p. 196). The macro sociopolitical factor “refers to events and processes that obtain the national or supranational level, such as state formation, (or deformation), wars (hot or cold), population migration, globalization of capital and communication, and the life” (p. 197). The epistemological instrumental factor “concerns paradigms of knowledge and research, such as structuralism and postmodernism in the social sciences” (p. 198). The strategic factor refers to the goals of researchers for doing particular research (p. 198). In other words, researchers have particular agendas in mind when conducting his/her LPP research. In Ricento’s view, LPP

research entails a researcher's political and ideological agenda in his/her research itself.

Roughly from the end of the WWII through the 1960s, the intent of language planning was driven by the desire for modernization of national languages “under the one nation – one language model” due to “the break up of the European colonial empires leading to the emergence of nations in Africa, South and South East Asia” (Baldauf, 2012, p. 234). Language planning, then, attended to what were called language problems in post-colonial nations to create national language policies with a focus of status and corpus planning for a particular language of a particular nation (Baldauf, 2012; Hornberger, 2006; Ricento, 2000). Simultaneously, with an optimistic view of LPP as a scientifically analyzable and evaluative activity, the field “began to resemble ‘the rational choice matrix’ of public policy analysis, in which a specialist applies techniques of cost-benefit calculations, to generate compared alternatives for action to recommend to decision makers” (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 150). Although, according to Lo Bianco (2010), Fishman's version (1971) was very ambitious. Fishman himself judged that “language planning as a rational and technical process informed by actuarial data and by ongoing feedback is still a dream, but it is by no means so farfetched a dream as it seemed to be merely a decade ago” (Fishman, 1971, p. 111 quoted in Lo Bianco, p. 151). Similarly, many scholars aspired to a political scientific approach to LPP by specifying “orderly and systematic requirements for LP such as the establishment of goals, selection of means and prediction of outcomes” (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 151). Nevertheless, this perspective on LPP unwittingly subsumed many ideologies indifferent to actual language practice and language users, whom the field was supposed to serve. Later, the attempt to include language practice and language users in the LPP research led to a paradigm shift in knowledge construction in the social sciences, and the new paradigm representative of postmodernism located the field within a more dialogic and critical inquiry of

LPP research (Lo Bianco, 2010; Pennycook, 2006).

The 1970s and 1980s, saw an ideological modernization that critiqued the early LPP inquiry process. The early research had been interested in the role of linguists themselves, who believed that they provided descriptive knowledge for LPP from a neutral perspective on language (Ricento, 2006b). This newer LPP phase started problematizing many of the taken-for-granted hegemonic ideologies such as “diglossia, bilingualism, and multilingualism” (Ricento, 2000, p. 202) inscribed in the LPP work in the earlier developmental phase of the field. Researchers suggested a more theoretically informed LPP framework (Ricento, 2006b). For example, according to Hornberger (2006) and Ricento (2006b), critical LPP scholars such as Cooper (1989) and Tollefson (1991) significantly contributed to the field during this period by examining “ideologies and associated policies in order to bring about social change” (Ricento, 2006b, p. 15). The goals of LPP research shifted from the description of language as a system distant from actual language use to critical examinations of language use in relation to the social world in order to understand what is at stake in planning a language. The field called for critical attention to LPP researchers’ strategic factors by exploring language, language use, and language planning in a more dialogic fashion, rather than seeing the relationship as linear, homogeneous, and monolithic. The question asked, then, shifted from “how to develop languages” to “which languages to develop for what purposes, and in particular, how and for what purposes to develop local, threatened languages in relation to global, spreading ones” (Hornberger, 2006, p. 27).

Under late capitalism, the wave of globalization has swept across all social contexts including the field of LPP since the mid-1980s up until now. Many LPP scholars turned their attention to myriad critical issues surrounding the field, in particular, concerning unequal power relations among individuals or status relations among languages. For instance, Tollefson (1989,

1991) proposed a critical mode of inquiry called Critical Language Policy (CLP), informed by critical theories established by critical theorists including Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, or Jürgen Habermas. Acknowledging a researcher's subjectivity with his/her strategic research agenda, CLP aims to highlight "the concept of power, particularly in institutions, such as schools, involved in reproducing inequality" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 43) in order to bring about social justice. Phillipson's work (1991, 2010) is a CLP example that warns of the danger of the spread of English as a powerful colonial language at a global scale. He argued that the spread constituted "linguistic imperialism" and that the spread of English might move minority languages into extinction. However, other scholars opposed his idea for it was so deterministic as to ignore other complications and possibilities, including individual agency and local factors (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994, 2006). This inextricably intertwined relationship between the global spread of English, individual agency, and local contexts has directed many studies in the field to diverse critical inquiries that focus on individual language users and the operation of power in relation to various societal factors and social contexts.

Currently, LPP is necessarily situated in postmodern social orders. Postmodernism representative of new epistemological orientations has emerged. It "challenges a modernist and structuralism epistemology" (Pennycook, 2006, p. 60), and "questions the assumptions of modernity, the so-called Enlightenment, the hegemony of Western thought in the world, and concepts that have been used to understand the world" (p. 62). Pennycook (2006) suggests that LPP research should move toward "local, situated, contextual, and contingent ways of understanding language and language policies" through the inquiry of "how power operates in relationship to the nation-states, and in particular how governance is achieved through language" (p. 64). Departing from modernist and structural epistemologies, LPP scholars acknowledge the

importance of studying how individual actors, who play a role in a given local context, experience power struggles, conflicts, constraints or transformation through policy enactment (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007; Ricento, 2000). At the turn of the 21st century, we see LPP studies that utilize a research framework that examines the intersection between local practice, agency, and local context (Hornberger & Ricento, 1996).

2.1.3. Empirical studies of LPP

The range of research focuses of LPP in diverse contexts has long been attending to language issues of “secure bounded nations with distinctive and official or at least dominant national languages, and mostly monolingual populations” (Lo Bianco, 2013, p. 145). Due to the global spread of English, however, the research agenda of many LPP studies recently grapples with the linguistic, political, economical, and cultural tension between English as a post-colonial language and other primary, second, or foreign languages instructed in the national education system, between English and dominant languages spoken by the majority of a speech community, and minority languages often underrepresented in both schools and the community (Lo Bianco, 2013). For instance, in the U.S. states such as California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, the recent development of the state-level language education policies for English language learning students is increasingly shifting to the English-only or a subtractive bilingual instruction model, which encourages educating emergent bilingual students only in English (Gandara & Rumberger, 2009). Critical studies address multifaceted problems and obstacles surrounding bilingual education and its policies with a focus on agency (Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Freeman, 2010) and closely record local communities’ bottom-up efforts to establish positive and additive bilingual programs in school communities (English & Varghese, 2010; McGroarty, 2012; Valdes, 2005). Other studies conduct ethnographies on LPP and work on the revitalization and survival

of minority languages through the collaboration with speech community members (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2011). This line of work attempts to tackle issues of bilingual education linked to the three orientations of “language-as-problem, language-as-resource, and language-as-right” (Ruiz, 1984) or linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). At the same time, however, under the influence of globalization and the global spread of English on an individual level, the conceptualization of language rights has been criticized. As May’s (2005) summary of criticisms points out,

the intellectual criticisms have tended to coalesce around three key themes, which might be described usefully as: the ‘problem of historical inevitability’ (why resist the inexorable forces of linguistic modernisation?); the ‘problem of essentialism’ (why link language ineluctably to ethnic identity?); the ‘problem of mobility and use’ (why actively delimit the mobility of minority language speakers by insisting that they continue to speak a language of limited use and, by implication, value?). (p. 320)

LPP research has more work to elucidate in what ways, both positively and negatively, the concept and practice of language rights affects language users in a particular speech community so that the minority language speakers will be guaranteed full participation in society as well as full access to language education, and economic activity.

I now take a look at language policies in Asia, in particular, the East Asian contexts, where many iterations of European colonialism widely influenced language education in the region, creating a tension between post-colonial languages, local indigenous languages, and English as a *de facto* international language. Closely linked to national, political, and economic interests, issues surrounding English as a foreign language (EFL) education as well as the use of local varieties of English have become a national agenda in many Asian countries.

2.2 English Education and Policy in Asia

English education policy in the Asian contexts is inevitably situated in juxtaposition to the tension between globalization and national cultural and ethnic identity, with foreign language education being synonymous with English education in the region (Tui & Tollefson, 2006). Issues of ideology and pedagogy are often reported in literature on English education and its policies in Asian countries (Honna & Takeshita, 2005; Hu, 2005; Hu & McKay, 2012; Nunan, 2003). For instance, many studies examine ideologies surrounding the English language; how English spread its linguistic and cultural hegemony as a post-colonial language and how this spread of English is linked to political and national ideologies (Hashimoto, 2000, 2009; Kubota, 1998; Morrison & Lui, 2000; Phan, 2013). Other scholars, on the other hand, focus on how English as linguistic capital is desired, and thus creates the intense market for language acquisition in China, Hong Kong, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand (J. Park, 2009; S. Park, 2004; Rappa & Wee, 2006; Tsui, 2006). According to Kachru's concentric circle model (1992),⁷ these countries are referred to as the expanding-circle countries, where English is spoken as a foreign or additional language. Those countries are zealous to educate their children to become competent users of English for access to new knowledge and the global market. The problem is that such expanding-circle countries unwittingly promote English education, whether it is formal or informal, at the expense of language education in other foreign languages (Hasegawa, 2013) or, in its worst case, of local languages (J. Park, 2009). Rather than the critical discussion of the global spread of English and its repercussions in education, effective language acquisition models have been the center of interest, and research in the region has been

⁷ Kachru's concentric circle (1992) model categorizes countries in three circles based on the roles the English language played in each country. The inner-circle countries are the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where English is predominantly spoken as a first language. The outer-circle countries are countries with a colonial history such as India, Singapore, Philippines, and South Africa. The expanding-circle countries include many countries of Asia, where English is spoken as a foreign language.

trying to find how English can be taught effectively and communicatively for the purposes of communication. The English education boom or “English fever” (J. Park, 2009) in the region has been at its peak since the beginning of the 21st century, and there is no sign of decline.

This is a national response to a worldwide phenomenon. What is often termed the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry “both constitutes a major labor market in its own and contributes to the ability of English-speakers to profit from the markets in other goods and services” (Heller, p. 8). English proficiency is considered a valuable linguistic resource whose competent user can exchange his or her competency for materials or money in the global market. The market-driven discourse of English regards the acquisition of English as linguistic capital (Duchêne & Heller, 2012), which is believed to enable one to become an active player in the global market. Although this is merely a discourse about English and not an empirical claim, it is a given that the suppliers are native speakers of English from inner-circle countries, and the consumers are English language learners from expanding-circle countries (Kachru, 1992). Such a hierarchical relationship has created the native speaker / nonnative speaker dichotomy as a long-standing problem addressed in the field TESOL. This ideological separation prioritizes native speakers as the linguistic and cultural model for both English language teachers and learners, questions the legitimacy of varieties of English spoken by “nonnative” speakers, and disadvantages nonnative- speaker English teachers, though much research illuminates nonnative- English speaker teachers’ (NNEST) professional advantages and the legitimacy of their teacher qualifications (Braine, 1999; Llurda, 2005; Medges, P). Further, the ELT industry model has extended not only to informal education including private English conversation schools and cram schools for college entrance exams and English proficiency exams, but also to formal education such as national secondary and higher education in Asian countries.

Nowadays, the influence of the ELT industry model of English language instruction in Asian contexts is apparent in the medium of instruction (MOI) policy in higher education. According to Pillar and Cho (2013), for instance, the ideological nature of the recent development of the English as the MOI policy in South Korean higher education has given much pressure to college instructors and professors. Regardless of their expertise, professors have to teach their course content in English. Two newspapers publish college rankings in South Korea using the proportion of English-medium classes as an index item that assesses a university's internationalism. English MOI covertly promotes the global spread of English at the expense of the Korean language in the form of competition among universities through such university rankings. Pillar and Cho (2013) highlight how the economic principle, neoliberalism, functions as a covert form of policy that informs the English-as-the-medium-of-instruction policy, and fuels competitiveness among South Korean universities as if they were corporations, not higher education institutions, competing against each other for their share in the global market. English is used as an index that indicates who has a greater share of the market. The English MOI policy for universities and language proficiency scores such as the TOEFL or TOIEC for individuals are such examples.

As previous studies (J. Park, 2009; Pillar & Cho, 2013) suggested, English education in Asian contexts is never free from the neoliberal or late capitalism discourse of English as a consumable supply of linguistic capital in the age of globalization. English education policy in the region within a neoliberal world economy covertly directs English instruction to market economic principles.

2.2.1 English Education and Policy in Japan

The situation of Japan's English education resonates with those of other Asian contexts. It

has been in tension with a neoliberal mode of English education circumscribed within multifaceted discourses of globalism and nationalism. A discourse of inferiority has condemned schoolteachers' inability to teach communicative English. Yet, English is desired more than ever for access to new knowledge and the global market. In the rest of this chapter, I attempt to locate Japan's English education and its policies in the nexus of domestic and global contexts in order to better understand what contextual factors come into play. In doing so, I use two terms interchangeably, Japan's English education policy and the Courses of Study (COS), unless I specify the use of the terms. I also explain the rationale of my use of the two terms.

2.2.2 Current State of English Education in Japan

Japan's English education reform has been a pressing national agenda. Not only teachers, scholars, and educators in teaching English as a foreign or second language (TEFL/TESL) but also publicly well-known figures in fields such as politics, economics, business, and sport have been actively participating in the discussion of the improvement of English education.⁸ English as a school subject has drawn a good deal of attention from both inside and outside the education system. English education policies have been under constant revision in response to various factors despite the fact that "in general, most [Japanese] students have little opportunity to have contact with English in their everyday lives outside of the classroom except through activities such as browsing the Internet" (Samimy & Kobayashi, 2004, p. 24). Such nationwide urgency and desire for English education reform has been robust and prevalent, but, at the same time, disappointedly, it has not borne much fruit according to the low average scores of TOEFL taken by Japanese people. Nevertheless, when closely looking into Japanese English education, one

⁸ This phenomenon is optimized in the demographic diversity of members of Educational Rebuilding Council (*Kyōiku saisei iinkai*) under the supervision of Japan's Cabinet Secretariat (*Naikaku kanbō*). None of the members hold their expertise in language-related fields such as language education, language policy, or TEFL/TESL. The list of the members is available through the link: <http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kyouiku/about.html> retrieved on April 10, 2012.

finds a mismatch between the abundant resources available for English education and the unsuccessful outcomes. Thus, one may ask a question: why has Japan's English education not been successful with all those resources, the government policies, the national curricula, and the institutional apparatus that can implement such policies for the betterment of English education across the board?

2.2.3 Two Sides of the Same Coin: Discourse of Failure

For decades, Japan's English education has been the target of criticism for its failure both outside and inside Japan (Gorsuch, 2000; Seargeant, 2008). While English education is indeed situated at the intersection of national interests that exist within a neoliberal world economy, it has been stigmatized by a discourse of failure and desire (Seargeant, 2008). It fails to help students attain sufficient English proficiency for daily conversation despite the six-year secondary school English education. Indeed, Japan's English education has been a struggle in spite of a number of initiatives led by the government (Kobayashi, 2013). One of the initiatives has been the many revisions of the Japanese post-secondary English curriculum, the Course of Study (COS), aiming for Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Gorsuch, 2000; LoCastro, 1996; Oda & Takada, 2005; Samimy & Kobayashi, 2004). The most historic initiatives are the two English education policies: *The National Strategic Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* (*The Strategic Plan*) and *The National Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* (*The Action Plan*) formulated in 2002 and 2003, respectively, as a *national strategy* by Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, and Technology (MEXT). In addition to such policy and curriculum changes, Japan's education system always has hardworking English teachers (Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004). All those efforts to reform Japan's English education, however, have not yet seen any success. The relatively low TOEFL average score of

Japanese test takers is a frequently cited example of the undesirable outcome of English education. According to *An Interim Report of The Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development* published by Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI) on June 22, 2011, "in the 2010 TOEFL scores ranked by country, Japan scored very low, at 135th out of 163 countries, and 27th out of 30 countries in the Asia region"⁹ (p. 8). Unlike many of their counterparts in Asia, the Japanese are perceived to fail to attain a working command of the language. The discourse surrounding Japan's English education agrees that Japan has been struggling unsuccessfully to improve the quality of English instruction (LoCastro, 1996) and the English proficiency of its citizens (Sergeant, 2008). The discourse that the Japanese cannot speak English pervades society and has become a national stigma (Terasawa, 2012). MEXT echoed the discourse of failure in that English education reform has not helped students acquire adequate English communicative competence. In her foreword regarding the formulation of *A Strategic Plan* (MEXT, 2002), then Minister of Education Kyōko Tōyama acknowledged that, due to their lack of English competency, many Japanese had difficulty in communicating with speakers of other languages or experienced having been unable to receive high evaluations in their respective fields.¹⁰

Some studies highlight the influence of Japan's economic prosperity on the ineffective English education. Because of Japan's economic super power status without English in the 1980s through the early 1990s, believing EFL learning is not needed played a part in unsuccessful foreign language education in general. Japan did not truly think its citizens had to learn other languages; it was felt that business partners around the globe should learn Japanese if they

⁹ Translation is mine.

¹⁰ The paraphrased translation is mine. The original text in Japanese is as follows; 現状では、日本人の多くが、英語力が十分でないために、外国人との交流において制限を受けたり、適切な評価が得られないといった事態も生じている。Retrieved April 12, 2014 from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/020/sesaku/020702.htm

wanted to have some business with Japan (Matsumoto, 2009). Similarly, Japan's affluence was not seen to entail English until it had been through two decades of prolonged economic recession beginning in the mid-1990s. The incongruence between its economic success and its citizens' low English proficiency delayed ELT restructuring both in the school system and the society (Kobayashi, 2013).

Often the discourse of failure rationalizes why Japanese do not have to learn English in order to justify the failure itself (Kawai, 2007). As Seargeant (2008) argues, many studies on Japan's English education and policy discursively construct a stigmatized discourse of Japanese being unable to speak English, the discourse has been naturalized, and the public has taken it for granted without critically questioning the validity of such a discourse. It inadvertently pardons Japanese incompetence in English. There is no shortage of media, books, and academic articles that have given myriad explanations for the failure of Japan's English education. Although today English is aspired to and strongly desired for Japan's internationalization in tandem with economic globalization, nobody seems to want to bear the responsibility for the failure of English education or take actions on a personal level either (Morizumi, 2012).

2.2.4 Two Sides of the Same Coin: Discourse of Desire

The discourse of failure, coupled with the criticism against Japan's English education, is also indicative of strong desire and aspiration for English not only from students and parents but also from the public. While the discourses of desire and failure are two sides of the same coin, the prevalence of the discourse of desire for English in Japan has not yet successfully brought any evident investment in English from the majority of the population. Yet the slogan "internationalization" or "*kokusaika*" proclaimed in the COS and the English education policies: *The Strategic Plan* and *The Action Plan* to promote English language learning among its citizens;

for it “[allows] Japan to communicate with its international (=English-speaking) economic partners” (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 13).

However, scholars problematize that the Japanese government policy and the national curricula casually link internationalization to English education, suggesting that the unsuccessful English education can be partly due to the difference in the level of commitment to ELT between the policy as text and as discourse. Many studies argue that the term, *internationalization*, used in the policy texts is conflated with tacit and yet competing agendas. As Gottlieb (2012) examines, “[Internationalization] encourages Japanese people to communicate with outsiders in the outsiders’ language without themselves experiencing any intrusion into the comfortably monolingual Japanese-language environment surrounding them, thereby subtly reinforcing a sense of cultural nationalism” (p. 13). She argues that Japan’s internationalization is, in fact, the promotion of the idea of monolingual Japan through English as an international language, which can be interpreted as a covert form of cultural nationalism (Gottlieb, 2012; see also Kubota, 1998).

Similarly, through her critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Japan’s language policy texts including *The Action Plan* (MEXT, 2003) and COS (MEXT, 2008), Hashimoto (2000, 2009, 2013) finds the conflation of contesting ideologies makes the macrolevel English education policy, COS, not as straightforward as it sounds. An overt goal is to improve students’ intercultural communicative competence in the name of internationalization; another covert goal is to promote to the world what Japan as a nation is and its citizens’ ethnic and cultural identity through “‘Japanized’ communication in English” (Hashimoto, 2013, p. 188). Furthermore, COS denotes that students should be able to better understand their own nation, culture, and language, by comparing English to Japanese through a contrastive language learning process. English

education is the linguistic catalyst to disseminate Japan as a nation, “Japaneseness,” to the world while simultaneously implementing a “Japanization” policy by which students internalize national ideological values (Hashimoto, 2000).

Another study found the casual linkage between ideologies such as internationalization and neoliberalism and English policy expressed by the public in media discourse. Kawai (2007) examines readers’ online posts on a newspaper website, *The Mainichi Shimbun*, which comments on the Japanese government proposal for English to be the second official language¹¹. Her CDA reveals conflicting discourses toward English and the proposal expressed by the commenters. The themes of those comments include “English as the international language” (p. 45), “English as a tool” (p. 46), “English as a cultural force” (p. 47), and “English serves Japan” (p. 48). Those themes suggest the commenters’ desire for English, and such comments indicate that their desire depends on what English language learning costs and benefits Japan and its citizens. The theme “English serves Japan,” as similarly pointed out by Hashimoto (2013), epitomizes the argument made in the governmental policy. Compared to the global dominance of English, the purchase of the Japanese language is small. The use of English is thus seen as more effective and efficient in promoting Japan in the international economic, cultural, and political spheres. In this sense, English language learning is viewed as being beneficial to Japan’s economy in the global market as long as it does not threaten the cultural and linguistic identity of Japan.

Another discourse of desire is the discourse of English-for-economy. Kobayashi (2007) problematizes how such discourse is transformed into the discourse of English-for-élites, which has a negative impact on gender disparity in the Japanese professional context. Drawing on secondary data, she analyzes the rhetoric of *The Action Plan* (MEXT, 2003) and discusses how

¹¹ Then Prime Minister, Keizo Obuchi and his private advisory body proposed English to be the second official language in January, 2001, but the proposal did not become a concrete plan.

male professionals or job seekers, regardless of their qualifications, tend to covertly be offered more opportunities to improve their English skills. In a male-dominant society such as Japan's, Japanese companies may dispatch men to study English abroad, believing that male workers will play a leadership role doing business with their counterparts in the world. She concludes that this language policy, contrary to its ultimate goals, "helps to legitimize men's and women's segregated roles already entrenched in Japanese society" (p. 568), and, thus, exacerbates the chasm between the current favored status of men as élites and women as subordinates in the Japanese professional fields.

Furthermore, Kobayashi (2013) argues that the series of MEXT initiatives of English education and its policies are a national response to a worldwide phenomenon of ELT; supporting ELT is believed to support national interests at a time when ELT failures are not. In contrast to trends in educational migration from China and Korea, since 2006 the number of Japanese college students studying abroad has been declining. In 2004, it was 82,945, but it dropped to 60,183 in 2013 (MEXT, Feb. 2015)¹². The government as well as the public is concerned about inward-looking youth reluctant to go abroad for education, and that the decline may further drive Japan into an economic corner in the global market. However, with the unprecedented urgency for ELT reform, she foresees the potential for Japanese companies to open their doors to qualified non-Japanese prospective employees multilingual in Japanese, English, and their heritage language.

Comparing the discourses of internationalism and nationalism represented in the Japanese government-endorsed high school English textbooks, Schneer (2007) deconstructs how cultural representations in the textbooks "bring the ideologies of ethnicity and cultural difference into the

¹²It is notable that the decline in the number of Japanese college students studying abroad might have been due to the worldwide economic crisis in 2008.

English language classroom in Japan” (p. 601) and cautions that the textbooks can be a strong mediator for patriotic education linking to the notion of “*Nihonjinron*” (the ideology of Japaneseness focusing on Japanese national and cultural identity) (Kubota, 2000 quoted in Schneer, 2007). Liddicoat (2007) conducts a textual and discourse analysis of Japanese language-in-education policies arguing that

the ultimate purpose of internationalization coded in the Japanese policies is not conceived as developing abilities among the Japanese to adapt and accommodate to others, nor is it an attempt to explore questions of Japanese identity in intercultural contexts.

Instead, Japanese interculturality focuses on the inculcation, maintenance and entrenchment of a particular conception of Japanese identity, associated with the discourses of *Nihonjinron*, and its communication to others. (p. 41)

Nihonjinron comprises “theories of what it means to be Japanese” as “a highly influential ethnocentric and essentialist. . . genre” (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 17). “*Nihonjinron* heavily stresses the equivalence of Japanese language with Japanese identity, at the same time portraying the Japanese language as somehow different from other languages . . . and insisting on Japan’s linguistic homogeneity” (p. 17).

With the global dominance of English as the language for economy, Japan’s English education is trapped within the competing discourses of failure and desire interlocked with ideologies of Japan’s linguistic, cultural, and ethnic identity as a nation. Much CDA work (Hashimoto, 2000; Kawai, 2007, 2009; Kubota, 1998; Seargeant, 2008) examining Japan’s language policies elucidates how those ideologies are intermeshed with the multifaceted discourses in scholarship, the policy texts, and the media. The key finding is that the ideological nature of Japan’s English education policy attempts to craftily tie English language competence

among Japanese nationals with economic prosperity at both the national and individual level, and yet to promote Japan and Japanese culture to the world as well as Japaneseness among its citizens. However, the research results uniquely suggest that the influence of the international economy, the influx of immigrants and globalization/internationalization have started challenging Japan's language education policy (LEP) and its implementation in relation to the long-held falsehood of Japan being a monolingual and ethnically homogenous nation (Gottlieb, 2012). This conflation of ideologies constitutive of competing discourses has been fueling the current "tumultuous" situation of Japan's English education. I will highlight, in the next section, English education policies and empirical studies on them in the context of the data set collected from local schools and teachers.

2.2.5 English Education Policies in Japan

Responding to the global spread of English in the nexus of a neoliberal world economy, MEXT has been taking stronger measures to improve English language instruction across the board since the late 20th century. First, MEXT has revised the Courses of Study (COS), *Gakushū shidō yōryō*, the national curriculum guidelines for K-12 schools across the nation, seven times since the first COS enacted in 1947 (Ishida, Jimbo, Hisamura, & Sakai, 2011) in an effort to improve students' basic and communicative English competence. Nevertheless, the revisions of the COS between the 1947 version and the 1998 version were unable to bring about substantial improvement in English language instruction (MEXT, 2002) failing to equip secondary school students with communicative competence. The 8th version of the COS (MEXT, 2008, 2009) was announced and enacted in 2012 in junior high schools and in 2013 in senior high schools. For the first time in its history, the new version of the COS proclaimed English as a medium of instruction (MOI) in all English language classrooms at the senior high school level¹³, though

¹³ Please note that the use of English is applicable only to English language classes not to other subjects such

CLT methods had already been introduced in the 7th version of the COS (MEXT, 1994).

The COS is implemented by a centralized department of education, MEXT. All the public schools in Japan must follow the COS, the national curriculum guidelines, which are published as a book form called *Gakushū shidō yōryō* in Japanese. Each school level from kindergarten through senior high school has COS volumes that target grade appropriate educational goals: *General Provisions*, *Subject in General Instruction*, *Subject in Specialized Instruction*, *Moral Education*¹⁴, and *Special Activities*. Subjects in Specialized Instruction has multiple volumes dedicated to individual subjects such as Japanese or *Kokugo*¹⁵, math, physical education, etc. The most influential volume for English teachers' teaching practice is one such volume of *Foreign Languages*, which treats the English language as if it were the only foreign language taught in schools. In fact, there is no volume for other foreign languages, which must refer to the volume on the English language. When the COS goes under revision to whatever extent, three major elements go through change: textbooks, school curriculums, and in-service teacher training.

Prior to the enactment of the new COS (2008), MEXT formulated a policy initiative called “*A Strategic Plan*”¹⁶ in March 2002 along with a long-term strategic plan, “*The Action Plan*” in 2003. These two English education policies called for extensive improvement in instructional methods, teachers' instructional qualities and proficiency, and the college admission system (Honna & Takeshita, 2005; Okuno, 2007). The significance of these policies is great because English education policies at the national level had not previously existed and they

as Math, PE, or Music.

¹⁴ The senior high school level does not have a Moral Education volume.

¹⁵ The Japanese language is called as *Kokugo* in primary and secondary education. In Japanese, *koku* means a country or a nation and *go* means language. *Kokugo* literally means the nation's language.

¹⁶ 「英語が使える日本人」の育成のための行動計画の策定について [Regarding the Establishment of The National Action Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’]. Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN008142.htm>

reveal MEXT's unprecedented urgency to carry out Japan's English education reform.

The Action Plan (MEXT, 2003) recommended five instrumental goals to be achieved by 2008 (Honna & Takeshita, 2005). First, it recommended English as an MOI. Second, it started a program called Super English Language High School (SELHi)¹⁷ with 16 senior high schools across the nation in 2002¹⁸ aiming for improvement in English language instruction. Those schools were provided with budgets for research on effective English language instruction by MEXT. Third, it targeted an increase in the number of senior high school students studying abroad to 10,000. Fourth, the appropriate proficiency level of junior and senior high school English teachers' was set as 550 on the TOEFL or 730 on the TOEIC in order to use English as an MOI. Also, it said that advanced English teachers would be given a study-abroad in-service training opportunity. Finally, it aimed to increase the number of Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) across the nation. One element of *the Action Plan* particularly targeted reforming the way in which English was taught at the high school level to more student-centered and communication-oriented teaching and learning of English. In accordance with the national implementation of the plans, Prefectural and Municipal Boards of Education offered in-service trainings for experienced Japanese English teachers with a goal of improvement in quality of both instructors and classroom instruction by emphasizing CLT methods.

Along with the enactment of the two policies, MEXT, meanwhile, urged the establishment of well-defined standards of Japanese English teachers' English proficiency by enacting *Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication (Five Proposals, 2011)*. Keeping the same standards set in *the Action Plan*, *the Five Proposals* set them to be equivalent to a score of 550 on the Paper Based

¹⁷The SELHi Program ended in 2009.

¹⁸ Prior to the official announcement of *The Action Plan* on March 31, 2003, the SELHi program had already started in fiscal year of 2002. Japan's fiscal year starts in April and ends in March.

TOEFL¹⁹ and 730 points on the TOEIC²⁰. MEXT conducted a survey on the *Five Proposals* from August through October in 2011²¹ in order to understand the situation of English education in secondary schools. With respect to junior and senior high school English teachers' English proficiency, the survey reported that 52.8% of all English teachers had either Eiken Pre-1st level²², a score of 550 in TOEFL PBT, a score of 213 in the TOEFL CBT, a score of 80 in the TOEFL IBT²³, or a score of 730 in the TOEIC. Although both *The Action Plan* (MEXT, 2003) and the survey report (MEXT, 2011) stress the importance of the teachers' ability to perform well on English proficiency standardized tests such as TOEFL, TOEIC, or IELTS²⁴, it has not clearly addressed how those standardized test scores correlate with the teachers' effectiveness in English instruction. As of March 2015, there are very few in-service training opportunities available for teachers to improve their English communicative competence even if they wish to do so (e.g., Ishida et al., 2011). Teachers have to pay necessary fees out of pocket if they want to go to private English conversation schools in order to improve their English competence. However, unfortunately, Japanese schoolteachers usually do not have the luxury of having spare time for professional development. The average of their everyday working hours is 10 hours 26 minutes²⁵ (26 minutes is spent on the work they bring home) (MEXT, 2015).

¹⁹ TOEFL is an abbreviation of Test of English as a Foreign Language and the average score was 215 points in the Computer Based TOEFL (CBT) between July 2002 and June 2003. 215 on the CBT is equivalent to around 550 on the Paper Based TOEFL (PBT).

²⁰ TOEIC is an abbreviation of Test of English for International Communication, and the average score was 500 in 2005.

²¹ The survey result was retrieved from the *Monbukagaku-shō* (MEXT) website:

http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/kokusai/gaikokugo/1318779.htm

²² EIKEN (The EIKEN Test in Practical English Proficiency) is an English proficiency test conducted by a Japanese non-profit organization, the Society for Testing English Proficiency, Inc. (STEP), and backed by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

²³ TOEFL IBT refers to the Internet Based TOEFL offered by an educational testing organization called Educational Testing Service (ETS) in the United States of America.

²⁴ IELTS refers to International English Language Testing System sponsored by three organizations: the British Council, IDEP IELTS Australia, and Cambridge English Language Assessment.

²⁵ This was the first national survey in 40 years; it was conducted with teachers in 360 schools across the

Besides formulating these two national-level English education policies, MEXT has been promoting people-to-people exchanges in local schools. Since 1987, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (*Monbushō*)²⁶ and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA: *Gaimushō*) have collaboratively recruited thousands of young native speakers of English as assistant language teachers (ALT) in the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (the JET Programme)²⁷ in order to help students to acquire communicative competence in English by exposing them to the kinds of English spoken by native speakers.²⁸ The Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR) administers the JET Programme in cooperation with MEXT and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication (MIC), and local government organizations. *The Strategic Plan (2002)* targeted hiring 11,500 ALTs nationwide and deploying them in English language classrooms in primary and secondary schools (Kato, 2009). As of July 2014, according to the JET Programme homepage, it had over 60,000 participants from 63 countries and the number of the current ALTs is 4,101. The top five countries that produce participants are USA 2,364, UK 366, Australia 296, New Zealand 242, and Canada 478 (JET Programme, n.d.). With the 1.7 million-dollar program budget for the fiscal year of 2008 (MOFA, n.d.), the JET programme is one of the largest English teaching programs in the world subsidized by national authorities.

Finally, MEXT introduced a new policy initiative, *English Education Reform Plan*

nation only for two weeks between October and December in 2008. Therefore, the results may not reflect the accurate working hours of teachers throughout the year.

²⁶ *Monbu-shō* [The Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture] were merged with Bunka-chō [The Science and Technology Agency] in 2001 and became *Monbukagakaku-shō* [Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, and Science (MEXT)].

