CRITICAL NEW LITERACIES

Diversity in Japanese Education

Naoko Araki (Ed.)

SensePublishers

Diversity in Japanese Education

CRITICAL NEW LITERACIES: THE PRAXIS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING (PELT)

Volume 5

Series Editors:

Marcelle Cacciattolo, *Victoria University, Australia*
Tarquam McKenna, *Victoria University, Australia*
Shirley Steinberg, *University of Calgary; Director of Institute of Youth and Community Studies, University of the West of Scotland*
Mark Vicars, *Victoria University, Australia*

As a praxis-based sequence these texts are specifically designed by the team of international scholars to engage in local in-country language pedagogy research. This exciting and innovative series will bring a dynamic contribution to the development of critical new literacies. With a focus on literacy teaching, research methods and critical pedagogy, the founding principle of the series is to investigate the practice of new literacies in English language learning and teaching, as negotiated with relevance to the localized educational context. It is being and working alongside people in the world that is at the core of the PELT viewpoint. The Praxis of English Language Teaching and Learning series will focus on inter-culturality and interdisciplinary qualitative inquiry and the dissemination of "non-colonised" research.

Diversity in Japanese Education

Edited by

Naoko Araki
Akita International University, Japan

SENSE PUBLISHERS
ROTTERDAM/BOSTON/TAIPEI

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-94-6351-057-8 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-94-6351-058-5 (hardback)
ISBN: 978-94-6351-059-2 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858,
3001 AW Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
https://www.sensepublishers.com/

All chapters in this book have undergone peer review.

Printed on acid-free paper

TABLE OF CONTENTS

YUKO SATO

1. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION: NON-*JUNJAPA*

Transnational and Transcultural Identity

INTRODUCTION

Internationalization is a further complication to identity and realization of the limits to categorization. We can no longer associate ourselves within a simple categorical identity. Our identity exists as a series of reactions and feedback we receive from others such as families, teachers, and institutions. International experience allows individuals to question the need for categorization of nations or cultures. It allows us to unleash ourselves from invisible burdens or frameworks assigned since the very second of our birth. Realization of diversity through internationalization and transnationalism allows rebirth into a new existence with a wider vision and unlimited possibilities.

GROWING UP

I was born in Yokohama, Japan, to two Japanese parents who are both artists. Until 4th grade in elementary school, I was enrolled in a private girls' Christian school where moral teachings were highly valued based on the Bible and divine services. In school, I was taught with very strict discipline to be a charming and loving lady based on religious and traditional Japanese customs: to be passive, obedient, and sophisticated. But those teachings never seemed to work for me. I was a weird kid at this strict Christian school, who always got into trouble. No matter how early I left home, random things such as plants and flowers on the street or interestingly shaped clouds distracted me and I was almost always late to school. My parents were called to school multiple times because I read novels and comic books during class. My grades were fair but never great. My grade book would always have comments like, "she has potential but she doesn't try hard enough."

As for education at home, my parents had somewhat contradictory teachings. My mother was assertive and dominating in decisions within the household. I spent most of my time with my mother at home. She taught me with strict rules and discipline; told me to become socially successful. However, she was the one who decided to send me to a private girls' Christian school instead of a more academically competitive and socially diverse public school as my little brother. I remember asking her why

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 1–11.

my brother and I were going to different schools, I remember her telling me that because I am a girl, she wanted me to be *yasashii* (優しい nice and kind). I realize now that her teachings seem to reflect her own conflicting feelings about women being successful at work as well as being a caring mother. My father, on the other hand, had a contradictory teaching method. I remember a day when my father was called to school because I was reading a book in class. After a meeting with my teacher, he took me to a *manga kissa*[1] (漫画喫茶) and told me that I should be proud to be passionate about something that I love. Years later he told me that he wanted us to nurture latent personality and potential we are born with and not to live by the expectations forced upon us by society.

When I was ten, my parents divorced and my mother, younger brother, and I moved to Seattle, Washington, for my mother to study art therapy. Although it's becoming more common nowadays, divorce is still not widely accepted in Japan. From traditional perspectives, it was unimaginable for a single mother of two children to decide to move to a foreign country to attend school. When we moved to the United States, my mother started by attending ESL courses at a local community college. Her main aim was to complete an art therapy Master's degree in the United States. We were supposed to be in Seattle for a year or two but ended up staying for over a decade, and my mother ended up earning a PhD in Psychotherapy.

When we moved to Seattle, I was thrown into a completely different school environment. In the traditional Japanese educational environment, school years are decided by the age of students, classroom's seating arrangements are always in rows facing the teacher, and students are taught to be passive and quiet. In contrast, in the U.S., the school where I went had specialized classes for ESL students. Students from different grades were assigned to classes based on their English fluency. I had older and younger classmates. Classrooms were decorated with pictures and maps of different countries, and students interacted with each other, and the teachers and students actively interacted. I remember feeling uncomfortable at first because it looked more like a kindergarten and classmates seemed less serious about learning at school than the ones I knew in Japan.

The most difficult change for me was to adjust myself into the new learning environment where I was expected to be more expressive. I was trained to be quiet, obedient, and a good listener in Japan. Classes in the United States were mostly interactive and it took me a while to be able to even try to raise my hand in class. Not only did I have to learn to speak in English, I also had to learn to speak my own thoughts in class. This was the most challenging part.

BECOMING AMERICAN

As the time passed, I eventually became able to enjoy the freedom and flexibility of this American education. I liked how classrooms were arranged differently depending on the classrooms and that we were able to interact more freely with classmates and teachers. The individualistic and talent-oriented education gave me different types

of learning opportunities than I would ever have had in Japan. Even though I was still in ESL, I was able to join in with older classmates for Math class. I was chosen to draw and paint on the school's front door due to my artistic talent. I still felt incompetent in English language skills but these experiences and opportunities gave me self-confidence. By the time I was in the 9th grade, I was able to join regular classes with other local English-speaking students. Even though I was still very quiet in class, I started to join class discussions and interact more with other students.

As I learned how to speak fluently in English, I felt a stronger urge to assimilate into American life style. I dressed in a certain style, hung out with local friends, and I even started to adjust my accent trying to sound as native as possible. Because I was fairly successful at it, some teachers expected that I also could write well. These expectations became a real pressure and resulted in lower grades in classes when assignments were mainly focused on writing. This negatively affected my confidence and motivation for learning. As I hit my teenage years, I became aware of myself falling into an identity crisis. I felt a gap between my Japanese tiger[2] mom and my American-Japanese immigrant identity. Because of my mother's strong beliefs and attachment to Japanese education, she took me to Japanese Saturday School (*hosyuukou* 補習校) every week. I studied Japanese language and followed the Japanese school curriculum using the same authorized textbooks used in schools in Japan. I felt like an outcast at the Japanese Saturday School because of my family structure, with a single mother being a fulltime student, whereas most Japanese students had both parents living with them. Their fathers often worked for a Japanese company and mothers stayed at home full-time to look after the children.

When I travelled to Japan during a holiday, I started feeling that I no longer belonged there. Japan became a foreign country to me, and at the same time I still felt excluded and challenged as an immigrant in the U.S. I also began to recognize my sexual orientation and gender identity. I felt that I simply could not "pass" any of the categories I was supposed to "fit in." I ended up quitting the Japanese Saturday School at the 10th grade and became unable to properly attend classes in high school. Making sure not to let my mother know, I skipped school quite often and just wandered around town. When I realized that I could not graduate on time, I decided to try again. With the help of a teacher and a school counselor, I found a way to receive high school credits with an alternative method. I enrolled in the Running Start program in the district where I lived. This program allowed the 11th and 12th graders to attend community college courses while they were enrolled in high school. Students were able to obtain more credits in less time. The learning environment was also different from the local high school where I used to attend. Students were expected to study individually and there was less interaction in class. I felt more comfortable being in this environment surrounded by adults than with chatty, loud, and distracting teenagers. Because of this program, I was able to graduate high school on time.

I enrolled in a local community college instead of four-year university because of my family's financial status and my bad grades from high school. The community

college offered two years of basic university level education. I thought I could start right away, but because of my visa status as an international student, I had to postpone my enrollment. The struggles with these administrative processes continued and were not something that any of my local friends had to go through. At the International Student's Office, I remember feeling awkward filling in Japanese as my nationality when I had almost never been in Japan for the last ten years. I actually lived longer in the U.S. than Japan. I felt as if my American identity was being rejected. Even though I grew up in the same area as my American friends and studied together, I was treated as a foreigner.

My years at the community college were filled with a series of identity clashes. I did not get along with my "international" peers, who were all new to the country that I grew up in. From the school office and instructors, I was always categorized and treated as an international student, who they assumed did not speak fluent English and was not used to American culture. I also experienced a major disagreement with my mother. She could not accept me being who I am as an Americanized, liberal, and gender fluid person. I could not cope with the conflicting messages I received: from inside the household, to be an obedient, good daughter and devote my life to my family; and from society outside, to be a free, independent, strong woman. I ran away from my mother's house and lived with my girlfriend through my college years. My life in the community college was tough but I was able to receive an Associate Degree in Art and Science when I reached 21.

MOVING BACK TO JAPAN

I wanted to continue my education in the U.S. but did not have enough money to transfer to a four-year university. Because my international student visa expired, I had no choice but to come back to Japan. Hoping that my "nation" could give me better opportunities, I decided to look for work in a country now completely foreign to me. I found a job in an international travel agency in a major city of Japan. I hoped that this job would allow me to make use of my English skills and my knowledge and experience in the United States. However, the work I did was nothing like what I expected. It was neither multicultural nor global. Here, again, I had to go through another cultural adjustment. What my employer expected was for me to act exactly as the other Japanese *shinjin* (新人).[3] I went to work at 7am before my senior workers and boss got to the office. My jobs there were to distribute travel flyers in the streets, to clean the storage rooms, and to move boxes of brochures from one place to the other. I went to *nomikai* (飲み会)[4] and poured sake for my male bosses just as other female Japanese *shinjin* struggling to "fit in" and "pass" as a typical Japanese, but I was always treated as a *Kikokushijyo* (帰国子女),[5] a 'weird/different' girl who's been outside of Japan for too long and could not behave properly as an ordinary Japanese. The harder I worked, the more I felt isolated in Japanese society. One day I snapped and realized that shouldn't have to try to be someone who I am not. I thought, "I'm not meant to be here and I still have the right to look for something different that fits me."

Hoping to find answers, I quit working at the travel agency. I moved to the site of the Great Eastern Japan earthquake and tsunami of 2011. I decided to live there in a shelter for tsunami victims and worked at a local elementary school as a teacher's assistant. My job was to teach two children with an American father and Japanese mother, who recently divorced, as the mother had come back to Japan with her two children. I mainly spent time with the older sister. She struggled to 'fit in' not only because of her Japanese language skills but cultural and physical differences. She was different from traditional Japanese in many ways: from how she ate, communicated, expressed her feelings, and even how she laughed. When she laughed, she laughed so loud that students from next room would hear her. She was just different from other humble countryside Japanese children but everybody loved how she laughed. Through her, I saw my own struggle with race, culture, and language. Her existence was my wake up call. She gave me motivation to make the best out of my dilemmas. I realized that I should not give up my dream for going onto higher education. From the site of the tsunami, I sent my application to an international university in Japan as it attracts diverse students including both Japanese local and international students.

LIFE AT A UNIVERSITY

There is an interesting term used to describe group of Japanese students at my international university and some other universities promoting internationalization. I soon realized, whether I liked it or not, I had to face another form of categorization. The term is *Junjapa*. *Jun* (純) represents pure, innocent, and clean. *Japa* (ジャパ) is a shortening for Japanese (ジャパニーズ). *Junjapa* (純ジャパ) is used to describe Japanese students who are born to Japanese parents, have never been outside of Japan for any long-term period, and speak Japanese as their first language. A significant criterion to be considered *Junjapa* is to be educated in Japan. *Junjapa* can be used as both noun and an adjective to describe students or people with a *junjapa* identity. What is unique about *junjapa* is that it is used among, and against, people of the same nationality. The definition of *junjapa* is vague and varies depending depending on individuals' perspective of Japanese identity. *Junjapa* is usually used to describe people who grew up in Japanese society, have Japanese values and looks, act Japanese, and speak fluent Japanese and faltering English. Some students would say that a person of a mixed ethnicity would not qualify for *junjapa*, even if they are born and raised in Japan. I often feel the invention of such a term is a sign of diversifying Japanese ethnicity and identity but it is also a way to express, and perhaps excuse, an ideal of a homogenous nation excluding and ignoring the complexity of the reality of being Japanese. Considering my long-term experience growing up in the United States, it is apparent that I do not "pass" the criteria for *junjapa*. In fact, I am an extreme example of non-*junjapa*[6] student. Here again, I did not pass, not being accepted by the majority.

Most of the Japanese students come to the international university for its English education and global education program, but I came to the university wanting to be in a multicultural environment, hoping to find answers to my feeling of being lonely

and excluded. While I was in the United State, I was a Japanese immigrant. Even in Japan, I was considered as a *gaijin* (外人).[7] Excluded from both nations, I was an outsider everywhere I went. I came to this university looking for my comfort zone. With its liberal arts education and multicultural environment, I believed that the university would be more accepting of diversity and that my bicultural background would be more appreciated in the international environment to feel included and accepted. I thought the university would be more accepting of people like me, but instead I was categorised and became bounded tighter than before. I was categorized as non-*Junjapa.* I was categorized under a new term 'Skipped Program[8] people' and was excluded in every way by the majority, *junjapa* students.

In the international university, because of this English-speaking environment, being in Skipped class is seen as a privilege by the *junjapa* students. I never thought that being able to speak English, by itself, was something to be proud of. Honestly, anyone would eventually have to learn to speak if you live and study in an English speaking country for over a decade! Whenever I sensed being envied by them, I wanted to tell them that 'I did not just learn to speak English through my twelve years in the United States. Language was just one of the many struggles that I have been through'. I experienced multiple culture shocks, identity crisis, discrimination, and oppression and that was what I wanted other students to acknowledge. But instead of listening to my story, they would often imply, 'you are privileged to be able to have had the experience speaking in English. You are different from us and you can't understand how hard it is to speak English fluently.' This message was in their comments I constantly received, 'Yuko, you are NOT *junjapa* (so you don't understand us)'. With such harsh comments, 純ジャパじゃない (You are NOT *junjapa*), I am already excluded from other Japanese students and all my struggles, of cultural adjustments and language barriers, are all ignored.

Even in classes, I am constantly reminded that I am 'privileged' (or should feel privileged) and thus should not complain or even admit to finding it hard to study. Whenever other students talk about their difficulties in class, "Oh I'm working on an academic essay and it is really hard," I would agree with them as I feel writing academically is a challenge but they would just say, "Oh you wouldn't understand. You're a Skipped student and non-*junjapa*." *Junjapa* students believe that just because I have higher English proficiency, I am able to write academic papers easily without any troubles. I have experience living in the United States but I am certainly not a balanced bilingual[9] and I did not learn to write at a university level. In fact, I do not even consider myself a 'good' writer. I struggled a lot in writing classes trying to learn the skills to write academic papers. I still struggle to write and express my thoughts through written English. I am not a confident writer, so I put extra effort to produce a better essay by starting to work on my essay earlier and staying up all night before turning them in. To *junjapa* students' eyes, I am not struggling enough and I am not working hard enough.

It appears that *Junjapa* students who feel inferior in their English skills tend to believe that Skipped students are all balanced bilinguals able to read and write at a

college level. In reality, students in Skipped class come from different and diverse background and their English fluency varies based on their educational background, geographical locations, and the language/s they were immersed in. Some students have experiences growing up in English language environment whereas other students have spent most of their lives in Japan after several years of experience living abroad.

Just because Skipped students are excused from taking basic academic English courses, students in the basic courses (most of them are *junjapa* students) believe that all Skipped students are confident bilinguals and thus not able to share their challenges with other *junjapa* students. *Junjapa* students tend to believe that the basic academic English program would somehow make them become bilingual. *Junjapa* students often believe that they are disadvantaged compared to Skipped students, who are at the top of English language 'hierarchy' at the university. In daily conversations, these students often exclude me but when they cannot help each other for with proof reading of their essay drafts, they would ask me to 'native/skipped check' their papers believing I could somehow be able to improve their papers and 'fix' everything. They do not seem to register the fact that I am also a university student who is still learning how to write academically. In fact, *junjapa* students tend to be better at articulating grammar than I could.