²⁷ “The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme aims to promote grass roots internationalization at the local level by inviting young overseas graduates to assist in international exchange and foreign language education in local governments, boards of elementary, junior and senior high schools throughout Japan.” Retrieved on April 10, 2012 from the website: <http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/goals.html>

²⁸ It is noted that the JET programme was established under the reign of then Japanese Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone and then U.S. President Ronald Reagan to compensate Japan’s trade surplus with the U.S. in 1980s. (Tsuido, 2007)

Corresponding to Globalization on December 13, 2013 in order to promote further English education reform within a time frame from 2014 through 2020. Looking ahead to the Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics in 2020, the overarching goal of the reform is to comprehensively create a streamlined national English education framework from primary through secondary education by 2018 and put it into full practice in the Tokyo Olympic year. In elementary school, English activities are offered once or twice a week from Grades 1 through 4, and English instruction is offered three times a week from Grades 4 through 6. In junior high school, “[c]lasses will be conducted in English in principle” (MEXT, 2013b). Senior high school English “[c]lasses will be conducted in English with *high-level linguistic* activities (presentations, debates, and negotiations)” (italics added) (MEXT, 2013b). Then again, however, the plan contrasts English education to Japanese identity issues. The plan written in Japanese (MEXT, 2013a) reads “[i]n accordance with globalization, we discuss an education model that helps develop Japanese identity among children and reflects the results in revising the COS, in order to educate children to be cognizant of their sense of being Japanese who live in the world community.”²⁹ The term, *internationalization*, used in *The Action Plan* (MEXT, 2003) was replaced with *globalization*. A recurring rhetoric is inscribed in the statement: It juxtaposes English, globalization, and *Japaneseness* or Japanese identity as if they were mirrored reflections.

Along with *the English Education Reform Plan* (MEXT, 2013a), MEXT consigned English teachers’ in-service training to the British Council (MEXT, 2014). The training is called *English education promotion leader central training*³⁰ and is designed to train secondary school English teachers with at least five years of teaching experience, who are selected and nominated

²⁹ Paraphrased translation is mine. The original text in Japanese is as follows; グローバル化が進む中、国際社会に生きる日本人としての自覚を育むため、日本人としてのアイデンティティを育成するための教育の在り方について検討し、その成果を次期学習指導要領改訂に反映させる。

³⁰ This is called “*Eigo kyōiku suishin chuō rīdā kenshū*: 英語教育推進中央リーダー研修” in Japanese.

by designated Municipal Boards of Education. MEXT targets to train 500 teachers across the nation every year for five years and provides two sets of training. The first half is pedagogical training with a teaching practicum, and the second half is leadership training with a leadership practicum. Both the trainings are held in Tokyo. The teachers who receive this central training or *chūō kenshū* are certified by MEXT as English promotion leaders. They are expected to play a leadership role in their schools and school districts by facilitating workshops and training sessions. This is particularly notable because MEXT had never previously consigned a non-Japanese organization to be responsible for teacher training, and the scale of in-service training is the largest ever.

As of 2015, MEXT has announced that it will revise the current senior high school COS (2009) and carry out the full enactment of the next version of COS in 2020. The series of MEXT initiatives for English education indicates the government's sense of urgency for English education reform.

2.2.6 Issues of Language Policies in Japan: Strong Policy (COS) but Weak Planning

Among the aforementioned policies and institutional initiatives, the most influential on classroom English instruction in Japanese public schools is the COS. In fact, the COS is not a language policy in a strict sense; it constitutes the national curriculum guidelines for public K-12 schools. Private schools are not constrained by the COS; they are instructed by MEXT to follow the COS for their curriculum development, but they are not required to officially report their curriculum to their designated Board of Education (PBE). On the other hand, reporting their curriculum and receiving official approval from their local Board of Education is mandatory for all the public schools. In this context, scholars examining Japan's English education policies have posed a critical question (Gottlieb, 2012; Kato, 2009; Matsumoto, 2002): Does Japan have

English education policies at all? And if so, how can they be called language policies?

Studies agree that Japan historically has not had a consistent policy on English education let alone an overarching national language policy. Matsumoto (2002) points out the essential absence of the national vision of what to do with its language planning and policy, and that Japan is so shortsighted that it is only concerned about how to effectively teach communicative English in schools (pp. 56-57) without planning other aspects of languages. Kato (2009) argues that Japan's English education policy cannot be called such due to the inconsistent status of English as a subject matter in the COS. Until the COS revision in 2003, English had not been a senior high school graduation requirement since the 1970's version of the COS, though it had been required for graduation between 1961 and 1969 (Kato, 2009). Between 1970 and 2003, theoretically, students could graduate from high school without taking English classes, but it was impossible in practice. MEXT set minimum graduation credits for senior high schools, which no one could have fulfilled without the English credits. In addition, under Japan's college entrance exam system, English has always been one of the most important subjects, along with other subjects including Math and Japanese³¹ having the longest instruction hours. At local schools, the COS revisions regarding whether the English language is elective or a requirement have not had significant influence. Nevertheless, such inconsistent treatment of English as a subject matter in the COS is indicative of a lack of long-term national vision on foreign language acquisition planning in schools. Relatedly, Gottlieb (2005) illustrates the absence of Japan's language planning toward English education policy and explicates it as follows;

Japan has no overarching national language policy which determines which community languages should be taught (hardly surprising in view of the monolingual belief still

³¹ As a school subject, Japanese, the instruction of the Japanese language, is called "*Kokugo*", the national language. In higher education, the department that teaches the Japanese language and literature used to be called "*Kokubun gakubu*," the Department of National Language and Literature.

largely prevailing) or which languages should be strategically introduced with a view to Japan's regional and international linkages. (p. 33)

This lack of national vision on language planning (Gottlieb, 2012; Kato, 2009; Morizumi, 2012; R. Sato, 2002) results in Japan's weak English education policy (Gottlieb, 2005), which can be argued as a partial reason for the fruitless English education, coupled with too much reliance on the dominant use of the Japanese language in public and education as the *de facto* language policy and as the only official language. Consequently, Japan's language planning and policy never targets plurilingualism within the country, let alone minority language education (Gottlieb, 2005). Other studies also point out that Japan's LEP has long ignored the maintenance or revitalization of minority languages primarily spoken at home or in unofficial contexts across the country (Fujita-Round & Maher, 2008; Gottlieb, 2005, 2008, 2012; Hashimoto, 2000, 2007, 2009; Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003; Yoshida, 2003) including Ainu, Okinawan, Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Tagalog, and Vietnamese (Gottlieb, 2012). On the one hand, it is true that "language planning and policy in Japan have predominantly been top-down, which has contributed to a certain slowness in responding to change" (Gottlieb, 2008, p. 159). At the same time, a lack of clear language planning is considered detrimental in reforming Japan's English education in public schools.

2.2.7 Empirical Studies on Classroom Instruction and the Courses of Study (COS)

A body of literature attempts to identify the causes for the failure of Japan's English education, and attributes it to several major factors. In particular, research on Japanese English teachers and Japanese English education at the secondary school level examines issues centering on teachers' teaching practices in classrooms with research data including surveys, interviews, and/or class observations (Gorsuch, 2000; McKay, 2000; Hirasasu, 2005; Kikuchi & Browne,

2009; Oda & Takada, 2005; Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004).

Looking into local factors in relation to the COS, Nishino and Watanabe (2008) attribute the failure of the CLT-oriented policy implementation to nine obstacles and difficulties faced by teachers and local schools: (1) no sufficient in-service training for teachers who graduated from English literature departments rather than education departments geared toward teaching; (2) teachers' insufficient English proficiency; (3) teachers' lack of confidence; (4) negative backwash of university entrance examinations; (5) no need of English in students' everyday life, (6) teacher's inexperience with student-centered instruction; (7) the passive knowledge-driven content of university entrance examinations; (8) overloaded class size (30-40 students in a class); (9) the paucity of available ALTs. They conclude that while there are new pedagogical developments introduced in classrooms, there remains a huge gap between the vision of English education policy and classroom realities in Japan.

Other scholars, similarly, find backwash from the excessive pressure of university entrance examinations, forcing Japanese English teachers to teach English in a teacher-centered fashion with a strong focus of grammar translation notoriously known as the *yakudoku*³² method, which aims for reading comprehension by translating word by word from English to Japanese (Gorsuch, 2000, 2001; Kikuchi & Browne, 2009; Oda & Takada, 2005).

Coupled with the *yakudoku* method, the cause of the failure has been attributed to the teachers' inability or reluctance to utilize the CLT methods, though it has been a little while since the methods were introduced in the COS (MEXT, 1989) in the secondary school curricula (LoCastro, 1996; Oda & Takada, 2005; Nishino, 2008). Gorsuch (2004) examined, through survey analysis, how Japanese English teachers interpreted the concept of CLT inscribed in the

³² *Yakudoku* is a combined word of *yaku*, translation and *doku*: reading, which literally means translation reading.

COS and how they mediated the policy so that they could put it into practice in their classroom instruction. The results reveal that teachers tend to continue teaching the same way as they were taught instead of transforming their teaching practice into teaching students communicative English with CLT methods.

The dearth of effective in-service training opportunities for experienced EFL teachers is also another prevalent issue (Oda & Takada, 2005). Although designated Boards of Education across the nation offered in-service trainings in order to achieve one of the COS English education goals aiming at improvement of teachers' both communicative and instructional competence in English, the training was limited to two weeks in total during the summer break³³. Similarly, the mandatory in-service training accompanying every revision of the COS is very short. In the case of the prefecture where I conducted my research, all public senior high school teachers received only one day-long in-service training during the summer vacation. This was an information session, rather than an in-service training, which was to inform teachers about the major changes with the COS (grades 10-12) and key issues to take into consideration in designing an individual school's curriculum. Although MEXT expects instructional changes to be happening in schools along with these in-service trainings for teachers, previous studies (Gorsuch, 2000; Lamie, 2000, 2001) suggest significant change in classroom instruction has not been observed. Based on her survey results for English language teachers, Lamie (2000) emphasized "if the Ministry of Education's new curriculum is to be a success, English teachers must be given more training and in-service support" (p. 28). Currently, throughout Japan, middle school-level English is predominantly taught by native Japanese speakers who learned English in much the same way as they teach now, practices considered to be reinforcing and perpetuating many of the flaws in the current educational system (Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004).

³³ This in-service training is no longer offered.

Glasgow (2014) inquired about private senior high school English teachers' beliefs about English as an MOI as proclaimed in the newest version of the COS (MEXT, 2008) as well as their agentive roles in the implementation process. In 2011 and 2012, before the enactment of the COS, he interviewed, in English, three English teachers who are native speakers of Japanese. The results reveal teachers' beliefs negatively intervened in their interpretation of the policy statement, which led to teacher resistance, and, in the end, negative agency.

Notably, Sato & Kleinsasser's year-long study (2004) is the only ethnography on the teaching culture in a private Japanese senior high school's English department. It has helped to bring about an understanding of the concerns and problems experienced EFL teachers are faced with in terms of both their teaching styles and their interactions with fellow teachers. In Japan teaching challenges stem, in part, from a conflict which exists between the various demands placed on the teacher of English; at a basic level, the teacher is of course meant to teach the language, but they are also expected to take multiple responsibilities in addition to simply teaching subject matter. The responsibilities teachers are to bear include taking care of a 40-student homeroom class, mentoring students about career guidance, and looking after club activities, to name a few. These factors may play a significant role in Japanese English teachers' classroom instruction in response to the COS change.

The relationship between the COS revisions, unchanged teaching practice, and unsuccessful instructional outcomes has fallen into a recurring cycle that perpetuates the status quo. As such, Japan's English education has been described as "chaotic" (Saito, 2007) because of enduring criticisms against public school English education from all sorts of fields including public opinion, the media, as well as political and business circles (Oda, 2011; Saito, 2007).

2.3. Conclusion

The aforementioned research on Japan's English education policy sheds light on the imperative factors that affect the overall language policy implementation in Japan. They lay out a landscape of the history of language policies, ideologies of internationalization, interculturalism encoded in the policies at the macrolevel of language policy and social factors. Nonetheless, there is very little qualitative research conducted on how the English education policy revisions influence local administration, teachers' teaching practices, and students in Japanese public schools. There has as of yet been no systematic investigation into the relationship between the national level of English education policy at the macrolevel, the local school district as the meso-level of the national language policy implementer, and local schools and teachers as the micro-level agents who implement the policy in classrooms.

There is need for better understanding of the implementation process of Japanese senior high school English education policy through the analysis of the discursive formation of the policy at the macro-, meso-, and microlevel. An analysis of the senior high school COS (MEXT, 2009) helps reveal how the macrolevel of language policy comprises with multiple ideologies, and how the policy covertly reinforces the nation's political, linguistic, cultural, and ethnic agendas through the national-scale apparatus, namely, the education system. Further, an analysis of how the mesolevel of social factors influence teachers' teaching practice is called for. Examining teachers' narratives is in need of urgent attention to understand why the ways in which English is taught at the high school level is problematic, going beyond simply pointing out that there are problems. Finally, the inquiry into teachers' teaching lives is the key to understand how the policy is implemented at the microlevel context, in classrooms. How do experienced Japanese English teachers continue to live through the policy change by making meaning of their work and adapting themselves to the changes at a personal level? There remains room for further

research into the subjectivities of experienced Japanese senior high school English teachers, who have myriad professional responsibilities which extend beyond merely teaching the subject matter. Because the language teaching process in Japan is, as Shimahara (1998) and Sato & Kleinsasser (2004) point out, subject to the intense demands on teachers both to manage students and their work as well as to simply teach the material, it follows that the professional development of teachers will be susceptible to influences, both negative and positive, which are unique to Japan's ELT environment. This resonates with what Tollefson (2002) suggests: "careful attention to the 'local' concerns of everyday life in classrooms: materials, class size, daily and weekly schedules for the study of language and other subjects, and teachers' time for course planning, problem solving, and professional development" (p. 334) is crucial to critical language policy research on educational contexts. Simultaneously, examining "individual beliefs, everyday contexts, and practices" reveals what kind of factors can be "potential obstacles to policy initiatives and reforms" (Ramanathan & Moragan, 2007, p. 449) as teachers are, ultimately, the agents implementing the policy at the microlevel.

Above all, investigation of locality and agency is indispensable as "we are all – teachers, researchers, administrators, or curriculum writers – key stakeholders and partners in the realization of policy practices" (Ramanathan & Morgan, p. 449). Ricento (2006) urges LPP researches to keep in mind the effects of the policies we study.

A theory of language acquisition, use, shift, revitalization, or loss has little value in and of itself as a tool to argue for the need for specific language policies; rather, in order to advocate specific policies or policy directions, scholars need to demonstrate empirically – as well as conceptually – the social benefits, and costs, of such policies. (p. 11)

To gain a rich understanding of the costs and benefits of Japanese policy implementation,

English education policy research on the Japanese public senior high school context calls for an immediate investigation of the discursive formation and implementation of English education policy in the nexus of the multiple actors and factors at work at multifaceted levels.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Chapter Overview

Inter- and multi-disciplinary approaches to research characterize the LPP field; methodical hybridity is a common practice, placing a wider range of methods at the disposal of the LPP researcher. As language policy takes multiple forms, explicit or implicit, and has bearing at different levels in society, various research methods can be contingently applied depending upon the scope and purposes of each case. For example, a discourse analysis on policy text elucidates ideologies engrained in macrolevel language policy; a conversation analysis on classroom teacher-student interactions at the microlevel reveals how power operates through the macrolevel medium of instruction policy. Ethnography, meanwhile, describes the language practice of a local community, including the school, hospital, or company in question at the microlevel of language policy. An example of hybrid research is Johnson's work (2007), which combined CDA and ethnography to show how national-level bilingual education policy is inscribed with ideologies that local agents mediate through implementation at the district level. The attempt of Johnson's work (2007) was to locate the activity of LPP in a broader societal context, the macrolevel of language policy, while articulating the roles of agents who implement the policy creating the microlevel of language policy. This hybrid research methodology has become an effective model, adding depth and breadth to the analysis of multidimensionality LPP research entails.

Nevertheless, there has been little analysis of in-between "language policy" at play at the mesolevel, analysis at the group level. The focus of inquiry has been at either the macro- or microlevel, or some such combination of the two. I propose that, though Japan's education system is considered highly centralized, the central education governing body, the Ministry of

Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) does not directly communicate with school districts at the municipal level. For this study, I consider the school-district level to be a mesolevel context. Senior high schools in Japan are ultimately under the supervision of MEXT. However, it is the Prefectural Board of Education (PBOE) that provides substantive supervision of district schools. An individual school never directly communicates with MEXT. Therefore, I call for an analysis of mesolevel language policy as neither macro- nor microlevel examination will fully articulate the ways in which teachers experience language policy in relation to history, educational values, and school culture as maintained in a school district: a mesolevel local context.

My aim in this chapter is threefold. First, I overview two major LPP research methods: Historical-Structural and Public-Sphere approaches (Tollefson, 2013; 2015) and show how both strengthen my project and its analysis. Second, I share a detailed account of my research methods and the rationale for my research instruments. Finally, I conclude the chapter by emphasizing the importance of a mesolevel analysis of contextual factors more influential on microlevel language policy implementation than macrolevel language policy

3.2 Overview of Language Planning and Policy (LPP) Methodology

Language Planning and Policy (LPP) methodology has undergone three major developmental stages since the emergence of the field in the 1950s (Ricento, 2000; Tollefson, 2013, 2015). The earliest period, the neoclassical period, is characterized by its apolitical and ahistorical stances to language planning and policy and stands in support of modernization as part of the insurgence of a nation state (Tollefson, 2013, 2015).

In the 1990s, though, scholars were inspired by critical theories and questioned such a view of LPP, calling for a more critical approach to LPP research. They proposed Critical

Language Policy (CLP) as an overarching epistemological research orientation (Tollefson, 2000, 2006), which (discussed below) is important foundation for this study. CLP critiques positivist approaches to LLP research and aims at social change with a focus on power, struggle, and colonialism (Tollefson, 2006, 2013). It also regards social categories, such as class and gender, as indispensable, asking LLP researchers to reflect upon their ethical and political orientations when conducting research. Following Tollefson (2006), the meaning of “critical” is three-fold: “(1) it refers to work that is critical of traditional, mainstream approaches to language policy research; (2) it includes research that is aimed at social change; and (3) it refers to research that is influenced by critical theory” (p. 42). Based on the idea of CLP, Tollefson (1991) names the Historical-Structural approach (HS) a critical LPP research method that investigates how state authorities control linguistic minorities while empowering dominant language groups through state-led language policy. The HS analysis aims to “understand how individuals and groups are coerced into language acquisition, language loss, and patterns of language use by powerful external forces that control the processes of policy making” (Tollefson, 2015, 4533 of 7899).

3.2.1 Focus on State Authority: Historical-Structural (HS) Approach

The HS approach has been influential to LPP research for a long time. It emphasizes how social structure and state authority act as major intervening forces on human activity and affect the decision-making processes present in language policy and planning (Tollefson, 2013). Language education policy is one example of the workings of a state authority. The ways in which Tollefson problematizes language education policy within a school context contribute to a better understanding of the ideological nature of instruction policies at the state level.

Medium-of-instruction policies emerged with nationalist projects of the state and colonial and postcolonial authorities. For this reason, language policies in education

must be understood with reference to the aims and institutions of the nation-state and associated processes of nationalism, especially fundamental state function of allocating among social groups access to economic resources and political power. (pp. 17-18)

The aim of the HS analysis is to elucidate the ideologies of the language policies of nation-states and to link them to broader societal factors that discursively influence language policy. This entails the examination of the tacit national agendas embedded in policy texts, which circulate through the education system and determines curriculum and instructional goals. Discourse analysis has been utilized in many HS LPP studies to analyze language policy texts, which are considered a major authoritative force in creating or maintaining linguistic inequity in society through education (Blommaert, 1996; Weedside-Jiron, 2011).

For the past two decades, though, the field of LLP has experienced a significant methodological shift along with a shift in analytical focus away from state authority to individual agency. The Public Sphere approach (PS), as named by Tollefson (2013), focuses on the individual agency at the microlevel of communication, including in language classrooms, local schools, language communities, and school districts (Johnson, 2009, 2011, 2013; McCarty, 2010; Stritikus, 2003). Although the HS and PS approaches seem distinctively different, Tollefson (2013) notes the differences in research focus do not originate theoretically but rather from a researchers' focus or preference.

3.2.2 Focus on Individual Agency: Public-Sphere (PS) Approach

The PS approach is a new methodological development in LPP research, arrived at in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Johnson, 2013; Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Ricento, 2000; Tollefson, 2013). Its development overlaps the time when “fundamental changes ha[d] begun in social, economic, and political organization on a global scale” in the late 20th century (Tollefson, 2013,

p. 19). According to Tollefson, under the rapid and ever-growing process of globalization, with nationalism and nation-states becoming increasingly undermined, “the process of globalization. . . has direct and immediate consequences for language policies in education” (p. 19). Ricento (2000) supported this view, calling for a new LPP conceptual framework that would link microlevel research—research conducted on language use in a given context—to macrolevel investigation or investigation of sociopolitical factors influencing language use. Ricento postulates “[i]t seems that the key variable which separates the older, positivistic/technicist approaches from the newer critical/postmodern ones is agency, that is, the role(s) of individuals and collectivities in the processes of language use, attitudes, and ultimately policies” (p. 208). As a result of this view, ethnographic approaches to LPP surged (Canagarajah, 2003; Hornberger, 2013; Johnson, 2007, 2009; Johnson & Ricento, 2013; McCarty, 2011; Ramanathan, 2012). The PS approach, which aims to elucidate the discursive relationship between policy as text, practice, and discourse unveils the mediational roles of individual actors in order to better understand the complexity of language policy implementation. Methodically speaking, ethnography is widely used for PS research on language education policy, which views language teachers as active agents in implementing macrolevel language policy in microlevel contexts such as schools and school districts (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2010; Johnson, 2009; 2011, Pennycook, 2002, 2006). This research model focuses on individual agency and its roles in the implementation process in local communities. Ramanathan & Morgan (2007) suggest the importance of agency and locality in research on policy implementation (p. 448-449). They define three key concepts as significant in local contexts: practice, agency, and locality. “The *practice* of policy” allows teachers “to read behind the lines, to interpret the ambiguities and gaps in critical ways that open up moments and spaces for transformative pedagogical interventions” (p. 448) “Agency,”

meanwhile, is “what might be learned and modeled after practitioners’ decision-making experiences” (p. 448) while “locality is the site in which the micro-strategies and techniques of governmental power—or *governmentality*, in Foucault’s terms—are directly experienced and sometimes resisted” (p. 449). The emphasis on the examination of a local context shows how teachers act as agents mediating language policy through implementation such that the local practitioners have control over how to respond to the state-level language policy; there can, therefore, be multiple interpretations, negotiations, and appropriations of a single, state-level language policy (Johnson, 2011; Stritikus, 2003). This makes teachers active policy mediators who have a more powerful influence on policy implementation and practice than the state authority or the policy itself as text. Ethnographic LPP research of this type has stemmed from the epistemological perspective concerning language planning and policy process as social reality as well as practice constructed by both policy text and discourse as situated practice in a given context. It aims “to re-conceptualizing language policy as an interconnected process generated and negotiated through policy texts and discourse – as opposed to an authoritative product whose implementation is unvaried” (Johnson, 2009, p. 156).

3.2.3 Vantage Point of HS and PS Approaches

The two approaches, HS and PS, are not, however, mutually exclusive (Tollefson, 2013). Rather, they are as complementary as two sides of the same coin. The process of LPP is complex with multiple factors inextricably intertwined such that no one factor is reducible to another—a state that can be described as being like the many layers of an onion (Hornberger & Ricento, 1996). As such, the language policy, planning, and implementation processes constitute multiple layers that discursively shape themselves and are shaped by each other, thus creating social practice and discourse. Without losing sight of macrolevel LPP factors, a hybrid approach

combines both the HS and PS approaches, helping researchers investigate policy implementation at the microlevel in which macrolevel language policy encounters teachers and the meeting of the two generate teaching practices and learning in the classroom at the local school level.

Tollefson (2002) nevertheless promotes caution on an overly optimistic PS view, stating it may fail to provide a fair description of the myriad constraints that intervene in an agent's decision-making process and their subsequent ways of inducing change particularly in a school context: "careful attention to the 'local' concerns of everyday life in classrooms: materials, class size, daily and weekly schedules for the study of language and other subjects, and teachers' time for course planning, problem solving, and professional development" (p. 334). This makes it crucial to understand locality and the teachers' ways of meaning making within educational contexts. The key to fruitful LPP research is to examine "individual beliefs, everyday contexts, and practices" and reveal factors that can be "potential obstacles to policy initiatives and reforms" in order to disclose tacit agendas and ideologies embedded in language policy (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007, p. 449). Above all, though, investigation of locality and agency is indispensable when viewed in light of broader societal factors: "we are all—teacher, researchers, administrators, or curriculum writers—key stakeholders and partners in the realization of policy practices" (p. 449).

3.3 Critical Study of Language Policy (CLP)

This study is inspired by Tollefson's (2006) critical approach to LPP research: Critical Language Policy (CLP). Given that language policy and planning is political and ideological in nature, the HS research perspective provides an analytical lens appropriate for a context like Japan where the state-authority is structurally substantial and ideologically influential. Because the language education policy is a textual representation of societal, cultural, historical, political,

and ideological discourse in a given educational context, the detailed examination of the relationship between mesolevel agentive structure and microlevel structured agency is key to my study. Japan's senior high school English education policy is inextricably tied to social values, morals, history, and cultural norms that are significantly different than those of Western society. In such a context, individual actors may face constraints, micro-, meso-, and macrolevel that could limit their choices of actions as well as their thoughts. The relationship between these structural constraints and one's autonomy cannot, therefore, be overlooked in an analysis of the discursive practice present in Japan's educational context. According to Rogers (2011), this difference in the epistemological orientation of research may be due to a difference of logic between the West and the East. The former "is constructed around the notion of the individual as the final arbiter of meaning" while the latter "is to be oriented toward the listener, the inter-subjective nature of the exchange, and the focus on the collective, with the individual as part of the group" (p. 9). Although I acknowledge the use of the terms *the West* and *the East* are never free of criticism, I consider Japan as part of the East and maintain it has developed a social community with a strong emphasis on collectivism and group culture. Acknowledging this difference is critical in understanding Japan's social context, which is distinctively different from that of the West. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) discuss this difference, stating that on the one hand, "educational and social change and institutional transformation, especially in decentralized societies, often begin with the grass roots" (p. 417). On the other, in a country with a highly centralized government, such as Japan, "several layers of intermediate actors (e.g., state boards of education, commissioners of education, program directors) may lie between the persons or bodies who promulgate and disseminate broad policy guidelines and those who actually implement a particular policy, for example, classroom teachers" (p. 417). The latter instance fits

Japan's educational administration profile as a single national level authority; the whole nation's education system operates within the highly centralized administration of MEXT. The micro- and mesolevel layers of analysis is the focus of my study. By drawing upon the critical perspectives present in the Historical-Structural and Public Sphere approaches, my study aims to capture a holistic picture of the implementation of Japan's English education policy at a local high school situated in a suburban school district.

3.3.1 Historical-Structural Approach to a Mesolevel Analysis of a School District

The study investigates Japan's high school English education policy and records the policy's implementation from July 2012 through June 2015 in an attempt to provide both a bird's eye view of how the policy permeates Japan's education system as well as a close-up picture of its implementation at a local school. The bird's eye view provides a detailed account of the multi-layered structure of Japan's education system as a policy distribution channel through a HS approach to a critical ethnography of language policy as practice. By studying the moment the national English education policy is changed, I aim to record the teachers' voices and analyze their subjectivities regarding their experiences in English education at a local school district. I also seek to analyze the teachers' interviews in which the national level of language policy, the Course of Study (COS), is discussed in order to highlight how teachers understand its objectives and underlying ideologies in relation to globalization.

3.3.2 Critical Approach to Ethnography

The close-up view offers a critical ethnographic approach that unveils the ways in which the policy is mediated and negotiated by local English teachers who respond to their situated purposes within a local context. The project as a whole aims to capture the implementation of the language policy at a high school level in order to better understand the teachers' contextualized

ability to make meaning of the policy and of their teaching positions and practices. The criticality of the study is also meant to “contribute to emancipatory knowledge and discourse of social justice” (Madison, 2005, p. 5). Moreover, I hope participation in my study has helped my study partners gain opportunity to find avenues in which they can accomplish what they hope for in their everyday teaching lives. As a former Japanese high school English teacher, I, too, have had the opportunity to critically reflect upon my privilege, biases, beliefs, and positionality through the creation of this project. In the end, I find myself attempting to make the discursive relationship between Japan’s English education policy, the participants’ everyday teaching practices, and the local school and district culture accessible to my audience.

3.3.3 The Emic View of the Researcher

This is an ethnographic study with HS analysis combined; it was not intended to be a traditional, full-scale ethnography. My engagement with my study partners at the research sites was not for a long enough period of time to learn about the culture of the research site holistically. Nor was this my goal. Rather, it is to understand how my study partners make meaning of the national English education policy and to show how they transition from the old policy to the new. Moreover, I brought to the study site a level of community familiarity that strengthens my LPP research. Hymes (1996) points out “the more the ethnographer knows on entering the field, the better the result is likely to be” (P. 7). Starfield (2010) similarly suggests ethnography in applied linguistics can be different from that of traditional or anthropological ethnographic approaches: “[a]ppplied linguists typically use ethnographic approaches to study language practices within communities and institutions that are familiar to the researcher rather than exotic and strange” (p. 53). I, as an ethnographic LPP researcher, entered an institutional space with a history, educational values, and shared practices that were already familiar to me. In

this sense, my project shows well-informed insider knowledge I gained through my teaching experience in the context studied. As a formerly active member of the community, my knowledge of the culture of the school district and of the local schools is extensive, so my understanding of the school district as well as of Japan's English education system serves as an advantage rather than a limitation. I already possess tacit knowledge that would not have been available to outside researchers, so I can argue my tacit knowledge proves a more powerful source in this study than explicit knowledge applied without an insider perspective. Such insider knowledge helps me better elucidate local teaching practice and better understand the English education policy's implementation.

My emic knowledge of Japan's English education at both the macro-, meso-, and microlevels is useful in disclosing the complex relationships between the policy as text, as practice, and as discourse considering schools are constantly exposed to a wide range of social forces that shape institutional practice in ways often taken for granted. Tollefson (2002a) discusses the important aspects of the functions of schools in society and the constraints under which they operate:

Despite popular faith in the power of schools for social transformation - faith held by many teachers, program administrators, sociolinguists, and parents - language programs in schools are fundamentally constrained by a range of powerful social and other important forces: ideologies of language, political ideologies, funding, local and national politics, and patterns of employment that affect enrollment patterns (pp. 327-328).

Through this project, I have come to better understand the powerful ways in which mesolevel and microlevel knowledge operate within a community, often more influential than macrolevel

knowledge, constraining local teaching practice and affecting the teachers' choice-making abilities. The emic lens I possess helps me better understand teachers' collective meaning making in the midst of the policy's implementation as a response to the new COS. In sum, examining relationships between a deeply embedded microlevel of teachers' meaning making, mesolevel structural forces, and the ways in which they affect each other, is crucial to conducting research on language policy and planning in the Japanese senior high school context.

3.3.4 The Etic View of the Researcher

My etic lens has substantially developed through the scholarly training I have received in U.S. higher education. My academic training has enabled me to examine the education system I grew up in from an appropriate mental distance. Without an etic view, researchers are inclined to overlook important facts and practices they are too familiar with because they are likely to take them for granted. Through my academic training in America, I have come to understand a researcher should develop a balanced perspective, using both an etic and emic lens, if possible. For example, I now know education is a concept, not merely a vocabulary word, and I have come to recognize significant differences in the U.S. and Japanese education systems through first-hand experience as a teacher and student in both countries. Although the majority of the literature on education uses the term *education* as if it represented a uniquely shared concept, I believe the term actually denotes and connotes a variety of things that vary from country to country or community to community. As such, the entailments of Japan's senior high school education are different from those of other countries, though there remain some shared similarities. Education is culturally bounded and value-laden and is a practice with a history, myriad visions, philosophy, goals, and consequences. Understanding the concept of education,

therefore, enables me to communicate with my research participants with a proper level of distance.

I am well aware of how de-familiarization with the interpretation of data implicates another level of criticality for me. Although my emic knowledge of the research context and of my study partners grant me access to the tacit knowledge present within the local context, it may cause certain pitfalls in interpreting the data itself. The aim of critical ethnography involves decoding “the ways that the symbols of culture create asymmetrical power relations, constraining ideologies, beliefs, norms, and other forces that unequally distribute social rewards” (Thomas, 1993, p. 43). In order to deconstruct the social structure of the LPP process and interpret the deeper meanings embedded within the structure, I, as the principal investigator, must rigorously reflect on the meaning of my involvement in data collection and interpretation and fully understand the consequences of my knowledge as I attempt to create this study while maintaining an appropriate distance from my study partners³⁴ and my data (Thomas, 1993).

3.3.5 Researcher Positionality

I am also aware of my own positionality as a researcher, so I acknowledge that awareness does not necessarily preclude the intrusive nature of any type of academic research. I am a construct of the very research I conduct through my interactions and dialogues with the participants and through my knowledge of local practice and my historic memory of the local context. At the same time, I also construct context itself. I am committed to the de-, re-, and co-construction of deep meaning as present in contextualized social actions in discourse, not limiting myself to descriptions of surface-level performance and the actions of members in a local context (Anderson, 1989; Hymes, 1996; Madison, 2005;). I have a responsibility to speak up and call for action on behalf of my study partners (Thomas, 1993). I recognize my powerful

³⁴ I will explain the use of the term *study partners* later in the chapter.

position as a strongly motivated researcher seeking specific research be conducted on language policy and planning in the Japanese high school context. As mentioned above, my position as a former Japanese public high school English teacher is critical in that I have worked with some of my study partners as a colleague. Such positionality potentially hinders me from distancing myself as a researcher, and may make it more difficult for me to see the local context from an etic perspective or as a cultural “Other.” Though my knowledge of and experience as a former teacher also contribute to my deep understanding of the meaning-making process present in the locality from an emic perspective. Finally, my positionality is such that I am constantly obliged to self-reflect on my epistemological and political orientations; I must make both as transparent as possible as I conduct field work within the local community, interpret my data set, and write up this project (Anderson, 1989; Madison, 2005).

3.3.6 Methodological Limitation of the Study

Three major drawbacks stem from my qualifications as a researcher. My biggest dilemma lies in the very etic perspective I possess on Japan’s education system—a perspective largely cultivated in the United States. I find myself conflicted over the fact that I study the process of Japan’s policy implementation with a research model and concepts developed in Western academia. Using a Western model of theoretical frameworks to analyze social practice in a non-Western context reveals a biased assumption that such social phenomena fall into a version of a Western norm (Roger, 2011).

I understand that this constant reflection upon and negotiation with my own positionality as a researcher and with my study partners “forces [me] to acknowledge [my] own power, privilege, and biases just as [I am] denouncing the power structures that surround [my] subjects” (Madison, 2005, p. 7). Last but not in the least, I am concerned with the intrinsic

intrusiveness of my researcher self. The study partners were generous and made themselves available for my research despite their extremely busy schedules and long working hours, and their time has been something of which I have been constantly aware.³⁵

3.4 Research Questions

My research questions require me to “use the resources, skills, and privileges available to [me] to make accessible –to penetrate the borders and break through the confines in defense of –the voices and experiences of subjects whose stories are otherwise restrained and out of reach” (Madison, 2005, p. 5). Ethnographic data provides detailed accounts of the longitudinal observations of the English teachers’ experiences within a local context (**Canagrajah, 2006;** Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Through a critical approach to ethnography, I investigate microlevel social interactions among the participant teachers, making reference to mesolevel district factors with reference to the new COS as a macrolevel policy. This means this study ultimately aims to elucidate the culture and practice of the local school district and its relationship with the national level of English education policy in the age of globalization.

I aim to increase the understanding of the relationship between policy and practice in Japanese senior high school English education by closely examining the way teachers make meaning of their everyday teaching practice during the implementation of the new COS. In so doing, this project attempts to answer the following questions:

1) What are the situated meanings of the new language policy to local high school English teachers?

³⁵ The participant teachers in the study work from 7:30 a.m. to 7:00, 7:30, or 8:00 p.m. on weekdays, including 45 minutes for lunch despite the fact that their official working hours are from 8:35a.m. through 5:05p.m. Due to their supervising responsibilities for club activities and other school-related events, teachers work on the weekends, and, consequently, they usually do not have a two-day weekend.

2) How do teachers make meaning in implementing the new policy in relation to their beliefs and educational outcomes?

3) How does the new policy infiltrate through the layers of multiple actors at the high school level?

4) Who makes what kinds of interventions and how are they made in the implementation process?

The HS analysis helps to contextualize the mesolevel LPP layer: school district, that being the site where the teachers encounter the new COS and implement it while simultaneously catering to their students' needs. The ethnographic data set is analyzed to reveal the ideological nature of the multiple levels of discourse surrounding English education, the ways in which such ideologies are internalized in the participant teachers' beliefs, and the way in which said ideologies eventually affect their teaching practices. Correspondingly, an overall analysis aims to reveal the relationship between inherent contextual factors at the mesolevel and the situated meanings of Japan's English education policy as well as the tension present between English as a commodity of globalization and English as a subject matter in a national high school curriculum.

3.5 Contexts and Scope of the Study

3.5.1 Japan's English Education Policy in the Global and National Contexts

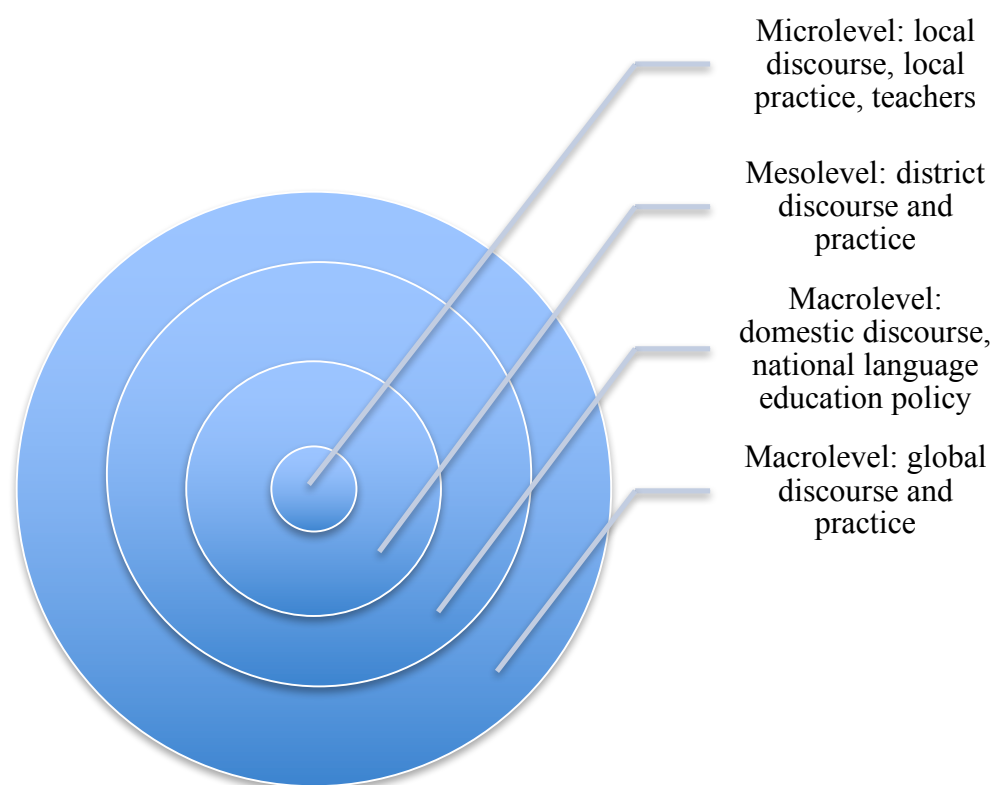
The language policy and implementation I analyze is Japan's national English education policy, the Course of Study (COS) (MEXT, 2009). This macrolevel language policy is a response to the impact of global and domestic discourses on English education—another macrolevel language policy. As many studies reveal, globalization in various sectors has been a strong influence on English education policy throughout the world at the national, local, and

individual levels (Heller & Duchêne, 2012; Holborow, 2012; Pennycook, 2010). Japan's English education and policy is no exception.

3.5.2 Macro, Meso, and Microlevel Contexts of Japan's English Education Policy

Following the layered onion LPP research model (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), I consider the policy and its implementation as a multifaceted process with multiple actors involved. Though the implementation process is not as clearly layered as an onion, I perceive distinct layers at the macro, meso, and microlevels of its implementation. Figure 1, below, shows the multiple layers of Japan's English education policy.

Figure 2: Macro, Meso, and Microlevels of Language Policy



The first macrolevel of language policy is English language teaching as a global phenomenon, which is a focus beyond the scope of this study. The second is the language policy of the COS itself, which is promulgated by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology

(MEXT), and its implementation across the board. A mesolevel analysis, meanwhile, includes the educational culture of the school district and its beliefs, values, and ideologies as they pertain to both English education and education in general. A HS analysis of such, therefore, helps “[discover] the macrolevel factors that lead to policies and plans that sustain systems of inequality” (Tollefson, 2015, 4533 of 7899) in the school district at the mesolevel. The microlevel of the language policy is the local school in which teachers implement the policy and are engaged in English language teaching. At this level, teachers are often considered mediators of the policy text and end up practicing their own versions of the policy (Johnson, 2009; 2011).

3.5.3 Introducing Study Partners

In this section, I describe the teachers who acted as my study partners as well as the schools in which they work. I have used pseudonyms to protect my study partners’ privacy and to maintain the confidentiality of the data set as necessary. I am well aware of the criticality of how I refer to each research participant as a “study partner.” They are not merely participants to me but are actual partners in my study, sharing their knowledge and experience with me as they teach and reveal what it means to be engaged in education and actively teaching students (Motha, 2004). In return, I hope that I, as a researcher, have contributed to their learning at a modest level. In this sense, I would like to repeat here that the knowledge created through this study is not merely my own but is co-constructed with my study partners. As mentioned above, I am particularly aware of my powerful position as a researcher who has been exclusively engaged in writing this dissertation.

My study partners have over eleven years of teaching experience each at multiple schools. Ten years of experience was the minimum requirement used for the purposes of this

study as I am interested in the way in which experienced teachers make meaning of their teaching practice in relation to the COS policy change.

Figure 3: Study Partners

School	Name	Position	Subject	Experience
Purple High	Mr. Tokuda	-Principal	Chemistry	32-34 years -4 schools -BOE -1 school: Vice principal -2 schools: Principal
	Ms. Kodama	-Lead English teacher -Chair of School Facility/Environment -Mentor teacher -Homeroom teacher 11 th grade	English	27 years -4 schools
	Ms. Maeda	-Homeroom teacher 12 th grade -Liaison of alumina association -President of Prefectural English Teacher Research Group (2013-2015)	English	22 years -3 schools Education Center 1 year
South High	Ms. Yoshida	-English teacher -Chair of Health Committee	English	30 years -3 schools
Temple High	Ms. Takeuchi	-English teacher -Chair of General Affairs Committee -Homeroom teacher 11 th grade	English	25 years -4 schools
East High	Ms. Uchida	-English teacher -Director of Carrier Guidance	English	20 years -4 schools M. Ed. degree from a UK institution

All names indicated here are pseudonyms.

With the exception of the implementation of the changes to the COS, the Happy Hill District has offered no in-service training opportunities to teachers with more than eleven-years of teaching experience. With the implementation of MEXT changes to the COS, every public senior high school teacher attends an in-service information session called “Senior High School New Academic Curriculum Prefectural Information Session: *Kōtōgakkō Shin-kyōiku-katei Setsumei-kai Ken Setsumei-kai*”—an event which occurs every time the COS is revised and a new curriculum is released.

Purple High is the public senior high school in which I collected my ethnographic data set. It is located in a suburban area in western Japan. As of April 2013, 72 teachers (53 officially appointed; fourteen full-time; and five part-time substitutes) were employed along with ten administrative employees. Purple High was ranked academically third among eight public senior high schools in the school district. The total student enrollment was 1194 from grades 10 to 12 with thirty homeroom classes. The maximum number of students per class was forty, which is the standard size set by MEXT. Over 90% of the school's graduates go on to four year colleges, the majority of which are in the Happy Hill District.

Ms. Maeda at Purple High

Ms. Maeda functioned as my main study partner. I cannot thank her enough for her participation in this study and for her encouragement. I have known Ms. Maeda for 21 years. We are both the same age and worked together at a school when we were in our mid-twenties (from 1994 to 1997). The school we worked at was our first school of employment; she had just become an officially appointed English teacher, and I substituted for a teacher who took a leave of absence, teaching English as well. We continued to cherish our friendship even after I started work at a different school as an officially appointed teacher in 1997. Since then, Ms. Maeda has taught at three different schools and had a one-year research experience at the Prefectural Education Center, *Ken Kyōiku Sentaā*. She now teaches at her alma-mater, Purple High, where she has been transferred twice before. After her first school, she was transferred to her Purple High before being re-transferred to another school that had become academically challenged. She had a difficult time adjusting to this school's culture, students, and local needs, though. The principal was a former colleague from her first school, and after a time, she asked him to let her go back to Purple High. He had become a human resource management director in the

prefectural high school division and had a way to make such a move possible, so Ms. Maeda went back to Purple High after a one-year stay at the Prefectural Education Center as a long-term teacher trainee³⁶. She loves her alma mater and has many fond memories of high school life. That was one of the main reasons she wanted to be a teacher. Another was her respect for her own junior high school homeroom teacher whom she remembers with respect. Even in a teenager's eyes, Ms. Maeda's former teacher displayed a strong leadership role and educated her students well. She helped to build her homeroom class into a collaborative learning environment in which students were able to teach learning materials to each other and help one another with school events, activities, and cleaning. Ms. Maeda initially thought she wanted to be a PE teacher, but she cannot swim³⁷, so she chose to teach English instead: "Among other subjects, I thought I could manage to teach English" (Interview, 08/05/2012). She belonged to a volleyball team when she was in high school and continued to play in college, going outside the Happy Hill District. She is still a coach of the volleyball team at Purple High and has never looked after another club's activities³⁸ except for a handball team at her first school during her first year teaching.

Mr. Tokuda at Purple High

Mr. Tokuda is the principal of Purple High. He was born and grew up in the Happy Hill District. Both of his parents were schoolteachers, and he recollects naturally choosing to become a teacher because he was familiar with the teaching profession and thought he knew much about what being a teacher would be like. He passed the teacher appointment examination on his first

³⁶ Those long-term teacher trainees are traditionally selected among teachers with over 10 years of teaching experience.

³⁷ A 50-meter swim is a practical test in the teacher appointment examination for physical education in the Happy Hill District.

³⁸ Public senior high school teachers in Japan supervise club activities being responsible for weekday and weekend practice, tournament/game trips, training camps as well as budgeting and purchasing equipment.

try as a college senior and became a chemistry teacher. When asked to paraphrase his earlier teaching career, Mr. Tokuda said, “Yeah, you can say it went well without difficulties” (Interview, 08/21/2012). After working at Purple High from April 2012 through March 2014, he was promoted to the powerful administrative position of a personnel management supervisor at PBOE where he is in charge of staffing senior high school teachers across the Happy Hill District.

Ms. Kodama at Purple High

At the time of my study, Ms. Kodama served as the Lead English teacher at Purple High, working as a homeroom teacher and as the Chair of the School Facility and Environment Committee. In April 2015, she transferred to another school after more than ten years at Purple High. Like Ms. Maeda and Principal Tokuda, Ms. Kodama was born, grew up, and went to college in the Happy Hill District and has never lived outside of it. Interestingly, as with Mr. Tokuda, Ms. Kodama also chose the teaching profession because her mother was a junior high school music teacher. She also worked as the mentor teacher of a first-year teacher officially appointed in 2012, and the amount of work assigned to her was particularly demanding when compared to the younger teachers’ workloads. This, however, is not an unusual practice in a Japanese senior high school context given her experience and capabilities. When I asked Ms. Kodama how she managed her workload, she said she could get by because her two children were almost grown up; one was in college and the other was a high school student. Ms. Kodama could not stay late at school, though, to get her work done, so she frequently brought her work home and finished it around 11:00 p.m. after dinner.

Ms. Yoshida at South High

Ms. Yoshida became an officially appointed teacher when she was 24 years old, but over her 30 year teaching career, she has only taught at three different schools. The teaching

profession is not something she intentionally chose, but she did state she had many fond memories of high school life. She was on the girls' basketball team and her coach, a PE teacher, told her she would make a good teacher. Ms. Yoshida heeded this advice and went on to attend one of the top seven national universities in the Happy Hill District, graduating with a B.A. in English literature. She, too, has never lived outside of the Happy Hill District except for a short six-month study-abroad session in California, which she took after she passed the teacher appointment examination, *kyōinsaiyō shiken*, on her second try. Ms. Yoshida is a natural born leader and brings people together in an amiable way, though she has never had any intention of becoming a principal or even a vice principal. After this interview, she transferred to her alma mater.

Ms. Takeuchi at Temple High

Like Ms. Kodama and Ms. Yoshida, Ms. Takeuchi grew up in the Happy Hill District and teaches at her alma mater. Because of her over twenty years of teaching experience, Ms. Takeuchi is responsible for many tasks and duties in the school be it leading a subject, club, homeroom class, or *kōmu bunshō*³⁹ related activity. She is a homeroom teacher and the head of *Kōhōbu*, Public Relations Committee, which puts her in charge of scheduling events, creating a school calendar, publishing the school's PR brochure, planning ceremonial events such as graduation and entrance, advertising the school's events to the local community, and communicating with the school's Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) as well as with the school's Alumni Association. She also supervised the tennis club World history, not English, was the subject Ms. Takeuchi initially wanted to teach because her favorite high school teacher taught

³⁹ *Komubunsho* is division of work assigned to school committees, and then to individual teachers as committee members. This is the administrative local system in which Japanese senior high school teachers share myriad tasks. Committees include Public Relations, In-Service Training, School Facility and Environment, Career Guidance, Student Guidance, School Health, Curriculum & Instruction, Library, etc.

world history, but her parents, particularly, her father, believed college education was unnecessary for girls. They let her take an entrance exam for a college in Tokyo (her first choice) and two other colleges in her hometown that offered English and not world history tracks. She ended up graduating from one of the latter universities with a B.A. in English. When asked to reflect upon her overall teaching trajectory, Ms. Takeuchi said she is now satisfied with the subject she teaches: “overall, it turned out good to become an English teacher because English has expanded my world view” (Interview, 03/02/2012). This statement speaks to her personality. Ms. Takeuchi is very curious about cultures and history, loves traveling, and has visited many countries. From 2003 to 2005, she took a sabbatical in order to become a member of Japan’s International Cooperation Agency and was dispatched to Vanuatu as a Japanese language teacher.

Ms. Uchida at East High

Like the other Japanese English teachers in this study, Ms. Uchida holds a leadership position and serves as the Director of Career Guidance, *shinro shidō shuji*, at East School, acting as a bit of an anomaly as male teachers usually take such jobs. Although Ms. Uchida described herself as a person without the ambition to move up the promotional ladder, she told me that she had started thinking that holding an administrative position may be a good career option since a new female principal had transferred to East School six months before and had been trying to convince her to take *kanrishoku shiken*—the administrative position appointment exam. Ms. Uchida was the only teacher in my study to have received a master’s degree in education, with an emphasis on multicultural education—a degree she earned from a British institution during a year-long sabbatical. She, too, grew up in the Happy Hill District and graduated with a B.A. in English from the same university as Mr. Takeuchi.

3.6 Data Collection

There are two phases to the HS approach used in my critical ethnographic study. The study itself is largely comprised of careful documentation and analysis of the time before the new policy's implementation along with class observations and teacher interviews completed before and after the enactment of the policy in April 2013.

I collected my ethnographic data as a non-participant observer in the school district from summer 2012 (a year before Japan's new policy enactment) through June 2015 (two years after its enactment). I found it challenging to gain access to the schools I researched in and connect with teachers as well as the PBOE. Even parents do not visit Japanese high schools outside of attending biannual parent-student meetings with homeroom teachers, and they are certainly not allowed to observe classes on a regular basis, which makes Japanese high schools very insular. The only time when schools are open to local communities are on sport and cultural festival days. As such, teachers are not used to having visitors in the form of researchers, locals, or parents. In addition, I was unable to conduct interviews with teacher supervisors at the PBOE because when I requested PBOE participation in my study via the e-mail address listed on their website, I received no reply. Thanks to my study partners, both teachers and administrators, I was able to interview them and observe classes.

Audio-recorded Observations of English Language Classes

I conducted non-participatory observations of English language classes taught by Ms. Maeda at Purple High three times between August 2012 and June 2015. First, I observed three academic extracurricular classes for seniors in August 2012 before the enactment of the new COS. Next, I observed three regular class sessions of Communication English I for freshmen in July 2013, two months after the enactment of the new COS. Finally, in June 2015, I observed

two regular class sessions of English Expression II for seniors, some of whom had been in the classes I had observed in July 2013. The goal of the observations was to record the ways in which Ms. Maeda's teaching practice changed or did not change in accordance with the policy's implementation. Each class observation was audio-taped, transcribed, and analyzed in terms of the teacher's use of English and Japanese, the topic of the lesson, and the teacher's instructional style in relation to the old COS (MEXT, 1999) and the new COS (MEXT, 2009). I listened to the audio-recordings after I observed Ms. Maeda's class sessions and asked follow-up questions during the interviews.

Interviews: Purple High (Microlevel)

One of the central features of a narrative is its ability to intelligibly reflect cultural perspectives shared by members of a society. A narrative inquiry "consider[s] self-narratives as a form of social accounting or public discourse" (Gergen, 2001, p. 249). Gergen further states: "self-narratives function much like oral histories or morality tales within a society" (p. 249). His notion of self-narration emphasizes how a narrator attempts to make meaning of their life and experiences in relation to the world in which they live through the medium of storytelling. These stories are intelligible only within the boundaries of the society's shared cultural values. In other words, personal narratives are closely intertwined with the context in which the narrator is situated and thus articulate the social meanings inherent in their experiences. In this sense, interviews can act as a helpful tool with which to collect teachers' experiences and perceptions in the form of narrative in order to better understand the social world in which they live through the analysis of their stories.

I interviewed my study partners in Japanese and then transcribed and coded my data

according to the themes that emerged through an interpretive analysis of the transcription (Seidman, 2006). The entry survey interview I used contained both closed- and open-ended questions in order to identify teachers' backgrounds, experiences, and perceptions of English education in a Japanese context and in light of the COS (MEXT, 2009). I asked experienced EFL teachers to reflect on their teaching experiences throughout their careers and to discuss the influence of the COS on their teaching practices. However, the number of times I interviewed individual study partners varied depending upon their availability and their wish for further interviews. I took field notes on the participant teachers' responsibilities and workloads when I visited their schools for class observations and interviews.

I interviewed Principal Tokuda at Purple High once in August 2013 for a 30-minute semi-structured interview. I asked him about the issues, challenges, and positive aspects of the new English education policy the school would face and his anticipation of the transition process inherent in the COS change. The interview started with questions about how the teachers as a whole were preparing for the new policy, how they were designing their new curriculum, and what kind of instruction and guidance was offered to them from the PBOE.

Two interviews with Ms. Kodama were conducted in August 2012 and in February 2013 before and after the enactment. The first 30-minute semi-structured interview asked about the issues, challenges, and positive aspects of the new English education policy the school's English department would face and about how she anticipated the process of change, including questions about the new curriculum and textbooks they were planning on using the next year. The second 30-minute interview followed up on the same information, asking her to focus on how the school's English department had been experiencing and perceiving the preparation process for the new curriculum as a whole, what ramifications they anticipated in their everyday teaching

practices, and what they had prepared for so far in order to adapt to the change.

I interviewed Ms. Maeda six times from July 2012 through June 2015 in order to follow up on how she had been making meaning of the new COS as well as how Purple High had been implementing the policy. I was able to interview her many times as she kindly shared stories about and experiences with both the new and old English education policies as well as her overall professional experiences with the COS. I conducted several informal interviews without any structure in a more relaxed environment over dinner and lunch. Ms. Maeda invited me to the school once when she was supervising her volleyball club on a weekend because she was too busy to provide spare time for an interview, so I sat next to her by the volleyball court and asked about how her teaching had been going.

Interviews: School District (Mesolevel)

I conducted a 3-hour interview including 30-minutes of semi-structured questions with Ms. Yoshida and Ms. Takeuchi together because time conflicts had made it impossible for me to schedule their interviews separately. As they were former colleagues, they agreed to participate in the interview together. Although it was not something I had planned, this interview worked well as a focus group. During the interview, Ms. Yoshida and Ms. Takeuchi asked questions of each other regarding how their individual schools had been preparing for the new curriculum and about what kinds of textbook they were going to use. I visited East High to interview Ms. Uchida for one and a half hours in July 2014. This interview started with a 30-minute semi-structured question session and concluded with follow-up questions regarding her overall understanding of the new COS's purpose as well as the process of COS implementation at her school.

After coding and analyzing the transcripts, I translated excerpts from Japanese to English to use as quotations. When my study partners spoke in the dialect of the region, the

conversation became very casual and sentential subjects and objects were often assumed by interlocutors and not directly mentioned. I tried to carry these subtle tones into my translation, but the research focus, Japan's English education policy, and the concepts and ideas commonly shared in a Japanese educational context are not necessarily readily translatable. As a result, I tried to translate the nuanced areas, but there were times I had to explain rather than translate directly. I used square brackets in excerpts and quotations to indicate my inserted descriptions.

Document Collection

The following items were collected from my study partners in order to triangulate the data set. At Purple High, I collected Ms. Maeda's class handouts on days of observation; the school's yearly event calendars; research annuals; new curriculum documents; new textbook lists; and any e-mail messages exchanged between my study partners and me along with in-service training materials created by a teacher supervisor from the Prefectural Education Center. From my study partners at the other schools, I also collected e-mail messages and in-service trainings documents relating to the new COS, which had been received from PBOE on teacher in-service training days. As such, the document data set, through the process of my analysis, has become a powerful source revealing the customary practices of the local schools and districts as represented in their collected documents. The documents help me better understand how the district level, or mesolevel, of language policy saturates my study partners' day-to-day lives and how they make meaning out of the policy in the multiple layered contexts in which they are situated.

3.7 Data Analysis

With the idea of "conventional content analysis" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1286), I started coding the transcripts for all the interviews and class observations through reading,

commenting, and assigning key words. Following the idea: “coding is a heuristic (from the Greek meaning ‘to discover’) –an explanatory problem-solving technique without specific formulas to follow” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 8), I did not assign any codes while I was collecting the data set. Later, I assigned codes during my data analysis, and I integrated significant phenomena and identified overarching themes (Starfield, 2010), further representing how my study partners make meaning of their teaching practice and the local context in which the new COS has been implemented. I grouped recurrent themes through a coding analysis. These themes offered a view of mesolevel teaching culture and the practices that influenced microlevel teaching practice at Purple High (see Chapter 6). I also cross-referenced collected documents and the interview transcripts in order to better articulate incidents and phenomenon my study partners discussed in the interviews. For the purposes of my analysis of classroom observation, I triangulated the interview transcripts, the class observation transcripts, field notes, and collected documents to holistically capture the ways in which the new COS was being implemented in classrooms at the microlevel. Finally, I synthesized my microlevel analysis (see Chapter 6) and articulation of the mesolevel Happy Hill District culture (see Chapter 2) into overarching findings (see Chapter 7).

3.7 Chapter Summary

Designing research never goes entirely as planned, so my data set speaks to the multifaceted and conflicting realities perceived by my study partners and myself. I revised and modified my original research design because of the difficulty I found in accessing local schools and recruiting experienced teachers as study partners. Originally I had planned to visit three schools to collect data sets to compare with each other to see if there was variation in the ways individual schools implement the new COS. However, I was neither able to recruit three schools and teachers nor did I receive a reply from the PBOE to my request to attend

school district in-service trainings and to interview teacher consultants in the PBOE. My research inquiry necessitated my study evolve hand in hand with my study partners, so I was able to come to terms with the reality that “culture and communities [should be] treated as heterogeneous, conflictual, negotiated, and evolving, as distinct from unified, cohesive, fixed, and static” (Canagarajah, 2006, P. 157).

My goal, of course, is to capture the rich implementation stages present in Japan’s national level English education policy. I hope my dissertation helps to make the multifaceted voices and practices of my study partners evident within the layered context of the language policy’s implementation, thus shedding light on the ways my study partners make meaning at a microlevel of language policy as related to the meso- and macrolevel spheres within which they operate.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1 Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I discuss how the conceptual framework I chose is useful in understanding what Japan's new English education means to teachers and their immediate teaching contexts—places I consider receptacles of a multifaceted LPP phenomenon that is, by necessity, influenced by history, norms, and values inherent within Japanese senior high school education. I start the discussion with an alternative analytical lens, focusing on agency and structure and the long-held issues inherent within each as they relate to social science. I then introduce the concept of intersubjectivity, which is included to help overcome the duality present in agency and structure, offering my understanding of intersubjectivity and an overview of its development. A set of subconcepts—nationalism and neoliberalism—are discussed as well. Finally, I conclude the chapter by summarizing my theoretical discussion on intersubjectivity.

4.2 Theoretical Framework for LPP Research

Recent developments in the theoretical frameworks for LPP research have significantly shifted away from monolithic and technocratic research models to dialectic inquiry that aims to better understand how language policy as text, discourse, and practice interact with each other at multiple levels, including globally, nationally, regionally, and locally (Pennycook, 2006; Ricento, 2006a). These developments address the long-standing issues of social structure and individual agency (Johnson & Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Ricento, 2000; Tollefson, 2013), creating a better understanding of how the two interplay in LPP activity. A common understanding is that language policy is inherently multilayered and multifaceted, and its subsequent analysis has become the axis of criticality in much LPP research. Many studies have called for theoretical orientations that address the macro- and microlevels of LPP analysis,

offering a holistic picture of what language policy and planning entails in a research context (Hornberger, 2015; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Lo Bianco, 2010; McGroarty, 2013; Tollefson, 2015). LPP research is, by nature, inter- and multidisciplinary (Ricento, 2006b), so choosing the appropriate theoretical framework is critical to capturing the complexity of a language policy phenomenon at multiple levels, including those of policy making, enactment, and implementation as well as the level upon which individuals make meaning. To do so, a wide variety of theoretical frameworks are used, depending of the purpose and scope of the LPP research.

Since distinctive historical, social, and cultural factors come into play at different LPP levels and add layered complexity to language-policy-related activities, one aspect of an LPP may be local in scope while another may be global. Researchers are indebted to this recent understanding within LPP theoretical orientation (Johnson & Ricento, 2013), and I view research on language planning and policy as entailing personal, national, and global aspects of activity whether a researcher focuses on macrolevel policy analysis or microlevel policy implementation. For instance, when one looks at language implementation from the perspective of an implementer, one begins to understand how an English teacher's implementation of a national English education policy is multilayered and multifaceted. The national level policy at the macrolevel is influenced by broad societal forces, which can be global, while the teacher, as a microlevel actor, implements the policy through microlevel interaction, that being her classroom teaching practice, which is situated in the context fused at the meso- and microlevel. In this sense, the policy implementation, which entails all elements, whether local, regional, national or global, is multifaceted. This perspective provides an opportunity in which we can think of how language policy is, in fact, central to our day-to-day language use. As Ricento (2006a) states,

When we begin to think of language issues as *personal* rather than abstract and removed from daily concerns, we quickly see how we all have a stake in language policies, since they have a direct bearing on our place in society and what we might (or might not) be able to achieve. (p.21, italics in original)

As such, once we acknowledge language policy is personal, for instance, in schooling, we see what is at stake: a language policy may limit or expand a teacher's way of teaching the language; it may encourage or discourage her students to learn the language itself.

4.3 Discussion on Structure and Agency

The conceptual dichotomy of agency and structure has long been an issue in academia, in particular, the social science fields. The methodological emphasis on agency originated from “postmodern and poststructuralist critiques within the academy that have called into question impersonal master narratives that leave no room for tensions, contradictions, or oppositional actions on the part of individuals and collectivities” (Ahearn, 2001, p. 110). In the field of LPP, an analytical lens shows agency has become central to the inquiries surrounding language education policy, focusing on the agentic roles of individuals in policy implementation in a variety of contexts (McCarty, 2011). The prominence of agency in research is indicative of researchers' great interest in the extent to which a human being can exercise power and influence social change. Although agency is a trendy concept, several issues have been pointed out in light of its under-theorization.

Ahearn's piece on agency (2001) is particularly informative as it pinpoints issues surrounding the ways major theorists address agency. Ahearn tentatively defines agency as referring “to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act” (p. 112). She problematizes the ways in which agency has been conceptualized, warning it tends to be treated as synonymous with free

will, which can create a lack of analysis on the “social nature of agency and the pervasive influence on culture on human intentions, beliefs, and actions” (p. 114). Theorizing agency as resistance is another pitfall as refusing oppression is just “one of many forms of agency,” (p. 115) and one can use multiple forms of agency simultaneously, including agency to “accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest” (MacLeod, 1992, p. 453, cited in Ahearn, 2001, p. 116). Ahearn discusses her concern over Foucault’s overemphasis on governing power, which she believes can lead to the insufficient exploration of agency for the sake of an analysis of power and overarching discourse. Neither Anthony Giddens’ structuration theory nor Pierre Bourdieu’s discussion on agency and habitus are sufficient, in Ahearn’s eyes, at negating the misconceptualization of agency. The former, Giddens, understands “people’s actions are shaped (in both constraining and enabling ways by the very social structures that those actions then serve to reinforce or reconfigure” (p. 117), but Giddens fails to explicate the ways in which social transformation arise through structuration. Bourdieu, meanwhile, ruminates upon the concept of habitus, defining it as the dispositions of a human being or a group of people—dispositions that theoretically enable, inhibit, and reconfigure in ways that have the potential to create social change. Habitus is, however, defined as static with the emphasis on “the reproductive tendencies of the habitus” and does not explore the “possibility of social transformation resulting from actions generated by the habitus” (p. 118). As such, Ahearn concludes “the micro- and macro-processes of agency” are inextricably intertwined, calling for a more careful treatment of the terms’ definitions and further exploration of the processes that makes social change possible (p. 131).

Through Ahearn’s (2001) summative review of literature, we can now see the critical discussion has shifted away from a view of structure-or-agency to a view of structure-and-

agency, focusing on how the two interweave in order to examine the extent to which constraints, on the one hand, and capacity, on the other, are essential for human beings to influence social structure and transformation. In response to the need for a concept that espouses the complexity of agency and structure as mutually constitutive, the notion of intersubjectivity has become regarded as useful in the analysis of the recurrent nature of the structure-and-agency infinite loop. Further discussion on intersubjectivity will be followed in the next section.

4.4 Intersubjectivity and Subjectivity

The conceptualization of intersubjectivity helps to solve the long-held duality present in structure and agency by assuming the issues inherent within the two approaches are meant to remain unresolved (Martin & Dennis, 2010; Zuru, 2008). By following the previous structure-or-agency approach, a balance was not struck. The agency approach's emphasis on individual agency gave an optimistic view of what can be done in a world in which unconstrained decision making and action is allowed, failing to capture an individual's internal conflict and his or her struggles with the world itself. A focus on structure, meanwhile, tended to establish the world as overtly deterministic such that an agent would be considered to have little to no power with which to change the world in which she is situated. In real life contexts, a middle ground is hit; an individual's action can, to some extent, cause social change, so in order to tackle this inherent duality, scholars proposed the notion of intersubjectivity, which encompasses structure-and-agency rather than framing the social world as an "either/or" (Anderson, 2008; Lipari, 2010; Martin & Dennis, 2010; Prus, 1996; Zuru, 2008).

4.4.1 Theoretical Development of Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity, which has become widely used in social sciences, originates from phenomenology (Martin & Dennis, 2010), which, according to Lipari (2010), includes the work

of “Edmund Husserl, who explored how the intersubjective world of shared social objects, constructs, and meanings must, by necessity, transcend the clearly bounded, separate, and dualistic constructs of subjects and objects”⁴⁰ (p. 401). Maurice Merleau-Ponty further “extended Husserl’s work into the intersubjective dimensions of perception and language” (p. 401). Following Husserl, phenomenologists, including Merleau-Ponty, Martin Buber, and Emmanuel Levinas, expanded the concept to include the benefits of academic inquiry in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, and sociology. George Herbert Mead and Alfred Schutz, for example, “explored how social interaction and procedures of interpretation were social resources that produced the self’s understanding of the world” (p. 401). Herbert Garfinkel, meanwhile, built upon these insights, developing “what he called ethnomethodology, a method of studying how people make sense of the world” (p. 402), thus influencing the interdisciplinary inquiry surrounding conversation analysis. Emanuel Schegloff further “defends the intersubjective nature of conversation on the grounds of what he calls the procedural infrastructure of interaction, wherein misunderstandings can be identified and repaired only through rule-governed intersubjective processes” (p. 402). Zuru (2008), meanwhile, shares an understanding of the conceptual development of intersubjectivity, highlighting the contributions Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) made to understanding “how the lifeworld of persons—the mostly taken-for-granted knowledge, know-how, competences, norms, and behavioral patterns that are shared throughout a society—delimits and makes possible individual action and interaction” (p. 116).