Junjapa students' unconscious bias towards themselves as inferiors brings higher expectation on Skipped students to achieve higher grades. These *junjapa* students believe that Skipped students can achieve higher grades easier. I felt constantly pressured to achieve higher grades. Even when I am struggling with my classwork, I could not talk to my classmates about it. All they would say was that 「でも祐子は大丈夫でしょ。英語できるじゃん。」(But Yuko you are all OK, right because you are good at English). When I get bad grades, I received a message I was a complete failure and did not try hard enough. Even when I did get a good grade, it was naturally expected because I am not *junjapa*. It was because I am a Skipped student and I should be getting good grades. I constantly pressured myself to achieve these unrealistic expectations. I could not think about my grades and started to lose self-confidence that I was not getting enough grades for a "perfectly English native" Skipped student. I thought I had to perform better academically but I couldn't ask any of my peers to help me out because all they said was that "oh, you don't need my help. You're better than me." I really wanted to do something about this so I visited my instructor's office almost every week to seek for a solution. Through visiting their offices and discussing with them, I decided to become a tutor at a learning center hoping to improve my own English skills by tutoring *junjapa* students.

STRUGGLES OF *JUNJAPA* STUDENTS

Through tutoring, I was able to see my peers, mainly *junjapa* students, from a different perspective. I started understanding their struggle trying to adjust their thinking patterns to fit into English academic education. The university's ideology

expects students to get out of their comfort zone and challenge their identity, common sense, and experience but Japanese high school graduates are not used to such a challenging learning environment, and have not often experienced sharing their "own" ideas or opinions about anything in class.

I started to think that the word *junjapa* represents the dilemmas of these students and their reactions towards educational differences in both secondary and tertiary education. Japanese students (*junjapa* students) are taught to be very passive throughout their primary and secondary education in Japan. Education in Japan is still focused on translation and memorization without much emphasis on critical or logical thinking training. Students are also discouraged from asking questions or expressing their own creative ideas. Although teachers are encouraged to develop students' critical and logical thinking by the Japanese government, most teachers are unable to do so themselves.

University-level learning means students are required to learn more independently, whereas in Japanese high schools, students were always given specific instructions on how, what, when to do, and examples of ideal answers are often provided by the teachers. Students are eventually trained to give the 'right' or ideal answer. Especially students who are able to enter competitive universities are very well perfecting and giving these expected answers.

When students enter university, in or outside of Japan, all students will face adjustment due to educational differences between secondary and tertiary education. I see students from English speaking countries are trained to have their own opinions throughout their education, whereas Japanese students are expected to start developing those skills after they get into university. Adjusting and changing their approaches to learning is very stressful. In a unique and more 'international' environment as the university offers, students tend to blame their level of English acquisition and their lack of global experience for their inability to adjust their patterns of thought, or simply believe they are not capable. Unconsciously, being *junjapa* is used as an excuse for not being able to adjust their thought process to be more critical and logical.

I think that the goal of the international university is not English language education but to be able to acquire skills to understand, analyze, and question the issues that exist in our everyday life as well as the world. Many students at the university seem to believe that being able to speak English would somehow enable them to suddenly become 'global leaders' when being able to understand and express themselves in English is only the first layer of the global education. The most important part of learning foreign language is to realize that language learning is not merely a study of language itself. We need to see beyond that. There is a world that exists beyond the language. Language shapes our culture, beliefs, feelings, thoughts, and identity. There are cultural norms and beliefs that cannot be expressed in either Japanese or English. These complicated feelings without verbal expression exist even if we are not bilingual. Foreign language education is just an easy way to learn this inexpressible, complicated but fascinating world exists. It is an experience that allows us to see linguistic construction first hand. It allows us to realize how our thoughts and reality are shaped and limited by the language. When

people utilize another language, they will always find some expressions that exist in one language but not in the other. By being able to utilize different languages, we notice an 'empty' space between our minds and language.

In the world of globalization, we need to acknowledge that this space exists. We need to use the language knowing the limitations of its expression and trying to understand what has been dropped, unexpressed, or constructed and reconstructed by the language. We need to start questioning our own language, history, and pattern of thoughts. Learning another language is learning a new pattern of thinking. Because Japan is mainly mono-linguistic, *junjapa* students tend to lack chances to experience and acknowledge such spaces. By giving Japanese students a chance to live in an English speaking multicultural learning environment, the international university is offering students an opportunity to experience a range of learning so that they may realize the diversity within Japan. However, the concept of *junjapa* contradicts this ideology further categorizing and eliminating a diversifying Japanese identity. I feel Japanese people expect everyone to assimilate into mainstream culture but never admit to include them into their own group. If you look different, you are not *junjapa.* If you speak with a hint of a foreign accent, you are out. If you are a 'double'[10] citizen, you are out. If your parents are not Japanese, you are out. Once a Japanese person gets a global experience, they are not considered as *junjapa*. There's nothing you can do to pass the 'test' or 'unspoken criterion'. By identifying themselves as *junjapa* and by excluding others, others like me who do not fit to the category, *junjapa* students are trying to stay in their comfort zone. Not having a group or identity, not being able to answer a simple question as "where are you from?" or "where did you grow up?" is stressful and lonely.

From looking at the global environment of an international university, others from typical Japanese universities would think that being students at this university is already having a global experience and that these students at the international university are not in fact included as *junjapa* anymore. For some reasons, *junjapa* students at the international university fail to realise the dual irony, and some of them still stubbornly consider themselves as genuine *junjapa*. Categorization and naming enable us to express and share our mind with others but also limits our freedom. Our mind is bounded by the ways of expression. Our identity is often bounded by categorization. It is a shame so many university students I have met in Japan tend to lack this understanding of diversity beyond the categorization of *junjapa*. Accepting diversity within and outside of Japan means to go beyond the categorization of others and self. *Junjapa* students need an opportunity to get out of their comfort zone and learn that identity of "purely Japanese" is an illusion, that everyone is unique regardless of their language skills, background, and experience.

WHO I AM NOW

I do not have a simple word that could explain who I am. But because I do not belong to any group, I am able to create and express who I really am without categorization.

I cannot blame anything I have done wrong on anyone or anything else – yet what I achieve immediately becomes my own achievement. Others may think that it is just part of my privilege but I believe it is all because of my struggle and hardship that I have faced and overcome. These experiences enable me to achieve what I do now and in the future. I was frustrated and upset towards *junjapa* students, at the same time I was jealous of *junjapa* students who had a family, culture, language, nation, or group that they could belong to. In my view, they are the ones who are privileged as they were not expected to try hard to 'pass' or 'fit in.' I somehow felt guilty for not being able to 'pass' or 'fit in' for a while. I felt ashamed to admit my personal hardships and experiences that gave me a chance to be able to speak English. I am not American, I am not *junjapa*, I barely graduated from a high school but I did at the end, I quit a job to came back to university as a mature student, I am not a balanced bilingual but it all paid off by making me who I am right now. My multicultural experiences and series of adjustments made me realize that I am not so different from anyone else.

Everyone carries these dilemmas in different ways. Everyone struggles to find their own comfort zone. By categorizing and excluding others, *Junjapa* students are also strangling themselves. Comfort zones and a sense of belongings are perhaps all illusion. By realizing this, people finally become able to share and accept others. I now can see clearly true compassion and acceptance of diversity come from a realization of 'self'. Education plays a big role in creating 'self'. I came back to university to find answers to my solitude because I believed education helped me find answers to questions of who I am and why I am feeling the way I do. Japanese education taught me to respect others. American education taught me to express my ideas. And global education taught me to be compassionate and understanding to others and to myself. Education not only teaches us skills and knowledge but also helps us to realize why we think the way we do.

Up until now, I was naive and sensitive about my identity. I felt as if I was a tree floating in the ocean, with no place to put down roots, and all the waves trying to push me this way and that. From my experiences, I learned that it is okay to float. I have always been a floating plant and that is just as natural as other plants growing their roots. I know now that I am able to grow the roots when I feel like settling down to a spot. Until then, I will stay floating as the waves take me.

NOTES

[1] *Manga kissa* (漫画喫) is a café with a comic book (manga) library made freely available to patrons.

[2] A tiger mother is a name given to mothers overly strict with her child in order to foster an academically competitive spirit. This form of upbringing is intended to direct a child towards financially successful careers at the potential risk of feeling emotionally unfulfilled and/or socially inept.

[3] *Shinjin* (新人) literally translated as "new people" describes new high school or college graduates in their first year of working. They are seen as trainees and not fully a member of the working environment.

[4] *Nomikai* (飲み会) is a social drinking party. Even though it is not expressly required, *nomikai* is considered as social aspect of work. It is seen as an important bonding experience between coworkers.

[5] *Kikokushijyo* (帰国子女) is a returnees or Japanese expatriates who have educational experience outside of Japan.

[6] Interestingly, there is no such term as 'non-*junjapa*'. The only term used amongst the students is '*jyunjapa*'.

[7] *Gaijin* (外人) is the contraction of *gaikokujin* (外国人) which literally means people from outside the country or in other words anyone who is not Japanese.

[8] Skipped Program refers to a program offered in the international university for students who have high fluency in English. Students in this program are excused from attending the mandatory basic Academic English program.

[9] I use the term balanced bilingual to describe a person who is able to utilize both languages perfectly at a native level.

[10] Double refers to individuals born of parents with different ethnic backgrounds or who have citizenship in two or more nations.

Yuko Sato
Akita International University

YUKI WADA

2. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION: *JUNJAPA*

Aspirations and Dilemmas

The term *kokusaika* (internationalization or globalization)[1] has been thrown about a lot in Japanese media over the past few years. I was born and raised in a provincial city in Japan, so I was not sure what *kokusaika* really meant and merely thought it sounded cool. This appeal, and no little curiosity, led me to apply for an "international" university in Japan. *Kokusaika*, internationalization or globalization, is defined in many different ways. Now, as I near the end of my university studies, I have come to think that *kokusaika* is not 'dynamics in which a certain sense of value erodes others', but rather 'a pursuit for universal values transcending national, cultural and linguistic borders'. The Japanese Ministry of Education insists that the objective of an academic education in Japan has become the cultivation of 'global human resources' who have a 'zest for living' in the globalized world. At the same time, my experience tells me that many students find themselves falling victim to the pressure of an ill-directed "global" education with too much focus on English language proficiency, and the resultant competitive environment with the Us/Others divisions that accompanies the so-called "Internationalization" process. In this chapter, I write about some of the dilemmas and difficulties faced by *junjapa* (pure Japanese) students at a small international university in Japan. I also write about the possibilities that emerge once such difficulties are overcome.

Junjapa is an abbreviation of *junsui-Japanese*, which literally translates as pure-Japanese. This word might seem to have nationalistic overtones, but it is actually used as a way to refer to people who have not experienced being abroad. The term also includes Japanese people who have been abroad only for short trips that were not long enough for them to acquire a high level of English proficiency. *Junjapa* was previously only used by certain groups of students at universities offering international Liberal Arts courses in English, but the word has gradually begun spreading on the Internet. In fact, the word is found in some of the online dictionaries and is often used in websites with titles such as "why my English has improved even though I am *junjapa*." When I was a freshman at the international university in Japan, I also identified as a *junjapa* because I had never been abroad.

I feel that certain special feelings are reflected when someone uses the word to refer to themselves or others. When students who believe that their own English

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 13–30.

level is not comparable to those who have had overseas experiences use the word *junjapa* it implies that they want to ascribe their lack of English proficiency to the very fact that they are *junjapa*. I, in fact, felt that my English language level was poor due to the ineffective grammar-translation method favoured in Japanese schools for teaching English. In addition, by using the word *junjapa* about themselves, students can bond with others in the same situation who cannot speak English well. This gives them a sense of fellowship and stronger bonding with other *junjapa* students. This fellowship might create an environment where they can study hard together while providing each other with understanding and consolation. However, the creation of *junjapa* communities also creates a clear divide and can cause discrimination. This kind of discrimination and generalization based on whether one has been abroad is incompatible with 'the pursuit for universal values transcending national, cultural and linguistic borders', which I think of as the ideal goal of globalization. Many *junjapa* believe that people who lived abroad for years and received their education outside of Japan know English and foreign cultures very well are unable to understand how hard it is for *junjapa* to use English. *Junjapa* also fear that non-*junjapa* students might ridicule those who do not speak English well. This keeps the *junjapa* and non-*junjapa* groups from interacting with each other. For example, saying "it's ok to speak Japanese" was construed by me as meaning "because your English is bad, please speak Japanese" even if my interlocutor might have intended to convey "if you feel too much pressure when speaking English, you don't have to use it." When people talked about their experiences of studying abroad or receiving extracurricular English lessons, this sometimes sounded like boasting to me. During my four years at university, I have witnessed many other *junjapa* suffer because they felt that their English proficiency was insufficient. The glorification of English, which has accompanied the ongoing process of *kokusaika,* has created a situation where some students at my university seek a sense of belonging in the *junjapa* community in order to deal with the jealousy or inferiority they would feel towards those who speak English well.

In order to understand why the word *junjapa* is frequently used at my university, it is important to note that the labelling of *junjapa* starts as soon as students enter the university. Most students are required to participate in an intensive basic academic English program for the first four months to hone basic academic skills: listening, speaking, writing, and reading. This program is so intense that students are not permitted to take any other content courses during this time. In the years after my enrolment, these requirements have been reviewed and now students are no longer required to complete the basic academic English program courses if their proficiency of academic English is considered sufficient. When I was a freshman in 2012, however everyone was required to complete a four-month basic academic English program irrespective of his or her English proficiency.

What did this entail? In my intensive English classes students who have had few opportunities to speak English during their high school years in Japan and those whose mother tongue was English were put in the same classes, as student distribution was decided based solely on TOEFL[2] scores. For example, in my basic academic

English writing class, the lecturer gave students a writing assignment about our best memories from high school days. It was difficult for me to do this assignment, as I had not written more than 300 words in English prior to entering university. By comparison, one of my classmates, who had lived in an English speaking country for a long time, complained that the assignment was at an elementary school level. Though I realize in hindsight that her comment was completely reasonable, at that time it sounded to me like she was just showing off her high proficiency in English. In addition to this, academic scores, which were given based solely on English proficiency, gave many students the impression that those who have high English proficiency are intelligent. Thus, disdain for perceived 'boasting' about the easiness of the tasks, and the exaltation of students based solely on their English proficiency became widespread amongst students. I feel that this also resulted in friction between the students with overseas experiences and those without.

This peculiar environment made me self-categorize as a *junjapa* while it also caused me to regard non-*junjapa*s with envy. Initially, I 'tolerated' the courses at the university as almost all of them were conducted in English, but I became depressed when I had to give presentations in English in front of my classmates. When thinking of why I could not speak English, I often looked for the reasons in my past. My family is not well off and thus could not provide me with any opportunities to receive a good English education outside of that provided by my school. That made me think that those who have great English proficiency must have rich parents and the parents must have offered them more chances to hone their English proficiency. While trying to hide my low self-esteem and frustration, I did homework until dawn every day and wrote down hundreds of English words in notebooks to practice. I succeeded in raising my scores on the TOEFL and my GPA was high enough to qualify for the required one-year study abroad program on time. However, even though I studied hard and my grades improved, I remained despondent, strongly identifying myself as a *junjapa* I was afraid of talking to those around me who could speak English very well. I could not actually find myself enjoying speaking English despite my expanding English vocabulary.

My attitude towards English, as well as my self-image, changed dramatically after my study-abroad opportunity in Norway. Before I went to Norway, I had only encountered the word *kokusaika* at my university, where the word is exalted and English is glorified. It was a period in which I was constantly mad at myself because of my own perceptions of English proficiency and jealous of the backgrounds I had imagined of my non-*junjapa* peers. I soon realized that this environment had made me come to hate speaking English. Speaking English constantly reminded me of those who are more privileged. The people I met and the experiences I had during my study abroad helped me regain both self-esteem and confidence. As I came to truly realize my own English proficiency, I slowly gained a love of using the language. I enjoyed building friendships with different people using English. In particular, the experience of doing a part-time job in Bergen during the summer vacation had a significant impact on me. Talking with tourists from all over the world, I realized how much fun

it was to communicate in our only mutual language of English. It impressed upon me how meaningless it was to assume that English had to be spoken perfectly or not at all. Even though my English was not perfect, many tourists thanked me and gave me kind words of encouragement saying: “You have a really nice smile. You treated us very nicely. I’m sure that a lot of tourists will come to see you.”

In the beginning, I felt so disappointed whenever I heard one of my work colleagues speak English fluently, succeeding in making tourists laugh with light-hearted levity and jokes. Whenever I was scolded for my mistakes, I also wondered if I could do my job properly in comparison with these colleagues. One day, I overheard a conversation between one of my colleagues and our boss “Yuki always works hard and treats all customers with a nice smile, so we can confidently leave the job to her”. Suddenly, tears welled up in my eyes and I thought, “even I can work abroad and be of use to the people around me”. Speaking English had changed from an abstraction with no practical use to being something with real purpose before I knew it.