Similarly, the theoretical application of the concept of intersubjectivity made by other scholars is also notable. George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) in psychology, “put forward a social theory explaining how social norms, sheared meaning, and systems of morality arise from and

⁴⁰ According to Zuru (2008), Johann Fichte (1762-1814) and G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) emphasized intersubjectivity in their work as well.

concretize the general structures of reciprocal perspective-taking required for symbolic interaction” on the ground that “ontogenesis is essentially and irreducibly intersubjective” (p. 116). Goffman (1922-1982), then, called for a “microanalysis of face-to-face interaction,” namely the analysis of “agents’ interpretations and strategies in actively developing their own action performances in everyday, interpersonal contexts” (p. 116) in order to understand “the strongly normative character of a society’s particular everyday interaction patterns and norms” (p. 116). Zuru, following his understanding of Habermas’ perception, concluded: “intersubjective communication is fundamental in, and irreplaceable for human social life” (p. 117). Prus (1996) similarly understands “human life is community life; that *human life is thoroughly intersubjective in its essence*” (p. 10, italics in original). As such, the epistemological orientation of intersubjectivity holds that “the human social life is conducted in and through patterns of collaborative interaction” with a focus on “the ways in which intersubjectivity is achieved and maintained” (Martin & Dennis, p. 7).

4.4.2 Defining Intersubjectivity

Scholars in applied linguistics take on the concept of intersubjectivity by similarly attempting to bring about a better understandings of the relationship between language and identity in the context of second and foreign language learning and teaching (Kramsch, 2012; Norton, 1995; Pennycook 2001). Within this view, “intersubjectivity goes beyond what is achieved in daily encounters between speakers” (Kramsch, 2012, p. 2), adding “a symbolic and an historical dimension to [the] interactionist approach” in the poststructuralist framework, which sees intersubjectivity as “found in the shared memories, connotations, projections, [and] inferences elicited by the various sign systems we use in concert with others” (p. 2).

I found the definition of intersubjectivity offered by Lipari (2010) accessible and

encompassing: “intersubjectivity is a concept used to describe the space of shared understanding, or *common ground*, between persons wherein people, as individual subjects, collaboratively create and share meaning” (p. 401, italics in original). I understand by “common ground not literally “physical space” but the ways in which individuals collaborate to achieve shared understanding. This quality of intersubjectivity helps to reveal “the ways that identities are constructed through the communicative social interaction between individual subjects and collectivities” in identity research. The concept makes it possible to articulate the process of identity construction and negotiation “between social subjects abiding within communities of discourse” (p. 401).

Anderson (2008), however, focuses on how the process of intersubjectivity, or shared meaning, can be dynamic and fluid in nature. She states “intersubjectivity refers to shared understanding. ... intersubjectivity recognizes that meaning is based on one’s position of reference and is socially mediated through interaction” (p. 467). This view suggests “knowing or understanding is not an individual endeavor but rather is socially situated; knowing cannot exist in a vacuum or a cognitive abstract system” (p. 468). In other words, in order to realize one knows something, one’s knowledge must be verified as “correct” or “true.” Such verification is, however, impossible without a frame of reference; emerging knowledge requires a community to act as a referential scheme upon which one can depend to validate information in light of the community’s shared understanding. Anderson, conversely warns “we cannot share understanding completely with others” (p. 468), so despite the fact that our meaning making and knowledge entails common ground, there is “with all communication, a possible range of intersubjectivity, both intended and realized” (p.468). Due to the nature of intersubjectivity, the achievements of which are dependent upon collaboration with other subjects, qualitative research as an analytical

lens “requires an appreciation for gaps in understanding, ways in which to minimize these gaps, and understanding of what existent gaps signify” (p. 468).

Moreover, Anderson (2008) notes two insights the concept of intersubjectivity offers for analysis and researcher positionality: 1) “At an analytic level, intersubjectivity is a construct that allows one to conceive of how others can be understood when analyzing interactions, text, or artifacts”; and 2) “at a disciplinary level, intersubjectivity within modes of research perspectives allows researchers and audiences to understand the underlying assumptions, ideologies, and beliefs grounding their research projects” (p. 468). Importantly, this conceptualization of intersubjectivity makes it evident that the act of research itself is intersubjective, thus requiring a researcher’s reflexivity on his or her own epistemology.

Finally, my understanding of intersubjectivity is indebted to Crossly’s (2005), which departed from Husserl’s version of intersubjectivity (see Crossly, 2005). The concept of intersubjectivity presupposes that our sense of self emerges from social interactions with others, not the other way around. In order for one to be able to establish a sense of self, she or he has to experience interrelationship with others first. As he states, “we are enmeshed in interaction from the moment we are born, long before we have any conscious sense of self and other but we can become aware of self and other by means of interaction” (p. 173). This interaction is inherently intersubjective: it is the interaction with the outer world that enables us to make sense of self. Thus, importantly, subjectivity and intersubjectivity feed into each other. “Subjectivity develops in and through intersubjectivity. Although, of course, as subjectivity develops intersubjectivity is developed too” (p. 175). Through intersubjectivity, one starts developing a sense of self, or subjectivity, and enculturates oneself into the intersubjective web of the social world, which one sees and experiences through an intersubjective lens. Crossly, however, makes it clear that

intersubjectivity is not “a basic and given state of our being”, but rather “it entails constant and ongoing action” with “shared meaning” or “agreement” being at play (p. 176). With this understanding in mind, I examine my study partners’ intersubjectivity—meaning making—and meaning shared through their reciprocal action in a given context.

4.4.3 Subjectivity

While the concept of intersubjectivity focuses on common ground, or the process of how individuals collaboratively work together to achieve shared understanding in the social world, the concept of subjectivity sheds light on an individual’s senses of self, namely sensing her or his experiences within themselves. In applied linguistics, studies on L2 learner identity explore the ways in which learners present themselves in writing or speech through negotiation of their subject positions in relation to the respective context. Pennycook (2001) defines subjectivity as referring “to the ways in which our identity is formed through discourse. Our identity or identities, therefore, are not given whole but are rather conflictual and multiple” (p. 148). Here, subjectivity is understood, not as static and fixed, but as a transformative process in which one’s construction of identity and negotiation are set in a social world. Kramersch (2012) alternatively describes subjectivity as:

a process in which the speaking subject as subject of enunciation strives to see itself and others in their full range of historical possibilities—hearing and seeing not only what they say and do, but what they could have said and done in the past, and what they could say and do in the future given the appropriate circumstances. (p. 2, emphasis in the original).

Kramersch’s definition attempts to encompass a subject’s meaning making in the past, present, and future within the configuration of chronotope or time and space. I use the term ‘subjectivity’ in Kramersch’s sense: subjectivity is how one makes sense of one’s self and one’s experiences in

relation to her or his social world in the past, present, and future.

4.5 Sub-concepts

I have found the concepts of neoliberalism and nationalism useful in the analysis of my study partners'⁴¹ narratives as well, focusing on the ways in which they make sense of Japan's new senior high school English education policy. As revealed by critical discourse analysis (CDA) on English education policies, such as The Course of Study (COS) (Hashimoto, 2013) and The Action Plan (Hashimoto, 2009, Kawai 2007; 2009), equipping citizens with English skills has become one of the most pressing items on Japan's national education agenda in an age of increasing globalization. I am interested in exploring how my study partners understand the ideologies (as it turns out, of neoliberalism and nationalism) embedded within the policy, the COS, and to what extent such ideologies affect the narrative accounts of their teaching practices in relation to the policy's implementation.

4.5.1 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a new market principle that moves globalization forward in various fields, including economy, technology, and communication. According to Harvey (2005), "neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (p. 2). These political-economic practices exempt nation-states from holding themselves accountable for their citizens' financial security. Within the framework of neoliberalism, individuals bear the responsibility for their own well-being; their governments, meanwhile, abandoning social welfare, which within an older framework had been something governments were responsible to provide. For example, in Japan, many public services and

⁴¹ I explain the reason that I call my study participants "study partners" in Chapter 2: Methodology.

infrastructures, including the railway system (1987), postal services (2001-2003), telecommunication systems (1985), and national universities (2004), have become privatized or corporatized instead of remaining in the hands of the government. On a surface level, this principle works well, letting individual institutions and corporations pursue their own profits without facing a milieu of authoritative interventions and regulations. The principle comes across as maximizing individual's profit-making abilities while minimizing authority interventions that could hinder such activities. In the past several decades, linking the free market to globalization has become so pervasive "neoliberalism has, in short, become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (p. 3).

A wave of globalization has emerged as a result and become a driving force in the world, most notably in the market for the past several decades. Studies in applied linguistics have been investigating how market practice and neoliberalism as economic, political, and global discourse influence education, particularly English language teaching (ELT) (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012). Scholars critique neoliberal ideologies as liable to turn education into a business model for profit (Holborow, 2006, 2013; Piller & Cho, 2013) with Holborow (2013) characterizing neoliberalism as an ideology "which seeks to naturalise, in various ways and through powerful channels, 'free' market principles of the political economy of contemporary capitalism" (p. 230). She further points how neoliberalism has, not only at the governmental or corporate levels but also at the individual level, become an influential discourse in education. Her analysis of the neoliberal ideology evident in Ireland's higher education warns that education is in danger of serving as "the trailblazer for this neoliberal thinking" (p. 234) because once the ideology of neoliberalism as a market principle has saturated society, "education and knowledge, with its

huge *innovation* potential, was to be reconverted into a principal driver of economic growth and wealth creation” (p. 234, italics in original). In Holborow’s understanding, education can be all too easily swallowed by the discourse of neoliberalism, altering educational goals by changing them from “educating” individuals to making a profit in human resources. English language learning, in particular, is considered a valuable skill in light of its exchangeability for profit (Duchêne & Heller, 2013; Heller, 2011). Thus English education has become one of the most pressing national agendas in many non-English speaking countries. (Kato, 2009; Park, 2009; Phan, 2013; Pillar & Cho, 2013).

4.5.2 Nationalism

Nationalism, on the other hand, is defined as something contradictory to the neoliberal principle of a globally borderless, free-market world. Nationalism in ideology as well as in practice focuses on a national identification with race, ethnicity, region, language, culture, and history. Smith (1998) explains a social scientists’ understanding of nationalism as “a modern movement and ideology [which] emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Western Europe and America” (p.1). Nevertheless, nationalism as an ideology and a modern movement has garnered a wide variety of perspectives, not only of its own definition but also of what a nation actually is (Smith, 1998). Anderson’s (2006)⁴² canonical *Imagined Communities* is helpful in understanding the term ‘nation’ and its implications. In *Imagined Communities*, he theorizes “a nation” as “an imagined political community – and imagined as inherently limited and sovereign” (p. 6). As such, the conceptual representation of a nation is not bounded by physical limitations, such as national borders. An “imagined community,” therefore, is a powerful instrument, and in it Anderson illustrates how nations come into being in peoples’ minds, allowing for individuals to make meaning of their day-to-day lives. An imagined community, as

⁴² I referred to an edition published in 2006.

a nation state, is shared by a group of people, assumed to be like-minded, who when they act upon their imagined nation-state, the act of imagination brings the nation-state into being, creating a sense of nationalism.

Anderson (2006), in particular, discusses how language plays a critical role in connecting strangers who then go on to invent an imagined community they consider “a nation.” Famous books written in one’s own language and national anthems help to enable people to imaginatively connect with strangers who are similarly attached to the same media. This is because “from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and . . . one could be ‘invited into’ the imagined community” (p. 145), creating a community as “imagined through language” (p. 146).

In Japan’s case, national language ideology encourages such imagination. Gottlieb (2012) argues that the language ideology of Japan as a monolingual nation is widely subscribed to and has become natural and self-evident, a state of being recognized in the way the country ignores other minority languages. She defines language ideology as:

the defining beliefs about language cherished by a society, or by a particular dominant section of a society, as an encapsulation of all that makes the language in question special and legitimates its use as the dominant language of that society. (p. 3)

Nationalism is defined as an ideology (Smith, 1998) such that “defining beliefs about language” are considered linguistic nationalism and “[function] as a powerful mediator of discourse practices” (p. 4). Gottlieb explains the way in which linguistic nationalism in Japan is institutionalized in a school context:

Language ideology functions as a powerful mediator of discourse practices. In Japan today, conventions of what language use is appropriate in what situation may seem to be based

upon a general consensus as to what makes ‘good’ Japanese. Nevertheless, the rules of ‘good’ Japanese are taught through the classrooms of the nation by teachers working to syllabi based on language policy documents: the script policies and the curriculum guidelines for the teaching of the national language. (p. 4)

Gottlieb argues that linguistic nationalism targets “social cohesion” first, hoping to later transform it into “a variety of political purposes such as nation-building, the bolstering of national confidence in times of stress or war, recovery from war or recession, the harnessing of the education system to meet national goals” (p. 7). Importantly, she indicates linguistic nationalism can be boosted as a means of “restating national identity in the face of the effects of globalization” (p. 7). Although Smith (1998) states “nationalism ... is now beginning to decline and give way to global forces which transcend the boundaries of nation-states” (p. 1), globalization, in fact, can urge people to imagine “a national community,” and it is with this understanding of neoliberalism and nationalism, I examine the ways in which political economic principles transpire in my study partners’ narratives.

4.6 Chapter Summary

Through an analytical lens, subjectivity and intersubjectivity help to capture the complexity of Japan’s senior high school English education policy’s implementation in a prefectural school district. The key contextual parameters of my study are the teachers, schools, districts, Japan, and so forth. All are inextricably intertwined in the nexus of the new English education policy. Subjectivity is useful to elucidate how individual teachers make meaning of the new policy in relation to their local context as well as the broader societal factors that discursively affect their subject positions. The concept of intersubjectivity, on the other hand, illuminates how an individual teacher’s meaning making interplays with that of others, shedding

light on how such interactions change or maintain local practice. Nationalism and neoliberalism are similarly important to my analysis; both concepts illuminate how my study partners live with competing subjectivities and make meaning of their work in the nexus of neoliberalism, nationalism, and English education.

Chapter 5: Happy Hill District

5.1 Happy Hill District: Mesolevel Context

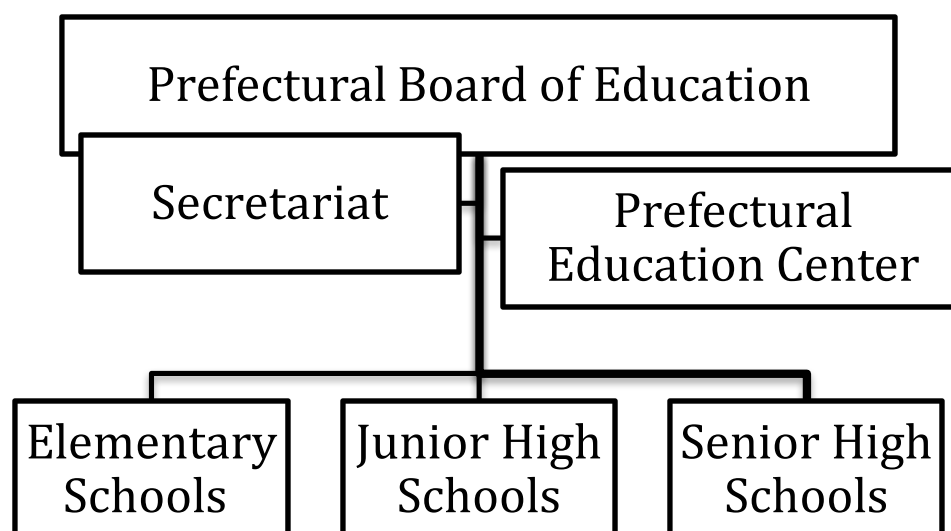
In this chapter, I highlight common school practices shared by senior high schools in the Happy Hill District (HHD) to contextualize what the mesolevel HHD practices entail. At the surface level, noticeable practices may be parallel to those commonly observable in educational contexts in many countries until the meanings of such practices are unpacked. Some practices of the HHD come across as stark contrast to those of the U. S, Canada or European countries; others may be very much alike. Even within Japan, these mesolevel shared practices are, in fact, different from district to district, but the domestic differences are most likely to be smaller than those international differences. Although a small difference in educational practices may be insignificant in isolation, once they amass, such practices become complex and entangled shared practices that are distinct from those of practices in other contexts at the mesolevel. These shared practices make the HHD what it is. I will start the section by clarifying the meanings of educational terminologies used in the Japanese educational context.

5.1.1 Board of Education and School District

Board of Education is an administrative execution organization with two distinct units. It refers to the advisory board with four to five members with the Superintendent as the head. It also refers to the Secretariat of the Board of Education, staffed with administrative officers and teacher consultants and comprises divisions such as Compulsory Education, Private Education, Senior High School Education, or Life-long Learning, etc. (MEXT). When public school teachers in the HHD use the term, Board of Education, they refer to the Secretariat, not to the advisory board. Following the district's convention, by the Prefectural Board of Education (PBOE), I mean the Secretariat. The office is located in the building of the Prefectural

Government in the metropolitan area of the prefecture.

Figure 4: Board of Education in the Happy Hill District



In the Senior high school division—Upper Secondary Education Division—under the Secretariat, teacher consultants with different subject expertise work with prefectural administrative officers to manage school-related duties and supervise local schools. The PBOE has a bureaucratic nature. In order to become a teacher consultant, a teacher has to be endorsed by his or her principal and the secondary education division in the PBOE, and then she or he can take a qualifying exam. After passing the exam, she or he has to be selected to become a consultant. Principals and vice principals are usually selected among people with experience as a teacher consultant. Also, in the district, the director position of the senior high school division has been held by a bureaucrat on loan from MEXT for over twenty years (Aoki, 2003). Every two to three years, a successor from MEXT takes over the position from a predecessor who goes back to MEXT.

The other unit under the PBOE is the Prefectural Education Center (PEC), located on the outskirts of the metropolitan area of the district, which conducts education research and provides in-service trainings. Similar to the Secretariat, teacher consultants work there to develop the curriculum of the in-service trainings while select long-term teacher trainees conduct research to

improve pedagogy. The teacher consultants eventually go back to their home school; the rotation span is two-to-three years. Likewise, the long-term teacher trainees go back to their home school after one year of research at the PEC.

In the HHD, “school district” also refers to two units. First, it refers to a school district that determines the areas within which students go to school. For instance, if a student resides in District A, she or he can go to schools only in District A. In this sense, there are many school districts in the HHD, but ultimately all those districts are supervised by the PBOE, the Secretariat. There is not a smaller administrative unit than the PBOE which supervises only District A. In my study, I refer to the whole prefecture by the term HHD. All the public senior high schools in the prefecture are supervised by the PBOE, and thus the whole prefecture is a single established district.

5.1.2 Personnel Reshuffle

While public high school teachers in the district can possibly express their preference on where they wish to teach to the PBOE through their principal, they can be transferred to another school on an irregular basis after they have taught at a school for a minimum of three years.⁴³ After three years, there is a chance any teacher can be transferred. The PBOE decides on the personnel reshuffle, but the PBOE of HHD does not have a rigorous standard for a specific time span for teachers to transfer from one school to another. Some teachers teach at the same school for over 10 years while others teach at a school only for three years. Some may get transferred from a vocational school to a highly academic school, where over 90 percent of students may go on to higher education or visa versa. Also, there is a chance for any teacher in the HHD to transfer to another school too far away from home to commute. In that case, teachers have to

⁴³ Newly officially appointed teachers cannot express their preference. They get contacted by the principal of the school they are assigned to at the end of March, which is the end of the academic year.

relocate to a place closer to a new school. The number of teachers who transfer varies from year to year, from school to school. The personnel reshuffle announcement is made during the third week of March and those who get transferred pack their belongings and leave school within less than two weeks. Previously, an unofficial announcement was made before a PBOE final decision. Teachers who had some reason why she or he could not transfer, could explain to their Principal why they could not do so, and sometimes they ended up not having to transfer. Nowadays, however, the unofficial announcement prior to the final one has been abandoned. Teachers have to transfer to any school in any area in the district once the official announcement is made. Teachers holding administrative positions such as principals, vice principals, and teacher consultants are also the subject of the personnel reshuffle, whose reshuffle span is one to four years shorter than that for teachers.

This practice of personnel reshuffle functions as a knowledge distribution channel by relocating teachers to different schools. Teachers share their prior knowledge and practices with each other and potentially construct new knowledge and practices. However, there is a potential that this sharing can strengthen the intersubjective nature of the district rather than encouraging the teachers to change their practice. Confirming that teaching practices of other schools are not significantly different, teachers feel assured their practice conforms to the “shared practices” of the district, and thus do not see any necessity for change. On the the hand, “changes” in teaching practice or school management can happen when teachers attempt to adapt to new knowledge and practices learned from newly transferred teachers. Nevertheless, the changes may not be something new; it may end up reprinting the old knowledge from other schools onto a new school. The old knowledge circulates through the channel and it comes to look like something new in a new school. The personnel reshuffle can be one of the primary mechanisms that

contributes to the strong intersubjectivity of the HHD.

5.1.3 In-service Training

According to the official documents⁴⁴ available on the Prefectural Education Center website (PEC), in the HHD, officially appointed teachers must take four basic in-service trainings called *Kihon Kenshû* for both their subject matter and general education matter throughout their career: 1st year teaching in-service training, *Shonin-ken*; 3rd year teaching in-service training, *Nin-nen Keika Ken*; 6th year teaching in-service training, *Gon-nen Keika Ken*; 11th year teaching in-service training, *Jyu-nen Keika Ken*. After the 11th year of in-service training, no mandatory training is offered to teachers. The basic in-service trainings employ the cohort system; teachers attend the trainings with colleagues who were appointed in the same years. The trainings provided by PEC are bureaucratically stern. A typical day of in-service training starts at 9:40 a.m. and ends at 4:00 p.m. with short breaks and a forty-five-minute lunch break. Teacher participants stay at the PEC and attend lectures and workshops for approximately a little less than six hours on a training day. If a teacher is late for the training, she or he has to write an official written apology to the PBOE and it is reported to her or his principal. The table below shows types of in-service trainings and the number of hours spent on subject-pedagogical and general trainings. General trainings include lectures on teacher ethics, classroom management, special activities, student guidance, or futures of education in the wave of internationalization, etc. Different topics and themes are chosen depending on the category of the trainings.

⁴⁴ Retrieved from
http://www.educ.pref.fukuoka.jp/one_html3/pub/default.aspx?c_id=67&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

Figure 5 In-Service Teacher Training at PEC in Happy Hill District⁴⁵

Training Category	Teaching Experience	Number of Days	Subject	General
<i>Shonin-ken</i>	1 st year teaching	14	19 hours	65 hours
<i>Ni-nen Keika Ken</i>	2 years	2	4.8 hours	7.2 hours
<i>Go-nen Keika Ken</i>	5 years	4	10.3 hours	13.7 hours
<i>Jyu-nen Keika Ken</i>	10 years	7 + 1 ⁴⁶	11 hours	37 hours

As you can see, teachers in any category received less training for subject matter than for general matter. This trend is significant for the 1st-year teacher training. Only 23% of the available time is spent on the subject-specific pedagogical training. Also, all the newly appointed teachers have a three-day-long lodging training during summer break. The trainers are teacher consultants from the Prefectural Board of Education and the Prefectural Education Center. The 1st-year trainees follow a detailed schedule with a variety of activities and workshops. They even go hiking for six hours, and the session is called group training, following a one-hour-long reflection on the hands-on activity. For English teachers, subject-related trainings are provided by both teacher consultants at the PEC and an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) from the JET Programme in the Senior High School Division of the PBOE. The teacher consultants are experienced English teachers and selected by the PBOE. It varies whether individual ALT has expertise in English language teaching.⁴⁷ The ALT tend to be younger and less experienced in teaching compared to those English teachers with over ten years of teaching experiences who attend at the 11th year in-service training.

On the day of in-service training, trainee teachers check in at the entrance first and go to the rooms they are instructed to go to. Each public senior high school is assigned a school

⁴⁵ I calculated the number of hours based on the training schedules in the documents downloadable from the PEC website (Fukuoka Prefectural Education Center).

⁴⁶ This one-day-long workshop is for stress-management offered through the Prefectural Office of Education, General Affairs Division.

⁴⁷ The JET Programme requires applicants to have neither a teaching license for any subject nor teaching experience.

number by the PBOE, and the seating in the PEC main hall is arranged using the school numbers. On the wall of the stage in front, there are the national flag and the prefectural flag, side by side. The HHD in-service training for any category starts with a greeting of stand-up, bow, and sit-down and ends with the same greeting ritual. At the local school level, the same greeting ritual is observed. Almost all the students and teachers at public senior high schools in the HHD start and end with this greeting ritual. This is one of the shared practices that have been long existent in the district.

After teachers have taken all the foundational trainings, there are two types of professional development opportunities available to teachers with over 11 years of experience outside the Prefectural Education Center (PEC): workshops or seminars offered by publishers and education-related companies or lectures and workshops offered at universities through the MEXT teaching license renewal system, which started in 2009. Many universities offer courses designed for the renewal across the nation. As long as teachers take required courses, they can choose courses they like, whether it is subject-related or not; teachers need to accumulate 30 hours required for renewal by MEXT. Generally, the course fees are 30,000 yen or a little over 300 dollars with an additional 3,300 yen for the prefectural revenue stamps. The license renewal courses are not subsidized, in principle, by the government⁴⁸, so teachers pay the fee out of pocket, and most of the courses are offered during the district's summer and winter break. Fulfilling the 30 hours training attendance takes five days.

Remarkably, when teachers attend these in-service trainings, the work load increases. For example, public schools in the HHD do not have a substitute teacher system.⁴⁹ If an English teacher attends an in-service training and misses a day of work, other teachers who teach the

⁴⁸ The government subsidized institutions that provide care for special needs and other special cares.

⁴⁹ The majority of schools in Japan do not have the substitute teacher system.

same homeroom classes substitute for her or him for the day. If the English teacher has to miss three class sessions, then another three teachers go to teach those classes; the three teachers end up teaching one more class in addition to his or her regular teaching schedule. Then, those classes hours are given back to the English teacher when she or he comes to school the next day after the training. Accordingly, the English teacher's teaching schedules are packed with these classes she missed. Commonly, a teacher teaches three to four classes a day out of six class periods under the official COS curriculum⁵⁰, so the English teacher may end up teaching four to five classes over a duration of three days to make up for classes she missed. Thus, she does double amount of work in the end: attending a full-day of in-service training and teaching classes she missed. Further, if she supervises a sport team and her students practice on the day of her in-service training, she comes back to school to look after them after the training. This is one of the reasons that teachers in the district are rarely able to go outside school for professional development and teacher training. This is a problem: Teachers in the HHD cannot participate in trainings and professional development opportunities with multiple responsibilities and duties loaded on their shoulders. Previous research studies on communicative language teaching (CLT) in the Japanese educational context call for more in-service trainings for teachers to be able to adapt to communicative language teaching (Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004; Tahira, 2012), but, conversely, what should be called for first is more "time" for teachers to be able to receive in-service or professional trainings.

5.1.4 The Course of Study Curriculum Workshop

Another in-service training all the teachers have to attend is The Course of Study Curriculum Workshop: *Kyōiku Katei Kenshu Kai*. This workshop aims to make sure that teachers

⁵⁰ In the Happy Hill District, academic extracurricular classes are offered every morning and afternoon, so English teachers teach a minimum of five more class hours per week.

working at the high school level familiarize themselves with the new COS. This is a part of MEXT's implementation effort of the new COS reaching out to local high school teachers through the PBOEs across the nation.

In the middle of August in 2010, teachers across the HHD got together at designated schools for a Curriculum Workshop hosted by the PBOE. A large number of teachers spent two hours in the morning sitting in an air-conditioned hall beginning with an opening remark made by the high school division leader from the BOE. The next speaker was a lead teacher consultant, who talked for one hour highlighting the major changes in the new COS and the rationale behind the policy. Another hour was spent on a third PBOE speaker, who explained the revision in detail. Teachers received two sets of handouts: one explained the overarching themes inherent in the revision and the other detailed subject-specific revisions. The revision of the Basic Education Act was also emphasized, and some important portions were quoted on PowerPoint slides, which were, unfortunately, too small to be legibly read by the audience. In the afternoon, the teachers were divided into groups according to their teaching subjects and sent to different classrooms. The subject-related session lasted one hour and forty-five minutes. Nearly 140 English teachers were divided into two groups in two classrooms while an English teacher chosen by the PBOE read a script aloud to explain the new English curriculum and instructional precautions needed to implement the new English education policy under the new COS. What struck the high school English teachers the most, though, was the fact that MEXT had, for first time in the history of the COS, made it clear English was going to be a medium of instruction in high school English classrooms. This drastic change, of course, caused a nation-wide debate and great uncertainty among teachers (Nakai, 2010). It was made clear, however, that English teachers would still be able to accommodate local students' needs, meaning Japanese could still be used in class if

necessary (in-service training handout distributed at the COS workshop on August 24th, 2011). This sent teachers a mixed message: one, that English would be used as a medium of instruction; and two, that teachers could still use Japanese if Japanese helped students to better understand the content of the materials (author notes in August, 2010). The message itself resonated with statements found in the new COS Guide (MEXT, 2009)⁵¹—statements which emphasized how the new English COS would not promote English-only instruction simply for the sake of using English as a medium of instruction but rather to provide more opportunities in which students would be exposed to English in an English-using environment, making Japanese welcome as a means of accommodation.

The teachers who attended the in-service training were not given a chance to talk outside of a 10-minute Q & A period at the end of the session. Some teachers took notes while others did not, seeming bored or indifferent despite the fact that all teachers in attendance had to write a short business report in order to receive reimbursement for transportation and get validation for the work they had engaged in outside of school (Author notes, August 2010). Notably, this was, in principle at least, the only in-service training opportunity provided for high school English teachers regarding subject matter in the implementation process of the 2013 version of the COS in the HHD.

5.1.5 The Teacher Employment Examination

Prospective teachers in a public senior high school context must take the district's teacher appointment examination, *Kyōin Saiyō Shiken*, which has two stages. The first involves a group discussion and exams on subject knowledge and listening ability as well as general liberal arts knowledge, including education principles, educational psychology, Japan's education laws, etc .

⁵¹ The COS Guide is a supplemental guidebook that is meant to help teachers better understand the content of the COS.

The second involves a teaching demonstration, an interview in Japanese and an interview in English, an essay that must be written about teaching and educational philosophy, and several aptitude tests, which are required. Prospective English teachers with an EIKEN: *Jitsuyo Eigo Gino Kentei* (Test in Practical English Proficiency) Grade 1, a score of 100 on the TOEFL iBT, a score of 600 on the TOEFL PBT, or a score of 900 on the TOEIC are exempt from the exam on subject knowledge during the first round (Fukuoka Prefectural Board of Education). The table below shows the passing magnification from 2010 to 2014. This rate was quite low for several decades, but after 2011, the rate went down because more teachers were needed due to the retirement of baby boomers who had been born between 1947 and 1949 (*Kyôin Saiyô Shiken: Kyosai* info). For example, there were 185 exam takers and only 9 of them passed in 2010. Only one out of 20 people was able to become an officially appointed public senior high school teacher. In 2014, 25 exam takers became officially appointed as English teachers.

Figure 6 The Teacher Employment Examination Passing Magnification⁵²

Year	Prospective Number	Taker	First Round	Final	Passing Magnification
2010	9	185	18	9	20.6
2011	9	179	14	9	19.9
2012	22	166	34	22	7.5
2013	25	179	39	24	7.5
2014	25	157	39	25	6.3

(Happy Hill District)

5.1.6 Geography and Demography

The Happy Hill District is located in southwestern Japan. The population is a little over five million, and the number of non-Japanese nationals was approximately 45,000 as of September 2015 (Fukuoka, 2015). Because the district is much closer to major cities in Asia, such as Seoul in Korea and Shanghai in China, than it is to Tokyo, it is domestically known as

⁵² Retrieved from <http://kyousai.info/bairitu/51.html> (*Kyôin Saiyô Shiken: Kyosai* info)

“The Gate to Asia.” The recent increase in the number of international tourists is noteworthy. Over 400 cruise ships are expected to enter port in 2016, and though ship capacity varies, the majority of vessels to dock have a capacity of over 3,000 (Port of Hakata, February 1, 2016). The prefecture itself is ranked 7th among 47 prefectures in the number of over-night international guests—approximately 1,940,430 from January to October 2015 (*Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, January 12, 2016). The central part of the prefecture contains announcements and signs in four languages: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and English. Bilingual employees attend to non-Japanese speaking tourists at shops, restaurants, and department stores in the downtown. In the past couple of years, a few quiet, tax-free shops have begun launching their own businesses. The Happy Hill District is, therefore, in an international urban area with international tourists coming and going all year round. Below is a map containing the Happy Hill District, which is indicated in red.

Figure 7 Happy Hill District⁵³



5.1.7 Senior High School in the Happy Hill District

When compared to its cosmopolitan nature, the number of students of foreign nationals enrolled in the Happy Hill District’s public and private high schools is somewhat small. As of

⁵³ Retrieved from <http://www.7key.jp/data/prefectures/fukuoka.html>

May 2013, the metropolitan area of the HHD contained a total population of 1.3 million, 165 full-time senior high schools (public 106 / private 59), and 129,168 enrolled students. Only 98 out of 142 foreign national students studied at public senior high schools in the district as of May 2012 (Fukuoka, 2013, p. 22). Given the 165 senior high schools in the district, this makes an average of 0.6 international students at each school. The majority of senior high schools, therefore, set their educational objectives and instructional goals for domestic Japanese students.

Picture 1 depicts a senior high school classroom in the Happy Hill District.⁵⁴ Teachers move from classroom to classroom to teach while students stay in the same classroom, which is called a homeroom. All students in the homeroom take every class together unless they choose different electives or PE classes (boys and girls). For instance, when selecting a division of science, students may choose chemistry, biology, or physics, and in the arts, students have the option of choosing calligraphy, music, or fine arts.

Figure 8: Japanese Senior High School Classroom



Moral education is also embedded in the school curriculum from elementary to senior high school. At the senior high school level, students clean their own classrooms, bathrooms,

⁵⁴ The picture is publicly available on one of the HHD's senior high school's websites.

hallways, and gyms for around 15 minutes a day under the supervision of teachers. A class session starts with a greeting ritual led by a student class leader—stand up, bow, and sit down—and ends with the same greeting. In the hallway, students are taught to greet teachers even when they do not know the teachers in person, and they are expected to use honorifics to address seniors and teachers and greet visitors who come to the school.

Many students also belong to club activities, which are considered a central part of senior high school education despite their extracurricular nature. Most clubs are divided into two categories: culture-based clubs, *Bunka-bu*, and sport-based clubs, *Undô-bu*. Culture-based clubs include School Band; Newspaper Club; ESS: English Speaking Society; Tea Ceremony Club; Chemistry Club; Physics Club; Volunteer Club; and others. Sport clubs and teams include soccer, baseball, tennis, swimming, track and field, rugby, archery, handball, table tennis, kendo, judo, badminton, volleyball, and basketball. These clubs are subsidized by the local board of education and receive financial support from the Parents and Teachers' Association (PTA) as well as the alumni association. Teachers are required to look after a club or a sports team, take the students to team or club events, games, and tournaments while managing the budget for the their particular club or sport. They also have to purchase equipment and props, send in applications for official tournaments and games, and take students to the hospital if something goes wrong during practice. Above all, though, teachers must stay at school until the students' practice is over in case of emergency. As a result, teachers who supervise sports teams often come to school or take students to games and tournaments over the weekend or on national holidays as well as school days.

As stipulated in the Basic Education Act, the education objective of the Happy Hill District is “the full development of personality”—a goal reached by nurturing students as a

whole person. Senior high schools in the district offer a wide variety of activities and events throughout the academic year to help students grow and gain experience, and most schools have a Sports Festival, *Undô-kai*⁵⁵, in September and a Cultural Festival, *Bunka-sai*, in June or October. Only at these occasions are schools able to invite local community members, such as neighbors, alumni, junior and elementary school kids, and parents, to review what they have practiced and prepared. Students are actively engaged in the preparation processes of both events, and the two festivals aim at cultivating a sense of collaboration and cooperation as well as school community and pride while nurturing students into leadership roles. Another activity the Happy Hill District engages in is the school trip. Most senior high schools in the district offer the trip when students are sophomores, and during the trip, the 300-400 students at the sophomore level are given the opportunity to travel together for four to five days. Some schools divide the students into two groups, following the same itinerary on different schedules while other do not. Common places of travel include Singapore, Malaysia, Hawaii, and Australia, though some schools visit domestic tourist cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, or Kyoto or go skiing in northern parts of Japan or Hokkaido (Fukuoka, 2015). The school trip is meant to teach students to collaborate with their classmates, care about others, and act as leaders, but the teachers are the ones to collaboratively plan the trip and make sure students' health and safety are provided for. Budgeting and scheduling must follow the PBOE guidelines, and schools must get their plans and budget approved ahead of time.

5.1.8 Homeroom Teachers

Japanese teachers are expected to be life mentors to their students and nurture them as whole people, particularly at the elementary and middle school levels (Lewis, 1995; LoCastro,

⁵⁵ Schools with 1000-1200 students commonly spend over 1,000,000 yen or approximately 10,000 dollars on the sports festival every year.

1996). Referring to the range of personal responsibilities that homeroom teachers assume for students, Sato and Kleinsasser (2004) describe, “the school had an atmosphere where good teachers emphasized homeroom management” (p. 807). This statement resonates with the practices in the Happy Hill District. Teachers do not minimize the responsibility of teaching their subject matters, rather their professional responsibilities consist of providing students with both academic and social development—a practice which stands at odds with that of many other countries in which supporting the students’ social development is regarded as a parental role (LoCastro, 1996; Lewis, 1995).

Japanese high school teachers, for instance, assume three major responsibilities, including homeroom classes, club activities, and school committees besides their own teaching duties (Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004). In the Happy Hill District, being a homeroom teacher means dealing with students’ every day attendance and course guidance, hosting conferences with parents and students twice a year, visiting students’ homes as necessary, and even making phone calls to students’ guardians to remind them of tuition payments. In a worst case scenario, a teacher may even have to go to a guardian’s house to urge them to pay tuition. With this in mind, it is not surprising a homeroom teacher takes care of her or his homeroom students as if they were their own children, occasionally acting on behalf of the children’s actual parents or guardians. When a student engages in misconduct, for instance, as in shoplifting, the teacher goes to the store, talks with the manager, and calls the student’s guardian. The store typically calls the school first instead of reporting the shoplifting to the police. This practice is considered part of the student guidance regime, and teachers must provide support to both students and guardians when students are engaged in other misconduct activities, such as drinking and smoking. When a student is suspended from school, her or his homeroom teacher works in

collaboration with other teachers and visits the student's home to offer guidance to the student and guardians in order to enable the student to deeply reflect on why she or he misbehaved and why such actions were wrong.

Due to a recent increase in bullying, local schools in the Happy Hill District also make students take a survey every month (Purple High School 2013 Calendar). In order to protect confidentiality, students are required to put their responses in an envelope and seal it before submission. Homeroom teachers then open the 40 envelopes, read them through, and stop any bullying that has been reported.

According to the Overview of the Education System: Japan (OESJ) (OECD, 2015a), Japan has one of the highest numbers “of days of instruction in a school year in upper secondary school” totaling 197 days of instruction and ranking 4th highest among 31 countries. With respect to senior high school, according to the proceedings of the Central Council for Education (MEXT CCE)⁵⁶, MEXT has set approximately 200 days of instruction as necessary—a number which CCE says is a common standard shared by many countries with five school days a week. In reality, though, Japanese senior high school teachers, regardless of their subject, work long hours. There are 1899 official working hours a year for public school teachers in Japan compared to the OECD average of 1600 (primary education) and 1618 (lower secondary education)⁵⁷ (OECD, 2015b). OESJ (OECD, 2015a) reports “the number of hours per year upper secondary teachers spend teaching general program in public institutions is comparatively small in Japan,” accounting for 513 of the total hours and ranking Japan 28th out of 32 countries. The hours allocated to teaching classes, in particular, account for only 27% of all working hours. Country

⁵⁶ The Central Council for Education (CCE: *Chuō Kyōiku Shingi Kai*, 中央教育審議会) is one of MEXT's committees. It selects experts in higher education, business, finance, journalism, or politics in order to discuss Japan's education agendas and report their recommendations to MEXT.

⁵⁷ The information for upper secondary school was not available.

Note Japan: Education at a Glance 2015 Japanese, (OECD, 2015b) interprets this gap between little instruction time and long working hours as an indication of the many hours spent on multiple responsibilities outside of the classroom, including lesson planning, career guidance, student guidance, and teacher meetings, etc. These numbers hold true when compared to my study partners' teaching lives. They do, in fact, work more than the hours reported by OECD because a large portion of their time is spent on extracurricular programs and school events and is not included in the data set.

5.1.9 Academic Extracurricular Classes and College Entrance Examinations

Schools with general academic programs, excepting vocational senior high schools, have academic extracurricular classes to prepare students for college entrance examinations.

Supplemental practice and workbooks are used and do not have to be authorized by MEXT.

During regular semesters, freshmen and sophomores take one extracurricular class per day during “zero” period, which starts around 7:40 a.m., while seniors take two classes—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The afternoon class occurs during either 7th period or 8th period, depending on the schedule of a day. English, along with Japanese language and arts and Math, offers the most credit hours, so English teachers teach a zero period almost every day. If a teacher teaches seniors, she or he is likely to teach a 7th or 8th period as well. Schools also have extracurricular classes during the long summer and winter breaks. Summer break usually goes from July 21st to August 31st. At Purple High in 2013, extracurricular classes for freshmen and sophomores were held from July 21st to 31st and from August 19th to 23rd while seniors attended class from July 31st to August 11th and then again from August 17th to 22nd. The second semester began on the following day, August 23rd. The teachers who taught seniors came to school every Saturday during the summer break to proctor practice college entrance exams and give intensive

seminars particularly designed to teach students how to pass such examinations. The seniors at Purple High had only five days off during the summer as did the English teachers who taught them.⁵⁸ My study partner, Ms. Maeda, was a homeroom teacher for seniors during 2013. In her interview, she discussed how exhausted she was from her myriad responsibilities and duties: “If I become ill, I can say ‘no’ to extra work I’m doing. But I don’t, so it feels like nobody would let me pass it up” (Ms. Maeda, Interview, 02/28/2013).

As seen in the description of the summer academic extracurricular courses at Purple High, the highest priority is placed on preparing students for college entrance examinations. The intensity of such preparation is partly due to the wide variety of college entrance exams students must take. In order to enter national and public universities, students must pass two exams: The National Center Test for University Admissions (*Daigaku Nyūshi Sentā Shiken*: 大学入試センター試験) and The National University Individual Exams. The former is a standardized text with multiple choice questions; the latter is a written exam created by individual universities. Private universities, on the other hand, offer an even wider variety of admission types, and many exams are available to prospective students. Teachers in the HHD, therefore, not only prepare students for the Center Test but also for numerous types of exams universities and colleges may require. The intensity of such preparation has become burdensome to both teachers and students alike.

5.1.10 Academic Standard Deviation Scores: *Hensachi*

Academic standard deviation scores, called *Hensachi* in Japanese, have been used for several decades in the Happy Hill District to measure senior high school students’ academic

⁵⁸ Japanese teachers are paid during the long break. No matter how many more hours an English teacher teaches, though, her or his salary remains the same. Teachers who teach subjects that are not part of college entrance exams are paid the same rate as well. Japanese public school teachers as “civil servants” do not have a union as a collective bargaining right for government workers is not permitted by law.

performance and, particularly, their likelihood to pass college entrance exams. The scores point to where a student's academic standing is in comparison to the whole body of test takers. If a student receives an average Math score, her or his academic standard deviation score is 50. The higher the score over the target standard of the particular college the student is seeking admission to, the better are the student's chances of passing the college's entrance exam. Furthermore, reports on the test results are given to help explain the problems students struggled with, offering information not provided by the school district but by private educational companies.⁵⁹ Benesse is one of the better known providers of mock college entrance exams or *Shinken Moshi*⁶⁰. In addition to offering students detailed results and standard deviation scores, the Career Guidance Committee at each school can obtain other schools' scores in the Happy Hill District. Most schools with general programs share this type of information with teachers and are clearly aware of where their students stand in comparison with those of other schools. Based on the results reports, some teachers assign homework to target items their students struggled with. Ms. Maeda believed the *Hensachi* was important. She said, "Because [we] have to raise students' practice exam scores, because we have to raise them, in order to do so, in order to help low achievers to improve their achievement, I want to know where they got stuck" (Ms. Maeda, Interview, 02/28/2013).

5.3 Chapter summary

This chapter attempted to show the shared practices of the HHD and the ways in which those practices operate. It revealed the teachers' intense workloads and discussed the backwash of pressure created by university entrance examinations, which force schools to provide more

⁵⁹ Students pay for practice college entrance examinations.

⁶⁰ The majority of public senior high schools in the prefecture take *Shinken Moshi* offered by a private corporation in the educational industry, Benesse. The mock exam is optional, in principle, but mandatory in practice. Teachers come to school on weekends to proctor the practice tests.

instruction and guidance to students during the school's break. Under these circumstances, it is not hard to imagine why teachers have little time for themselves, lesson planning, and the development of new materials. At the senior high school in the Happy Hill District, teachers are expected to manage a homeroom and teach subject matter. Thus, one may ask, who is able to make such an impossible workload possible? The next chapter addresses this question and highlights how teachers try to make meaning of their teaching practices in light of the new English education policy.

Chapter 6. The Intersection of Competing Subjectivities and Meaning Making of Policy Implementation

6.1 Chapter Overview

In the literature review, I describe the ways in which Japan's English language education has been situated in the nexus of national interest, globalism, and internationalism. English language teaching in Japan has been trapped in a discourse of failure and desire, yet MEXT is attempting to reform English education at the secondary school level across the nation (MEXT, 2009). As a result, English education has been a center of discussion, and the mass media has been playing a critical role in furthering the failure and desire discourse by comparing Japan's English education to that of other Asian countries, such as China, Korea, and Taiwan (Chen, 2014; Clavel, 2014). Amid the heated discussions over English education reform at the elementary and secondary school level, school teachers have, however, been left out of much of the debate even though they are the ones to implement the new curriculum under the new policy.

In this section, I highlight the everyday practices of my six study partners and discuss how they make meaning of the policy implementation in the Happy High District. My analysis is two fold: mesolevel and microlevel. Through the analysis of the teachers' language as used in their narratives and through class observations, field notes, and collected documents, I shed light on the situated meanings of English language education at the microlevel: a public senior high school, Purple High, as well as at the mesolevel: a school district, Happy Hill District. I analyze the ways in which the new English education policy is practiced and discuss the new curriculum in order to make better meaning of public senior high school English education vis-à-vis local teaching practice. First, I set out to describe how the six teachers make sense of the new English education policy and understand the meaning of their teaching practice as public senior high

school English teachers. To articulate their understandings of and involvements with the policy implementation, I analyze the interview data gathered from three teachers' experiences in three different schools: Ms. Yoshida at South High, Ms. Takeuchi at New Temple High, and Ms. Uemura at East High. Then my focus shifts to three other teachers who work at Purple High: Principal Tokuda, Lead English Teacher Ms. Kodama, and English Teacher Ms. Maeda. I focus on competing subjectivity as I elucidate the ways in which they make meaning of and plan around the new policy implementation. Finally, with the class observation data set as the focal point of my analysis, I illustrate Ms. Maeda's changed and unchanged teaching practices before and after the enactment of the policy from August 2012 to June 2015. I attempt to represent how she changed or decided not to change her teaching practice based on her students' needs and her own teaching situation.

6.2 Teachers' perceptions on the policy implementation in the Happy Hill district

6.2.1 Japan is no longer Number.1

Both Ms. Uchida at East High and Ms. Yoshida at South High attributed the COS revision to Japan's long-term economic slump. When asked what they thought made MEXT revise the COS in the way MEXT did, the two teachers gave me parallel answers. The revision, they claimed, was made because of Japan's shrinking presence in the world economy, in particular, in Asia.

Ms. Uchida believed the revision of the COS (2009) was due to globalization, though she thought the vocabulary surrounding it had been flying around without much meaning for some time. The idea of economic competition between nations, she claimed, had influenced the policy change to a greater extent.

As you know, Japan's English exam scores are low in Asia, and Japan is not Number 1

because China has surpassed [Japan in economy]. So, the business world demands [English education]. I guess the field of business needs human resources with more English ability. Also, college education has been changing, so there are great expectations for changes in Japan's senior high school education. But it's difficult. (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014)

Her statement is critical in that it correlates the ability to speak English with economic revitalization—something the business sector in Japan has been longing for. Ms. Uchida inferred that the demands from the business field influenced the MEXT revisions of the COS.

In the same vein, Ms. Yoshida's response also discussed vocabulary associated with competition among nations:

It's something like Japan cannot lose as a nation. Somehow, yeah, something like that, and it's strange, though. Some [people in your country] cannot speak English well, but after all those who have the English ability and think they have to play an active role in the international arena will continue to learn English in their own ways. Nevertheless, I have an optimistic view that it's okay. Yet, I somehow feel that [MEXT] makes all [students] the same including those who are not good at English so that [Japan] won't lose. So, it's feeling like we all have got caught in that. (Ms. Yoshida, Interview, 03/02/2012).

Ms. Yoshida's idea is that it is okay for some people to be able to speak English while others do not. She questions why all of the people in Japan need to get involved in the discourse of you-have-to-speak-English: "Japan is no longer Number1. Yeah, I think it's the biggest reason. It's the biggest one, isn't it?" From this it can be concluded Ms. Yoshida senses the broader societal discourse of desire toward English language learning and perceives the close tie between the

ability to speak English and Japan's economic revitalization—a fact which is evident in her statement: “MEXT makes all [students] the same including those who are not good at English so that Japan won't lose.” Although she is dubious if all students can learn English in the same way, she thinks that MEXT believes it will make it possible for all students to learn English with a degree of equality nationwide. In her understanding, MEXT believes that by doing so Japan will gain ground economically and potentially revitalize its economic power thanks to its citizens' ability to speak English.

Ms. Yoshida was skeptical about the MEXT policy makers' abilities to recognize the reality of the learning situation present at local public schools:

I think, [the revision is] due to the demands of the current trends, something like ‘we have to speak English’ or ‘people in other countries can speak English [but we can't].’ I think they have a sense of urgency for such demands, but I don't feel it's because they understand the current [educational] situation [at local schools]. (Ms. Yoshida, Interview, 03/02/2013)

Her critical perspective questions the cause that has urged MEXT to revise the COS. On the one hand, the new English education policy in the COS targets all of the students learning in the public education system. It attempts to guarantee equal education in both quality and opportunity. As Ms. Yoshida says, though, on the other hand it may target only those who have the ability, financially and academically, to learn English and as a result may fail to cater to the needs of the majority of students struggling with English study.

Relatedly, Ms. Takeuchi at Temple High understood MEXT's sense of urgency as having stemmed from the unchanged English instruction prevalent in public schools:

I just think [MEXT] forcibly promoted [English only instruction policy in the revision]

because so many teachers don't change their teaching style from old days, though MEXT has always been saying communicative, communicative [language instruction]. (Ms. Takeuchi, Interview, 03/02/2013)

She interprets the revision as having been made from a sense of urgency that prompted MEXT to require an overhaul of public senior high school English instruction, though she did not talk about any direct link between the revision of the new policy and Japan's economic revitalization.

Not surprisingly, Ms. Takeuchi stated MEXT had been calling for communicative language instruction for several decades. In response to this, Ms. Yoshida described how long MEXT had been trying to establish CLT as English pedagogy at public schools:

They had been saying communicative, communicative [language instruction] when I got hired. Yeah, since I got hired. When I took my first teacher recruitment examination, the English discussion topic was 'What do you think you have to do in order to teach English communicatively?' And I didn't get what that meant at all [then]. (Ms. Yoshida, Interview, 03/02/2013)

CLT has been a pressing agenda in Japan's English education throughout Ms. Yoshida's thirty years of teaching, though MEXT has failed to promote CLT, and no significant, positive changes have been brought to the schools in the district.

6.2.2 Not all students have to speak English

The statement: "Not all students have to speak English" (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014) expresses the teachers' feelings toward the subject they teach. Ms. Uchida and Ms. Yoshida did not prioritize English instruction over their other educational goals. When asked to give an opinion on the new English education policy, Ms. Uchida said she didn't think everybody needed to speak English. She saw educating everyone to the point of fluency as an

impossible goal because not all students are interested in learning English in the first place.

Rather than making disinterested students study, she preferred to focus on students who wanted to learn, believing a focus such as this would be an effective teaching strategy while other, more disinterested students could learn at their own pace. As she explained, “I guess we should nurture students with talent [for English]” (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/ 2014). In addition, Ms. Uchida believes that becoming fluent in English inherently requires time and money: “In order to acquire English itself, I think it unsurprisingly requires time and investment” (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014). She understands that English language learning is closely related to the concept of investment in an economic sense, which Norton (1995) conceptualizes in her qualitative inquiry with immigrant women. English language learning is considered personal investment, a profit from which a learner can recover in the form of financial reward (Duchêne & Heller, 2012) or in the form of something meaningful to her or him (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 1995). Nevertheless, Ms. Uchida found educating a handful of elite students impossible in Japan because “there is such a discourse as that everybody should be equal [in public education]” (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014). She went on to say she believes English should be an elective subject, which not all students should have to take.

Ms. Yoshida shared this perspective, stating English was a good course option for those who could learn it independently. She said, “Those who have the English ability and think they have to play an active role in the international arena, will continue to learn English in their own ways after all” (Ms. Yoshida, Interview, 03/02/2013). In this sense, she is associating English language learning with an international career and does not consider English necessary unless a student decides to go outside of Japan for work or pleasure. Her mindset is limited because one does not have to leave Japan to have an international career. She still believes that English is

useful only outside Japan. Both teachers believe students receiving education in Japan, regardless of their physical locations or nationality, might not have the opportunity to use English for their own purposes. Their restricted perspective on the potential utility and benefit of English language learning could, therefore, inhibit them from trying new ways of teaching English under the new curriculum. Consequently, their students might miss out on options for their learning as the teachers' teaching objectives are based on different purposes and pedagogies.

6.2.3 Unrealistic CLT for 40 students in class

One of the biggest obstacles to implementing the CLT methods is the way the new COS fails to target class size in a public senior high school setting. Currently, 40 students per class is the standard set by MEXT. Although the issue has been addressed in many studies (Honna, 2005; LoCastro, 1996; Nishino, 2008; Nishino & Watanabe, 2008; Oda & Takada, 2005), class size has never held a central position in the discussion of Japan's English education reform. It is an issue directly affected by budget, and no realistic solution has been proposed to reduce the student-to-teacher ratio per class since MEXT has not provided any financial support to realize a smaller class environment.

The teachers' narratives reveal their understanding of how a large class size negatively affects the achievement gap within a school as well as within the class itself. Ms. Uchida mentioned how in the extracurricular class she teaches to seniors only five out of 40 students had completed their preview assignment before class. She stated she had been obliged to tell the students to come to class better prepared in the future so they would not waste other students' time. She used some class time, which was supposed to be used for language instruction, telling the students how they should have cared about the five students who did homework and come to class prepared. In addition, she found it challenging to individualize her instruction and closely

monitor the learning assistance needed by individual students because her class of 40 contained so many different ways of learning. This concern was echoed by Ms. Yoshida at South High who stated that in her class of 40, there were many varied learning preferences and aptitudes, and some of her students did not care about English at all. Both teachers indicated the large class inhibited them from providing individualized learning experiences to their students and subsequently increased the existing achievement gap. Although the COS has placed high expectations on English teachers, urging them to shift their teacher-centered instruction to learner-centered instruction, the problem with the material condition of the overblown class sizes will remain unsolved unless MEXT takes specific action. Given this, the new English education policy may not be achievable; it almost sounds as if it were a pie in the sky.

6.2.4 Educating Students as a Whole Person

For Ms. Uchida, students need not become fluent in English after senior high school because, ultimately, she wants her students to become independent learners by acquiring learning strategies, such as how to make study plans and how to effectively review or memorize materials. While she thinks it is inevitable there will be some sort of academic achievement gap among students, she is far more concerned that those who cannot efficiently study will end up receiving lower grades overall and may not have any college to go to after graduation. She believes learning English is not the only goal of senior high school; rather helping students become independent learners with metacognitive ability will be what makes them effective learners in the future. Ms. Uchida regards it as important to remind her students to figure out effective ways of learning on an individual level while helping them become as independent as possible. As she stated, “So, it feels like I have a goal a bit far ahead. Yes, I do have a big vision for senior high school English education” (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014). Her vision is big and extends far

beyond teaching English skills.

As a senior high school teacher, Ms. Uchida possesses a strong sense of accountability that underscores her vision of her students' growth as independent learners. She serves as the Director of Career Guidance at East High and feels urged to make sure her students are well informed about the various options and pathways available to them after graduation. Moving on to college is certainly a good option in her eyes. She mentioned that she believed it was a senior high school teacher's responsibility to motivate students and help them decide on their career path as early as possible. Although she admitted she wanted her students to enjoy a stress-free school life, she did not think teachers or students at East High could afford such a comfort.

[It's about] their future. Because, now, the future prospect will not be promising for our students. [They] can't get a job. [We have to] make the students understand [how difficult getting a job is]. Yeah, teaching the students such things is also a teacher's responsibility. ... We must teach them. [For instance, we have to tell them] 'If you go to a special vocational school, you will do some work without much responsibility. Are you really okay with such life? Is it the life that you want?' So this is [a matter of] career plan and this haunts you throughout your life. So, planning one's career path in high school is a big deal. ... And we have to teach our students a risk [that potentially comes with one's decision making]. (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014)

Ms. Uchida believes that teachers bear the responsibility of students' career guidance and should inform them of the potential consequences and ramifications that accompany their choices. This belief stands in stark contrast to her idea that English education is not necessary for all students; she finds it understandable even if students fail to become proficient in English despite the fact that she is an English teacher.

Ms. Yoshida's educational philosophy has a lot in common with Ms. Uchida's. For Ms. Yoshida the overarching goal of education is not something as measurable as "English ability" or "so-and-so ability." She understands that Japan's public senior high school education fundamentally presupposes educating "a good student" or "a good human being"⁶¹. As she explains:

In our teaching context, we have those students who aren't good at English, or those who become good at English and pursue a career path in such a field. ... Well, how should I say this, I want to educate students who are willing to do their best and make efforts. In my case, I happen to be an English teacher, who is inclined to encourage students to learn English, and, of course, [we have to think about] grades, but I really don't teach English for better grades. I want to educate my students to become someone who always does their best and works really hard. (Ms. Yoshida, Interview, 03/02/2012)

Ms. Yoshida, therefore, stands by the side of her students, even those who are not good at studying or learning English. It is her belief there should be many, various ways of doing things and thus it comes as little surprise to her that some students do not like learning English. As an English teacher, Ms. Yoshida is supposed to have her students learn English regardless of personal preference, but for her it does not matter whether her students like English or not. What matters is whether her students make an effort to study or not, and not how much English competence they achieve by learning the language.

6.2.5 Struggling through Long Working Hours with Little Time for Lesson Planning

Struggling with long working hours is something both Ms. Uchida and Ms. Yoshida mentioned as requiring them to remain horribly caught up in their work. They barely have time for themselves, to rest, or to spend at family engagements let alone to allocate to the lesson

⁶¹ The original Japanese was "ii-ko", the literal translation of which is "a good child."

planning essential for effective language instruction. Ms. Uchida was hesitant to answer my question about the number of hours she spent for lesson planning. As she reluctantly said:

It's difficult to make sure I spare time for lesson planning. I wish I could spend more time on it, but it's a bit challenging now because I have more work as a Director of Career Guidance. So the time I spend on lesson planning is rather short. . . . Yeah, it's short. It may be too short to say a concrete number of hours [I actually spend]... well, yeah, I manage to teach [even when there isn't enough time for lesson planning] thanks to my experiences. (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014)

Although Ms. Uchida was unable to spend as much time on her lesson plans as she would have liked, this does not mean she takes her teaching responsibilities lightly. Rather, other overarching factors come into play; Ms. Uchida must be able to allocate time for many different kinds of responsibilities aside from teaching itself. The most crucial element of public senior high school education is to guarantee students a career path after graduation. With her over twenty years of teaching experience, she is able to teach English even when time is pressed for planning.

Elsewhere she has indicated that she believes only quality subject instruction can bring about this sort of quality career guidance, and in her case, English is the subject that is foundational for the quality career guidance she strives to provide. This mindset, along with her long working hours, is an example that demonstrates how professional she desires to be for the work she does.

Responding my question about what are the most important responsibility for her as a teacher among many, she said,

“Well, hmmm, now I don't teach many classes, but career guidance [is] my major responsibility as the Director of Career Guidance Division, but is foundation underlies subject instruction, so, teaching subject matter is first and career guidance is next. Then

again teaching classes as an English teacher comes first. I'm not an administrator. I want to do a good job on teaching English. (Interview, Ms. Uchida, 07/29/2014).

She works at least 12 hours a day on average. On weekdays, she comes to school at 7:20 a.m. and at 7:40 a.m. she starts teaching an extracurricular class targeting college entrance. Her official work time ends around 5:00 p.m. but she stays longer to make a career guidance room available to students who want to stay after school and study. She leaves school around 7:30 p.m. after she seeing off her students. Sometimes Ms. Uchida comes to school to take care of college entrance practice exams as well, which East High offers to all students at least three times a year.⁶² This hard work is underpinned by her strong belief that a teacher has to be an adult who students can trust. As she states, "Well, yes, a teacher is an educator, but s/he has to be a role model for her/his students." (Interview, 07/29/2014). Thus, fewer hours available for lesson planning is the flip side of the same coin.

Ms. Yoshida and Ms. Takeuchi have a working schedule almost identical to Ms. Uchida's, though Ms. Takeuchi is the only teacher who looks after an athletic team⁶³, that being the Girl's Tennis Team at Temple High. She is obliged to stay at school until the team members finish their practice and leave school, which means she leaves between 8:00 and 8:30 p.m.⁶⁴ The reason for the teachers' similar schedules is that the majority of public schools with general programs in the district offer very similar or almost identical academic curricula and extracurricular programs, such as club activities, the sophomore school trip, and career guidance. Following their educational philosophies and coupled with the preconditioned institutional

⁶² Freshmen and sophomores take practice tests of such a kind at least three times a year while seniors take different types five to six times or oftentimes even more.

⁶³ Ms. Uchida and Ms. Yoshida are also responsible for clubs, but the students in their clubs do not meet every day like Ms. Takeuchi's Tennis Club.

⁶⁴ Senior high schools in the school district set a time when all students must leave school for the day. Clubs and athletic teams finish their practice at 7:30 p.m. and leave the school gate at 8:00 p.m. during the summer and 7:00 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. during the winter.

structure and operations of the schools, all three of the teachers work long hours at the cost of time and energy that could have otherwise been spent lesson planning or developing new instructional materials.

6.2.6 New Curriculum: Let's Think about It When We Have To

The new English education policy takes a back seat when viewed with the rest of the educational experience. At the time of the interviews, neither Ms. Uchida, Ms. Yoshida, nor Ms. Takeuchi said they had thought about how they would teach English in the new curriculum framework even though they knew they would have to in three years if not by the next academic year of 2013. Ms. Takeuchi's comment exemplifies this mentality: "It's something like 'Let's think about it when we have to [teach the new curriculum]'" (Ms. Takeuchi, Interview, 03/02/2013). On the one hand, the teachers' reactions are understandable considering how challenging it is for them to be prepared for the new COS and the accompanying lesson planning, curriculum development, and instructional changes that will have to occur on top of their already demanding school-related duties. On the other, however, it is inferred that the teachers at their schools had not reached any shared understanding of 1) the necessity of discussion on how to teach the new curriculum as a team; 2) what kinds of pedagogical changes would be called for; and 3) who would be the leader of the new implementation. Although the English department has a lead English teacher, s/he would not necessarily teach the incoming freshmen at the time of the policy enactment during April 2013 because the school's principal is the one in sole charge of teacher staffing. This means if the lead English teacher were assigned to teach sophomores or seniors, s/he would not have an opportunity to get involved in the curriculum development for the new English courses.

Likewise, Ms. Uchida, who serves as the Director of the Career Guidance Committee,

was exempt from teaching the new curriculum because her position allowed her to teach seniors exclusively as they needed the most guidance from the committee to choose their paths after graduation. When asked to imagine how she would teach English courses consistent with the new COS curriculum, Ms. Uchida found it difficult to consider changes while teaching grammar and reading materials side by side. She stated she thinks using classroom English and team-teaching with an ALT would not be too much of a problem. I did, however, conduct her interview in July 2014 one year and three months after the enactment of the new policy in April 2013. Even over a year after the enactment, Ms. Uchida said she did not know much about how the teachers of the freshmen and sophomores were conducting the new courses⁶⁵ and described the teaching practice at East High as follows:

Well, in reality, [implementing the new COS] is difficult. Although we have a policy of collaboration [with the policy], everybody doesn't want to do it as much as possible. So, I think [how the COS is implemented would] differs from school to school. At my school, relatively speaking, I think we are not doing it. (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014)

The English teachers had not, therefore, really shared or created new ideas for teaching methods and evaluation criteria targeted by the new COS. Whether a teacher changed her/his teaching style to implement the new policy depended more upon that individual teacher's discretion. This led Ms. Uchida to believe she did not have much to do with the new practices because she taught seniors, who were planning to take college entrance exams in five months. She told me she could not go to one of the in-service training workshops at the pilot school hosted by the PBOE earlier in the school year due to her responsibility as the Director of the Career Guidance Committee. She complained there were not enough English department meetings called *Kyôkakai*⁶⁶ at East

⁶⁵ If she keeps teaching seniors, she will eventually get those students when they become seniors.

⁶⁶ Departmental meetings regarding subject matter are called *Kyôkakai*. Most schools in the district do not

High, and that this prevented teachers from sharing what they had learned during in-service trainings, as she had heard from one of her colleagues that the in-service was informative. She regretted the lack of circulating knowledge: “Well, such information does not really circulate among us. I think we don’t have enough departmental meetings. ... Sometimes, we are like ‘let’s get together during the lunch time’ but the meeting is over just in 10 minutes”⁶⁷ (Ms. Uchida, Interview, 07/29/2014). Ms. Uchida concluded it would take years to implement the new policy and that the implementation process would not go as planned or as designed in the policy text considering the local school’s reality.

Furthermore, Ms. Uchida, Ms. Yoshida, and Ms. Takeuchi all reported that it was the teachers who taught freshmen who would have to implement the new COS. They understood others had no obligation to learn how to teach the new courses within the framework of the new COS until they had to. For example, Ms. Yoshida, who taught freshmen in the academic year of 2012-2013, did not know which textbook the freshmen would use the next year because at South High the teachers do not share information about the textbooks each grade uses. The only preparation they did for the new curriculum was a departmental meeting during the first semester in 2012 in which they decided on the new freshman courses and the number of credits allocated to each. Notably, that was the only time Ms. Yoshida was able to look at pages related to the new curriculum and course credits in the new COS. Besides this departmental meeting, she did not have the opportunity to read the other sections, though the PBOE had given out an A-3 size subject-specific COS booklet to individual teachers. The teachers’ indifference to the new COS

schedule a regular *Kyōkakai*, so they take place when there are agendas teachers have to discuss, usually twice a semester or four to six times a year. A meeting is approximately one hour long.

⁶⁷ Technically, teachers’ lunch time is not included in their working hours, but realistically the lunch time is not time for themselves. Teachers do work during their lunch because this is the only time when they can talk to their students in homeroom or in their club. For example, students can visit teachers in their office and ask for some guidance.

is optimized in Ms. Yoshida's statement: "No planning. No meetings. Not even once up until now" (Interview, 02/03/2013). The interview I conducted with her occurred just three weeks before the new COS enactment on April 1st, 2013. She told me no one at South High knew for sure who was going to teach freshmen during the upcoming school year.⁶⁸ In regards to her teaching practice and how it might be modified as a result, she said, "I would use more English. probably. I'm using English to give directions now. Only directions [in English]. Giving directions in English doesn't mean anything, though" (Interview, 03/02/2013). In this sense, she was cognizant of how such a use fails to lead students to deep learning without adequate learning contexts provided, which would get them engaged in critical thinking and meaningful communication in the target language.

Similarly, Ms. Takeuchi at Temple High answered "Absolutely not," when asked if her school had already planned on how to teach the new courses. The teachers at Temple, though, as opposed to those from South High and East High, had held a meeting to share the textbook information with each other in order to familiarize themselves with the new curriculum, courses, and textbooks in case they taught freshmen during the next academic year. This is because at Temple, there was no information yet available regarding which *Gakunen* the individual teachers were going to teach in April, which was the month after the interview.