In addition, the two weeks I spent at a *folkehøjskole* in Denmark became an unforgettable experience in gaining insight into thoughts of myself as a ‘have-not’. *Folkehøjskole* is a type of school peculiar to Scandinavian countries, and it seemed very different from education that I had received in Japan. My classmates were students, age 18 and up, who came from all over the world, and the school is open to anyone, regardless of their race, ethnicity, nationality or gender as long as they can speak the language which is used for the classes, English or Danish. Since *folkehøjskoler* are subsidised by the government, the rent, the cost for food and tuition was as little as 40,000 yen in total for the two weeks. This was very surprising to me because I had such difficulties raising enough money for my tuition fees in Japan. Even more surprisingly, in *folkehøjskoler* what students learned was not graded and therefore there were no tests or exams. One day, a student suggested that tests should be offered, but a teacher replied, *“folkehøjskoler* are not supposed to offer authoritarian education based on cramming knowledge into students’ minds, but they exist as schools for living where students learn through conversation with living words.” These words remain strongly with me particularly according to Japanese government curriculum guidelines they also claim to be nurturing a ‘zest for living’. In contrast to the *folkehøjskoler,* students in Japan are instructed to memorize massive quantities of information, take endless tests, and are constantly ranked against each other. On the surface, the two educational goals look very similar and necessary for the globalised world. What does “living” refer to in each context? Searching for an answer, I spent two amazing weeks at *folkehøjskoler.*

Towards the end of my stay, I reached some understanding as to why it was called ‘a school for living’. I experienced ‘a school of living’ by sharing ideas and studying together with students from around the world. A Nepalese man I met there was particularly inspirational. Heartfelt conversations with him made me realize that English is not just a mere instrument of communication, but also the importance to live while accepting others and ourselves. I was surprised to learn that he was an atheist. I had heard that almost all people believe in certain religions such as

Hinduism, Buddhism, or Islam in Nepal. I asked him why he was an atheist. He answered that he became sure that god does not exist when he saw many people starve to death due to the caste system that is still deeply rooted in Nepal. With a determined look on his face, he said he did not miss anyone or anywhere in Nepal. He was usually funny in class and made people around him laugh, but sometimes he also made nihilistic statements with a serious look on his face. Considering the fact that he came to Denmark to study, it is difficult to imagine that he could be so close to such real poverty or starvation. He revealed to me that he was born into the highest caste. If this was so, why did he come to disavow the caste system and God? I wondered and listened attentively to his story. He first explained to me how the system works: people of higher castes are not allowed to drink water from the same pond as those of lowest caste; higher castes are sometimes not allowed to even touch the shadow of someone from a lower caste; and they cannot invite people from other castes to their homes. Another Nepalese student at the same *folkehøjskole* shocked me by insisting that the system was important despite these apparent inequalities. With a bashful smile she said that upper class caste women like her were treasured whereas lower caste women were treated appallingly. This was very different from the views shared by my friend who did not believe in the system saying it was a fabricated construct. As I talked with him, I realized that he came to have antipathy against the system after he had received his higher education, but both of them belonged to the higher caste and were well educated. Why were their views on the same system so different? I wondered. Then he said, "Some strongly believe in the system even though they are as educated as her. This is not because they are bad people but because they have lived in a society built on the premise that people from different castes cannot understand each other. I had a close friend from a lower caste and we visited each other's home despite the caste divide. It saddens me to think they would have little chance to interact with others beyond their caste." I was left to imagine what kind of emotions and feelings he shared with his friend, but I felt certain that they would have faced moments of pain and sorrow living in a society where their friendship was taboo.

Although my Nepalese friend had built relationships with others regardless of caste status in Nepal, it seemed to me that he either unconsciously, or otherwise, sometimes identified as *Other* in an alternate globalised new order or 'caste' system. He sometimes mocked himself as a man who migrated from a poor country, Nepal to a rich one like Denmark. As I came to know him, I figured out that this was possibly because he sometimes had experienced a great sense of isolation. On another occasion when all students had to sleep in a living room because our rooms were being renovated, he remarked, "It is because we are foreigners that we are treated like this." There was something in his attitude towards me as a Japanese person; differentiating between us based on nationality. When he talked about himself or Nepal, he would add, "But Japanese people may not understand, though". Why do you tell me stories on the premise that I could not possibly understand? He seemed to believe that every Japanese led a happy life indifferent from pain or sorrow. But I

felt that what he described as Japan was different from the country where I was born and raised. It is true that there are certainly very few people who starve to death in Japan, but Japan also has its problems. I wanted my friend to know that an economic and social gap does exist in Japan. I told him that many people are losing hope in life and 'the zest for living' and many of them end up committing suicide. I also told him about days when I had a hard time because my family was not well off. I spent much time doing part-time jobs while my friends studied or hung out. I told him how I looked at other classmates with envy, as I had not received as good an English education as them. Initially I thought that he would not believe my story, but he listened attentively. After that he did not nuance his conversation with statements like "Japanese people like you would not understand" when he talked about himself or Nepal.

All the classmates at the *folkehøjskole* apart from me had actually spent the last 10 months together. They had not only had the same classes, but also shared the same food and housing every day. In the living room, there was always someone eating fruit and snacks or playing billiards. All the teachers lived close to students, and seemed to listen carefully to their opinions and views. In this environment, teachers and students conversed with each other in "living words". It was particularly impressive that the school curriculum was often discussed freely and at the most unexpected times – sometime while looking up at the sky with millions of stars. Certainly, the *folkehøjskolen* was an international sphere, but no one at the school would have been aware of it. People at the school lived together without being tied to a certain sense of value seeming to accept differences in race, nationality, and religion. This would have resulted from the fact that they had had 'living' conversation to understand each other for over 10 months. I realised interaction and conversation at a deeper level would create empathy towards each other. It might be difficult to truly understand other people's suffering who live in situations radically different from our own. I felt that the tears that welled up from the Nepalese friend at the graduation ceremony were the perfect example of why *folkehøjskoler* were called 'schools for living'.

The essence of inequality does not stem from the fact itself that there exists people who have resources and people who do not. I feel that this rather comes from the fact that many people feel that their own opportunities are limited, making them feel powerless, while also feeling resentment towards people who have access to resources they do not. In a Japanese society where *kokusaika* is often articulated, I had internalized myself as one of "have-nots" based on my lack of English language ability and overseas experiences. From my Nepalese friend's point of view, however, I was one of "haves" as I came from a "developed" country. I had stayed in the cage of *junjapa* since I entered university and tried to keep myself away from *non-junjapa.* Much in the same way that my Nepalese friend had differentiated himself from me believing that the possibility to ever understand each other was unlikely. Perhaps such differentiation is inevitable. However, I

felt from my experiences at the *folkehøjskolen* and my part-time job at the fish market that these things are not absolutes. It is true that being Japanese or high caste can be an advantage in certain situations, but they may not be necessary to a true friendship. Likewise, the English that I once glorified as a positional object turned out to be a mere utilitarian tool to build rapport with friends or colleagues of different background and experiences. I now understood what I wanted to do. It was not until I studied abroad that I could understand it was more important to know *what* I really wanted to convey to another rather than how proficiently I did so. Before my study abroad during the first two years at the international university in Japan, I would often feel powerless and unimportant. I have now realized that I had no reason to feel that way. As long as I try to convey something of meaning in English (whether it is fluent or not) people may try to understand, not because of any arbitrary English level, but because they want to know me. I am not just Japanese nor a *junjapa* but an individual named Yuki Wada. There are many things that only I can tell or share with others regardless of whether I use English or Japanese. Before my study abroad, I often suffered from self-loathing when comparing myself to others and was desperate for a way of dealing with my inferiority complex or envy. I almost lost a 'zest for living' confining myself in the shell of *junjapa.* My experiences at the *folkehøjskolen* and fishmarket enabled me to a see my own constructed identity.

After the experiences abroad, it was another new challenge for me to work at a three-day English program held at my university where junior and senior high school students from around Japan came to learn English together with university students. The purpose of the program was to let students learn to understand and communicate with others in English getting out of their class room where English is taught primarily by focusing on grammar and translation. In order to let the junior or senior high school students experience the excitement of speaking English as I did, I myself needed to overcome the inferiority complex on my English language ability that still emerged from time to time. During the program I told them how much fun it is to speak English, but more than that, I enjoyed the opportunity to communicate to the fullest with international students who joined the program. Still, the junior or high school students were passive and reticent about speaking English. I could empathise more than they could know. I understand exactly how they would think that it might be embarrassing that people may laugh at them. I finished my study abroad and I left some of the *junjapa* negativity behind but I am still a shy person. My hands tremble whenever I need to speak in front of many people in English. Before the study abroad experience, I would have thought it embarrassing to let people know about this fear. However, interaction with the students who joined the English program made me feel that I had strength to continue – acknowledging this part of me rather than hiding it. On the last day of the program when they made their final presentations, I always told them honestly that my English is not perfect and I get nervous in speaking

in front of many people. It surprised them to know that even students of the university that is well known as one of the global university also become nervous and make mistakes. Through my experiences at the *folkehøjskolen*, I learned how important it is to build honest relationships with others while striving to know and be yourself long the way. There is no real beginning or end to being a learner of language.

If many of the students that joined the English program begin to gain self-confidence and enjoy speaking English, they may not obsess over arbitrary categorizations. They may learn not to judge others who are different from themselves – university might be a space where people with different backgrounds come together. After my study abroad, I made friends with many people with whom I used to avoid interacting. Conversations with them have made me realize how exclusionary the word *junjapa* is. A Japanese friend who had lived overseas before she entered the university said, "Why don't people look at me as an individual while labelling me as a *non-junjapa* or returnee? This makes me sad." While listening to her, I recalled when one of my friends told me that her Filipino mother felt isolated as she did not feel like she was included as a member in some communities, such as school or parental circles, because of differences in culture and language. This made me feel so resentful about the unreasonable situation in which she was placed and I vowed never to contribute to discrimination. It, however, turned out that I had actually contributed to building an exclusive community of *junjapa* and unconsciously hurt many people's feelings. "I want to be looked at as an individual" – although this is a natural feeling that everyone could have, I never thought that the use of the word *junjapa* could give other people a sense of segregation. Therefore, I endeavour to face students in front of me while wishing that they would gain the confidence to step out of categorizations of *uchi* (us) and *soto* (others).

Just because I studied abroad, this does not mean that I have completely changed from a young woman who had little confidence and sometimes depressed into some sort of superhuman who confidently believes in myself and knows what to do. I am now a graduate school student studying Japanese language education. I am sometimes about to explode due to anxiety or fear about my future. I sometimes feel that the feeling that I had while living in Norway and Denmark might have been a mere daydream. I still sometimes worry about speaking English in front of students who are fluent in English. I still sometimes become mad at myself and irritated, but what is different from the past is that I know there are now people who accept and support me trying to be strong by accepting who I am outside the categories of *junjapa* and *non-junjapa.*

> I wholeheartedly wish that my children had a homeroom teacher who has 'heart' like you. I must thank your family and friends for helping you grow up as an individual. Thank you for learning out of bitter and happy experiences such as the interactions with people in Norway, and what you have gone through at university. Thank you for sharing these things with me in this way.

> There will be a lot more things waiting for you, but I can assure you that you will never be deprived of your human warmth. Please treasure and share it with people around you confidently.

I received the above feedback from a university professor for an assignment I submitted for the teacher's license course. It felt wonderful to see magical words can affirm me as an individual without categorizing me into a certain group and give me 'zest for living' while taking things positively. One of my friends that work together with me in the English program tells me that my words have positively changed her attitude towards speaking English. But the words I gave her was also the accumulation of numerous words I myself had heard from the people who are important to me such as the teacher and those who I met during my university life and study abroad. She now makes efforts in her own way to show high school students how much fun it is to speak English by building friendship with exchange students who work together in the program. This is not something I told or enforced on her, but the message "be confident in who you are" has been conveyed through different people to me, from me to her, and from her to many other people. I wonder how amazing it would be to make happen positive chains that are formed with the power of words whether it is Japanese or English. If I become a teacher, I want to face each student through living conversations so that schools can be places where students can gain 'zest for living' their own lives for their own by building their identity as "me" without comparing themselves to others.

Through my experiences at my university and in Norway and Denmark, I have come to feel that the effect of ongoing *kokusaika* in Japan assumes an attribute as 'dynamics in which a certain sense of value erodes others'. It seems to me that this ongoing *kokusaika* has created discrimination of *uchi* (us)/*soto* (others). It has deprived people of a confident 'zest for living' while also accepting the diversity of us all. In the context of higher education in particular the extreme glorification of English that ongoing *kokusaika* has brought about may have produced many Japanese people who are hesitant to speak English but also created an exclusive community. Traces of *junjapa*- thinking may have found their way into broader society promoting fragmentation amongst Japanese people based upon English language ability and overseas experience. This defies what I believe *kokusaika* is supposed to be *'a pursuit of universal values transcending national, cultural and linguistic borders'.* Under *kokusaika*, Japanese society has been steadily influenced by different values and cultures. In this situation, I believe that the role education should play out is not to nurture 'global human resources' who can speak fluent English, but to nurture individuals who have a considered identity as 'me' belonging to a globalizing society. Many adults should endeavour to maintain schools as places for nurturing students' 'zest for living' while trusting their own potential with acceptance of others transcending socially constructed categories such as race, gender, class, and *junjapa/non-junjapa.* I hope that I myself can become involved in such an education.

Yuki Wada has chosen to represent her narrative in both English and Japanese

教育の国際化:
純ジャパ
熱望とジレンマ

和田　結希

日本において国際化という言葉が頻繁に見聞きされるようになって久しい。日本の地方都市に生まれ育った私にとって、国際化という言葉は曖昧でよく分からないものであったが、なんとなく格好いいというイメージを抱いたまま「国際化」を掲げる日本の大学に入学した。国際化の定義をめぐる議論は様々になされているが、私は国際化を「一つの価値観が他を侵食していく動き」ではなく、「国という概念を越えた普遍的な価値観の創造・追求」として大学生活4年間を通して捉えるようになった。近年、日本でも学校教育の目的が国際化の時代に生きる力を備えた人材の育成へと変わりつつある。その中で、現行する国際化の持つ「画一化」や「排他性」の負の圧力により、息苦しさを感じている児童・生徒・学生も少なくない。かつての私もその中の一人であった。この章では、国際化が日本の大学にもたらすジレンマと、それを乗り越えたときに見えてくる可能性を、「純ジャパ」経験者の視点から考察する。

「純ジャパ」とは「純粋ジャパニーズ」の略である。この言葉をあえて英語に訳すと、“pure-Japanese”となることから、海外から来た人々にとっては排他的で、民族至上主義的に聞こえるもしれない。しかし、実際「純ジャパ」という言葉には「日本人の純粋な血を受け継ぐ者こそ、他の民族に優る」といった意味は含まれていない。一般に「純ジャパ」とは、海外在住経験のない日本人のことである。ここでいう海外経験とは、その滞在期間が語学力を身に着けるために十分であると考えられる場合を指すが、その期間は明確に定められているわけではない。「純ジャパ」という言葉を用いる話し手の経験や感覚に基づいて、恣意的に定められる。「純ジャパ」という言葉は、英語で授業を開講している大学においてのみ使われていたが、徐々にインターネット上を中心として、外部の人々にも認識されるようになってきている。例えば、「純ジャパ」という言葉を検索するだけで「純ジャパの私が英語を上達させることができた理由」という類のタイトルが付けられたウェブサイトをいくつも見つける事ができる。私の場合は、大学入学当初、海外留学はおろか短期の海外旅行にも行ったことがなく、この定義によれば、紛れも無い「純ジャパ」であったといえる。

「純ジャパ」という言葉が用いられるとき、そこには話し手側の特別な感情が反映されていると私は感じる。特に日本に生まれ育ち、英語力が他の学生より劣ると感じている学生が、この「純ジャパ」という言葉を使用する背景には、自らの英語力がある程度のレベルに達していないことに対する、他者への弁明の意味があるのではないか。実際「私は『純ジャパ』であり、日本で英語を文法翻訳法で学んできた。だから英会話はできな

い」と、私自身、そのように考えていたこともあった。また「純ジャパ」という言葉の使用には、「海外経験が無いゆえに英語が上手く話せない」という考えを特定のグループと共有し、慰めあうことで仲間意識を深める意味合いもあると感じる。確かに、同じ気持ちを共有するグループと共に行動することで、お互いに励ましあい切磋琢磨するという正の効果を生むこともある。しかしながら、海外経験の有無に基づく、極端な差別化・一般化は、今の私の考える「普遍的な価値観の創造・追求」としての国際化の流れに逆行する。留学に行く前の私は、海外で話される英語に多く触れ、海外の生活も経験している友人がすぐ傍にいるのに、「英語ができない辛さは、彼らにはわからないだろう」「下手な英語を話したら馬鹿にされるのではないか」という不安から、今一歩近づけないこともあった。優しさから出た「日本語で話しても大丈夫だよ」という英語が上手な友人の言葉を「(英語が下手で聞くに堪えないから)日本語で話しても大丈夫だよ」と誤って解釈したり、留学中の話や日本では聞きなれない話を聞くたびに、自慢話を聞いている錯覚に陥ったりすることもあった。そして、当時の私と同じように英語力に基づいて他者と自分を差別化し苦しむ学生を、大学生活4年間の中で多く見てきた。現行の国際化がもたらした、いわば「英語の神格化」が、劣等感や嫉妬に対処する術として、一部の学生がかつての私のように「純ジャパ」というコミュニティーの中に帰属意識を求める状況を創りだしている。