Ms. Yoshida's remarks similarly signify an unpreparedness and a non-existent sense of urgency in the school district: "I haven't looked at the new textbook [chosen for freshmen at my school]. But, let me say we are serious teachers, though,"—a statement that is rationalized by her thinking that "Unless our school has become a pilot school, we won't come to grips with the new curriculum as the entire school is like a team. Absolutely never. We don't have time for that"

⁶⁸ There is a personnel reshuffle of public school teachers every year in late March, and teachers do not know if they will have to transfer to another school until two weeks before the new school year starts. An official staffing arrangement for the next academic year is announced by the principal after the personnel reshuffle.

(Interview, 03/032/2013).

6.2.7 Staffing and the *Gakunen* System

Ms. Uchida stated the most difficult aspect of her senior high school teaching career is maintaining friendly interpersonal relationships among colleagues. Japanese senior high schools have a grade system called *Gakunen*, which comprises three grades: *Ichi-Nen Sei*, *Ni-Nen Sei*, and *San-Nen Sei* in Japanese or Freshmen, Sophomores, and Seniors in the American education system. In Happy Hill District, there are six to ten homeroom classes per *Gakunen* at each public senior high school. Students take classes in their homeroom and teachers visit this homeroom to teach their materials. The *Gakunen* system applies not only to students but also to teachers. Teachers are assigned to the grade they teach based on course credits allocated to each grade level and serve as either a homeroom teacher or a vice homeroom teacher. If an English teacher belongs to *Ichi-Nen Sei*, she or he exclusively teaches freshmen and rarely goes to teach other grades. In such an instance, the teacher would still, however, help organize and participate in school activities and events, such as the sports festival, the cultural festival, and the school trip. Homeroom teachers are also responsible for a class of 40 students and must provide their students with academic, career, and student guidance. In addition, they collaborate with other teachers to take care of all of the students in the grade level, belong to a school committee, and play a role in school management as well as in the maintaining a club or sports team as an advisor or coach. A homeroom teacher is expected to move up to the next *Gakunen* with her/his students and take full care of all aspects of the students' lives until they graduate. Ms. Uchida, therefore, believes whether or not teachers can effectively work in *Gakunen* as a team depends upon whether they have collegial relationships with each other which would allow for open discussion on any aspect of instruction, management, and student care within the *Gakunen*.

Related to this issue of collegiality, Ms. Takeuchi talked about how Temple High has faced a problem with the English teacher staffing for the *Gakunen*. Two experienced male English teachers in their fifties had been causing problems due to their inability to provide effective instruction and a lack of interpersonal communication skills. This meant the school started assigning teachers to different *Gakunen* so the teachers' influences would be kept minimal while the other teachers in the same *Gakunen* could fill in areas in which they were lacking. Consequently, other teachers would have to work harder, and, further, typically those teachers were not assigned homeroom classes. According to Ms. Takeuchi, such staffing issues resulted in Temple High's students' poor performance on college entrance practice exams, causing the students' academic standard deviation scores to drop below those of previous students at Temple High let alone of students in other schools in the district.

6.2.8 They Are the Only Two: Center Test and *Shinken* Academic Standard Deviation Scores

Right after Ms. Takeuchi talked about how the Temple High students' English exam scores had been getting low, Ms. Yoshida asked Ms. Takeuchi if her students' performance on the recent *Shinken Moshi* was bad. Ms. Yoshida had already checked the overall results in the prefecture and knew the results of Ms. Takeuchi's school. Their interaction about *Shinken Moshi* is as follows:

Ms. Yoshida: The result of Shinken [at your school] was bad, wasn't it? I thought [your school's English score] became low.

Ms. Takeuchi: Yeah. Sophomores didn't do well, either. It's like it's over. How come they are this bad at English? It's so intense[ly bad].

Ms. Yoshida: Was it something 40's, wasn't it?

Ms. Takeuchi: Yeah, mid-40's. It's barely 50's even when we look only at the scores of students in advanced placement. Once we have the whole of the base, our English standard score is off 50. (Interview, March 2, 2013)

The circulation of the practice test's results has been an established practice in the Happy Hill District for several decades. Any teacher in the district can track down scores in other schools and are alert to even small changes. Often the principals are the ones to raise their eyebrows at any instance in which their students do not perform well on practice tests. Ms. Yoshida expressed her frustration:

Yeah, that's it. Well, after all it's all about *Hensachi* (academic standard deviation scores). [We have] so many practice tests [for college entrance exams] and [we] compare our students' scores with other schools'. Then, when the result comes out, some principals summon us to their office and complain to us what is wrong with so-and-so subject of so-and-so grade. [When we are teaching] under such situations, I wonder if we can really teach [the new communicative curriculum].

Furthermore, Ms. Yoshida said, "Yeah, that's the only two [tests that we end up using to evaluate our students' English achievement]" (Interview, 03/02/2013). By "the only two," Ms. Yoshida means *Shinken Moshi* and the National Center Test for University Admissions (*Daigaku Nyūshi Sentā Shiken*: 大学入試センター試験)⁶⁹, commonly known as Center Test, a type of standardized test used to measure prospective students' academic achievement for all of the public universities and some of the private ones. The three teachers' comments on the *Hensachi* widely used in the Happy Hill District implies that the stakes the Center Test imposes upon the teachers and students is enormous and that the test functions as the ultimate evaluation criterion.

⁶⁹ Test takers have to pay fees to the National Center for University Admissions in order to receive their results. The results are sent back to them after college admissions across the nation are over.

All three teachers closely follow the *Shinken Moshi Hensachi* changes of their students in order to measure how well or how badly their students are doing in light of the level given by the Center Test. To a great extent, therefore, *Shinken Moshi* functions as something like a dress rehearsal while the Center Test becomes the actual performance measure teachers and students aim for throughout high school.

6.3 Competing Subjectivities and Meaning Making at Purple High: 2012-2013

In this section, I shift my focus away from the analysis of Ms. Yoshida, Ms. Uchida, and Ms. Takeuchi's interviews, working instead with the three teachers at Purple High: Principal Tokuda, Lead English Teacher, Ms. Kodama, and Ms. Maeda. My analysis here aims to illuminate how the Purple High teachers live with competing subjectivities while highlighting the way in which they understand the new English education policy and make meaning of their work in the nexus of neoliberalism, nationalism, and English education. The results also emphasize how local intersubjectivity mediates the teachers' understandings of the rhetoric surrounding the new policy while linking such rhetoric to national interests that sit within a neoliberal world economy.

6.3.1 Principal Tokuda: *Fueki* (Immutability) & *Ryukô* (Change)

Mr. Tokuda, the Principal at Purple High, is familiar with the educational trend to pursue goals both domestically and globally. In response to my question on how he understood the purpose of the revision of the senior high school English curriculum in the new COS, he used two Japanese terms—*Fueki* and *Ryukô*—to frame the revision. Those terms were initially used in the First-Order Report by the Central Education Council, *Chuô Kyôiku Shingikai*, in 1996 and have been prevalent in the discourse of education as well as in educational documents and policies set out by MEXT. The direct translation of *Fueki* is 'immutability' while *Ryukô*

translates as ‘change.’ Mr. Tokuda echoed the Central Education Council’s statement (1996) when he explained the meaning of the terms as follows:

Essentially, education entails *Fueki* and *Ryukô*. In education, *Fueki* refers to an idea of how teachers nurture students as a person [with enduring values]. *Ryukô* refers to an educational perspective of how teachers educate students in accordance with the needs of contemporary society. The latest COS revision reflects the ideas of the revised Basic Education Act, which was revised for the first time in half a century, along with other laws ... Accordingly, the revised COS includes curriculum and contents that well fit the current needs of society. (Interview, 8/21/2012)

From the *Fueki* perspective on education, Mr. Tokuda emphasized the importance of the recent amendment of the Basic Education Act (MEXT, 2006), *Kyôiku Kihon Hô*. The law formally stipulates patriotism in a revised article for the first time in 59 years after WWII. Mr. Tokuda discussed it depth, saying:

Also, in the revised Basic Education Act, the idea of love for our homeland, of love for our nation, as well of love for our local community is formally stipulated. I think this is something that should have been already stipulated, but it was finally reconsidered and included in the amendment. (Interview, 8/21/2012)

He welcomed the amendment and the idea it reifies. Patriotism is, in his perspective, a “*Fueki*” value that should be inculcated among students through national education.

Mr. Tokuda also regards the COS revision primarily as Japan’s response to the global trend of educational reform. He referred to Japan’s unsatisfying recent PISA result (Program for International Student Assessment) as a contributing factor to the revision. Although there was not much change regarding senior high school curriculum and graduation requirements, he

acknowledged the changes made were still the most influential he had seen in his career. When asked about his opinion on the COS English curriculum change, he described why twelve academically high-ranked universities (including Tokyo University) were considering observing a fall start school year instead of following Japan's typical school year, which starts in April and ends in March, thus conflicting with the school years of many English-speaking countries. He said he believed this change was due to a sharp decline in the number of study abroad students from Japan as compared to students from other countries. He is concerned,

That is, in the end, there is a smaller number of Japanese students studying abroad in the world. The idea is that a fall start school-year would enable students [to study abroad and] to acquire much knowledge and learn different cultures at a younger age. And I think [the fall start school-year system] can become a national trend in the future.

(Interview, 8/21/2015).

In regards to the *Ryukô* perspective, Mr. Tokuda believes Japan's future population will come to see study abroad opportunities as a way to gain knowledge and intercultural competence, which he thinks is currently missing in Japanese citizens. The following excerpt shows he is concerned Japan may be isolated from the rest of the world in the future:

Japan may be isolated from the rest of the world if it is not capable of sharing what it has learned. We need to preserve our tradition as a big manufacture and technology provider, but the time when Japan as Number 1 is long gone. From now on, Japan has to learn and absorb other countries' manufacturing technology, and actively participate in technological and manufacturing exchange in the world. I think this is a natural process for Japan's future. In this sense, I understand English is situated in the forefront of this trend, and English as a school subject attracts high expectations. (Interview, 8/21/2012)

Mr. Tokuda understands English is key to the revitalization of Japan's industries on a global scale. In order to regain Japan's strong presence in such industries, he believes there needs to be much technological exchange and many business partnerships with other countries. In his vision, he sees this is as a "natural" path for Japan to take, and he believes English as a school subject will contribute to the realization of such a national vision.

Furthermore, Mr. Tokuda suggests this vision reflects societal expectations for education and should hold teachers accountable for their teaching practices and for students' academic achievement. He believes meeting societal needs and teaching academic contents are congruent goals of education and, thus, attaining both are possible.

If our society is looking for something like an international competitive edge, I, certainly, would like to educate students to be equipped with such competence. For that purpose, I would like to teach such skills and competency as part of everyday academic contents, which I think leads to high academic achievement and college enrollment.

(Interview, 8/21/2012)

Mr. Tokuda's narrative reveals his multifaceted understandings of what the revision of the COS English curriculum means to Japan's future and education. He perceives patriotism as a representation of the *Fueki* value. Although education laws and academic curriculum change over time and space, the symbolic meaning of *Fueki* linked to Japan's national vision remains. He interpreted the English education reform as a representation of the idea of *Ryukô*. In this sense, he views *Fueki* and *Ryukô* feeding into each other and sustaining educational activities at Purple High.

6.3.2 Lead English Teacher, Ms. Kodama: Educational disparity

Ms. Kodama, on the other hand, stated she is skeptical of the COS revision, wondering if

the new COS genuinely aims to educate people to speak English. She thinks Japan needs to equip people with English competency so individuals can go abroad and sell merchandise—a much needed endeavor, she claims, because Japanese society has been facing rapid fertility decline and a shrinking domestic market. While Ms. Kodama believes the English curriculum change is necessary to rescue Japan from economic recession, she is concerned the revision may lead to disparity in education. Using a Japanese prestigious school as an example, she explained how the new COS would benefit privileged students over the less privileged:

I heard Nada senior high school⁷⁰ students recently received a good result at a world-class debate context. While there are such [privileged] students, I am wondering what common, ordinary people will be like [under the new curriculum]. They don't learn academic English, but they can carry basic conversation in English here and there. It is almost like kindergarten English. Is it okay to teach [senior high school students] the elementary school level English? Or, I am wondering if teaching academic English first and then communicative English second would be better. (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 8/21/2012)

In this portion of the interview, Ms. Kodama imagined how she would teach the new English curriculum, which, in her eyes, will not meet the senior high school academic standards she appreciates. She envisions two teaching options: one of teaching academic English and the other of teaching communicative English, which she calls “kindergarten English.” These instructional approaches are compatible for privileged students like Nada Senior High School students but conflict with the needs of her students at Purple High. Her interpretation also reveals that the COS revision potentially stratifies senior high school English education and widens the existing academic achievement gap. She stated, “It might be better that only those who need

⁷⁰ Nada Junior and Senior High School in Kobe is a well-known private institution for students' high academic achievement. Most graduates move on to first-tier four-year colleges including Tokyo University, which is academically ranked 1st in Japan.

English make efforts studying English” (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 8/21/2012)—an idea preempted by her belief that CLT will not lead her students to college. Ms. Kodama speculated, “after all, [we] will continue teaching to college entrance exams” (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 2/26/2013) as if there was no other instructional option available to her.

As a lead English teacher and a homeroom teacher at a college-track public senior high school, Ms. Kodama is constrained by her two positions. On the one hand, as a homeroom teacher responsible for her students’ overall academic achievement and career guidance, she wants to cater to her students’ needs. Her students want to go to college, so she wants to help them achieve this goal. As an “English” teacher, though, she recognizes the benefits of English proficiency; “being able to speak English is better than being unable to do so. Targeting communicative English [as an instructional goal] is ideally good” —an idea which stemmed from her position that those who speak at a certain level of English proficiency can get by better when they travel abroad or communicate with non-Japanese speaking colleagues and customers (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 8/21/2012). In the following excerpt this duality of senior high school English language education is represented as her dilemma: “However, when I look at my school, a college-track senior high school, but not so prestigious, we cannot prepare our students for college entrance exams if we teach [communicative English]. This is our true feeling and dilemma” (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 8/21/2012).

Ideality and reality conflict in Ms. Kodama’s vision of her teaching practice under the new curriculum at Purple High. She is caught between the new COS aims and the traditional grammar translation method that prepares students for college entrance exams, between her subject positions as an English language teacher and a homeroom teacher, and between her students’ needs and the symbolic demands the new COS has placed upon senior high school

English education. While she was able to imagine teaching after the new COS enactment, she did not seem aware of the potential to choose the ways in which she teaches English and transform her current pedagogy.

6.3.3 Ms. Maeda: Troubling nature of “senior high school” and “English education”

As a homeroom teacher for seniors, Ms. Maeda’s response to the new English curriculum sounded even more indifferent. In response to my question about what she thinks the purpose of the COS revision is, she said:

[It] was ‘cause [we have to] help Japanese to be able to compete in English in the [global] society. I guess [the new COS] is trying to pour an ‘English shower’ [on students].

However, after all, I think it’s impossible to [teach] communicative English within the framework of the school English curriculum. (Ms. Maeda, Interview, 8/09/2012)

She interprets the COS revision as a way to expose senior high school students to the target language in a communicative manner so they will become proficient in English. The idea is that, in due course, students will become active participants in global competition with their acquired English skills. Although she acknowledges Japan’s national vision, which underpins such an instructional goal, Ms. Maeda was not optimistic enough to imagine Japan’s English education as a viable way to make all students competent in English.

I don’t think it’s possible for my students to acquire communicative competence in English or not even in Japanese. [We] haven’t yet tried fully to develop [our students’] communicative competence in Japanese, so it’s like why do we have to do it in English.

(Ms. Maeda, Interview, 08/09/2012)

In education, communicative competence is defined as a speaker’s grammatical knowledge as well as social knowledge of the target language (Canale & Swain, 1980). Ms. Maeda uses the

idea of communicative competence in a narrow sense, making it mean a particular linguistic activity such as a debate. She does not seem to expect her students to be able to debate in Japanese, the mother tongue of most students at Purple High, let alone in English. Although the acquisition of communication skills in Japanese is a targeted outcome for the Japanese language and arts, *Kokugo*⁷¹, Ms. Maeda said few Japanese language teachers have students engaged in communicative activities in class. Troubled by the CLT underscored in the new English curriculum, she denounced the revision, stating it was failing to do justice to senior high school English teachers because it neglected to acknowledge the myriad other responsibilities they had on top of classroom instruction.

As a homeroom teacher for seniors, she had three school absentees who missed class almost every day and were on the verge of failing a grade because they had not been present at school for a sufficient number of days. One of these students was already a repeater, and Ms. Maeda had had a hard time communicating with him and his mother. Nevertheless, she was trying to help these students graduate by working with them, a school nurse, and a contract counselor while simultaneously helping her other students choose a career to pursue after graduation. Career and student guidance are two of the major responsibilities assigned to a senior high school homeroom teacher, so it makes sense for Ms. Maeda to prioritize her homeroom teacher role and the need to teach English for college entrance exams under such a circumstance; her students were graduating and moving on to the next phase of life.

If students think having cross-cultural experiences and conversing with an assistant language teacher are fun, they can focus on listening and speaking [when learning

⁷¹ *Kokugo* refers to Japanese language instruction taught in primary and secondary education. The literal translation is “the national language”, and scholars (Gottlieb, 2005; 20012, Liddicoat, 2007) criticize the ideological nature of the term as used in education. Japan does not have an official language policy, but the Japanese language is the de facto official language.

English]. If this is not the case [with other students], English should be a tool for them to get into college. Well, so, it depends on your priority. If a student wants to improve his/her communication skills, I would say the student should go abroad and study. For now, I can only think about how I can teach my students to acquire English that helps them to get into college to achieve their goals [in life]. (Ms. Maeda, Interview, 8/21/2012)

Ms. Maeda similarly recognizes the troubling implications “senior high school English education” carries in that these implications involve not only “English” but is also “senior high school.” Given the consequences, she has settled upon an order of priority which enables her to handle multiple responsibilities. Her stake is highest in her students’ academic achievement, namely in their obtaining a high school diploma and college admission. In order to help her students to get into college, she is convinced she has to teach to the test. She affirmed that she could only think of how helpful her way of teaching English would be to those students preparing for college entrance exams—a way of thinking that would not necessarily allow for teaching practical skills but would help students gain cultural capital, specifically a college education. She resolves the potential conflict between her subjectivities as a college advisor and an English teacher by rejecting approaches to the latter that don’t help the former.

6.4 Before and After Implementation: Classroom Practice in 2012, 2013, and 2015

In this final section, I focus on the change and the maintenance of the status quo at Purple High as well as in Ms. Maeda’s teaching practice before and after the COS enactment in April 2013. By recording local practice from 2012 through 2015, I show how she came to terms with and yet remains conflicted with the demands of the new policy, her students’ needs, and the local teaching context. My aim is to articulate Ms. Maeda’s instruction: how and why she changed or

did not change her practice in accordance with the new English education policy. I showcase her classroom practice based on my class observations with field notes and teaching materials collected at the time of the observations from 2012 through 2015.

6.4.1 Before Implementation: Academic Year 2012-2013

The first classroom practice I observed was in August 2012. Ms. Maeda was a homeroom teacher for seniors in the science track at that point. She was wary about what would happen to her homeroom students if they did not do well on exams and tests, and there were some students she had to give extra support and care to while remaining in close contact with their parents.

6.4.1.1 Overwhelming Teaching Schedule

Myriad responsibilities were placed on Ms. Maeda. Regarding instructional hours, she taught a total of 24 – 25 classes per week during regular semesters in the academic year of 2012-2013. In addition, as a homeroom teacher, she supervised daily Cleaning⁷² and Homeroom: Morning and Afternoon Class Assembly⁷³ as well as Career and Student Guidance on a regular basis. As mentioned in the previous section, she had a problem with student guidance because she had three students who missed school on a regular basis. She had to visit their houses and talk with their parents about how to support them in order to help them graduate. She looked after the girls' volleyball team as well and was obliged to come to school on weekends for the team since students could not practice without the team supervisor's presence. On top of those responsibilities, Ms. Maeda sometimes had to go to volleyball games played by other schools as a referee on weekends even when her team did not practice and her students took a

⁷² In Japan, students clean their classrooms and all of the school facilities every day while teachers supervise and clean with them.

⁷³ A homeroom teacher takes attendance during the morning class assembly, and if any students have not shown up, s/he calls the students' parents to see whether the student will come to school later in the day. The afternoon class assembly occurs after cleaning, and in it students are informed of miscellaneous school-related matters including the next day's class schedule and homework.

day off. Outside of school, however, she served as the chair of the Prefectural Senior High School English Research Group from 2012 to 2014, which hosted a big, regional English education conference in 2013. She attended a weekly meeting for that. As shown on the next page, Ms. Maeda's teaching schedule (Figure 9) during this time was overwhelmingly tight.

Figure 9: Ms. Maeda's Teaching Schedule at Purple High

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri
0	EX	EX	EX	EX	EX
1	Meeting 40 th SA	English II			English II
2	English II	Reading	English II	Writing	English II
3	English II	Meeting English Dpt.	English II	Reading	
4	English II		Meeting HT		Reading
5		Writing	English II	Reading	
6	Reading	Reading		HR	
7	General Study				
8	Academic Extra Curricular Classes & Volleyball Club				

The EX in the top row refers to academic extracurricular classes designed to prepare students for college entrance exams. Ms. Maeda taught such classes from 7:40. to 8:30 a.m. every day and again after school from 4:00 to 5:00 p.m., two to three days per week. Meeting 40th SA refers to a weekly meeting for the 40th school anniversary executive committee, which planned the anniversary ceremony and sports events and compiled a memorial magazine. Being an alumna, Ms. Maeda also served as a member of the Purple High Alumni Association. She was in charge of the school's memorial magazine, which did not count as an official responsibility as a teacher.

Neither Integrated Study⁷⁴ nor the English Department Meeting were offered every week, so she sometimes had time for lesson planning and other duties during these segments of the day. HT stands for a weekly meeting for homeroom teachers, where teachers discuss all kinds of matters including student guidance, career guidance, students' academic performance, and school events. In her interview, she stated she was trying to leave school by 8:30 p.m. so she could get home by 9:00 p.m. (Ms. Maeda, Interview, 08/05/2012)

6.4.1.2 Classroom Practices: Seniors 2012

I observed her class for the first time in the summer of 2012 when the school was supposed to be closed for summer break. Purple High, however, was operating as if it had been a regular semester, offering extracurricular classes for college entrance exam preparation in July and August for all grades. Ms. Maeda taught *San-Nen Sei* (12th Grade), which meant full day summer classes for her while classes for *Ichi-Nen Sei* (freshmen) and *Ni-Nen Sei* (sophomore) were offered only in the morning.

I spotted several students when I arrived at the school entrance. They noticed me as a guest and politely bowed, saying “Konnichiwa,” which means “Hello” in English. I checked in at the school administration office and waited at a guest room until Ms. Maeda came to the room and greeted me.⁷⁵ Later, I told Ms. Maeda the students were nice enough to greet me even though I was a total stranger. She smiled and said, “Oh yeah, we taught them to be nice to our guests by telling them that you might be the only student at Purple High our guests encounter, so you have to be ready to act like a representative of our school” (Filed notes, 08/05/2012). Many more students greeted me in the hallway as I walked with Ms. Maeda to the classroom I was going to

⁷⁴ Integrated Study is a course that helps students learn various topics and issues of interest through active learning, project-based learning, and critical thinking. 105 are the minimum instructional hours to be taken within three years as set by MEXT. [don't know what “to be *taken* within three years” means.]

⁷⁵ After the first day, I went up to the teachers' office on the second floor of the school building and often waited at someone else's desk in the office.

observe. Although the students were likely cognizant of Ms. Maeda's presence, I could tell their greetings were also directed at me. Upon entering the classroom, I encountered friendly greetings from the students there as well.

The extracurricular class, which prepared students for college entrance exams, had 40 students but no Information and Communication Technology (ICT) equipment.⁷⁶ Ms. Maeda stood at a podium in front of a blackboard, which had been in use since 40 years ago when the school was founded. The class started with students' greeting her as prompted by the class leader in chorus of "*Yoroshiku Onegai Shimasu!*"⁷⁷ The textbook was a reading and grammar workbook that targeted college entrance exams and offered practice in the form of true/false questions, fill in the blanks, and 10- to 15-word translation questions.

Ms. Maeda spent the first fifteen minutes on a grammar quiz that focused on English sentence structures as taken from a supplementary book for college entrance exams the students studied every day as homework. Several types of questions were used, including multiple choice, fill in the blank, and sentence order completion. The entire class was teacher-centered and conducted in Japanese with the grammar translation method in use. Ms. Maeda circulated around the classroom only twice—first when proctoring the grammar quiz and then when she had her students write their answers on the blackboard. The only time the students spoke up was when Ms. Maeda called upon them to answer questions in the workbook. The atmosphere of the class was friendly, though, and Ms. Maeda was cheerful and friendly as well. She told jokes from time to time to make the class lively and to wake up any students who may have inadvertently fallen asleep because of their own strenuous schedules.

⁷⁶ A desktop computer was initially in the classroom for students to use. They were able to research things related to their future careers, such as colleges and jobs. The computers were, however, removed, and as of 2016, no computers are available to students in their homeroom classrooms.

⁷⁷ Literal translation is "Thank you in advance" or "Thank you for taking care of us."

According to her, there was not any difference between the extracurricular courses I observed and the courses under the official curriculum, which were also conducted exclusively in Japanese and used a teacher-centered orientation with a grammar translation method. The *gakunen* made common exams for evaluation. The evaluation breakdown for regular classes were 80% for written exams and 20% for participation/attendance. They used the bell curve only for participation. A rare evaluation practice at Purple High is that they offered all the students a stand-alone 20-minute-long listening exams for both mid-term and final exams, though other senior high schools do not offer such listening exams unless they are teaching an Oral Communication course. When calculating a final grade in other schools, the listening portion is figured into scores of other English courses, for example, Writing. However, the teachers at Purple High used pre-made listening exams accompanied with unauthorized listening supplement textbooks they used in academic extracurricular classes.

6.4.1.3 Planning on Implementation

I visited Ms. Maeda again on February 26, 2013—one day before the school's graduation ceremony and interviewed her. I checked in at the administration office on the first floor, and one of the staff members called Ms. Maeda in the teachers' office. She came down from the teachers' room on the second floor to greet me there. The class sessions in the afternoon were canceled that day as the whole school was preparing for the alumni induction ceremony that day and the graduation ceremony the next day: the school gym was turned into a ceremony venue with more than 1000 chairs for students, parents, and teachers arranged precisely on the floor, a bonsai-tree at the podium on the stage. The national flag –*Hinomaru*⁷⁸ –was placed in the center, next to the prefectural flag, on the wall of the stage. The freshmen and sophomores had been dismissed

⁷⁸ *Hinomaru* is a common name used to refer to Japan's national flag, which has a red circle on a white background. The red circle represents the sun.

already, but many of them on the student council and committees were still preparing for the next day with teachers' guidance. Ms. Maeda chose the day for an interview because she thought she and Ms. Kodama would have more time that day because of the cancelation of the afternoon classes. However, they were busy. Ms. Maeda, as a homeroom teacher for seniors, had to make sure she prepared everything, including official documents: academic report cards, graduation certificates, school year book, etc., which she was going to give to her homeroom students on graduation day. Also, Ms. Kodama was, as Chief of School Environment and Facility, in charge of cleaning, which was specifically important that day as they were going to welcome parents, the president of the alumni association, and a representative from the PBOE to the ceremony the next day. Because of their hectic schedule, our interviews started 40 minutes late, and I was waiting for Ms. Kodama I was going to interview first at someone else's desk in the teachers' office⁷⁹, where teachers and students were busy working.

Ms. Maeda told me she was just beginning to think about what do to with the new curriculum and how she would teach the new courses. Principal Tokuda had told her to make action plans to strengthen the English learning ability of the incoming freshmen while he, himself, planned to start a week-long English camp over the summer by collaborating with a university⁸⁰ in the region. Ms. Maeda also wanted to discuss instructional changes and goals with another English teacher, who was going to be the Head Teacher for *Ichi-Nen Sei* (freshmen) but had not yet had any meetings due to her and the other teacher's hectic schedules.

6.4.1.4 Selection of Textbooks and Supplemental Materials

In Happy Hill District, the preparation for the next academic year begins in the first

⁷⁹ All the teachers but the Principal, approximately 60, including the Vice Principal share the teachers' office at Purple High. Approximately 70 desks were in the room and the desks were clustered together according to the grade the teachers were teaching.

⁸⁰ The university is well known for its bilingual medium of instruction policy: English and Japanese.

semester when teachers choose textbooks⁸¹ for the courses they are most likely to teach the next year.⁸² If a teacher currently teaches sophomores, she will choose a textbook for seniors because she will move up a level with the students in the Japanese high school *Gakunen* system.⁸³

Because of this, selected textbooks vary greatly each year. Ms. Maeda, who was teaching seniors at the time of the interview, had chosen a Communication I textbook for incoming freshmen with the input of other teachers teaching *San-Nen Sei*. After the textbook selection, supplemental workbooks and other books are chosen.⁸⁴ Then schools report the textbooks they have picked to the PBOE during the summer break. This routine is something teachers complete every year. Other than the textbook selections, though, there is not much for teachers to prepare for because schools do not change the academic curriculum unless the COS changes it for them.

6.4.1.5 Curriculum and Evaluation Rubric Development

In the year before the new COS enactment, therefore, this routine was shaken and teachers were obliged to develop a new curriculum for each subject by choosing courses and allocating credit hours. 2012 was the year in which teachers had to think about what they wanted to teach and how many hours they wanted to spend on which courses. At Purple High, the English department held a meeting before July 2012 and decided on a new curriculum. According to Ms. Kodama and Ms. Maeda, though, they did not talk about how to change their evaluation criteria. The new COS, which targets performance-based evaluation, called for individual public senior high schools to develop a rubric called a “Can Do List” and to submit it

⁸¹ Every year, each senior high school student buys MEXT-authorized textbooks selected by teachers at individual schools.

⁸² Teachers do not know which classes they are going to teach due to the Prefectural personnel reshuffle in late March every year.

⁸³ Japanese senior high schools have a grade system called *Gakunen*, which comprises three grades: Freshmen, Sophomores, and Seniors in the American education system. They are called *Ichi-Nen Sei*, *Ni-Nen Sei*, and *San-Nen Sei*. A homeroom teacher is expected to move up to the next *Gakunen* with her/his students and will have to take care of all aspects of her/his students’ lives until they graduate.

⁸⁴ Supplemental workbooks and books do not have to be authorized by MEXT.

to the PBOE during the second semester. The “Can Do List” had not become a topic of discussion, though, in Purple High by July 2012. However, Ms. Kodama as Lead English Teacher was racking her brain over what to do with the rubric development. In the end, she made the rubric part of the first-year teaching in-service training with a first-year teacher who she was mentoring in 2012. She then passed the rubric around to the other English teachers and submitted it to the PBOE. Ms. Maeda remembered the fact that she saw the rubric made by Ms. Kodama and the first-year teacher, but she did not remember what the rubric was like when I asked her about it.

6.4.1.6 In-service Training: *Shidôshuji* from Prefectural Education Center

An individual school can invite a teacher consultant, called a *shidôshuji*⁸⁵, from the Prefectural Education Center (PEC) to come and help them learn more about the new COS and the pedagogical changes targeted in the new curriculum. A memo describing one such workshop’s agenda was prepared by Ms. Kodama and circulated in the department. It reads as follows:

Thank you so much for coming to our school today and giving us a lecture about the new curriculum. We would like to learn with concrete examples about what aspects of the curriculum we have be mindful about and what kind of means we should utilize in order to help students to develop English skills: 1) lesson structures, 2) how to promote students’ self-study at home, 3) how to make mid-terms and final exams, 4) evaluation, and 5) what kind of preparation we should do for the new curriculum implementation.

(We would like to hear about how the pilot schools are doing and their successful

⁸⁵ Teacher consultants in the education bureau in the Prefectural Administrative Office or in the Prefectural Education Center are certified high school teachers who hold administrative duties and mentoring responsibilities for a couple of years due to a personnel reshuffle. They eventually go back to teaching or may be promoted to principal or vice principal of a local school.

teaching practices.) (Memo, 09/30/2012)

The last question asked of the consultant was “How do you expect the university entrance exams will change for students who have studied under the new curriculum? We are particularly interested in ‘the exit’ above all” (Memo, 09/30/2012). The memo, therefore, represented the way in which the English department was trying to figure out a point of compromise between the pedagogical changes targeted by the COE and the preparation needed for university entrance examinations. As such, the department and the teachers were willing to spend two hours learning the new curriculum to find ways in which they could fulfill the new COS instructional goals while serving their students’ academic needs.

On September 30, 2012, the English teacher consultant arrived to give the two-hour long in-service training. He brought sample lesson plans and handouts to encourage the teachers to walk away from teacher-centered instruction with grammar translation methods, hoping they would use more student-centered methods with performance-based communicative language instruction to help students participate in active communication in class. Ms. Maeda remembered how the consultant emphasized the importance of reading aloud and said she was probably going to utilize the activity in her lesson, though she was not sure why it was important (Interview, 02/26/2013). During the workshop, Ms. Kodama asked the teacher consultant about potential changes to the Center Test for English: “if the college entrance exams are going to ever change? And if that’s the case, how?” (Interview, 02/26/2013). She told me the consultant did not give a definite answer and simply said there seemed to be some changes undertaken. His handout stated “Changing teachers’ awareness is the most pressing agenda” in the implementation of the new COS. While he promoted CLT or the task-based, active learning the new COS targets, he was unable to hold himself accountable for the promotion of CLT and failed to clarify to what extent

such instructional changes would affect the overall assessment of academic achievement of the students at Purple High. Ms. Kodama was concerned such pedagogical changes would become irreversibly consequential to her students' college admission. Confused and frustrated, she concluded, "so in truth, we don't have anything but confusion, not knowing what's gonna happen [next year]" (Interview, 02/26/2013).

6.4.1.7 Individual Professional Development

Ms. Kodama

Workshops and information sessions offered by textbook publishers are also available to individual teachers. Textbook publishers regularly visit schools and leave sample textbooks, supplemental materials, and dictionaries. They let teachers know how their events relate to their ELL materials and to the trend of ELT pedagogy. The centerpiece of such events are guest speakers and the presentations of their teaching practices. The speakers are either famous senior high school teachers whose practices work well in their own teaching environments or college professors who promote CLT, PBL, or active learning. Ms. Kodama went to one such workshop offered by a publisher, ARC Inc.⁸⁶, and tried to incorporate one of the teaching methods she learned there by making it accessible to her students. She described the method introduced by a famous English teacher, Mr. Kimura Tatsuya at Nada Senior High School:

They hand out Japanese translation [of the text] to students beforehand. And then they have students do intense reading-aloud activities and reciting and give students tasks – this is a kind of [instructional] trend. Someone called *Kimutatsu*⁸⁷ at *Nada-Ko*⁸⁸ is doing

⁸⁶ A Japanese publisher, ARC Inc., publishes a wide variety of language learning materials and books, but their publications do not include MEXT-authorized textbooks.

⁸⁷ Mr. Kimura Tatsuya has published many books about his teaching methods for junior/senior high school English classes and became well-known enough to be nicknamed '*Kimutatsu*', which sounds close to '*Kimutaku*', a nickname for a member of a Japanese male top idol group: SMAP, '*Kimura Takuya*'.

⁸⁸ This is a shortened name for *Nada Kô-kô*, or Nada Senior High School in English. *Kô-kô* in Japanese means

this [type of instruction]. He has his students memorize everything. At the school, he has the students memorize [texts] paragraph by paragraph and recite [the paragraphs]. If they can't [recite well], he has them do some squats. (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 08/21/2012).

She was giggling a bit when she was talking about *Nada* students' squatting. She neither sounded shocked to hear such a practice nor seemed to think that having students do squats in class utterly deviated from English language instruction. A problem is that she seemed to accept such a practice as natural, unsurprising, or a joke. First, certainly, squatting certainly does not help students improve their English language competency, and most importantly, it is immoral for a teacher to have her or his students do such an act, which is, as I would frame it, a form of corporal punishment.

Nonetheless, she found *Nada-kô*'s method potentially useful for her students at Purple High. She believed that students should memorize a text or passage first in order to be able to speak English. As she said,

As to practical English, [we need to have] a first class session for reading comprehension so that students understand the content and a second class session for memorization [in order to use English]. ... If my students tackle English on their own, I think they can produce some output [in English]. (Interview, Ms. Kodama, 02/26/2013)

In her understanding, Yes-No questions were not helpful to develop students' speaking skill because they could "cheat" by saying only yes or no while easy questions and answers in English could be 'kludge' meaning that the task could be effective for a short term, but would not be meaningful for her students' long-term English learning goals. Also, Ms. Kodama was aware of a competence gap between listening and speaking prevalent among English language learners.

An English learner can understand more than what she or he can speak. Therefore, in order to be

senior high school.

able to speak English as balanced as her or his listening skill, she believes that a learner has to memorize much, or, in her words, to build “an English database.” She concluded, “I think after all it’s okay for us to pack the contents for students’ memorization” believing that all English instruction in a “truly meaningful way” would not be possible without such cramming (Ms. Kodama, Interview, 02/26/2013). Her narrative indicates that she intended to implement the communicative teaching policy, but in the end, her understanding of the new COS was hijacked and was transformed into recitation or rote memorization of English text because she could find no other teaching methods effective for her students’ goal: college admission.

Ms. Maeda

On the contrary, Ms. Maeda did not go to any professional development trainings or workshops on her own during the academic year of 2012-2013. In November 2013, though, she went to workshops and a plenary talk at a two-day regional conference hosted by the Prefectural Senior High School English Research Group that she was chairing. The conference was held in Happy Hill District that year exclusively for junior and senior high school English teachers. Teachers around the region shared their teaching practice at presentation sessions, but she did not elaborate her experience with the conference as much as Ms. Kodama did her attendance at the *Kimutasu* workshop hosted by ARC Inc.

6.4.2 First Year Implementation: Freshmen 2013

I observed Ms. Maeda’s freshmen class, English Communication I, three months after the initial COS enactment in July 2013 just after their finals week. The five-credit course integrated Oral Communication and English I⁸⁹ which were offered in the previous COS, and focused on students’ language production through communication activities with peers, reading materials,

⁸⁹ English I also focuses on four skills, but English Communication I focuses more on integrated skill acquisition with an emphasis on listening and speaking.

and grammar items sequenced in the book. The students in the course were given five 50-minute sessions per week. Purple High had, however, changed the course's structure. They used two of the five class sessions for grammar instruction, which was then combined with the extra curricular classes offered in zero period two to three times per week. These extra grammar instruction appeared to be a way to assure that the old curriculum, which prepared students for the high-stakes exams, was not sacrificed while the Communication 1 class was added. While the students had five class sessions per week that focused on grammar knowledge, they only studied the English Communication I textbook during the three regular class sessions. One class session out of three was team-taught with a Japanese English teacher and an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT). This kind of curriculum modification, however, is not uncommon in Happy Hill District. The majority of public senior high schools use a similar curriculum and do not use textbooks for all class sessions, instead supplementing their freshmen course with grammar instruction.

6.4.2.1 Evaluation 2013

No changes and revisions were observed in student evaluation, and although the English department had developed the performance-based evaluation rubric—the “Can Do List”—and submitted it to the PBOE, they were not actually using it. The students' performances were not reflected on their course grades either. Instead the teachers continued to use the same evaluation techniques they had been using for the old COS: 80% for exams and 20% for participation. They kept offering 20-minute-long listening exams for all the grades. According to Ms. Maeda, *Ichin-Nen-Sei* teachers changed types of questions asked in mid-term and final exams. Those new questions were demonstrative references, fill in the blanks, true or false, not focusing too much on translation from English to Japanese.

6.4.2.2 Classroom Practices: Freshmen 2013

I noticed three major changes in Ms. Maeda's instruction, though. First, she used PPT with a projector she had bought out of pocket because the teachers shared projectors and she thought it would be too much of a hassle to reserve one for every class and did not want to spend extra time on such logistics. Using PPT was a good idea in that it helped her save time when writing explanations and key points of materials on the blackboard. The problem was she had to carry her computer and projector, textbooks, roll book, and other materials to different classrooms throughout the day. In order to avoid bringing a projector screen from class to class, she projected white letters on the blackboard. Consequently, she could not use any pictures with PPT, which became a mere replacement of the blackboard. The classroom did not have a speaker system, either, so Ms. Maeda had to teach without audio and visual aids. She could not bring a CD player on top of those computer gadgets she had to carry around. Students participated in chorus reading activities without any pair or group-work. Her preview materials for reading comprehension were original (Figure 1: Ms. Maeda's Preview Material for English Communication I). The textbook she used had gambits she could print out, but she had wanted to make materials more appropriately tailored to challenge her students' English level. As seen in the next page, all of the sentences and questions on the preview handouts were written in English, though she instructed her students to answer in Japanese. This type of scaffolding I saw as a potential cause of a number of problems. Answering questions in English could help her students demonstrate their understanding by using the target language, but the use of Japanese hindered their English writing and speaking output. Students' linguistic output, therefore, was limited to writing in Japanese and failed to extend to speaking, which could, in turn, create a lack of integrated acquisition of four skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

Figure 10: Ms. Maeda's Preview Material for English Communication I

Lesson 3 Part 2 New Words	
re·al·ize	pro·duc·tion
dai·ly	de·mand
in·dus·tri·al	con·ven·ience
ma·te·ri·al	sup·ply
in·gre·di·ent	a·mount
prod·uct	dis·ap·pear
con·tain	dif·fi·cul·ty
soap	sur·vive
cos·met·ic	

Lesson 3 Part 2 New Phrases	
• The story might sound strange, but it is true. この話は奇妙に聞こえる()真実だ。	
• I like big cities, such as New York and London. 私はニューヨークやロンドン()大都市が好きだ。	
• We cannot do without a car in our daily lives. 私たちは日常生活で車()ことはできない。	
• Because of heavy rain, we couldn't take a trip to the mountains. ひどい雨(), 山に遠足に行けなかった。	
• We went shopping and spent a large amount of money. 私たちは買い物に行って()お金を使った。	
• I had difficulty answering the question. 私はこの質問に答える()。	

Lesson 3 Part 2 Make Sentences	
1	He didn't () his mistake.
2	The first-aid kit ()s medicines, bandages and so on.
3	The sun ()ed below the horizon.
4	Only the driver ()d the accident.

Lesson 3 Part 2 Questions	
◎ Answer in Japanese !	
1	Why do our daily lives require the plantations?
Write 5 examples.	
2	What everyday products have palm oil in them? Write 5 examples.

Although, in her interview in February 2013, Ms. Maeda understood the new COS targeted expressive and communicative English skills and CLT instruction, her course did not provide students with the learning environment necessary to acquire these integrated skills. Nevertheless, as revealed in Ms. Uchida and Ms. Yoshida's comments on class size, the large number of students in Ms. Maeda's class was one of the major obstacles to her using communicative language instruction. She appeared to be struggling to adjust her study materials to an individual students' needs—a challenging task in that the 40 students were all at different developmental stages and had different skill sets. In order to teach the whole class and keep pace with the other teachers in *Ichi-Nen-Sei*, Ms. Maeda ended up making a single version of study materials that were equally accessible to all 40 students. Thus, the targeted learners were the students in the lower-middle to low range while the students at the top and bottom were not able to receive instruction appropriate to their level.

6.4.3 Third Year Implementation: Seniors 2015

When I visited the school again in June 2015, the students I had seen the last time were now seniors preparing for college entrance exams. No changes had been made regarding objective conditions; classroom equipment, desk arrangement, and the class size were all the same. The computer and printer in each homeroom, though had been removed⁹⁰, and no ICT was available. Ms. Maeda's working conditions had not changed much either. Although she was no longer chair of the Prefectural Senior High School English Research Group, she was still responsible for a homeroom class, the Volleyball Team, and academic extracurricular classes as well as her position as a member of the Career Guidance Committee. On top of that, she was a homeroom teacher for seniors with additional duties related to extra career guidance targeting college admission, which *Ichi-Nen Sei* and *Ni-Nen Sei* homeroom teachers were exempt from.

6.4.3.1 Evaluation 2015

The ways in which the teachers at Purple High evaluated the students' achievement had remained the same as well. The "Can Do List" was still not in use, and out of 100%, 80% of the student evaluations still were accounted for by the common mid-term, final, and school original academic ability tests offered three times a year after summer and winter breaks. They still offered stand-alone listening exams for all *Gakunen* as part of college entrance exam preparation. The other 20% came in the form of participation, which evaluated class attendance, note-taking, homework, and other assignments. The full mark for participation thus totaled 20 points, but the teachers could decide on an average score for each *Gakunen* that they believed should be specifically targeted.

6.4.3.2 English-related Extra Curricular Activities 2015

⁹⁰ Students used the computers often when they first became available but stopped using them over time, so the school decided to remove all computers from the homeroom classrooms.

No English-related extracurricular activities outside of the courses for college entrance exams were offered to seniors in 2015. The *Gakunen* had a Speech Contest during their freshman years, but it was a one-shot event for freshmen only offered each year. Similarly, the seniors did not get a chance to participate in the English camp Principal Tokuda had started two years earlier.

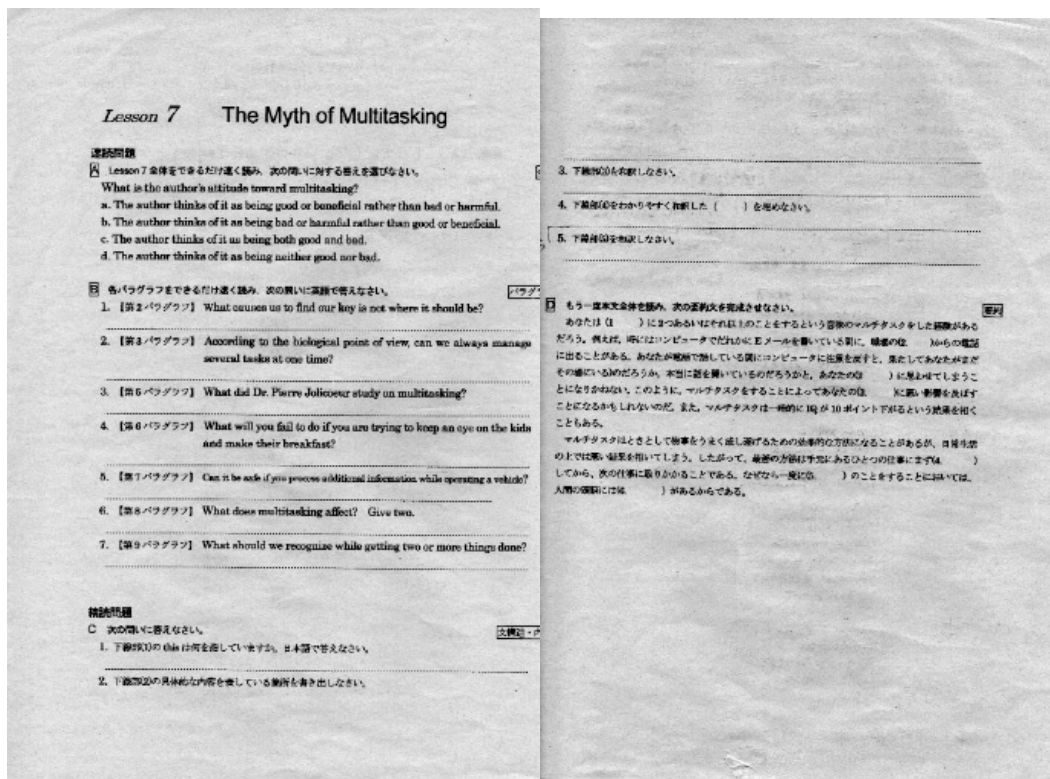
6.4.3.3 Classroom Practices: Seniors 2015

I observed the course English Communication II, which offered five 50-minute class sessions a week. English Communication II is an integrated class with four skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. The class started with a greeting prompted by the class leader guiding the students in the chorus “*Yoroshiku Onegai Shimasu*” as Ms. Maeda stood in front at the podium. The school did not use a class bell, so the students had to watch the clock on the wall above the blackboard in order to know when starting time occurred so they could stand up, bow, greet, and sit back down accordingly. A vocabulary quiz came next. Words were selected from a vocabulary book all of the seniors used as a supplemental material to expand their vocabulary. After reviewing the words for the quiz through a chorus reading, the students took the quiz, exchanged their answer sheets, and graded them with each other. Having collected the answer sheets, Ms. Maeda then had the students practice the pronunciation of the new words for the next quiz. Sitting in the back of the classroom, I could hear the class next door reading the same list of words at the same exact time.

Ms. Maeda presumed her students had done their homework and had them write their answers for the preview questions on the blackboard. She had stopped making her own original handouts and was now using the publisher’s premade study materials. Figure 11 (Ms. Maeda’s Preview Material for English Communication III) shows the changes of her preview materials she made. The directions were written in Japanese and seven questions in English required

answers in English. The other twelve questions included one multiple choice, one fill in the blanks with a summary in Japanese, and five target grammar problems, as well as four translation questions.

Figure 11: Ms. Maeda's Preview Material for English Communication III



Ms. Maeda checked the students' answers and explained the rationale for the correct answers by deconstructing the sentences and pointing out elements such as noun and verb phrases, conditional clauses, subject-verb agreement, relative pronouns, and so on. In doing so, she referred to another supplemental book, an English syntax reference book called NEXT STAGE⁹¹, and pointed out the numbers of the sample sentences relevant to the items she was explaining. For example, she would say to the students, "Well, so let's find the sentence number in NEXT STAGE. Hurry, hurry! Say the number aloud if you've found it" (Class observation,

⁹¹ NEXT STAGE is published by *Kirihara Shoten* and is widely used by senior high schools with general programs in order to prepare students for college entrance exams.

06/19/2015). After the students had found the page where the grammar item appeared, they would highlight the sample sentences and make sure of their meanings and structures.

During the class session, Ms. Maeda called upon students by seating arrangement, and the students rarely spoke up unless they were called upon to answer her questions. They were well-behaved and no one was a distraction. Some students, though, inadvertently fell asleep. At these moments, Ms. Maeda jokingly said, “Hey, don’t fall asleep!” in order to wake them up and keep them engaged (Class observation, 06/19/2015). At the end of class, Ms. Maeda made sure the students knew how they should be reading the textbook.

As you know, you should scan and skim the content of the reading at home and we do close reading at school, but you guys will have to read [this type of readings] at actual entrance exams or the second stage examination [for national and public universities].

(Ms. Maeda, class observation, 06/19/2015)

The class ended after reading two paragraphs of approximately 180 words each and checking the correct answers for the preview questions. At this point, Ms. Maeda announced, “I’m gonna give out the translation of the whole lesson on Monday” (Class observation, 06/19/2013) so the students would have time to study for the finals that were coming around in another week.

Just two years after the policy enactment, as a homeroom teacher for seniors, Ms. Maeda’s teaching style had reverted back to a revised version of the grammar translation method. She used the study materials as a guide to structure the class session; answering reading comprehension questions on the text was the main activity the students engaged in. The learning objectives were geared toward college entrance exams without room for communicative group or pair activities that could potentially encourage students’ output in speaking and writing. The efficiency of passive learning characterized her teaching approach at the time of my observation;

Ms. Maeda kept lecturing and calling upon students when she wanted them to answer questions. The students did not have the opportunity for active and/or task-based and/or communicative learning activities.

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter showcased the different teachers' understandings of the new COS and the ways in which they make meaning of senior high school English education in their respective teaching contexts. The findings also highlight the tacit practice and the common knowledge shared in the Happy Hill District and show how these practices circulate among schools and teachers. Even with over twenty years of teaching experience, Ms. Yoshida, Ms. Uchida, and Ms. Takeuchi were puzzled over how to implement the new policy, CLT with English-only instruction. While they knew they would have to teach the new curriculum sooner or later, they had not imagined the time would come so soon; their myriad school responsibilities deprived them of the time they could have spent on lesson planning and professional development as well as on themselves.

At Purple High, I focused on another group of three teachers: Principal Tokuda, Lead English Teacher Ms. Kodama, and English Teacher Ms. Maeda. Although they all had different ways of meaning making and approached the new COS uniquely, they all strove for one ultimate goal, namely that Purple High provide a high education to their students. Despite not having a label to describe the ideological agendas implied in the new policy, all of the teachers could pinpoint that, as associated with English language proficiency, the revitalization of Japan's economy was tacitly envisioned. Being principal may have helped to contribute to Mr. Tokuda's optimism in the balance he saw between CLT and English as needed for university entrance exams, whereas Ms. Kodama and Ms. Maeda, as the microlevel policy implementers, faced

difficulty in keeping the balance between the two. In particular, Ms. Maeda, who was primarily concerned with securing students' career paths after graduation, found her top priority to be in her teaching practice for college entrance exams.

I have, therefore, presented my observations on Ms. Maeda's classes in 2012, 2013, and 2015 in order to articulate how her practices changed or remained unchanged in light of the CLT targeted in the new COS. When she taught seniors in 2012, her classes were teacher-centered with the grammar translation method she hoped would help her students prepare for college entrance exams. In the first year of the policy implementation in 2013, though, she made efforts to change the ways in which she had been teaching. She created her own original study materials, used PPT with a projector she had purchased out of pocket, and gave Japanese translations of the textbook to her students so they would not be distracted and could focus on the English as written in the text. Two years after the policy implementation, though, in 2015, the ways in which she taught had reverted back to a new version of the grammar translation method, which focused on reading comprehension rather than pure translation. No active learning or pair or group-work for language production was observed in her classes.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Chapter Overview

Informed by the Historical-Structural (HS) Approach, through my ethnographic study of Japan's senior high school English education policy, I have explored the ways in which intersubjectivity plays out in the policy implementation process at multiple levels: The Course of Study (COS) as a national policy at the macrolevel, the Prefectural Board of Education (PBOE) and the Happy Hill District (HHD) at the mesolevel, and my study partners' narratives and classroom practices at Purple High at the microlevel. I finalize my findings in light of the conceptual lenses I used for my analysis: intersubjectivity, subjectivity, neoliberalism, and nationalism, including implications the findings have for teachers' in-service trainings, policy makers, and researchers as well as an offering of my theoretical contribution to the advancement of the field of the language planning and policy (LPP).

7.2 Influences of Mesolevel Shared Practices: Intersubjectivity in the School District and Local School, and Teachers' Shared Meaning

A myriad of mesolevel shared practices, as illustrated in Chapter 5, have significant influences on the COS implementation at the microlevel of the school, which I explored in Chapter 6. These shared practices with shared meanings comprise the mesolevel intersubjectivity that creates major constraints imposed upon individual teachers at the microlevel. These constraints have stemmed from the ways in which the Prefectural Board of Education (PBOE) supervises local schools, provides in-service trainings, hires new teachers through specific examinations, and transfers teachers between schools; these are indicative of the micromanaging nature of the PBOE administration. Nevertheless, the PBOE has not made much effort to change the material conditions of teaching environments such as the teachers' excessive workloads, the

large number of academic extracurricular classes offered outside of the national curriculum, the class size of 40 students, and the classroom equipment and environment, etc. In implementing the new COS, the PBOE has offered a one-day COS revised curriculum seminar, but the focus of the seminar simply informs teachers of the revised curriculum and contents but does not provide hands-on workshops for curriculum development, assessment criteria, or lesson planning. Also, the PBOE in the HHD has offered several sessions of a one-day in-service seminar for communicative English language instruction at pilot schools, but only a small number of teachers could participate in them due to the class scheduling problem common in all public high schools in the district. In addition, the focus of the PBOE's basic in-service trainings that all the English teachers have to go through underscores, not the teaching of English, but the development of the teachers' knowledge of homeroom management and the way they nurture students' overall growth with the ultimate goal of securing a career path after graduation—a value shared in the HHD.

Another area of major constraint is the HHD's shared practices with targeted educational goals. By offering a large number of academic curricular classes during academic semesters as well as summer and winter school breaks, the HHD schools support students with their academic achievement and college admission. At the same time, the HHD schools offer many opportunities for students to grow as a person through school events that require planning and practices from both students and teachers. On the one hand, the balanced curriculum targeting both students' academic achievement and personal growth are beneficial for students. On the other hand, however, these shared practices cause English teachers to overwork and deprive them from time for long-term professional development. Due to the constraints with time, teaching schedule, and workload coupled with the circulation of the *Hensachi* information—

standardized deviation scores—within the HHD, teachers barely had time to be collaboratively prepared for the new COS implementation within the school.

The findings in the first half of Chapter 6 highlighted the impact of these constraints on three teachers—Ms. Yoshida, Ms. Uchida, and Ms. Takeuchi—while revealing the implicit practices and shared knowledge that circulated within the mesolevel of the HHD. The teacher's narratives revealed discussions of intensive workloads and the backwash of pressure created by university entrance examinations. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising teachers have little time for themselves, for lesson planning, and for the development of new materials. In the HHD, high school teachers are expected to manage a homeroom *and* teach subject matter that emphasizes the moral and ethical aspects of students' personality growth as a person. Thus, teachers do not necessarily think students must become competent in English through senior high school English instruction. Instead, teachers find meaning in nurturing students as a whole person, interweaving the philosophy of the Basic Education Act (MEXT, 2006) represented in Article 1 into their practices and ultimately serving the overarching aims of the national education program.

As such, the HHD and the PBOE, constituting the mesolevel, are intersubjectively interlocked with common practices with shared meaning. The PBOE are cognizant of all these shared practices. Teacher consultants responsible for administrative duties in the PBOE are also teachers who teach or used to teach subject matter. The PBOE does not instruct the HHD to reduce the amount of academic extracurricular classes or teachers' workload; local schools or the HHD do not cut back the number of academic extracurricular classes either unless other schools do so. Schools in the HHD are afraid the reduction of extracurricular classes may lead to students' low academic performance, which may be reflected upon the *Hensachi* scores.

7.3 Intersubjectivity at Purple High in the Nexus of the Neoliberalism and Nationalism Implied in the Policy

We also see the impact of the macrolevel on the local. At Purple High, as illustrated in the second half of Chapter 6, three Japanese high school teachers demonstrated their understanding of the rhetoric surrounding the new COS and acknowledged the ways in which it connotes a national agenda, namely Japan's economic revitalization. They recognized the currency of English as the language of global business and understood the COS's aim to make Japanese citizens proficient in English in order to engage them in economic activities such as crossing national borders, both literally and figuratively, in a world where English is the lingua franca of the global market. Japanese citizens, therefore, are human resources meant to serve national interests—a state of being that furthers the neoliberal rhetoric naturalized in Japanese thinking, making this type of future the only imaginable path Japan can pursue.

Principal Tokuda seemed to have taken for granted that the COS revision entailed such an ideology, calling it *Ryukō* or a change in education. His subject position as the Principal at a college-track, middle-ranged public high school gave him the ability to envision a coherency between the goals of the new COS and English education at Purple High. Even though he is a former chemistry teacher, Principal Tokuda was aware of the wide gap present in “English for college entrance exams” and “English for communication.” Nevertheless, he seemed certain the new English curriculum would kill two birds with one stone by teaching students communicative English as they prepared for college.

The two English teachers at Purple High, on the other hand, were skeptical about the new English curriculum and did not think the English-for-communication policy could be held accountable for students' career path success after graduation. Ms. Kodama, the Lead English

teacher, recognized the rhetoric behind the COS revision and acknowledged English competence as beneficial, but as a homeroom teacher for sophomores, she was also concerned the new curriculum would create educational disparity between the privileged and underprivileged, solidifying stratification in education. This is because, should the new COS be fully implemented as it stands, privileged students would benefit by being able to study both types of English: English for communication and English for college entrance exams due to the many sociocultural advantages and resources available to them. Underprivileged students, on the other hand, would struggle with the new curriculum, which would not help them get into college. In cases such as this, the new COS inadvertently, or perhaps knowingly, sets a double standard that exacerbates educational disparity. Although Ms. Kodama's dilemma is indicative of her desire to teach English in a communicative manner, she is still persuaded there is no alternative to the current pedagogy at Purple High and believes teaching English for college entrance exams is in her students' best interests.

Ms. Maeda similarly recognizes the tacit agenda behind Japan's English education reform and the troubling implications the conflation of high school and English education ("senior high school English education") carries. As a homeroom teacher for 40 seniors, she has a high stake in her students' academic achievement and their need for high school diplomas and college admission. Her desire, after all, is to see her students move on to the next phase of life. In her narrative, she discussed how "senior high school education" overrides "English education" as English communicative competence is by no means useful when her students move on to college. As such, she believes there is no incentive for teachers to teach and for students to learn English for communication. Instead, "teaching to the test" is legitimized as the greater cause because her students' futures are at stake, leaving no room for other perspectives on English pedagogy, such

as CLT.

My three study partners' different subject positions suggest they each have a unique vision and personal understanding of Japan's English education and its new policy, and all have different ways of making meaning out of their teaching practices in the local context.

Nevertheless, as my analysis reveals, the nexus of their meaning making centers around whether their educational practices will benefit their students and help them achieve their career goals after graduation. This intersubjectivity mediates differences, making it possible to have a contented community, such as Purple High, where many differences converge upon one ultimate educational goal: sending students to college. This intersubjectivity, imposed at the mesolevel and lived out at the microlevel, works against implementation of the new national policy.

7.4 Coming to Terms with the New Policy: Classroom Practice

In the last section of Chapter 6, I presented my observations on Ms. Maeda's classes in 2012, 2013, and 2015 in order to articulate how her practices changed or remained unchanged in light of the CLT targeted in the new COS. Although Ms. Maeda attempted to depart from the grammar translation method the 2009 COS aimed to dispose of, she did not know what other teaching methods to move on to. She had difficulty figuring out how to teach communicative English without excessive instruction on grammar knowledge and translation, and departing from teacher-centered grammar translation did not automatically lead her into student-centered language learning, in which pair and group work would have been essential mediums of learning. Instead, Ms. Maeda found no common ground on which she could balance her position as a knowledge distributor and her students' positions as collaborators in constructing knowledge. This made her skeptical of the effectiveness and value of language learning through socialization among peers. In 2015, two years after the policy implementation, the ways in which she taught

had reverted back to a new version of the grammar translation method, focusing on reading comprehension rather than pure translation. Ms. Maeda did, though, understand the overall objectives of the 2009 COS (MEXT, 2009) for English instruction but did not have access to scaffolding techniques and strategies that would have promoted students' language production in writing and speaking. The new version of her grammar translation method was one form of instruction she could come to terms with under the new policy, finding it meaningful to herself and her students in light of her students' ultimate goal: college admission.

7.5 Theoretical Contribution

An analysis of mesolevel factors holds a central position in my research. Mesolevel intersubjectivity from both the PBOE's supervision and the shared practices and meaning circulating the Happy Hill District have shaped the social world that surrounds the district itself. Educational values shared by teachers work to create coherency in the district's practices and conventions, leaving no room for intervention in senior high school English language instruction at the microlevel, which the COS or macrolevel language policy strives to make. Although the PBOE is often considered a MEXT portal or ventriloquist, it is, in fact, intersubjectively contributing to the unity of the Happy Hill District. As such, when MEXT strives to implement the new CLT policy, the mesolevel, the PBOE and the HHD, as well as the microlevel, local schools, intersubjectivity intervene and mediate the neoliberal-national language policy, amending it into the long-held greater educational cause: "the full development of personality" and "[nurturing] citizens, sound in mind and body" (MEXT, 2006). Values in English language teaching and learning are intertwined with meaning, values, and practices of education shared by actors from the COS at the macrolevel to the PBOE and the HHD at the mesolevel, and to local schools at microlevel. These actors interact among multiple layers within the policy

implementation process. My study reveals, in particular, the ways in which the mesolevel actors, the PBOE and the HHD, and the microlevel actors, local schools, act upon each other and reinforce intersubjectivity—meaning making—and understanding shared through their reciprocal action in a given context. It is important, therefore, to elucidate the underlying meanings of practices observable at the microlevel, local schools and individual teachers, in relation to the mesolevel actors. In the case of a highly centralized education system such as Japan's, the analysis of mesolevel factors can unpack the complexity and mechanisms of policy implementation at the microlevel by showing how the teachers' teaching practices at the microlevel are susceptible to influences, both from the macro- and mesolevels, which are unique to the environment. Thus, I call for a more focused analysis of mesolevel factors through the examination of language education policy in different contexts—a process which would help capture a holistic picture of what the language policy implementation uniquely entails in a specific context at the specific moment.

Finally, I attempt to conceptualize the levels of analysis for LPP research. Traditionally, the layers of LPP analysis are hierarchically divided into three levels: macro-, meso-, and microlevels (See Johnson, 2013, p. 193, for more discussion on analytical models). Within this traditional model, the board of education as the macrolevel actor is placed structurally higher than the school district and local schools. Following this model, I shared a structural figure of the HHD in Chapter 6. However, my analysis of the relationship between the PBOE and the HHD reveals that this traditional model cannot accurately articulate their relationship situated in the context of my study. In the traditional model, the PBOE can be mistaken as an administrative unit that holds authority to force the HHD to implement the policy. As my study reveals, in fact, it does not. Although it offers in-service trainings in collaboration with pilot schools in the

district, the PBOE is not responsible for the assessment of the COS implementation results. The PBOE has no binding force. In the meanwhile, schools in the HHD are mutually vigilante by monitoring each other to see how others are implementing the new COS. In this sense, the PBOE and the HHD as a whole are equally powerful entities discursively engendering intersubjectivity, which further saturates into the microlevel intersubjectivity of local schools. Thus, the role of the PBOE is significant functionally, not structurally. The PBOE holds a higher place structurally than the HHD. However, given the degree of influence each has on the pedagogical transformation of local schools, the PBOE holds no greater power than the HHD. Thus, the examination of administrative units requires close attention to their function rather than the place it holds in the educational structure.

Further, I call for the analysis of schools as collective properties in LPP research. While, conventionally, the microlevel analysis of LPP focuses on discussions of the agency of individual teachers, I propose an analytical model that conceives both local school and individual teachers as microlevel actors. As for the case of the local school in my study, the issue of agency is not individual, but collective. For instance, at Purple High, individual teachers' teaching practices are generalized by the collaborative nature of their work, or, in other words, by collective agency, which creates and is created by intersubjectivity within the school. The *Gakunen* system and the Homeroom Class system are a representative example of this collectivity. This intersubjectivity did not allow policy implementation to happen the way in which the MEXT, the macrolevel actor, had envisioned. On the contrary, the 2009 version of the COS has been translated, rather than implemented, by the microlevel intersubjectivity, in the way it understands the meaning of the COS resonating with educational values, stakes, and goals shared within the local school.

This analytical model helps understand how the LPP process comes about in a highly centralized education system such as Japan's. In my study, the meso- and microlevels of intersubjectivity interplay and operate within the HHD. Such highly contextualized intersubjectivity does not allow room for the macrolevel policy, the COS, to make substantial interventions in the practices of the HHD.

7.6 Implications

In-service trainings

I have an instructional suggestion I hope will help teachers develop their CLT competence with a class size of 40 students. As revealed in my analysis of Ms. Maeda's teaching practice, providing concrete strategies and techniques of scaffolding with teachers through teacher education is a need of some urgency. Through engaging hands-on workshops that involve teachers in creating CLT materials and activities useful in classrooms, in addition to attending a lecture- or observation-based in-service trainings, teachers would be able to develop original materials that will appropriately challenge their students. Furthermore, helping teachers recognize the effectiveness of pair and group work, particularly when teaching a large class, would provide opportunities in which teachers can discuss and think through ways in which they can evaluate students' linguistic activities as well as sequence multiple tasks that will eventually lead to advanced tasks or projects. In this way, teachers would be able to scaffold large projects or tasks by breaking them down into smaller, manageable tasks that would be more accessible to students at different competency levels.

Policy Makers

In order to implement the COS to its full potential, policy makers should provide budgets and resources to make such a thing happen. First, the PBOE should put a stop to schools

offering excessive numbers of academic extracurricular classes during long breaks. Without such obligations, English teachers would be able to spend more time on curriculum development, lesson planning, material development, and collaboration with colleagues. There would also be more time for them to attend workshops and seminars outside of school. Traditionally, implementation efforts emphasize teachers' in-service trainings to change their pedagogy, but, as my study suggests, there is little time for teachers to participate in such in-service trainings, let alone for them to spend time on lesson planning and material development. Second, either MEXT or the PBOE should provide a budget that would change material conditions, such as the class size and the classroom facilities. With a class of 40 students, it is not hard to imagine how difficult it is to monitor individual student's progress and to promote individualized learning. A smaller class size is strongly recommended. Also, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) equipment, such as a projector, a speaker set, and a pull-down screen, should be made available in individual homeroom classrooms so that teachers can create a multimodal teaching and learning environment in which individual students can access learning modes that fit their preferred learning styles. Thus, policy makers should make budgets available alongside the new policy.