「純ジャパ」という言葉が私の大学で頻繁に使用される背景として、入学直後から4か月の間、多くの学生が受けることとなる英語集中プログラムの存在に触れておかなければならないと思う。その間、学生は英語を学ぶことのみに集中し、他の授業は受けない。現在は、その英語集中プログラムの受講を免除されている学生もわずかにいるが、私が入学した当初(2012年)は、新入生全員にその受講が義務付けられていた。つまり、英語を流暢に操る学生も、そうではない学生と同様に英語を勉強する必要があったのである。そのライティングの授業で「高校の時、最も楽しかった思い出」というテーマで作文を書いたことがある。私が、英語が思う様に書けず苦しんでいる傍ら、英語圏での生活が長い友人は、「小学生レベルの宿題をする必要があるのだろう」と不平を言っていた。どちらの意見も、多様な背景を持つ学生が集う特殊な環境においては、真理であるが、この何気ないダイアログの中に、「純ジャパ」という言葉の使用が頻繁に行われ、英語の極端な神聖化が推し進められてきた理由がある。その友人の心からの嘆きは、当時の私には自慢の様に聞こえ、英語力のみに基づいて出される成績は、英語の上手な人は一概に優秀だという印象を強めた。これらの事実が、純ジャパと非純ジャパの差別化と、それに起因する摩擦を促進してきたのだと私は思う。

入学してから留学するまで、私は自分を「純ジャパ」として分類し、「非純ジャパ」の人たちに羨望の眼差しを向けながら、日々英語で行われる授業に「耐え」ていた。多くの人の前で英語を話すことを求められるプレゼンテーションを含む授業はとりわけ辛く、憂鬱な気持ちで挑んでいた。自分が英語を話すことが出来ない理由を、過去まで遡り探すこともあっ

た。　家庭が裕福では無かったため、優れた英語教育を受ける機会や海外へ行く機会に恵まれなかった私は、英語を流暢に操る同級生を見て「親にお金があったから、英語の能力を伸ばす多くの経験ができたんだ」と僻んだりもした。そこで形成された薄弱な自己肯定感を悔しさと執念で補う様にして、毎晩、英語の課題を明け方までこなし、単語帳を何冊も作り難しい単語も覚えた。留学に行くためにGPAやTOEFLのスコアも上げた。しかし、いくら勉強しても、成績が上がりだしても物事を前向きに考えることがどうしてもできなかった。それは、私が自分自身を「純ジャパ」に分類し、英語を上手に話せる人と英語で会話することを恐れてしまっていたからだ。英語の語彙は増えても、英語を話して楽しいと感じる経験が無かったのである。

このような英語に対する意識や、自己へのイメージはノルウェーでの留学を経て大きく変化した。留学前は、「国際化」という言葉が強調される環境で、私は英語を神聖化し、英語を上手く話すことのできない自分に苛立ち、英語が話せる人が育ってきた環境に嫉妬した。　そして、楽しく英語を学ぶことが、いつの間にかできなくなってしまっていた。しかし、留学中に出会った多くの人々や経験が、狭くなっていた視野を広げ、私に失いかけていた自信、自己肯定感、そして「英語が好き」という気持ちを取り戻させてくれた。そして英語で人と言葉を交わし関係を築くことの喜びに気づくことが出来た。ノルウェーのベルゲンにある魚市場でのバイトは、英語を話すことに対する私の意識を大きく変えた経験の一つである。世界各地から来た観光客に対し、英語で接客をするという仕事を通じて、英語をネイティブのように話すことに何故あれほどまでに拘っていたのだろうと考えさせられた。私が心を籠めて接客をすると、その分「ありがとう」や「笑顔が素敵だね。きっとこれからも沢山のお客さんが君の元にくるよ」という嬉しい言葉が返ってきた。最初は、英語を流暢に話し、持ち前のユーモアでお客さんを笑顔にすることができる同僚と自分を比べて落ち込むこともあった。彼女に仕事のことで怒られるたびに不甲斐なさを感じることもあった。しかし、ある日彼女が上司に私のことを、「あの子は、丁寧に仕事するし、どんなお客さんに対しても笑顔で対応する。だからこの仕事を彼女に任せてもいいと思う」と話しているのを聞いたとき、こんな私でも、海外で働き、人の役に立つことができるのだと感動して涙がでてきた。英語を話すことが、いつの間にか私のなかで目的から手段に変わっていたのである。

また、「英語力」などの社会的に資産とされるものを規準として、自分を「持たざる者」に分類し、劣等感を抱きながら大学生活を過ごしてきた私にとって、留学中の夏休みに訪れたデンマークのフォルケホイスコーレでの経験は、魚市場でのバイトと並ぶ貴重なものとなった。　フォルケホイスコーレとは、北欧特有の成人教育機関であり、私が日本で受けてきた教育とは性質を異にするものであった。私のクラスメートたちは皆、世界各国から来た18歳以上の学生であり、授業で使用されるデンマーク語もしくは英語が理解できれば、国籍、人種、性別に関わらず、誰でもそこで学ぶことができた。政府からの補助金を受けているため、費用も住居費・

授業料・食費をすべて含めて2週間で4万円と安く、日本で学資の捻出に苦労している私にとっては驚きであった。また、授業の中の成果をテストという形で図られることはない。そのため、テストを実施すべきだと主張したクラスメートもいたが、「フォルケホイスコーレは暗記中心の権威主義的な教育ではなく、生きた言葉での対話を規準とした「生のための学校」だ。それは出来ない。」と先生が切り替えしていたのがとても印象的であった。なぜなら日本においても、「生きる力」を養うことを教育目標とする記述が学習指導要領の中に見られるからである。しかし、フォルケホイコーレとは異なるのは、その教育の中で生徒が膨大な情報を暗記し、数々のテストを受けていること、そしてその成績を基に常に生徒の中で順位づけがなされているということである。それぞれの文脈において「生」とは一体何を指すのだろう。その答えを模索しながら、私は2週間フォルケホイスコーレで過ごした。

実際、フォルケホイスコーレでの生活を通して「生のための学校」と呼ばれる理由を感じる瞬間が何度かあった。とりわけ、あるネパール人のクラスメートとの出会いは、印象的であった。英語力を基準に自分と他人を差別化し苦しんでいた私にとって、心を通わせた彼との対話は、英語を話すことが目的ではなく手段にすぎないと改めて実感させてくれただけでなく、多様化する社会のなかで他者と自己を受容しながら生きることの大切さに気づかせてくれた。彼は、無神論者だった。ネパール国民の多くがヒンドゥー教や他の宗教を信仰していると聞いていた私は驚いた。理由を聞くと「民主化した今も、依然として根強く残るカーストによる区分のために、餓死していく人々を見て神様はいないと確信し、それ以来、何も誰も信じなくなった」と彼は答えた。そして「だから、自分は恋しいとか会いたいとか思う人やモノ、場所が無い」と、冷静な表情で話を続けた。とても陽気で面白い彼だったが、ふとした瞬間に真顔になって虚無的な発言をすることがあった。彼が留学生としてデンマークに来ていることを考えれば、彼自身が餓死を余儀なくされる立場にあったということはなかったはずだ。実際に、ネパールで彼はカースト制度の最上位に属していたという。それならば、どうして彼は神様やカーストを信じなくなったのだろう。彼によると、カースト制度においては、最下位カーストの人々の利用する同じ池から汲んだ水を上の階級の人は飲むことは許されず、時に彼らの影に触れる事さえ許されないという。下位カーストの人々を彼の家に招くことも、彼が彼らの家に赴くことも許されない。一方、同じくネパールから来た別のクラスメイトはカースト制度が重要だと言っていた。下位カーストの女性は無下に扱われるが、上位カーストの彼女は男性から大切にされるのだと、嬉しそうに語っていたのが印象的だった。一方彼は、カーストは人為的に作られたものであり、それを信じないといった。話していくうちに、高等教育を受けてカーストによる差別に対する反感を彼が強めていったことが分かった。二人ともカーストの上位に属していながら、どうしてカーストに対する意見が異なるのだろう。すると彼は「彼女の様に、教育を受けていてもカーストを強く信じている人はいる。それは彼女が、カーストの異なる者同士は理解しあえないことを前提とした社会で生

きてきたからだ。彼女が悪いわけではない。僕には下位カーストに親しい友人がいて、お互いの家を行き来していた。彼女は下位カーストの人々と交流する機会が無かったのだろう。」と答えた。下位カーストに属することで、彼のその友人がどういう経験をし、カーストという違いを越えてどのような感情を彼と共有したのか私には想像することしかできない。しかし、カーストを越えて他者と理解し合う喜びを知っている彼らにとって、カースト制度が強く根付いた社会に生きることは、辛いことや悲しいことの連続であったに違いない。

カーストという区別を越えて他人と向き合っていた彼だったが、私には彼がネパールという国を出たことによって、新たな類のカーストに組み込まれ、自分を下の位に位置づけようとしているのを感じた。それは、彼が時折デンマークという経済的に豊かな国に移民としてきた自分自身を嘲るような言動をとることがあったからだ。会話を続けるうちに、彼がデンマークの生活の中で、現地の人々との交流を通して疎外感を感じることが度々あったのだとわかった。宿舎の校舎の工事のために、居間に皆で雑魚寝しなければいけなかったときも、「俺たちは外国人だから、こういう扱いを受けるのだ」と1人呟いていた。日本人の私に対する彼の態度からも、彼が国籍を規準として、私と彼自身を区別し、対等な会話を避けようとしているのが分かった。ネパールのことや彼自身のことを話すときも「日本人にはわからないかもしれないけど」という文言を付け加え、理解し会えない者同士という前提で話が進めているように私は感じた。ネパールの人々と異なり、日本人は皆、苦労とは無縁の幸せな生活を送っていると思っている様子だった。もし彼が表現する日本が日本であるならば、私は生まれ育った場所は日本ではないと感じた。私は反論が来るのを覚悟で、確かに日本で餓死する人は少ないけれど、日本にも格差が厳然と存在し、生きる希望を失い自殺してしまう人が多くいることや、平等といいながら裕福な人が身近にも多くいる環境で、他者に共感されにくい苦しみの中で生きているひとがいることを説明した。私自身の辛かった経験も話した。家があまり裕福ではなかったために、友人が勉強や遊びに充てている時間を高校時代からバイトに費やす必要があったことや、大学の授業を理解するための十分な英語教育を受けることができず、悔しい思いをしてきたことも話した。日本人なのに何を言っているのだ、と理解されず、聞いてもらえないと私は思ったが、彼は私の話にずっと耳を傾けてくれていた。それ以来「どうせ日本人の君にはわからないだろう」というニュアンスを含ませて、彼が自分のことを話すことは無かった。それはきっと、彼がネパールで下級カーストの友人と友情を育くもうとしたように、私が彼の定義する「日本人」という枠組みから自分自身を切り離し、彼と真摯に向き合おうとしたからかもしれない。彼を含む私以外のクラスメートは皆、10ヶ月もの間衣食住を共にし、学んでいた。居間にはお菓子や果物が常に用意されており、ビリヤード台も備え付けられている。そこに行けばいつも誰かがいた。生徒だけではなく、教師も校内に住み、共に食事をし、共に学び、共に遊ぶ。修学旅行の時に、星空の下で共に湯船につかりながら、生徒の意見に真剣に耳を傾ける教師の姿はとても印象的であった。フォルケホイ

スコーレという場所は国際的な環境でありながら、「国際化」ということを、誰も意識していなかった。ある一定の価値観に縛り付けられることなく、人種、国籍、信条の違いを受け入れ、そこにいる人々が共に生きていた。私とそのネパール人が互いを理解するために交わしたような「生きた」会話が、10ヶ月の間幾度となく繰り返されてきた結果なのかもしれない。

格差という問題の本質は、持てる者と持たざる者が存在するという事実よりも、それを認識したときに感じる他者への羨望や自己の可能性の限界にあるのではないかと私は感じる。国際化が強調される日本社会において、「英語力」や「(特に英語圏における)海外経験」を基準として、私は「持たざる者」として自分自身を内面化させてきたが、ネパールの友人の目には経済大国である日本の国籍を持つ私が「持てる者」として映っていた。私は日本における大学生活の中で周囲の人々を「純ジャパ」という殻に籠り、「純ジャパ」以外の人々を遠ざけ、ネパールの友人は「日本人」である私と「ネパール人」である自分自身との区別し、互いを理解し合うことができないと考えた。このようにさまざまな文脈に応じて社会的に資産と考えられるものが存在し、それを基に人々は他人と自分を区別しようするのかもしれない。しかし、魚市場やフォルケホイスコーレでの経験から感じたことは、そういったものが人々を「幸せな人」と「不幸せな人」を明確に分類する指標ではないということである。確かに、「日本人」や「上位カースト」であるということは様々な場面において有利に働くのかもしれないが、友情をはぐくむために必要なものではなかった。私がかつて神聖化していた「英語」も同様に、様々な背景をもつ友人や同僚と関係を築き、自分のしたいことを実現するための道具でしかなかった。留学をして初めて、英語を流暢に話せるかどうかではなく、私が何を伝えたいのかが大切であることに気づくことが出来た。留学前は、英語を上手に話すことが出来なかったために、無力で役に立たない存在だと感じることも多かったが、そのように感じる必要など全くなかったのだ。英語で何かを伝えようと努力する限り、それが流暢であろうと無かろうと、人々は私の言いたいことを理解しようと努めてくれる。それは彼らの関心が私の英語能力にあるのではなく、私という人間にあるからだ。私はただの「日本人」でも「純ジャパ」でもなく、和田結希という人間である。留学前、他者と比較し自己嫌悪してばかりいた私は、劣等感や嫉妬に対処することに必死で「純ジャパ」という殻を破り「生きる力」を失いかけていた。しかし、魚市場やフォルケホイスコーレでの経験は「純ジャパ」でも「非純ジャパ」でもない「私」というアイデンティティを確立させ、私が他人を受容しながら自分を肯定し、幸せに生きていくための力を養ってくれた。

留学後の中校生を対象とした英語合宿への参加は、そんな自分への新たな挑戦であった。中高生にも英語を話す楽しさを体感してもらうためには、私の中に今も時折垣間見える英語に対するコンプレックスに私が打ち勝たなければならなかった。英語を話すことは楽しいのだと口で伝えるだけではなく、私自身がプログラムに参加している留学生と英語を話すことを楽しんだ。それでも中高生の多くは彼ら自身が英語を話すことに消極的

であったが、「純ジャパ」という言葉に長年縛られてきた私には、英語を話すことに対するその恐怖心や羞恥心が痛いほどわかった。一年の留学を終え、「純ジャパ」ではないと自分で実感している今も、多くの人の前に立ち、英語で話さなければならないときは緊張して手が震える。しかし、その自分の弱さを恥ずかしいと言って隠すのではなく、打ち勝とうと努力しつづける強さが「純ジャパ」でも「非純ジャパ」でもない、今の私にはあるのではないかと信じ中高生と向き合った。中高生が最終日にプレゼンテーションを行うとき、私はいつも彼らに、自分の英語が完璧ではないことやあがり症であることを正直に伝える。そうすると、彼らの中で私が「英語が最初から流暢に話せるグローバルな学生」というカテゴリーから外され、国際化を前面に打ち出した大学に通う学生でも、苦手なものがあるのかと驚かれる。その後に笑顔が増えるのはきっと、「この人にもできたのだから、私にもきっとできる」と感じてくれているからだろう。「英語が最初から流暢に話せるグローバルな学生」というブランドに固執するよりも、ありのままの自分で他人と接し、対等な関係を築くことの大切さは、フォルケホイスコーレでの「生きた」対話を通して私が学んだことである。

もし、このプログラムの参加をきっかけに、多くの中高生が自信を持って英語を話すことができるようになったなら、彼らが大学という多様な人々が集まる環境に今後身を置いても、『純ジャパ』という言葉を着て悲観的になることもなければ、『純ジャパ』以外の人々に対して嫉妬したり、無意識に誰かを傷つけたりすることもないだろう。留学を終えて、私は「純ジャパ」に属さない人々として関わりを避けてきた人々と仲良くなることが多くなった。その人たちと会話する中で「純ジャパ」という言葉の持つ排他性に改めて気づかされる。海外で生涯の大半を過ごしてきた日本人の友達は「私も一人の人間なのに、どうして『純ジャパ』や『帰国子女』という言葉を使い、他の人たちとラベル分けをするのか。どうして私という個人を見てくれようとしないのか。とても悲しい」と話す。かつて、フィリピン人の母を持つ同級生から、文化や言語の違いにより、学校や子ども会などのコミュニティーに溶け込めず辛い思いをしているという話を聞いたことがあった。当時の私はその理不尽さにとても腹が立ち、自分だけは絶対に差別に加担したくないと思った。しかし、私も同じように『純ジャパ』という排他的なコミュニティーを作り上げ、無意識のうちに多くの人々を傷つけていたのである。「一人の人間として見てほしい」――誰もが持つ当たり前の感情なのに、留学前の私は自分を守ることに必死で『純ジャパ』と言う言葉の使用が、彼らに与えうる疎外感について考えもしなかったのだ。だからこそ私は、「純ジャパ」の言説に見られる「ウチ」「ソト」の分類を越えたところにある、他の誰でもない自分の可能性に気づき自分の夢に向かって突き進んでほしいと願いながら、英語集中プログラムに参加する中高生や他の自信を持てずにいる学生と接している。

留学を経験したからと言って、自信が無く落ち込んでばかりいた少女から、いつどんな時でも自信を持っていて何をすべきか分かっている超人に変わったわけではない。日本語教育を学ぼうと日本の大学院に進学した今も、定期的に襲ってくる不安や恐怖に押しつぶされそうになる。ノルウェ

ーやデンマークで感じた「生きている」という感覚は夢だったのではないかと思うことも、英語を流暢に話す日本人の学生の前で英語を話すことに対する恐怖を未だに覚えることもある。学費を払って学んでいるのに、自分の成長を感じることができず焦燥感に駆られることも、他の人のように上手くできない自分に苛立つことも未だにある。ただ、今、私の周りには「純ジャパ」「非純ジャパ」という枠を取り払っい、強くあろうと努力する私を認め、応援してくれる人がいる。

> 「こんなに「心」のある先生が私の子ども達の担任の先生でいてくれたらと心から思いました。そんな和田さんを育んできたご家族や友人、今までのつらい経験、　嬉しい経験、ノルウェーで出会った人々、大学での出来事、そしてそこから大きな大切な宝を学び取った和田さん自身に感謝です。そして、それをこのような形で共有してくれてありがとう。これからもいろいろな事があると思いますが、和田さんのこの「人」としてのあたたかさ、誰からも奪われることはないです。大切にそして堂々と周りと共有していってください。」

教職課程で私が提出した課題に対する大学の先生からのこのフィードバックは、私と言う人間をどの枠に当てはめることもなく全面的に肯定し、前向きに「生きる力」を私に与えてくれる魔法の言葉だ。友人に、私のことばが彼女の英語に対する意識を良い方向に変えたという人がいる。しかしその私のことばもまた、先生をはじめ、大学生活や留学先で出会った大切な人々からもらった数々のことばの力の集積である。その友人は今、私にはないユーモアで留学生と高校生と良い関係を築き、彼女のことばや行動で英語を話す楽しさを伝えようと頑張っている。それは私が教えたものでも強制したものでもないけれど、「ありのままの自分に自信をもって」というメッセージは様々な人を通して私に伝わり、私から彼女へ伝わり、そして彼女のことばとしてまた多くの人々に伝わっている。日本語であれ英語であれ、ことばの力がつなぐ正の連鎖を学校という場所でも起こすことができたら、どんなによいだろう。

私が教師になったら、生徒たちが他人と比較することなく「私」というアイデンティティを確立し、自分の足で自分の人生を歩んでいくための「生きる力」を育てる場が学校であるように、生きた対話を通して一人ひとりと向き合っていきたい。

日本における大学生活と留学生活を通して見えてきたことは、「1つの価値観が他を侵食していく動き」としての性質を有する国際化の影響であった。現行の国際化がウチ(Us)/ソト(Others)という区別を創り出し、人々が多様性を認め合い自信を持って「生きる力」を奪っているように私は感じた。とりわけ日本の高等教育機関という文脈において、現行の国際化がもたらした極端な英語の神聖化は、英語を話すことに抵抗感を持つ日本人を生み出しただけではなく、「純ジャパ」という排他的なコミュニティーを作り上げ、海外経験や英語力などの違いに基づいて日本人の分断化を促進した。これは、「国という枠組みのみに囚われない普遍的な価値観の創造・追及」という国際化のあるべき姿に逆行する。国際化の下で、日

本社会も多様な文化や価値観に影響を受けながら、着実に変化している。その中で教育に求められるのは英語を流暢に話す「グローバル人材」の養成ではなく、その国際社会に所属する「私」という確固たるアイデンティティを備えた個人の育成ではないだろうか。教育現場が、人種、性別、階級、そして「純ジャパ」や「非純ジャパ」などの社会的に創り上げられた違いを越え、多くの人が他人を受容しながら、自分の可能性を信じて「生きる力」を育む場であるように、多くの大人が尽力すべきである。そんな教育に私は携わっていきたい。

NOTES

[1] Since the two words internationalization and globalization are used interchangeably in conversation, the media, and educational settings. it appears to me there is no clear distinction made between the words as such.

[2] A popular English language proficiency test.

Yuki Wada
Akita International University

NAOKO ARAKI AND KIM SENIOR

3. JAPANESE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES OF THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN JAPAN

Being Regarded

INTRODUCTION

Individual pedagogical experiences can shape how learners regard themselves and their place within the world. When this process is enacted within a critical framework, a pedagogical awakening is possible. We are particularly interested in how this awakened state is a potent moment for change within all students. Japan's present public policy outlook is clearly concerned with developing or acquiring a robust international focus. As Yashima (2009) describes this is beyond a simplistic view of integration, cultural readiness or awareness but rather an 'international posture' (p. 57). Developing positive attitudes and openness to difference is seen as a crucial aspect of this outlook. The trend toward global experience, international cross campus study options and cultural exchange programs would suggest that higher education providers have embraced the Japanese government's internationalization agenda. Preparation for such experiences is often procedural with some attention to obvious cultural pitfalls. There is a lot of talk about the invaluable nature of such experience, but the potential value of interculturality is often left to chance. Without some understanding about how to explicitly learn from cultural experience and exchange, learners may (at the least) miss rich pedagogical moments or (more gravely) acquire or reinforce attitudes contrary to a positive international posture. We argue that there is a pressing need to explore how and when such learning experiences take place. We also wonder if the current approaches could be improved by closely attending to the narratives of individual students. In this chapter, we argue that powerful sources of learning arise in the awkward or fraught exchanges brought about by Japan's internationalization agenda. The simple act of travel or exchange itself does not provide an environment for learning about diversity unless it is accompanied by genuine curiosity and a capacity for reflexivity.

The act of communicating in English is not without its complications for "the relationship between English and Japan [… It] involves implicit or explicit consideration of the relationships that the English language and the Japanese nation have towards current social and political developments that are motivated by the forces of globalization" (Seargeant, 2011, p. 2). The capacity to critically understand the

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 31–41.

socio-political and economic forces at play within the learning and use of English may also provide surprising moments to reflect upon identity formation. Building upon Dörnyei's (2005) work of possible, ideal and out-to-be self, we are interested in how identity emerges from within the hierarchical relationship between English language and Japan. In this sense, in this era of globalization and the acute push towards an international posture, English is positioned as more linguistically and economically desirable within Japan. This is a common nationwide view where Japanese people from the very young to the elderly tend to envy anyone who they perceive to be fluent in English. Celebrities and media commentators with high English language fluency are regarded with almost unqualified approbation as more 'worldly' or 'internationalized'. In schools, students who can comfortably communicate in English with non-Japanese English language teaching assistants are admired by those who are less confident. It is little wonder that parents endeavor to enroll their children, including infants, in private English conversation classes in the hope that this may be a successful course to their children's acquisition of high English proficiency. This in turn has led to a situation where those who feel less confident or struggle with second language acquisition keep experiencing feelings of discontent and anxiety. From the center of attention for assessment at schools to the current employer calls for higher TOFEL performances by employees, English language proficiency has grown to become a dominating cultural force in Japan. In the zero sum game of global neo-liberalism, Japanese people's English language proficiency creates an immediate division between 'winners' or 'losers'. The niceties of possible or ideal identity construction in second language acquisition have taken on a serious 'must have' quality.

This chapter presents an analytical discussion of the previous two chapters with a specific pedagogical focus upon individual 'lived experiences' (van Manen, 2015). There are two imperatives at the heart of this approach. Firstly, we are driven by the nature of the narrative data in both chapters: we are reading across language, places and events bringing a 'connoisseurship' (Eisner, 1998, p. 63) to 'see' data as multifacetedly as possible. We are also placing these individual narratives within the wider context of English language education in Japan and student understandings of diversity. By taking a nuanced understanding and knowledge of pedagogy, our intent is to make a sensitive contribution to an important national discussion in Japan. It is our hope that through exploring individual learners' processes to forging identity and making sense of their immediate and larger worlds, individuals may reveal a way to respect and honour others.

NARRATIVE FOR PEDAGOGICAL ANALYSIS

Narratives are not simply telling personal stories. The narratives in the previous chapters offer two unique insights into individual journey's of coming to English language learning and consequent events. Complex individual experiences are reflected within each narrative. Sato (undergraduate student) and Wada (post-graduate student) are both Japanese natives who studied English as well as studied

in English. Upon graduation, they both aspire to become English language teachers in Japan. Initially we used a socio-linguistic approach (Labov & Waletzky, 1997; Paterson, 2008) to analyse the structure of each narrative and how each writer chose to communicate meaning. This included the particular choice of words and turn of phrase used in both English and Japanese. However, such analysis alone gives only a singular dimension to the complex nature of social worlds and human experience. For these experiences are not just personal but a window into the social world in which they are entwined. Analysis in this chapter, whilst drawing upon our understandings and experience of both Japanese and English langauges as well as language learning, is therefore concerned with a pedagogical rather than a linguistic focus. Pedagogical regard, as van Manen (2015) elucidates, can help "to discern the complex and subtle nature of experience when we speak of student experience" (p. 168). Stories of learning are the distinct professional arena of educators and so our discussions of the complicating actions naturally flowed onto broader socio-cultural concerns. We also found that being attentive to those moments when Sato and Wada, alluded to their interpretative viewpoints were rich sources of data for our analysis. We open the discussion section of this chapter with a brief summary of Sato (see Chapter 1) and Wada's (see Chapter 2) narratives.

The Makings of a 'Non-Junjapa' and 'Junjapa'

Chapter 1 describes Sato's experience in Japan and the USA. The first ten years of her life was spent in Japan; later she moved to the USA with her mother and brother due to her mother's aspiration to study further in that country. Sato struggled with the difference in classroom expectations. To be forthright with her personal opinions and expression was an unfamiliar experience for a young Japanese girl brought up by her mother to be quiet and obedient. As time went by, she adapted herself to the new learning environment and developed her English language fluency. After studying in the USA for fourteen years, she returned to Japan where she faced issues of re-acculturation to her native culture. At times, she found traveling back to Japan akin to a foreign country. Sato's narrative is one of a constant struggle with difference and categorization, isolation and often frustration with the preformative expectations of those around her. Applying to study at a university in Japan that used English as the medium of instruction made sense to her given her specific background. It was here that she experienced a new label – 'non-*junjapa*'. Sato later became a tutor at an on-campus student support center assisting *junjapa* peers with assignments. Through these interactions she learnt more about the complex relationship other students had with communicating in English but she also came to further understand her own relationship with cultural and linguistic identity.

Wada (see Chapter 2) chose to write her narrative in both English and Japanese. Wada was born in a small regional city in Japan. She reveals that due to economic hardship her family could not afford to offer her extra English language lessons outside of school. During the early years of her university life, she believed all

students who had greater English language proficiency must have had 'rich' parents. She believed that her peers were more fortunate as they had the opportunities of extra tuition and/or opportunities to study or travel outside Japan. She chose to apply to her university as English is the medium of instruction and because of its international educational focus. Once at university she quickly fell into the practice of comparing her English language proficiency and confidence with her peers. As a *junjapa* student, she describes herself as a less confident English language learner and having low self-esteem. Studying at a university in Norway for a one year mid-course exchange offered numerous opportunities to reflect upon herself as a language learner. She traveled to Denmark during the summer of her exchange and met a Nepalese student who played a major role in Wada's understanding of difference and cultural stereotyping. The duplicitous nature of categorization became more apparent and challenged her to question simplistic notions of identity.

Both autobiographical narratives illustrate the creation and recreation of identity work. They also provide an insight into Sato and Wada's relationships with others and the world: "the life story provides the compass for the delineation of our courses of action throughout life and hence…autobiographical memory is a crucial lynch pin for human action and human agency" (Goodson & Gill, 2014, p. 125). The making of a 'non-*junjapa*' and a '*junjapa'* brings analytical attention to the early pedagogical traces that may have influenced the ways in which Sato and Wada encountered and chose to internalize those terms at the university. For this delineation of who or what it is to be 'pure Japanese' is crude given the reality of 21st century life and lives. Furthermore, such labeling is inexplicably tied up with complex issues related to linguistic, economic, cultural and educational positioning in a globalizing Japan.

An early pedagogical experience that is fundamental to Sato's emergent understanding of identity and agency is an exchange with her father after she was discovered reading manga at her Japanese primary school:

> I remember a day when my father was called to school because I was reading a book in class. After a meeting with my teacher, he took me to a *manga kissa* (*漫画喫茶*) and told me that I should be proud to be passionate about something that I love. Years later he told me that he wanted us to nurture latent personality and potential we are born with and not to live by the expectations forced upon us by society.

Sato's teachers believed that her reading in class time warranted calling in her parents. Significantly Sato's father then took her to a manga café directly following the meeting. This action is in direct defiance of the message that her teacher's probably wanted her to receive. Their intention was probably to 'shame' both Sato and her parents, shame her into conforming with the expected norms of student behavior and shame her parents to ensure they reinforce the school's pedagogical approach. By taking her to a manga café Sato's father marked the incident with an alternate pedagogical perspective. He sees this as an opportunity to encourage a love of reading perhaps even an important moment to enact a divergent view regarding

social compliance. Despite these conflicting messages, the young Sato seems to have drawn valuable lessons about agency and identity.

The fact that Sato associates this incident with her father's later words about being herself suggests that this is a significant moment in her identity formation. By making this association, Sato manages to live between the expectations of her mother and her new life in the United States. She manages to transition from a strict and conservative learning environment to one that defied her acculturated view of what schooling and learning should sound and look like:

> In contrast, in the U.S. the school I went had specialized classes for ESL students. Students from different grades were assigned to classes based on their English fluency. I had older and younger classmates. Classrooms were decorated with pictures and maps of different countries, and students interacted with each other, and the teachers and students actively interacted. I remember feeling uncomfortable at first because it looked more like a kindergarten and classmates seemed less serious about learning at school than the ones I knew in Japan.

Sato continued to demonstrate a capacity to see the multiple and sometimes contradictory nature of living as a globalized citizen:

> At the International Student's Office, I remember felling awkward with filling in Japanese as my nationality when I had almost never been in Japan for the last ten years. I actually lived longer in the U.S. than Japan. I felt as if my American identity was being rejected. Even though I grew up in the same area as my American friends and studied together, I was treated as a foreigner.
>
> My years at the community college were filled with series of identity clashes. I did not get along with my "international" peers, who were all new to the country that I grew up in.

These clashes were a prelude to the continuing work of cultural identity that followed Sato's return to Japan. Later in the chapter we see how these struggles taught her to identify and manage feelings of ostracism when faced with the non-*junjapa* label.

In Wada's case the makings of *junjapa* identity are clearly founded in her family's financial difficulties and her feelings of being left out or left behind in an increasingly competitive educational environment. She associated other students' greater English proficiency with privilege – the constant reminder that she had not been able to travel overseas or even access private language tuition like many or most of her peers.

> Initially, I 'tolerated' the courses at the university as almost all of them were conducted in English, but I became depressed when I had to give presentations in English in front of my classmates. When thinking of why I could not speak English, I often looked for the reasons in my past. My family is not well off

> and thus could not provide me with any opportunities to receive a good English education outside of that provided by my school. That made me think that those who have great English proficiency must have rich parents and the parents must have offered them more chances to hone their English proficiency. While trying to hide my low self-esteem and frustration, I did homework until dawn every day and wrote down hundreds of English words in notebooks to practice.

Her quest for English proficiency was closely tied to her anxiety about making up for her disadvantaged background. In fact this single mindedness almost blinded her to the joy of language learning and sense of language mastery. For years Wada saw herself as wanting in her 'ideal English speaking self', but an experience of working at a Norwegian fish market while on a mid-course exchange program shifted her thinking:

> Speaking English constantly reminded me of those who are more privileged. The people I met and the experiences I had during my study abroad helped me regain both self-esteem and confidence…. I slowly gained a love of using the language. I enjoyed building friendships with different people using English. In particular, the experience of doing a part-time job in Bergen during the summer vacation had a significant impact on me. Talking with tourists from all over the world, I realized how fun it was to communicate in our only mutual language of English. It impressed upon me how meaningless it was to assume that English had to be spoken perfectly or not at all. Even though my English was not perfect, many tourists thanked me and gave me kind words of encouragement…

We can assume that Wada probably received words of encouragement during her years of learning English in Japan, but these words for many reasons failed to diminish her feelings of inadequacy. After Wada began to value the function of English as a globalized means of communication rather than a positional commodity, she could regain a sense of power and achievement in her learning. For Wada, this illuminating moment led to further opportunities to see or imagine herself as agentic in her relationships with others.