Researchers

Researchers studying Japan's English education policy should call for support to provide teachers with sufficient time and opportunities where teachers can reflect on themselves and their teaching practice as "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988). While there have been constant suggestions for improvement in the quality and quantity of in-service teacher trainings (Samimy & Kobayashi, 2004; Tahira, 2012), in the Japanese context I studied, due to the overwhelming size of their workload, the teachers do not have time to participate in in-service

trainings and to reflect upon their teaching practice so as to improve their teaching skills. This means researchers should share teachers' voices with policy makers and call for comprehensive reform and budgets for classroom equipment and improved teachers' working conditions. I understand I am pointing out what has been excluded from discussions of the COS implementation; such material conditions have been considered almost impossible to change. Researchers should, however, speak up for teachers and support their professional development. Teachers know what they are expected to do under the new COS but cannot figure out what to do with the multiple responsibilities left on their shoulders. Situated within their local contexts, teachers are left conflicted with competing subjectivities. Research findings can certainly speak for teachers who have and are continuing to balance the challenges and issues that accompany the policy change and demands from the local context.

7.7 Suggestions for Further Research

There remain many areas that should be examined through further research. First, studies should be made on linguistic minority students enrolled in public schools in Japan. The enrollment number is relatively small, but those students are most likely to face challenges and obstacles under national language education policies such as the COS as it targets mainstream students' education. Second, students' responses to the new COS and their experiences with the new curriculum have been under researched. Combined with the study results of teachers' responses to and experiences with the new COS, studies on students' involvement will help to illuminate a comprehensive picture of what English classrooms have been through once a new policy has been enacted at the microlevel. The study results could inform pedagogy from students' viewpoints on CLT and the college entrance examination. Third, researchers should examine different types of high schools with courses including agriculture, business, fishery, and

engineering as my study centered on the new COS implementation at high schools with the general academic program. Different types of schools would have different expectations of English education and thus experience an implementation process differently from the schools in my study. Forth, more analysis of the functions of the PBOE at the mesolevel, including its role in policy implementation, should be done in order to make the boundaries of teachers' responsibilities for implementation transparent. If the mesolevel intersubjectivity creates an insulation resistant to pedagogical transformation, it needs to be understood in regards to the actors who contribute to it. Finally, more mesolevel analysis should be done to accumulate a body of insightful knowledge on how and why language education policy is implemented in the way it is at the microlevel. As we have seen, intersubjectivity, interweoven with individual subjectivities, transpires through macro-, meso-, and micro-layers of an English language policy's implementation.

Bibliography

- Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 109-137.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso.
- Anderson, G. L. (1989). Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of Educational Research*, 59(3), 249-270.
- Anderson, K. T. (2008). Intersubjectivity. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 468-469).
- Aoki, E. (2003). Personnel Transfer from Ministry of Education, Science, Sports, and Culture to the Local Governments — An Analysis of 825 Cases 1977-2000 —, 19-36, 東京大学大学院教育学研究科教育行政学研究室紀要 第22号
<http://www.p.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~gyousei/bulletin/22-24/22Aoki.pdf>
- Bailey K. M., & Pasternak, M. (2004). Preparing nonnative and native English-speaking teachers: Issues of professionalism and proficiency. In L. D. Kamhi-Stein (Ed.), *Learning and teaching from experience: Perspectives on nonnative English speaking professionals*. (pp. 155-175). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Baldauf Jr, R. B. (2012). Introduction – Language Planning: Where have we been? Where might we be going? Introdução – Planejamento linguístico: Onde estivemos? Para onde poderíamos ir? *RBLA, Belo Horizonte*, 12(2), 233–248.
- Block, D., Gray, J., & Holborow, M. (Eds.) (2012). *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics*. NY: Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. (1996). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Braine, G. (Ed.) (1999). *Non-native educators in English language teaching*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Laurence Erlbaum Associates.
- British Council. (2014). 文部科学省と英語指導力向上事業で連携 [Cooperation with Monbukagakaku-shō (MEXT) for the English leadership improvement project]. Retrieved from <http://www.britishcouncil.jp/about/press/20140516-mext-teacher-training>
- Canagarajah, S. (1999). *Resisting English imperialism in English language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Canagarajah, S. (2003). *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice*. New York: Routledge.

- Canagarajah, S. (2006). Ethnographic methods in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 42-59). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics*, 1, 1-47.
- Chen, B. E. S. (2014, October). As easy as ABC? English education in Japan, pp. 1–2. Retrieved from <http://thediplomat.com/2014/10/as-easy-as-abc-english-education-in-japan/>
- Clavel, T. (2014). China, South Korea face familiar woes in English quest. *Japan Times: Community*, pp. 1–8. Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2014/01/19/general/china-south-korea-face-familiar-woes-in-english-quest/#.UuBVhBnTlIC>
- Cooper, (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulmas, F. (2002). Language policy in modern Japanese education. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues*, (pp. 203-224). New York: Routledge.
- Crossly, N. (2005). *Key concepts in critical social theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 36–56. doi: 10.1017/S0267190514000191
- Duchêne, A., & Heller, M. (2012). Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit. In A. Duchêne & M. Heller (Eds.), *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit* (pp. 1-21). New York: Routledge.
- English, B., & Varghese, M. (2010). Enacting language policy through the facilitator model in a monolingual context in the United States. In K. Menken & O. Garcia (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers* (pp. 107-122). New York: Routledge.
- Fujita-Round, S., & Maher, J. C. (2008). Language education policy in Japan. In S. May & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Education, 2nd Edition, Volume 1: Language policy and political issues in Education* (2nd ed., Vol. 1, pp. 393–404). Springer Science+Business Media LLC.
- Fukuoka-ken [Fukuoka Prefecture]. (2015). 福岡県の人口と世帯（福岡県行政資料） [Population and Household of Fukuoka Prefecture. Fukuoka Prefecture Administrative Documents]. Retrieved from <http://www.pref.fukuoka.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/12230.pdf>

- Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Iinkai [Fukuoka Prefectural Board of Education]. (n.d.). 教員採用試験実施要項 [The Teacher Employment Examination Guidelines]. Retrieved from <http://www.pref.fukuoka.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/9353.pdf>
- Fukuoka-ken Kyōiku Sentaā [Fukuoka Prefectural Education Center]. (n.d.). 福岡県基本研修 [Fukuoka Prefectural Basic In-service Trainings]. Retrieved from http://www.educ.pref.fukuoka.jp/one_html3/pub/default.aspx?c_id=67
- Fukuoka Prefectural Yahata Senior High School. (n.d.)
Retrieved from <http://yahata.fku.ed.jp/html/syoukai/kouji.html>
- Gandara, P., & Rumberger, R. W. (2009). Immigration, language, and education: How does language policy structure opportunity? *Teachers College Record*, 11(3), 750-782.
- Gee, P. J. (1999). *An introduction to Discourse analysis: theory and method*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gergen, K. (2001). Self-narration in social life. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse theory and practice: A reader* (pp. 248-260).
- Giroux, H. (1988). Teachers as transformative intellectuals. *Social Education*, 49(5), 376-379.
- Glasgow, G. P. (2014). Teaching English in English, 'in principle': The national foreign language curriculum for Japanese senior high schools. *International Journal of Pedagogies & Learning*, 9(2), 152-161.
- Gorsuch, G. (2000). EFL educational policies and educational cultures: Influences on teachers' approval of communicative activities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 43(4), 675-710.
- Gorsuch, G. (2001). Japanese EFL teachers' perceptions on communicative, audiolingual, and Yakudoku activities: The plan versus reality. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 9(10).
- Gottlieb, N. (2005). *Language and society in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gottlieb, N. (2008). Japan: Language policy and planning in transition. In Kaplan, R. B. & Baldauf, R. B. (Eds.), *Language planning and policy in Asia* (pp. 102-169). Clevedon/Buffalo, U.S.: Multilingual Matters.
- Gottlieb, N. (2012). *Language policy in Japan: The challenge of change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halborow, M. (2012). What is neoliberalism? Discourse, ideology and the real world. In D. Block, J. Gray & M. Holborow, *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics* (pp. 14-32). London, UK: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York: NY. Oxford University Press.

- Hasegawa, Y. (2013). 日本の中等教育機関における英語以外の外国語教育の実情: 「英語教育以外の外国語教育の実情調査」 分析結果 [The current situation of foreign language education other than English at the secondary school level in Japan]. 九州産業大学国際文化学部紀要 [The Bulletin of Faculty of International Studies of Culture, Kyushu Sangyo University], 55, 113-139.
- Hashimoto, K. (2000). Internationalization is Japanisation. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 21(1), 39-51.
- Hashimoto, K. (2007). Japan's language policy and the lost decade. In A. B. M. Tsui & J.W. Tollefson (Eds.), *Language policy, culture, and identity in Asian context* (pp. 25-36). New York: Routledge.
- Hashimoto, K. (2009) Cultivating “Japanese who can use English”: Problems and contradictions in government policy. *Asian Studies Review*, 33(1), 21-43.
doi:10.1080/10357820802716166
- Hashimoto, K. (2013). ‘English-only’, but not a medium-of-instruction policy: The Japanese way of internationalising education for both domestic and overseas students. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 14(1), 16-33. doi:10.1080/14664208.2013.789956
- Heller, M. (2011). *Paths to post-nationalism: A critical ethnography of language and identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hiramasu, S. (2005). Contexts and policy reform: A case study of EFL teaching in a high school in Japan. In D. J. Tedick (Ed.), *Second language teacher education: International perspectives* (pp. 113-134). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Holborow, M. (2006). Ideology and language: Interconnections between neo-liberalism and English. In J. Edge, (Ed.). *(Re)locating TESOL in an age of empire*. Palgrave Macmillan. Hampshire: UK.
- Holborow, M. (2013). Applied linguistics in the neoliberal university: Ideological keywords and social agency. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 4(2), 229-257.
- Honna, N. (2005). English language teaching in Japan: Policy plans and their implementations. *RELC Journal*, 36(3), 363–383. doi:10.1177/0033688205060055
- Hornberger, N. H. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Language and social change*, 1 (pp. 24-41). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2013). Negotiating methodological rich points in the ethnography of language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 219, 101–122.

- Hornberger, N. H. (2015). Selecting appropriate research methods in LPP research: Methodological rich points. In F. M. Hult & D. C. Johnson (Eds.), *Research methods in language planning and policy* [Kindle] (pp. 744-1069). UK: Wiley Blackwell. Retrieved from <https://read.amazon.com/?asin=B00XA11LAY>
- Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(3), 509-532.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2010). Ethnography of language policy. In T. C. McCarty (Ed.), *Ethnography and language policy* (pp. 273-289). New York: Routledge.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Ricento, T. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427.
- Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Hu, G. (2005). English language Education in China: Policies, progress, and problems. *Language Policy*, 4(1), 5-24. doi:10.1007/s10993-004-6561-7
- Hu, G., & McKay, S. (2012). English language education in East Asia: Some recent developments. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(4), 345-362.
- Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, linguistics, narrative inequality: Toward an understanding of voice*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Ishida, M., Jimbo, H., Hisamura, K., & Sakai, S. (2011). *Developing professional competences of English language teachers: From pre-service training to lifelong learning* (Vol. 7). Tokyo: Taishūkan Publishing Company.
- JET Programme. (n.d.). *Welcome to the JET Programme!* Retrieved from <http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/index.html>
- Johnson, D. C. (2007). "Language policy within and without the School District of Philadelphia". *Dissertations available from ProQuest*. Paper AAI3260925.
- Johnson, D. C. (2009). Ethnography of language policy. *Language Policy* 8, 139-159.
- Johnson, D. C. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and the ethnography of language policy. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8(4), 267-279.
- Johnson, D. C. (2013). *Language policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Johnson, D. C., & Johnson, E. J. (2014). Power and agency in language policy appropriation. *Language Policy, 14*(3), 221-243. DOI 10.1007/s10993-014-9333-z
- Johnson, D. C., & Ricento, T. (2013). Conceptual and theoretical perspective in language planning and policy: Situating the ethnography of language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 219*, 7-21.
- Kachru, B. B. (Ed.). (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures*. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Kaplan, R. B., & Baldauf, R. B. Jr. (2003). *Language and language-in-education planning in the Pacific basin*. Dordrecht, Netherland: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Kato, K. (2009). Globalization and Japanese language policy. *Sophia Law Review, 52*(3), 137-170.
- Kawai, Y. (2007). Japanese Nationalism and the global Spread of English: An Analysis of Japanese Governmental and Public Discourses on English. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 7*(1), 37-55.
- Kawai, Y. (2009). Neoliberalism, Nationalism, and Intercultural Communication: A Critical Analysis of a Japan's Neoliberal Nationalism Discourse under Globalization. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 2*(1), 16-43.
- King, A. (2010). The two Habermases. In P. J. Martin & A. Dennis (Eds.), *Human agents and social structure* (pp. 71-85). New York: Manchester University Press.
- Kobayashi, Y. (2007) TEFL policy as part of stratified Japan and beyond. *TESOL quarterly 41*(3), 566-571.
- Kobayashi, Y. (2013). Global English capital and domestic economy: the case of Japan from the 1970s to early 2012. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 34*(1), 1-13.
- Kramch, C. (2012). *The multilingual subject*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Kubota, R. (1998). Ideologies of English in Japan. *World Englishes, 17*(3), 295-306.
- Kyōin Saiyō Shiken: Kyōsai info [Teacher Appointment Examination: Kyōsai info]. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://kyousai.info/bairitu/51.html#tyuugaku>
- Lapiri, L. (2010). Intersubjectivity. In R. L. Jackson (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of identity*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Lewis, C. C. (1995). *Educating hearts and minds: Reflections on Japanese preschool and elementary education*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press

- Liddicoat, A. J. (2007). Internationalising Japan: Nihonjinron and the intercultural in Japanese language-in-education policy, *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2(1), 32-46.
- Llurda, E. (Ed.) (2005). *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession*. New York: Springer.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2010). Language policy and planning. In N. H. Hornberger, & S. L. MaKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 143-176). Tonawanda, New York: Multilingual Matters.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2013). Innovation in language policy and planning: Ties to English language education. In K. Heylland & L. L. C. Wong (Eds.), *Innovation and change in English language education* (pp. 139-154). New York: Routledge.
- LoCastro, V. (1996). English language education in Japan. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 40-58). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MaGroarty, M. (2013). Multiple actors and arenas in evolving language policies. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 35-60). New York: Routledge.
- Martin, P. J., & Dennis, A. (2010). Introduction: the opposition of structure and agency. In P. J. Martin & A. Dennis (Eds.), *Human agents and social structures* (pp. 3-16). New York: Manchester University Press.
- McCarty, T. L. (Ed.) (2010). *Ethnography and language policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- MaGroarty, M. (2012). Multiple actors and arenas in evolving language policies. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 35-60). New York: Routledge.
- May, S. (2005). Language rights: Moving the debate forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistic*, 9(3), 319-347.
- Medgyes, P. (2001). 'When the teacher is a non-native speaker'. In Celce-Murcia M (Ed.), *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.
- Menken, K., & Garcia, O. (Eds.) (2010). *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers*. New York: Routledge.
- Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry. (METI). (2011). An interim report of the council on promotion of human resource for globalization development. Retrieved from http://www.meti.go.jp/policy/economy/jinzai/san_gaku_kyodo/sanko1-1.pdf

- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. a). 教育委員会制度について [*Board of Education System*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/chihou/05071301.htm
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. b). 教育審議会: 教育課程の基本的な枠組み [*Education Central Council: Basic framework for education curriculum*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo3/004/siryu/07100903/001/007.htm
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. c). 学級編成及び教職員定数に関する資料 (公立高等学校関係) [*Information on Class and Teacher Arrangement (Public Senior High Schools)*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/029/shiryu/05072002/002.pdf
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. d). 教員の現職教育 [*In-service teacher training*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317832.htm
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. e). 教科書検定の手続き等 [*Kyokashō kentei: Textbook authorization*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/gaiyou/04060901/1235090.htm
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. f). 免許更新リーフレット [*Menkyo kōshin leaflet*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/koushin/001/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/01/09/1236009_01.pdf
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (n.d. g). 高等学校英語教員数 [*The number of senior high school English teachers*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/082/shiryu/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2011/02/18/1301726_03.pdf
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (1999). 高等学校学習指導要領 [*The Courses of Study: Upper secondary school: English*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shuppan/sonota/990301/03122603/024.html
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (2002). 「英語が使える日本人」のための戦略構想 [*A Strategic plan to cultivate “Japanese with English abilities”*]. Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN008142.htm>
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (2003). 「英語が使える日本人」の育成のための行動計画 [*An Action plan to cultivate “Japanese with English abilities”*]. Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN008142.html>
- Monbukagaku-shō. (MEXT). (2003). 高等学校学習指導要領 [*The Courses of Study: Upper secondary school: English*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/cs/1320692.htm

- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2006a). 教育基本法 [*Basic Education Act*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/about/index.htm
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2006b). 教育基本法英語版（試案） [*Basic Education Act (Tentative English Translation)*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.html
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT) (2006c). 勤務実態調査 [*Work Survey*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/__icsFiles/afiedfile/2011/07/05/1308071_2.pdf
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2009). 高等学校学習指導要領 [*The Courses of Study: Upper secondary school: English*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/newcs/youryou/1282000.htm
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2011a). 国際共通語としての英語力向上のための5つの提言と具体的施策 [*Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication (Provisional translation)*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/component/english/__icsFiles/afiedfile/2012/04/11/13197071_1.pdf
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2011b). 国際共通語としての英語力向上のための5つの提言と具体的施策に係る状況調査 [*A survey on Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication (Provisional translation)*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/component/english/__icsFiles/afiedfile/2012/07/09/1319707_1.pdf
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2013). グローバル化に対応した英語教育改革実施計画 [*English Education Reform Plan corresponding to Globalization*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/english/topics/__icsFiles/afiedfile/2014/01/23/1343591_1.pdf
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2014). 平成26年度英語教育推進リーダー中央研修実施要 [*Central training for leaders for English education promotion in the Fiscal year of 2014*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/102/102_1/shiryu/__icsFiles/afiedfile/2014/06/26/1348788_01.pdf
- Monbukagakaku-shō. (MEXT). (2015). 日本人の海外留学状況について [*The current situation of Japanese students studying abroad*]. Retrieved from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/ryugaku/__icsFiles/afiedfile/2015/03/09/1345878_01.pdf

- Matsumoto, S. (2009). 外国語教育と言語権 [Foreign language education and language rights]. *Society of Language Communication Aichi Shukutoku University*, 10, 49-58.
- Morizumi, F. (2012). 日本人にとって英語とは何か: 英語教育と言語政策 [What English language means to Japanese: English language education and language policies]. *Review of Asian and Pacific Studies*, 37, 139-151.
- Motha, S. (2004). *The light cast by someone else's lamp: Becoming ESOL teachers*. Dissertation.
- Motha, S. (2008). Afternoon Tea at Su's: Participant voice and community in critical feminist pedagogy. In S. G. Kouritzin, N. A. C. Piquemal, & R. Norman, (Eds.), *Qualitative reserach: Challenging the orthodoxies in standard academic discourses* (pp. 103–120). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nakai, H. (2010). 高等学校における「英語の授業は英語で行う」についての一考察. [An Inquiry into Teaching English in English at Senior High Schools]. 大阪女学院大学紀要 7号 [Osaka Jyogakuin University Bulletin, 7, 33-53]. Retrieved from http://www.wilmina.ac.jp/ojc/edu/kiyo_2010/kiyo_07_PDF/d2010_03.pdf
- National Center for University Entrance Examinations. センター試験の概要と仕組み [Overview of Center Test]. Retrieved form http://www.dnc.ac.jp/center/shiken_gaiyou/index.html.
- Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Nikkei). (January 12, 2016). Foreign tourists: Where they go? What they buy? [外国人観光客、どこへ行く?何を買う?]. Retrieved from <http://vdata.nikkei.com/prj2/ft-sightseeing/>
- Nishino, T. (2008). Japanese secondary school teachers' beliefs and practices regarding communicative language teaching: An exploratory survey. *JALT Journal*, 30(1), 27-50.
- Nishino, T., & Watanabe, N. (2008). Communication oriented policies and classroom realities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 42(1), 133-138.
- Norton, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 9-31.
- Nunan, D. (2003). The impact of English as a global language on educational policies and practices in the Asia-pacific region. *TESOL Quarterly*, 37(4), 589-613.
- Oda, M. (2011). 英語教育をめぐる世論と専門家の役割 [The public opinions and roles of experts regarding English education]. 「論叢」玉川大学文学部紀要 [“Ronsō” The Bulletin, Faculty of Literature, Tamagawa University], 52, 165-173.

- Oda, M. & Takada, T. (2005). English language teaching in Japan. In G. Brain (Ed.), *Teaching English to the world: History, curriculum, and practice*. (pp. 93-101). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- OECD (2015a). 図表で見る教育 2015年版 日本語 [Education at a glance 2015 Japan in Japanese]. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/japan/Education-at-a-glance-2015-Japan-in-Japanese.pdf>
- OECD (2015b). Japan: Overview of the education system. Retrieved from <http://gpseducation.oecd.org/CountryProfile?primaryCountry=JPN&treshold=10&topic=EO>
- Okuno, H. (2007). A critical discussion on the action plan to cultivate “Japanese with English Abilities”. *The Journal of Asia TEFL*, 4(4), 133-158.
- Park, J. K. (2009). ‘English fever’ in South Korea: Its history and symptoms. *English Today*, 97, 25(1), 50-57. doi:10.1017/S026607840900008X
- Park, S. J., & Abelmann, N. (2004). Class and cosmopolitan striving: Mothers’ management of English education in South Korea. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 77(4), 645-672.
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. New York: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2002). Language policy and docile bodies: Hong Kong and governmentality. In J. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pennycook, A. (2006). Postmodernism in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Language and social change, 1* (pp. 60-76). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). Nationalism, identity and popular culture. In N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education* (pp. 62-86). New York, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Phan, H. L. (2013). Issues surrounding English, the internationalization of higher education, and national cultural identity in Asia: a focus on Japan. *Critical Studies in Education*, 54(2), 160-175. Doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2013.781047
- Piller, I., & Cho, J. (2013). Neoliberalism as language policy. *Language in Society*, 42(1), 23-44. doi:10.1017/S0047404512000887
- Port of Hakata. (2016) Expected Arrivals of Cruise Ship [クルーズ客船入港予定]. Retrieved from <http://port-of-hakata.city.fukuoka.lg.jp/guide/cruise/>

- Prus, R. (1996). *Symbolic interaction and ethnographic research: Intersubjectivity and the study of human lived experience*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Ramanathan, V., & Morgan, B. (2007). TESOL and policy enactments: Perspectives from practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(3), 447-463.
- Ramanathan, V. (2012). Rethinking discourses around the “English-cosmopolitan” correlation: scenes from formal and informal educational contexts. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, and A. Creese (Eds.), *Handbook on multilingualism*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Rappa, A., & Wee, L. (2006). *Language policy and modernity in Southeast Asia (Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand)*. New York: Springer.
- Ricento, T. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4, 196-213.
- Ricento, T. (2006a). Theoretical perspectives in language policy: An overview. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Language and social change*, 1 (pp. 3-9). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ricento, T. (2006b). Language policy: Theory and practice – an introduction. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Language and social change*, 1 (pp. 10-23). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ricento, T. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401-427
- Rogers, R. (Ed.) (2011). *Critical discourse analysis in education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE journal*, 8(2), 15-34.
- Saito, R. (2007). 日本人と英語:もうひとつの英語百年史 [Japanese people and English language: Another hindered-year English history]. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Samimy, K. K., & Kobayashi, C. (2004). Toward the development of intercultural communicative competence: theoretical and pedagogical implications for Japanese English teachers. *JALT Journal*, 26(2), 245-261.
- Sato, K., & Kleinsasser, R. C. (2004). Beliefs, practices, and interactions of teachers in a Japanese high school English department. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20, 797-816.

- Schiffman, H. (2006). Language policy and linguistic culture. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Language and social change, 1* (pp. 111-125). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Seargeant, P. (2008). Ideologies of English in Japan: the perspective of policy and pedagogy. *Language Policy, 7*(2), 121–142. doi:10.1007/s10993-007-9079-y
- Seidman, I. (2006). Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for research in education and the social sciences. (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Shimahara, N. K. (1995). Restructuring Japanese high schools: Reforms for diversity. *Educational Policy, 9*(2), 185-200.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1999). Linguistic human rights: Are you naive or what? *TESOL Journal 8*(3), 6-12.
- Smith, A. D. (1998). *Nationalism and modernism: A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. London: UK. Routledge.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy: Key topics in sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Starfield, S. (2010). Ethnographies. In B. Paltridge & A. Phakiti (Eds.), *Continuum companion to research methods in applied linguistics* (pp. 50-65). New York: Continuum International Publishing.
- Stritikus, T. T. (2003). The interrelationship of beliefs, context, and learning: The case of a teacher reacting to language policy. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 2*(1), 29-52.
- Tahira, M. (2012). Behind MEXT's new Course of Study guidelines. *The Language Teacher, 36*(3), 3-8.
- Terasawa, T. (2012). The discourse of “Japanese incompetence in English” based on “Imagined Communities”: A sociometric examination of Asia Europe Survey. *Journal of English as an International Language, 7*(1), 67–92.
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing critical ethnography*. Newbury, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. London: Addison-Wesley/Longman.
- Tollefson, J. W. (2000). Critical theory in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 42-59). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Tollefson, J. W. (2002). Conclusion: Looking outward. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 327-337). New York: Routledge.
- Tollefson, J. W. (2006). Critical theory in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method. Language and social change, 1* (pp. 42-59). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Tollefson, J. W. (2013). Language policy in a time of crisis. In J. W. Tollefson (Ed.), *Language policies in education: Critical issues* (pp. 11-34). New York: Routledge.
- Tollefson, J. W. (2015). Historical structural analysis. In F. M. Hult & D. C. Johnson (Eds.), *Research methods in language planning and policy* [Kindle] (pp. 4504-4857). UK: Wiley Blackwell. Retrieved from <https://read.amazon.com/?asin=B00XA11LAY>
- Tsui, A. B. (2006). Language Policy and the Social Construction of Identity: The case of Hong Kong. *Language policy, culture and identity in Asian contexts*, 121-141. New York: Routledge.
- Tsui, A. B. M. & Tollefson, J. W. (Eds.). (2006). *Language policy, culture, and identity in Asian contexts*. New York: Routledge.
- Valdes, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: Opportunities lost or seized? *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(iii), 410-426.
Notes
- Weedside-Jiron, H. (2011). Using CDA to make sense of public policy. In R. Rogers (Ed.), *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education* (pp.). New York: Routledge.
- Zuru, C. F. (2008). Intersubjectivity. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition, 116-117.

Appendix A

Interview Format – Principal

***The questions will be translated into Japanese by the researcher, who is a native speaker of Japanese. Interview between July and mid-September, 2012**

(A) Education Policy

- A1. Please describe your understanding of the current Education Policy.
- A2. Please describe your understanding of the new Education Policy.
- A3. What do you think are the major changes of the new Education Policy?
- A4. Why do you think the revisions were made?
- A5. What do you think are the benefits of the new Education Policy teachers may gain when they teach the new curriculum?
- A6. Are there difficulties teachers may encounter when they teach the new curriculum?

(B) English Education Policy

- B1. Please describe your understanding of the current English Education Policy.
- B2. Please describe your understanding of the new English Education Policy.
- B3. What do you think are the major changes of the new English Education Policy?
- B4. Why do you think the revisions were made?
- B5. What do you think are the benefits of the new English Education Policy teachers may gain when they teachers teach the new curriculum?
- B6. What do you think are the difficulties of the new English Education Policy teachers may face when they teach the new curriculum?

(C) School Curriculum

- C1. Please describe the overall process of the preparation for the new school curriculum.
- C2. What were identified as issues among teachers at curriculum development meetings and other departmental meetings?
- C3. In what way has the school been trying to respond to the identified issues?
- C4. Are there any differences in the way the school has been developing the new curriculum for the new policy compared to the previous policy?
- C5. In what way has the school been trying to adapt to the new Education Policy in the new school curriculum?
- C6. Does the school have extracurricular activities students can participate in in order to improve their English skills?

(D) English Learning/proficiency

- D1. What level of English proficiency do you think is needed to teach the new curriculum under the new English Education Policy?
- D2. Do you think that Japanese teachers of English have a sufficient level of English proficiency to teach the language?
- D3. What kind of training can teachers receive both inside and outside the school in order to achieve the level of English proficiency described in Question A2?

(E) Comments

- E1. Do you have any other thoughts and experiences you would like to share?

Appendix B

Interview Format – Lead English Teacher

***The questions will be translated into Japanese by the researcher, who is a native speaker of Japanese.**

Interview between July and mid-September, 2012

(A) English Learning/proficiency

- A1. What level of English proficiency do you think is needed to teach the new curriculum under the new English Education Policy?
- A2. Do you think that Japanese teachers of English have a sufficient level of English proficiency to teach the language?
- A3. What kind of training can teachers receive both inside and outside the school in order to achieve the level of English proficiency described in Question A2?

(B) School Curriculum

- B1. Please describe the overall process of the preparation for the new school English curriculum.
- B2. In what way has the English Department at the school been trying to adapt to the new English Education Policy in the new school curriculum?
- B3. What were identified as issues among English teachers at curriculum development meetings and other departmental meetings?
- B4. In what way has the English Department at the school been trying to respond to the identified issues?
- B5. Are there any differences in the way the school has been developing the new English curriculum for the new policy compared to the previous policy?

(C) English Education Policy

- C1. Please describe your understanding of the current English Education Policy.
- C2. Please describe your understanding of the new English Education Policy.
- C3. What do you think are the major changes of the new English Education Policy?
- C4. Why do you think the revisions were made?
- C5. What do you think are the benefits of the new English Education Policy teachers may experience when high school English teachers teach the new curriculum?
- C6. What do you think are the difficulties of the new English Education Policy teachers may face when high school English teachers teach the new curriculum?

(D) Comments

- D1. Do you have any other thoughts and experiences you would like to share?

Appendix C

Interview Format--- Teacher

*The questions will be translated into Japanese by the researcher, who is a native speaker of Japanese.

1st sequence interview

1st time interview

(A) Background information 1

- A1. What made you motivated to pursue a teaching profession?
- A2. Why did you decide to teach English?
- A3. Which university did you attend?
- A4. What was your major?
- A5. How many years have you been teaching English?
- A6. Please describe the schools where you have taught English and you are currently teaching.
- A7. How many classes are you teaching per week?
- A8. What grade(s) are you teaching?

(B) School-related tasks

- B1. Are you a homeroom teacher?
- B2. How many years have you been a homeroom teacher?
- B3. What school-related tasks are you responsible for?
- B4. How do you like the school-related tasks you are responsible for?
- B5. Which responsibilities are more important to you, school-related tasks or teaching practices of English? Why?
- B6. Please describe your typical day of work from the time you come to school to the time when you go home.

(C) Teacher Identity

- C1. What are the most important qualities a teacher should have?
- C2. Can you think of any metaphor to best describe you as a teacher? For example, *coach*, *facilitator*, *mentor*, or anything else. Please explain why you chose the metaphor.
- C3. Describe your idea of an ideal English teacher?
- C4. What do you think is the major role of a teacher?
- C5. Which is more important for you as a teacher, someone who teaches a subject or who cultivates students' heart and mind?
- C6. Which is a more important determiner to describe your role as a high school teacher: an English teacher, a homeroom teacher, or a club activity leader?

(D) English Learning/proficiency

- D1. Please describe the history of your English learning?
- D2. Have you ever visited or lived in English speaking countries? If so, please list the purpose and length of your visit(s).
- D3. In general, do you think that Japanese teachers of English have a sufficient level of English proficiency to teach the language?
- D4. What do you think about your level of English proficiency?

(E) Comments

- E1. Do you have any other thoughts or stories you would like to share?

2nd time interview**(F) Teaching Practice**

- F1. What do you want to teach students most through teaching the language?
- F2. What has been most challenging for you to keep teaching English for over 10 years?
- F3. What are the obstacles in your everyday teaching practice?
- F4. How has your perception of your own teaching changed throughout your career?
- F5. What factors influence your teaching style?
- F6. If you were ever allowed to teach in whatever way you wish, how would you teach English to your students?
- F7. Do you think it is necessary for you to teach the culture of the target language?

(G) In-service Education and Training

- G1. What kinds of in-service teacher training have you received?
- G2. What do you think about the overall quality and content of in-service teacher training?
- G3. Please describe what those teacher training opportunities were like and how did you think about them.
- G4. Do you think it is necessary for experienced teachers to have extensive training opportunities after 10 years of teaching experience?
- G5. Do you belong to any professional organizations for teachers outside school?

(H) English Education Policy 1

- H1. Please describe your understanding of the current English Education Policy.
- H2. Please describe your understanding of the new English Education Policy.
- H3. What do you think are the major changes of the new English Education Policy?
- H4. Why do you think the revisions were made?
- H5. How do you anticipate your teaching would/might change under the new policy?
- H6. Have you already made any change in your teaching practice?
- H7. What do you think are benefits of the new English Education Policy you may experience when you teach the new curriculum?
- H8. What do you think are the difficulties of the new English Education Policy you may encounter when you teach the new curriculum?
- H9. To what extent has the current English Education Policy affected your teaching?
- H10. To what extent would the new English Education Policy affect your teaching?

(I) Comments

- I1. Do you have any other thoughts and experiences you would like to share?

2nd Sequence Interview**(J) Background information 2**

- J1. Please describe your typical day of work.
- J2. Please describe difficulties you face in your teaching practice if there are any.
- J3. Please describe how you and your fellow teachers have talked about the New English Education policy if you have had the opportunities.

(K) English Education Policy 2

- K1. Please describe your in-service training experiences both inside and outside the school if there have been any this year.
- K2. Has the English Department at the school prepared for the new English Education Policy differently compared to the previous policy change?

K3. What do you think are the benefits of the new English Education Policy you may experience when you teach the new curriculum?

K4. What do you think are the difficulties of the new English Education Policy you may face when you teach the new curriculum?

K5. To what extent would the new English Education Policy affect your teaching?

(L) School Curriculum

L1. Please describe your understanding of the new school curriculum under the new English Education Policy.

L2. Which textbooks has your school decided to use for the new school curriculum?

L3. Please describe your experience with the school's preparation process for the new school curriculum.

L4. Do you think that you would need to be trained to teach the new curriculum?

(M) Comments

M1. Please describe your experience with the whole process of preparation for the new English Education policy.

M2. Do you have any other thoughts or stories you would like to share?