Being Junjapa and Non-Junjapa

The terms *junjapa* and non-*junjapa* are not officially sanctioned or propagated terms at Sato and Wada's university. Rather, they are labels generated and perpetuated amongst the students themselves. Students who have been exclusively educated in Japan feel the need to distinguish themselves from other students as a way of explaining away perceived lower level English language proficiency or as means of seeking out a common ground with others. At a glance such a term or label may appear harmless or innocuous but labels often take on a life of their own. The conditioning of Japanese schooling in which conformity is the norm places students in a unique

pedagogical position. Those who come to a Japanese university heavily invested in an international focus almost find themselves akin to studying in an English speaking country. An unexpected consequence is that students are interculturally dislocated within their own country. Every day practices become unfamiliar, uncomfortable, and disorientating. In a small way, a sense of familiarity and stability is found and recreated through solidarity with some other students who share a similar educational background. As Wada's own narrative illustrates, she found herself living out of the constructed *junjapa* identity. Coming to her international university did not broaden her worldview or international posture but rather served to fortify her beliefs of inadequacy.

> …in my basic academic English writing class, the lecturer gave students a writing assignment about our best memories from high school days. It was difficult for me to do this assignment, as I had not written more than 300 words in English prior to entering university. By comparison, one of my classmates, who had lived in an English speaking country for a long time, complained that the assignment was at an elementary school level. Though I realize in hindsight that her comment was completely reasonable, at that time it sounded to me like she was just showing off her high proficiency in English. In addition to this, academic scores, which were given based solely on English proficiency, gave many students the impression that those who have high English proficiency are intelligent.

A *junjapa* label offers a sense of security within a competitive learning environment. To discover that other students feel a sense of anxiety can be reassuring. But educators understand the immense power of labels in the minds and hearts of the learners. For every person who is found to be 'like me', others are by its function excluded. As Sato experienced:

> I thought the university would be more accepting of people like me, but instead who I am was categorized and became bounded tighter than before. I was categorized as non-Junjapa. I was categorized under a new term 'Skipped Program people' and was out-casted in every way by the majority, junjapa students.
>
> In the international university, because of this English-speaking environment, being in Skipped class is seen as a privilege by the junjapa students. I never thought that being able to speak English, by itself, was something to be proud of. Honestly, anyone would eventually have to learn to speak if you live and study in an English speaking country for over a decade! Whenever I sensed being envied by them, I wanted to tell them that 'I did not just learn to speak English through my twelve years in the United States. Language was just one of the many struggles that I have been through'. I experienced multiple culture shocks, identity crisis, discrimination, and oppression and that was what I wanted other students to acknowledge. But instead of listening to my story, they

> would often imply, 'You are privileged to be able to have had the experience speaking in English. You are different from us and you can't understand how hard it is to speak English fluently.'

The practice amongst students to reduce their on-campus to a *junjapa* and non-*junjapa* binary has serious ramifications. The opportunity to hear and learn beyond themselves and their own personal concerns, limits the potential to expand their horizons or empathize. Ironically, on a campus priding itself on preparing global citizens, students fall at the first encounter with Other. Students enroll at such university because they want to learn how to have greater access to the world in particular English speaking world. Yet, two obstacles are apparent. Firstly, the competitive nature to even make it onto such a campus renders all subsequent interactions as predominately evaluative. Secondly, students are unaware that language proficiency alone is not the defining factor in becoming or being 'internationalized'. In this case, an international posture is only a beginning. A genuine engagement with interculturality is dependent upon a considered reflexive position especially in regard to relationships or encounters with difference. Therefore, these critical intercultural moments of discord surrounding *junjapa*/non-*junjapa* labels are so immediate to student experience that they can be generative in initiating formative discussions of identity and identities. An explicit approach to such matters could then mitigate the providence of chance in later complex cultural encounters.

FROM BEING REGARDED TO REGARDING OTHER: BEYOND AN INTERNATIONALIZED OUTLOOK OR POSTURE

The narratives by Sato and Wada demonstrate how they traversed the shifting positionings and identities in a globalizing Japan. Regardless of their individual life choices, both were born and educated in a Japan where "English in some form or at some symbolic level has…become a significant part of everyday life in Japan" (Seargeant, 2011, p. 3). As Wada and Sato recount significant experiences or views in their chapters, we have attempted to be sensitive to subtle nuances in the texts while at the same time concerning ourselves with the socio-cultural and pedagogical elements within the experiences. Goodson and Gill (2014) note writing autobiographical narratives offer the narrators an opportunity of "a repositioning of the self" (p. 128). Writing narratives provided Sato and Wada an opportunity to be reflective about their learning as a language learner as well as how this may impact their work as language educators. What is particularly important to note here is that this process is more than simply gaining an appreciation of the experiences of others. A high level of self-awareness is forged through the process of learning how others are seen and known in relation to difference (Saevi, 2015, cited in van Manen, 2015).

Sato writes unambiguously about her disappointment at once again finding herself on the outer or being dismissed in some way:

> I felt constantly pressured to achieve higher grades. Even when I am struggling with classwork, I could not talk to my classmates about it. All they would

> say was …but Yuko you are all ok, right because you are good at English… I couldn't ask any of my peers to help me out because all they said was that "oh, you don't need my help. You're better than me".

Yet her response to this situation was to volunteer as a writing tutor to help out her *junjapa* peers. Through teaching these very students, she gained a deeper insight into the predicaments and personal struggles arising from a *junjapa* educational background. Sato theorized the links between language, culture and identity; she began to see a space between the mind and language in which thoughts and reality are shaped. She recognised that for many who strongly identify or regard themselves as *junjapa* do so from a need for comfort or security but ultimately a need that could be self defeating or illusory. As a pre-service teacher, Sato has learnt "*Education not only teaches us skills and knowledge but also helps us to realize why we think the way we do".*

Sato's observations about the *junjapa* desire for security and belonging is very clear in Wada's narrative. Something Wada sought in many of her interactions with others during her year in Scandinavia:

> A Nepalese man I met there was particularly inspirational. Heartfelt conversations with him made me realize that English is not just a mere instrument of communication, but also the importance to live while accepting others and ourselves.

However, like Sato, Wada also found a space to step up to be the teacher and to deeply consider the meaning and relevance of these exchanges and what they might say about difference and diversity.

> When he talked about himself or Nepal, he would add, "But Japanese people may not understand, though". Why do you tell me stories on the premise that I could not possibly understand? He seemed to believe that every Japanese led a happy life indifferent from pain or sorrow. But I felt that what he described as Japan was different from the country where I was born and raised. It is true that there are certainly very few people who starve to death in Japan, but Japan also has its problems. I wanted my friend to know that an economic and social gap does exist in Japan. I told him that many people are losing hope in life and 'the zest for living' and many of them end up committing suicide. I also told him about days when I had a hard time because my family was not well off. I spent much time doing part-time jobs while my friends studied or hanged out. I told him how I looked at other classmates with envy, as I had not received as good an English education as them. Initially I thought that he would not believe my story, but he listened attentively. After that he did not nuance his conversation with statements like "Japanese people like you would not understand" when he talked about himself or Nepal.

Wada could have remained silent instead, since she had learned so much from her friend about life in Nepal and especially about the caste system, she felt a need to be

clearly seen by her friend beyond the stereotype of 'a Japanese person'. There is an instant and a timing that is understood when an educator steps up to a pedagogical moment; not as instructor, but as a teacher. Wada took up that teacherly moment with her friend and showed strong compassionate judgement. She did not deny or belittle his hardship. She did not mollify or conciliate. Wada decided to take gentle conversation into a more vulnerable exchange. This was not a discussion about Nepal or Japan. It was an ontological discussion between two learners. Wada wished to be seen by her friend and in turn she demonstrated regard for him by challenging his assumptions. In doing so Wada has taken an important step beyond the passive *junjapa* identity into a provocateur role that seeks to question the complex web of relationships that make up ourselves (Goodson & Gill, 2014).

PEDAGOGICAL AWAKENING

Sato and Wada's narratives clearly illustrate the destructive nature of labeling. Sato felt excluded as a returnee or non-*Jyunjapa* student. Paradoxically, Wada describes her struggles with feeling left out or behind despite feeling some camaraderie with her *junjapa* peers. The danger in these simple words is that inclusion and exclusion is disguised within a new positional structure. In particular, at an international university that regards globalization-as-opportunity (Yamagami & Tollefson, 2011), *junjapa* labeling carries significance for issues of individual self-worth as well as opportunity for meaningful intercultural exchange. Universities that have embraced English as a medium for instruction are extolled by high school students and their families as a sure route to educational and vocational success in Japan. Yet, Yamagami and Tollefson (2011) stress that the relationship between "English and globalization-as-opportunity discourse is widely viewed as so commonsensical that it does not require justification. Moreover, this connection has long been promoted by the Japanese government in its English promotion policies" (p. 26). It is imperative to explore the commonsensical, as this is an essential element of the ways in which things become to be done or become part of our cultural norms. It is the very makings of a globalized Japanese cultural identity shaped by English language.

Amongst Sato and Wada's experiences, we can see real opportunity for students in Japan to be reflexive about themselves and their own learning experiences. These reflexive moments can be emergent from questioning and critiquing oppressive positional structures as Aoki (Pinar & Irwin, 2005) emphasized a significance of being a third space in between two languages that "[by] questioning [the two languages], by contrasting one with another, the resultant dialectic allows possibilities of a deeper awareness of who one is, and of a fuller understanding of the conditions shaping one's being (Pinar & Irwin, 2005, p. 243). The reflexive practice let Sato and Wada keenly take pedagogical action in their lives. When the reflexive moments are regarded as momentous by individuals, pedagogical awakening of learning for teaching becomes possible.

REFERENCES

Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner. Individual differences in second language acquisition*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Eisner, E. (1998). *The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill.

Goodson, I., & Gill, S. (2014). *Critical narrative as pedagogy.* New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1997). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In P. Atkinson & S. Delamont (Eds.), *Narrative methods* (Vol. 1). London: Sage.

Patterson, W. (2008). Narratives of events: Labovian narrative analysis and its limitations. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research*. London: Sage.

Pinar, W., & Irwin, R. (Eds.). (2005). *Curriculum in a new key: The collected works of Ted T. Aoki*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Seargeant, P. (Ed.). (2011). *English in Japan in the era of globalization*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

van Manen, M. (2015). *Pedagogical tack: Knowing what to do when you don't know what to do*. London: Routledge.

Yamagami, M., & Tollefson, W. J. (2011). Elite discourses of globalization in Japan: Role of English. In P. Seargeant (Ed.), *English in Japan in the era of globalization.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yashima, T. (2009). International posture and the ideal L2 self in the Japanese EFL context. In Z. Dornyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Naoko Araki
Faculty of International Liberal Arts
Akita International University

Kim Senior
Independent scholar and writer

CHARLES KOWALSKI

4. BUILDING GLOBAL CITIZENS

Narratives of Young Japanese on Overseas Volunteer Service and Global Citizenship

INTRODUCTION

The Tokugawa shoguns must be gloating in their graves. If they listened to commentators on Japanese news these days, they might think the nation was sailing full astern, back to the days of national isolation. And this time, the government needs no artificial measures to seal the country off from the outside world; the people are doing the job perfectly well themselves.

Uchimuki shikō – the "inward-looking orientation" supposedly endemic among Japanese young people – has become a media buzzword, and the occasion of a great deal of hand-wringing about how it frustrates the government's stated goal of developing "global human resources". The number of university students studying abroad has been steadily declining, and is now down 25% from its peak of nearly 83,000 in 2004 (MEXT, 2015) – presumably to the relief of parents, 40% of whom are unwilling to send their children overseas (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2014; quoted in Burgess, 2014, p. 5). The decline in applications for the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)'s Overseas Cooperation Volunteer program has been even more precipitous, now down to fewer than 3,000, a ghost of the 12,000 in its 1994 heyday (Burgess, 2014, p. 5). To all appearances, today's Japanese youth are content to watch, from the safety and comfort of their island home, as China and India conquer the world.

These numbers augur poorly for Japan's prospects of raising a new generation of global citizens. But do they, in fact, tell the whole tale? Burgess (2014) argues that all the fingers pointed at "inward-looking" youth are misdirected; that the real culprits are the conservative, insular government and corporate culture that pay lip-service to globalization but stack the deck against young people seeking international experience. Of curiosity about the world, willingness to explore it, and concern about the issues facing it, there is no shortage. And anyone who met the young volunteers whose stories are told here would likely come to the same conclusion. This paper examines a sample of young Japanese from a private university in the Tokyo area, who participated in short-term volunteer projects with Habitat for Humanity, to determine whether the experience led them to a higher level of global citizenship. Granted, in anyone who chooses to join an overseas volunteer project,

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 43–63.

the potential must already be there; the question is whether, according to various commonly accepted indicators of "global citizenship", their volunteer service, rather than simply being a one-off experience, brought about a lasting change in the way they think and live.

WHAT IS A GLOBAL CITIZEN?

"Global citizen" is a commonly used phrase, but agreement about its meaning is less common. Perhaps the most succinct definition comes from the Global Citizens' Initiative: "A global citizen is someone who identifies with being part of an emerging world community and whose actions contribute to building this community's values and practices" (Israel, 2012, p. 79). This definition divides the concept of "global citizenship" neatly into two aspects: *awareness* and *action*.

The idea that global citizenship starts with *awareness* is echoed in many other conceptual models. Anyone can become a global citizen if they share a "common consciousness of human society on a world scale" (Shaw, 2000, quoted in Schattle, 2008, p. 28). UNESCO (2015, p. 14) defines global citizenship broadly as "a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity". According to Oxfam (2006, p. 3), the global citizen "is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen". By these definitions, a global citizen does not need to be well-travelled, world-famous, or a generous contributor to humanitarian causes. All of these may help – Schattle (2008, p. 47) classifies them as "secondary concepts" – but awareness is key: if you see yourself as a global citizen, you're already well on your way to becoming one.

Global citizenship does not, of course, supplant national citizenship. It "does not imply a legal status; it refers more to a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 14). According to Israel (2012, p. 79), global citizens "are not abandoning other identities, such as allegiances to our countries, ethnicities, and political beliefs…However, as a result of living in a globalized world, we understand that we have an added layer of responsibility; we also are responsible for being members of a world-wide community of people who share the same global identity that we have." Appiah (2006, quoted in Schattle, 2008, p. 32) put it memorably: "The one thought that cosmopolitans share is that no local loyalty can ever justify forgetting that each human being has responsibilities to each other."

The mention of "responsibility" in both of these definitions brings us to the next question: what are the *actions* of a global citizen? Here, many who have sought to define global citizenship, or create a curriculum for global citizenship education, have proposed different conceptual frameworks. Schattle (2008, pp. 40–42) divides the "primary concepts" of global citizenship into three broad categories: *awareness*, *responsibility*, and *participation*. Awareness, as mentioned above, means consciousness of human society and recognition of human universalities. Responsibility means a sense of solidarity across humanity, leading to principled decision-making (making decisions and taking specific actions with the good of

the entire planet in mind). Participation means community involvement: voice and activity (having a say in public life, even if you are not a citizen of your country of residence) and calls for accountability and reform (seeking to expand channels for public debate, hold international institutions accountable, and redefine economic and social values to incline them more towards greater global equality and social welfare).

UNESCO (2015, p. 29) makes a similar division into *cognitive*, *socio-emotional*, and *behavioural* dimensions. The cognitive dimension includes learning about global issues and developing critical thinking skills. The socio-emotional dimension encompasses awareness of different levels of identity, empathy and solidarity across cultures, respect for difference and diversity, and shared values and responsibilities based on human rights. The behavioural dimension takes these into the public realm, acquiring the motivation, willingness, and skills to take action for a peaceful and sustainable world at the local, national, and global levels.

Other conceptual frameworks slice the pie somewhat differently. The Oxfam curriculum (2006) presents a list of goals for global citizenship education at various ages, but without dividing them neatly into categories as UNESCO does. Ockenden (1999, p. 8) defines a world citizen as a "global villager" – sharing rights and responsibilities with fellow humans, valuing diversity, seeking to understand the commonalities of experience between diverse peoples, and working at the global and local levels to tackle world problems – as opposed to "global consumers" who see their primary goal as protecting their own lifestyle and social position, other humans as competitors for resources and power, and difference as a threat. And Dill (2013) contrasts "global consciousness" (the moral and ethical dimension of global citizenship) with "global competence" (a blend of the technical-rational and the dispositional or attitudinal).

In an attempt to synthesize these diverse models, I have combined a duality, like Israel's "awareness/action" and Dill's "consciousness/competence" with a three-dimensional framework. The three dimensions can be summed up by an acronym that should be memorable (if questionable as a model of global citizenship) – CIA: *cognitive*, *interpersonal*, and *activist*. The *cognitive* dimension refers to *learning about the world*, which could be a solitary intellectual exercise. The *interpersonal* dimension refers to *connecting with the world*, making contact with people from different cultures. And the *activist* dimension means *working to change the world*, being active in global and local ways to work for a more peaceful, equitable, and sustainable planet. For each of these, we have *perceptions* – beliefs and ideas – and *practices* that put them into action.

Projecting the existing models onto this framework reveals some gaps. In particular, *practices* in the *cognitive* dimension, especially language study, are conspicuously absent from established frameworks. Perhaps their creators, taking to heart the principle that anyone can be a global citizen as long as they have the necessary awareness, hesitate to raise the bar by listing an intellectual feat like learning a foreign language among the requirements. It could equally be argued,

Table 1. Aspects of global citizenship

Dimension	*Perceptions*	*Practices*
Cognitive (learning about the wold)	• Awereness of wider would • Sense of self as part of a global cummunity • Understanding of global issues	• Learn about the world and issues facing it • Learn other languages • Learn about intercultural communication and human universals
Interpersonal (connecting with the world)	• Understanding of own and others' identity at multiple levels • Cross-cultural empathy • Respect for diversity and difference	• Build relationships with people of other backgrounds • Spend significant time outside own culture • Mediate between different cultures and resolve conflicts
Activist (working to change the world)	• Sense of responsibility that transcends borders • Sense of own influence on the world • Commitment to social justice and environmental protection	• Make decisions with the good of the entire planet in mind • Participate in community at various levels • Campaign for a more just and equitable world

though, that making the effort to learn another language is an important part of intercultural communication. For that reason, as well as for the sake of balance, it was included among the criteria.

Based on this model, ten questions were selected with the aim of achieving a balance across the six categories. For each question, participants were asked whether they had observed any changes in themselves before and after their volunteer experience.

Cognitive dimension:

1. I see myself as a global citizen.
2. I have thought about the concepts of “culture” and “identity”.
3. I have made an effort to learn other languages.

Interpersonal dimension:

4. I have had more contact with people from other cultures living in Japan.
5. I have helped to mediate disputes or resolve conflicts across cultures.
6. I have spent, or planned to spend, significant time abroad.

Activist dimension:

7. I have a sense of responsibility to the world.
8. I see myself as able to influence the world.

9. I make choices with the well-being of the planet in mind.
10. I have been active in volunteer and/or political activities for environmental protection and/or social justice on a global scale.

PARTICIPANTS

All the respondents had participated in at least one "Global Village" or "GV" trip, a two-week project in which volunteers help "home partners" in developing countries build their houses, under the guidance of in-country Habitat staff and locally recruited skilled workers. Volunteers for interviews were solicited on social media, from among as many GV veterans as could be reached, and ten replied. Five are male and five female; one is a current student, and nine have graduated. Interviews were conducted in Japanese, nine by telephone and one face-to-face. The participants were given a bilingual list of ten questions ahead of time.

Daiki

Daiki, unusually for this group, majored in aerospace engineering rather than international studies. He joined Habitat at the invitation of a friend. "At the time," he says, "I had no particular interest in volunteer activities or international travel." However, he joined a volunteer trip to northern Japan, and while he was there, the team leader suggested he try an international trip. He agreed, and joined a GV trip to India, which was his first overseas experience other than a family trip to Hawaii when he was a child.

> It was my first visit to the Asian continent, and everything surprised me. I didn't know what to expect, and thought the people might be rather cool towards us, but they welcomed us warmly and took excellent care of us.

His experience was so positive that he joined three more GV trips, to Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. "I can't compare one with another, but all of them were everything I expected." Now, after graduation, he holds onto hopes of one day joining another GV. "I'm glad I went. I want to tell current students that they should go while they have the chance."

Jin

Jin had travelled a fair amount with his family before university, having visited Hawaii, Bali, and Kenya ("because my mother had always wanted to go on safari"). He joined Habitat because "I felt I had no energy and couldn't do anything, so I wanted to change something in myself." His first GV trip was also to India:

> Everything was different from Japan. It was a culture shock – but not so much shocking as surprising, fresh and exciting. I remember walking along a street in India, and it was dirtier than I was used to, but what really impressed me was the vibrancy and vitality of the culture.

Something resonated with him on this trip: "I felt my character could be accepted in other countries." He joined a GV trip to Nepal, and then a second one to India. Now, he puts his experience to use in his work as a travel agent, and in his private life sharing his home with foreign guests through Airbnb. He dreams of going abroad again if the opportunity arises, and in the meantime, he finds fulfilment in welcoming foreign travellers and helping to shape their image of Japan.

Jun

Jun works in elder care: rehabilitation, daily care services, and consulting with families to determine how best to care for elderly members. He says of his job: "I hadn't thought of it, at first, as something connected with my volunteer experience. I'm not teaching Japanese overseas or anything like that, like some of my teammates." But after a while, he discovered that there was more of a connection than he thought. "I work with people with all kinds of diseases and disabilities, and I need to approach them without preconceptions. As my manager says, if you can't understand people, you can't care for them."

Jun also first joined Habitat at the invitation of a friend. "I had always wanted to go abroad, but in a way that went beyond just looking at buildings and eating at restaurants; something that would allow me to connect with people and learn to understand them better." His first GV trip, to Bangladesh, turned out to be more than he bargained for:

> I was overwhelmed. All my notions of what's "normal" were destroyed. I couldn't drink the water, couldn't flush the toilet, couldn't take a hot bath…and I realized that most people in the world live like this; everything I had taken for granted in Japan was really an exception. I started thinking that maybe Japan is too convenient. In Bangladesh, people had none of the conveniences we're used to, but they all had big smiles on their faces, unlike in Japan. I couldn't help but wonder: What is normal? What is good?

Jun joined two more GV trips, to Mongolia and Nepal, and strongly encourages his friends to take part in volunteer activities, especially overseas. "If you don't go abroad, your world remains small. Traveling gives you a new perspective on the world, as does working with people who need constant care. Whether you're abroad dealing with non-Japanese people, or here dealing with patients, you realize that whatever our differences, we're the same human beings."

Kimiko

By the time she joined her first GV expedition to Nepal, Kimiko already had an extensive resume of world travel. In elementary and middle school, she had visited Singapore, Malaysia, China, and Taiwan, on short trips with her family. "My father occasionally needed to go abroad on business, but basically, my family just liked

to travel." In high school, she spent three months studying English intensively in Hawaii, and when she entered university, decided to major in International Studies. "I had always wanted to travel the world, so I chose that major to learn about the countries I would someday visit, and to learn about global issues – to answer questions like 'Why does war happen?'"

She joined Habitat because "I had been looking for opportunities to go to developing countries, especially to villages in the countryside, places where tourists wouldn't go. Habitat provided a good opportunity." In Nepal:

> I felt as though the people there were living in a different world from me. I had seen images on TV, but never had the chance to see rural life in a developing country firsthand. In Japan, we have well-developed infrastructure and access to schools and libraries. We can satisfy our basic needs easily and comfortably, but there are others who can't. I noticed, too, that the Nepalese worked much harder than we did. When we took breaks or packed up for the day, they kept on working, and they never showed any signs of fatigue, only smiles. It also impressed me to see the children enjoying school; I felt their cheerfulness and optimism.

Kimiko, the master photographer of the Nepal GV, is now studying at a specialty school for photography. She intends to make the camera her livelihood – and, ideally, to take it out of Japan for an extended period, maybe as long as 30 years. "I don't think I could spend the rest of my life in Japan," she says. "I want to get out and live in many places, because I'm not just Japanese, I'm a human being."

Koichi

Koichi had never been out of the country before he joined Habitat, but in a sense, coming to the Tokyo area was an overseas experience for him, since he was born and raised on Okinawa. He had been curious about the outside world as a child – "I loved geographical trivia; I was always ready to tell you about the highest mountain in Japan or the longest river in the world" – and his first GV trip, to India, gave him the opportunity to explore it.

> I had learned about India from books, but that's very different from going there and feeling it in your skin. I realized that you couldn't think of the people as a block, to say "India is this or that kind of country". There are differences between regions and people, just as Kyoto is a very different place from Okinawa. I had known about India only from maps; now I was seeing it in 3D.

The experience made such an impression on him that he joined three more GV trips, to Bangladesh, Mongolia, and Nepal. "The attraction of GV trips was being able to see the real country. In India, if I had gone as a tourist, I would have seen all the things they wanted me to see – beautiful saris, the Taj Mahal – but on a GV, I could meet people who weren't part of the hospitality industry. That's the real way to see the country."

Koichi is now back on Okinawa, using his degree in information and media studies to create newspaper ads and television commercials. Unusually for this group, he feels little desire to go abroad again: "I used to want to broaden my perspective, but since coming back, I've started to feel that relationships with the people closest to me were most important."

Maiko

In elementary school, Maiko asked her mother for a birthday present: a book she had seen advertised on TV, about daily life in other countries. When she opened it, it became the start of a journey that continues to this day. The direction her life took was a surprise to her, and must have been even more so to her mother:

> My family thinks of other countries only in stereotypes. Japan is best; the rest of the world is dangerous. Whenever I go abroad, my mother worries about me. Every time I find a WiFi hot spot, I have to send her a message to reassure her. And there are some things I could never tell her, like how marijuana is legal in Canada, or how I was once out so late at a nightclub that I missed the last bus and had to walk home. But she doesn't show much interest in my stories anyway; she never says "How was your trip?" or asks to see pictures, so I don't bother. It's a struggle for me, but at least she lets me go: "It's your life, you decide."

Her interest in international relations and intercultural communication prompted her to major in International Studies, and to join her first GV to India. Her interest was not so much in volunteer work per se as in the opportunity it afforded for intercultural exchange: "I wanted to go somewhere no one goes. If I wanted to interact with Americans or Europeans, there are plenty of them right here in Japan, but in order to learn about the developing world, I had to go there and see for myself." Her impressions of that trip were:

> It made my world bigger. Until then, I had thought of developing countries as dangerous and poor, and I imagined the people there would have no passion for life. But once I got there, the people seemed more passionate, more active, more…*human* than Japanese are. We spend so much time with our eyes glued to our smart phones, but they have enough fun just talking. We work hard, worry about money, and let the stress from work affect our daily lives, but they just enjoy the time they spend with their families. They don't worry about unnecessary things.

She joined a second GV to Indonesia, as team leader. She also spent three months studying English at her university's sister school in Canada, and is now preparing to go to India for a 4-month internship under the auspices of the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) before graduating and starting to work full-time. She says of her volunteer experience: "I don't know whether there's any real difference between me and someone without this experience, but I feel it made me richer at heart."

Rei

Before Rei entered university and joined Habitat, she was already taking an interest in global issues, such as world hunger, child soldiers, and child prostitution. "In high school, I had seen NPOs and NGOs doing fund-raising activities in our area, and I admired them for tackling these problems. I wasn't able to participate at the time, but it made me think that I had to learn about various issues and expand my own world."

Her first GV trip, to the Philippines, was also her first trip abroad independent of her family; her prior international experience had been limited to family trips to Hawaii and Guam. The most memorable part of that trip, for her, was a visit to a riverside slum in Manila to see the conditions Habitat home partners once lived in:

> I had thought that, if a person like me from a developed country showed up in a slum, the children would all be begging from me, and the adults would be giving me dirty looks and saying, "What are you doing here?" But when I got there, I saw children playing happily, and adults welcoming me with a friendly smile. Now if I were to live there, even for a couple of days, I might think differently, but that brief visit changed the way I think about poverty.

She joined two more GV trips, to Thailand and Nepal, and spent an academic year studying in New Zealand. "After the Philippines and Thailand, I felt I needed to do something to improve my English," she explains. "If it hadn't been for my Habitat experience, I wouldn't have gone." Now, her job in a hotel near Tokyo Disney Resorts makes it difficult to do overseas volunteer work, but she dreams of joining a GV again in the future.

Reona

Reona's case is exceptional: In a sense, she has been living abroad since birth, half the time without knowing it. Her grandparents came from Korea, and neither they nor her parents ever naturalized, so even though she was born and raised in Japan and never knew any other home, her citizenship is Korean.

The first inkling she had that she was any different from her Japanese friends came in first grade, when her teacher was explaining the symbolism of *osechi-ryōri,* the traditional Japanese New Year's dinner (e.g. prawns symbolize long life because their curved backs and long antennae make them look like whiskered old men). "I had no idea what my teacher was talking about; I had never eaten any of those things," she recounts. "In my house, New Year's dinner was always *chijimi*" (Korean-style savory pancakes with vegetables). "I thought, 'Why am I different from all my classmates?' "

She would have to wait six more years for an answer. It finally came when her mother was preparing her application for a private junior high school, and filled in the space marked "Citizenship" with "Republic of Korea".

> I told her, "You've made a mistake!" But she said, "I've kept this a secret from you so you could integrate more easily into Japanese society, but you're really Korean." I was very surprised, of course, and at the same time a little excited. I was something special, something unusual. But my mother said, "Better not to tell anyone. Keep pretending to be Japanese." In her time, Koreans in Japan had faced severe discrimination. I kept the secret until my third year of middle school, when I went to Hawaii with my classmates to study English, and everyone could see that my passport was a different color. I couldn't hide it any longer, and I told them, "I'm Korean." Their reaction was, "Wow! Korea is cool!" Times have changed since my mother's generation; now Korean music and TV shows are popular, and young people have a positive image of Korea, so I wondered what I had been worrying about the whole time. But still, I haven't told anyone at my current workplace. My boss is my mother's age, and you never know; he might turn out to be the kind of Japanese she warned me about.

Reona's entry into this school proved to be a turning point in another way as well. Her teacher for World History had travelled and volunteered abroad as a student, and become a history teacher in order to tell other Japanese about the wonders of the outside world. Thanks to him, "I started thinking about doing volunteer work, but I didn't know where to go and I wasn't sure I was up to it. When I learned about Habitat, I realized it was the opportunity I had been waiting for."

Her first GV trip, to Mongolia, fell short of her expectations. "I didn't feel that the people we were working for were really all that poor. They probably could have done all right without us." The veteran members of the team felt the same way, and encouraged her to give it another chance, so she joined the GV trip to India the following year. "On that trip, we really were working with people who had suffered terrible losses, and I felt the sense of accomplishment I had missed in Mongolia. I thought, '*This* is what volunteer work is all about!' "

She joined three more trips after that, to Indonesia, Nepal, and back to India. Habitat became a cornerstone of her student life, in spite of the criticism she and her teammates sometimes faced: "There's no tradition of volunteer work in Japan. In other countries, like the United States, it's approved of, it's almost expected, but here, people are often shamed for trying: 'You can't change the world. You're nothing but a hypocrite.' " She has seen a change in this attitude since the 2011 earthquake in the Tohoku (northeast) region: "Now everyone is saying 'Let's work for Tohoku', which is a good thing, but why stop there? Why not '…for the world'? Everyone thinks international volunteer work is difficult. Even those who admire me for doing it say, 'I could never do it myself'. Why are Japanese people so afraid of trying new things? I want to see volunteerism become better known and more widespread in Japan."

Shota

Unlike most of the Habitat members, Shota majored in management rather than International Studies. He took an extra-departmental course in Intercultural Communication because "I wanted a break from the endless treadmill of departmental classes and part-time job, and this class looked as though it would offer something new." And indeed it did: When the Habitat students gave a presentation in that class, Shota was hooked. "I had always wanted to go abroad, but not just for sightseeing. I figured there would be plenty of opportunities for that when I was older and richer, but right now, I wanted to go somewhere off the beaten track, to experience something a regular tourist couldn't."

His first GV, and also his first trip abroad, was to Bangladesh. "Every day was full of new impressions. I realized how fortunate we are to be living in Japan, and how special the things we take for granted really are. I was also surprised every day to see that, even in a faltering way, I was able to communicate with people. Looking back on it, I'm glad I was thrown into that sink-or-swim environment."

After Bangladesh, he joined two more GV trips, to Mongolia and Nepal. His life now revolves around his job as a software salesman and his young family, but the spirit that first moved him to go to Bangladesh stirs in him still: "I'd like to go abroad again. I'd like to take my wife around the world, but that will probably have to wait until after retirement." And when he thinks back on his Habitat experience, he remembers it as a turning point in his life: "If I hadn't gone to Bangladesh, I wouldn't be who I am today."

Yuna

When Yuna was in high school, she saw a television feature about a Japanese woman who collected discarded toiletries from high-end hotels in Japan, then saved up her money and travelled to developing countries to distribute them. "That made an impression on me," she recounts. "I thought that maybe I could do something for the world too, but I wasn't sure what. So I decided to major in International Studies, and when I saw a presentation by Habitat students in my English class, I thought it was something I could do. When I went to my first meeting, I was the only one there from my class, I didn't know anyone and I was really nervous, but I'm glad I worked up the courage to go."

Her previous international experience had consisted of family trips to Australia, Bali and Hawaii – "all when I was very small, so I don't remember much" – and a high school excursion to Saipan. Her first GV trip, to India, surprised her in a way similar to Rei:

> I had never been to a developing country before, and even the air smelled different. Seeing beggars for the first time was a shock. Japanese people have money, so I

> thought the Indians might be envious of us, but they welcomed us cheerfully and thanked us for coming. That made me want to go back again and again.

Another attraction of Habitat, for her, was the bonds she formed with her teammates. “They all knew how to work hard, and they all knew how to have fun. We had deep discussions every day, and sometimes people had different opinions, but we could share them freely without feeling we had to pretend we agreed. I wanted more of that.”

She got her wish on two more GV trips, to Nepal and then back to India, and on a half-year study abroad term in Australia:

> It was my first time overseas alone, the longest I had ever been away from my family, but I never had major trouble, never got depressed, always had fun. There were people there from many countries, and I felt cultural differences, but they didn’t bother me; I just thought, “Oh, there are people in the world who think this way – how interesting.” My Habitat experience made me want to go out and explore the rest of the world.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS

Self-Perception as a Global Citizen

Concepts of “global citizenship” varied widely among the respondents, and only three could say without hesitation that they met their own criteria. Rei’s definition is very broad; it encompasses everyone in the world, including her. Jin has a much more exacting standard – “Someone who is active internationally, can speak English, and has connections with many countries, probably through work, but also in private life” – but with his experience abroad, his work at a travel agency, and his membership in Airbnb, he considers himself qualified.

Others are more ambivalent about whether they meet their own standards. Daiki’s definition was almost identical to Jin’s, but he was less confident about whether he fulfilled it: “I need more overseas experience; the GV trips alone aren’t enough.”

For Jun, a global citizen is one who feels connected to everyone in the world. “I saw Japanese cars and motorbikes in Bangladesh, and I thought about the people who made them, the people who transported them, the people who use them – they’ll never meet, but they’re all connected. The senior citizens I care for now may have children or grandchildren overseas. Even though we can’t always see it or feel it, the world is all connected.”

Kimiko thinks that a global citizen is “someone who isn’t confined by borders, someone who works to promote international cooperation to solve global problems, like the people at the UN. It’s an ideal, and I don’t think I’m there yet. I have a friend who works for JICA in Peru, and she’s my idea of a global citizen. As for me, I should be learning more about global issues and taking action to solve them; then maybe I’ll be able to call myself one.”

Maiko's idea of a global citizen is "someone with no stereotypes". She doesn't feel she meets this criterion, but she also acknowledges that the person who does may not exist. "The important thing is to accept other cultures, or if you can't do that, at least to make the effort to understand them; not just to stop at 'Those people are weird!' " By this revised standard, does she qualify? "Almost. Not completely, but then again, I can never make it completely. The best I'll ever be able to say is 'getting better'."

Reona used the phrase "global society" several times, mainly as an indictment of Japan for failing to become part of it:

> I feel Japan is losing its power. Our GDP is gradually declining, our population is aging, we don't have enough workers and we need to let more immigrants in to fill the gap, but Japan can't do that. We used to have the policy of *sakoku* [national isolation], and in the minds of many Japanese people, it's still going on. Most Japanese people are afraid of foreignness, afraid of speaking other languages, afraid of traveling abroad. What a waste!

But asked whether she herself felt like a member of this "global society", she hesitated: "I can't speak English well, so I'm not sure if I qualify. To become a global citizen, I want to continue visiting other countries, and helping people."

Shota also feels that communicative ability is the primary qualification for global citizenship. "'Global citizen' isn't a phrase I'm used to hearing, but for me, it means someone who doesn't worry about nationality, who can communicate with anyone in the world, or at least make an effort to." He doesn't consider himself qualified: "The circles I can communicate in are limited, and I can't speak other than my native language."

Yuna defined global citizens as "people who respects others' rights; people who, if they have money, don't use it for self-indulgence but to work for equal rights." As a student until recently, she may not be ready for that test, but like Jun, she also mentioned a sense of connectedness: "I couldn't live on my own; I live thanks to other people. I have to take care of the people closest to me first, but I'm also supported by people all over the world whom I've never met."

Heightened Awareness of Culture and Identity

For Reona, culture and identity have always been on her mind: "My identity is Japanese, but my citizenship is Korean. I don't really know which country I belong to, but I do know that it's wrong to separate people by nationality. We are all fellow humans living on earth. The important thing is not our nationality, it's how we live."

Daiki, after his GV experience, became more aware of universal human similarities: "After visiting other Asian countries, I thought that, while the culture and environment were very different, the people were just like Japanese – except maybe warmer." Kimiko agrees: "We may be living in different worlds, and life in Japan may be more convenient, but still, we're working, we're studying – what we're doing is the same."

Jin reports an increased degree of intercultural understanding: “I’m always trying to understand other cultures, and I’m beginning to look without stereotypes.” Rei’s answer is similar: “Whenever I go to a new country, I make it a point to learn local rules and customs ahead of time.”

Koichi reports increased cross-cultural empathy: “If I hadn’t joined, maybe I would be thinking only about my own affairs. The news about the earthquake in Nepal wouldn’t have affected me as much if I hadn’t been there.”

Shota has thought more about religion, which is not a central feature of Japanese life: “In Bangladesh, I found it interesting how culture and religion were intertwined – how religion influences all aspects of life, like what you can and can’t eat, and when you need to interrupt your daily activities for prayer.” Maiko also changed her opinion on that subject: “Before going to Indonesia, all I knew about Islam was what I saw on TV; I had a dark and frightening image, but when I actually met Muslims, I thought they were very friendly, talkative, and had a sense of humor. Most Japanese people look on religion with suspicion, but in Indonesia it’s part of the culture – and not just Islam; there were Christian churches and Buddhist temples there too.”

Jun, Maiko, and Yuna reported thinking more deeply about their own culture. Yuna says that in India, “I began to see myself as a representative of Japan, think of what it means to be Japanese, and feel I should learn more about my country.” Maiko has started to think more objectively and critically about certain aspects of Japan: “Japanese seriousness has good and bad sides. Trains run on time, which is good, but it also means workers are punished for the slightest mistake, even if it’s not their fault. We work too much and apologize too much.” Jun also had second thoughts about Japanese seriousness after watching adults and children play together in Bangladesh: “I need to play more. I should live so that I could die at any moment and have no regrets.”

Increased Motivation for Language Learning

Half the group went on to study abroad, and all five attribute their motivation directly to their GV experience. Jin credits his present English proficiency to his frustration during his first visit to India: “I love to express myself, but in India, I couldn’t. I thought, ‘I have to learn English!’” This led him to study for six months in New Zealand. After returning to Japan, he joined another GV trip to India, this time as team leader, and was able to communicate with the Indian coordinator without interpretation. Maiko had the same experience, which took her to Canada for three months.

Kimiko tells a similar story: “I had studied English intensively in Hawaii for three months in high school, but in Nepal, I still couldn’t manage in English on my own. I thought I had to do something to improve.” She spent seven months in Seattle.

Rei spent ten months in New Zealand, and Yuna spent four in Australia. Both of them reported increased motivation not just to study English, but to learn a few words of the local language in every country they visit. Rei says: “When I told the

cooks in Nepali, 'It was delicious', they were happy, just as I am when foreign guests say '*arigato*' to me."

Of the remaining half, three reported a spike in motivation after they returned. Koichi took classes in English and geography: "I wanted to learn English more, while I was near Tokyo and had so many options." Jun and Shota's momentum waned over time. Jun confesses: "I waited too long and lost my motivation; I should have done something as soon as I got back."

Daiki and Reona, since they could make themselves understood on GV trips even with limited English, saw no need for a concentrated effort to improve – which both of them, now in jobs that require English, regret. Daiki works with an international team: "I'm the only Japanese member. Among the others (from India, China, Vietnam and Peru), there are some who can speak some Japanese, but to communicate effectively with them, I really need to improve my English." Reona says: "I'm one of two people in my company with any English skill or international experience, so I often have to take calls from overseas. I should have taken extra classes or studied abroad when I had the chance."

Increased Connections with People from other Countries

Eight of the ten (Daiki and Yuna being the exceptions) reported increased willingness and confidence to communicate with foreigners in Japan, and four of them gave the credit to their GV experience. Koichi says: "Before, I hadn't made much of an effort to contact international students, but afterwards, I was more able to talk with them." Rei says: "I wanted more contact with foreigners in Japan. Before I went, I would sometimes ask friends who spoke better English to interpret for me, but afterwards, I started relying more on my own English. And when I see foreign visitors who look lost, I usually ask, 'Can I help you?'" Shota says: "Sometimes I go someplace like an Irish bar and see foreigners there. Before the GV, I would avoid them, but now, I can work up the courage to talk to them. In Japan, most English speakers you meet are natives, and I was always afraid of making a mistake in front of them. But the people in Bangladesh weren't native speakers any more than I was, and we could still communicate, so I started thinking there was nothing to be afraid of."

Jun took a course in intercultural communication because he wanted more opportunities to communicate with exchange students. The course met his expectations, but the connections he made didn't last beyond the semester, which he now regrets. "Before going abroad, I hadn't had any opportunities to interact with people from other cultures, so I was glad to be able to experience another world. I've learned to like people, which is necessary for this job. If you don't like people, you can't take care of them."

For the other four, the increase was not as dramatic, and the credit may or may not go to their volunteer experience. Jin says: "Maybe the will was always there." Kimiko says: "I had been friendly with the Chinese and Thai students in my seminar class before, but we became even closer afterwards." Reona says: "I didn't make

an effort; it just came naturally, especially since I was in the International Studies department. I don't have much contact with people from other countries now, except for the sailors I meet in the course of my work, who are here today and gone tomorrow." Maiko says: "I talk more often with exchange students in my classes, but I wouldn't go up to someone and say, 'Hey, you're a foreigner; can we be friends?' I wouldn't want to be treated that way myself."

Intercultural Mediation and Conflict Resolution

Whether the members acquired the skills necessary to be intercultural mediators is difficult to judge if the chance to put them into practice never comes, which it hasn't yet for Daiki, Kimiko, Shota, or Yuna. Maiko, on the other hand, found herself in that role while leading the GV trip to Indonesia: "When our coordinator was taking a nap while we were working, some of the members got upset, and I had to explain things to them. I had come prepared for cultural differences, but some of them might have been more interested in travel than intercultural communication." She hasn't had a similar experience since coming back: "Most of my friends are already internationally minded, so problems like that don't arise."

Rei recalls being a cultural mediator on two occasions in New Zealand: "Once, a Japanese girl who had just arrived came to me, very upset because a Latino she had just met had kissed her on the cheek. I was able to satisfy her that this was just a Latin American greeting. Another time, people were asking a girl newly arrived from Indonesia, 'Why do you wear that headscarf when other Indonesians don't?' and she didn't speak English well enough to explain, so I had to help her."

Reona says: "I've helped solve cultural misunderstandings with exchange students, like when Chinese students don't apologize in situations where Japanese culture expects it, but I feel that they might have resolved their problems even without me." Koichi has never had occasion to be a third-party mediator, but has noticed a change in himself: "When I see foreigners doing things that are considered rude in Japan, I've been able to say to myself: 'Well, people from their country have different customs and different values'. I don't measure them with my own yardstick anymore."

Jin finds himself in that role fairly often in his work: "I have to explain Japanese culture to guests and answer endless questions." Jun feels the same about his: "People with disabilities are outsiders too. Some of them have lost the power of speech, and I have to communicate with them in writing or just with a smile, as I did with people in the countries I visited. In a way, what I'm doing now is intercultural communication."

Extended Sojourns Abroad

Seven of the ten spent an extended period abroad, apart from their Habitat activities. Koichi and Shota spent a month backpacking through Southeast Asia, and as mentioned above, five others studied abroad for periods ranging from Maiko's three

months to Rei's ten. Daiki, Jun and Reona have not been abroad since their last GV, but they all expressed the wish to go given the opportunity. Jun, in particular, hopes to use his professional skills for the benefit of other countries: "Japan is leading the world in elder care, and I'd like to share what we're doing."

Sense of Responsibility to Global Community

Six of the ten felt a heightened awareness of their responsibilities as global citizens. Reona comments: "People all over the world are a family; I want to help if they're in trouble. If we have the sense of 'One for all, all for one', we can avoid conflicts; those arise when we think selfishly and expect everyone to act as we do." Kimiko has been taking an interest in environmental issues, like the practice of importing cheap wood that causes deforestation in Brazil and Canada when there are forests in Japan going without needed thinning. "I don't think being Japanese is an excuse for thinking only about Japan. I can no longer think, 'If it's good for Japan, if it's good for the people closest to me, it's good'."

Of those six, three felt that their responsibility started close to home. Jun says: "My responsibility to the world is to do my job well. If I hadn't gone abroad, I might not feel that way. Some of my teammates, who are working abroad, might feel it more strongly." Koichi says: "My responsibility is to make the people closest to me happy." Rei fulfils her responsibilities by making donations to humanitarian causes when she can, and helping lost travellers when she meets them. "When I see people in trouble, I want to help them, regardless of their citizenship."

Shota admits that for him, this new awareness was a flash in the pan: "Right after the GV, I had a strong sense that it was my duty to help fight poverty through volunteer work. But since I graduated, that feeling has become weaker." For the remaining four, the concept appeared new and somewhat surprising. Jin says the sense of global responsibility in him is "not strong, but not zero; maybe twenty to thirty percent." Daiki says: "I joined volunteer trips because I wanted to, not out of a sense of duty or responsibility." Neither Maiko nor Yuna had thought on that scale, although Yuna adds: "I do feel connected to other people in other parts of the world."

Sense of own Ability to Influence the World

The respondents all felt that their influence on the world is minuscule. Koichi had never thought about the question. Daiki says, "I'm too small to do anything myself," and Shota agrees: "I want to think so, but my influence is so small it's almost zero." Kimiko takes the long view: "The world is a huge place and hundreds of millions of years old. On that scale, anything I do in the fifty or so years of my working life will be insignificant."

Others were marginally more optimistic. Jun says: "I never thought about this when I was a student, but I've been thinking more about it since graduating. I want it to be true." Jin thinks he can change the world "a little, by helping shape my guests'

perceptions of Japan." Maiko says: "I can't change Asia, but I can influence it in a small way, like by introducing Japan to children in India." Reona sees strength in numbers: "If I had gone abroad alone, I couldn't have done anything, but twenty to thirty of us can make a difference."

Rei and Yuna, though they both feel too small to influence the world, see the potential to influence Japan by sharing their stories. Rei says: "I can't change the world, but I can change the people who come into contact with me. When I tell people about my experience, their views of poverty might change, the way mine did." Yuna agrees: "There are people who don't know or care about developing countries, but after hearing my story, maybe their thinking will change."

Principled Decision-Making

The idea of "voting with the pocketbook", making purchases with the good of the planet in mind, is not widespread in Japan, and this question also took some of the participants by surprise. Daiki, Jin and Koichi said it was not a high priority for them. Jun and Reona try to make contributions to worthy causes, like earthquake relief in Nepal, whenever they see donation boxes. Kimiko makes an effort to reuse, reduce, and recycle.

For the remaining four, the example that came to mind was fair trade merchandise, and while all approved of the principle, three confessed to sometimes letting economic considerations trump it. Shota says: "I'll buy ecological chocolate if the price isn't too much higher." Yuna says: "I try to buy fair trade goods, but I can't do it all the time because they're really expensive." Maiko agrees: "Fair trade is a good system, but I usually end up going for the cheaper option." Only for Rei is it a high priority: "If I see fair trade goods, I buy them. And I try to avoid buying from companies that are known to use child labor."

Activities for Global Change

Six of the respondents have been involved in volunteer activities outside of Habitat. Maiko has been too focused her job search and graduation thesis, and Daiki and Rei on their jobs, to have time for extracurricular activities, and Yuna says: "I keep thinking that I'd like to, but I haven't yet. I go to events where various NGOs and NPOs showcase their activities, but so far, I've just been a spectator."

For three of those six, the activities have been connected with their jobs. Koichi and Reona both participate in local clean-up projects organized by their companies. Jin took 26 students from six Asian countries to Vietnam on an environmental study program: "I learned a lot on that trip myself. I realized I needed to pay attention to the environment in my daily life, and my work has some influence on it."

Kimiko volunteered at a camp in Nagano for elementary school students, including some from a Brazilian school, to help them experience the beauty of nature. "It combined international exchange and environmental preservation."

Jun and Shota volunteered with earthquake relief efforts in northern Japan. Jun was the initiator: "Like Bangladesh, you can't see the whole picture unless you go. You see a lot on TV about the devastation, but the people who are working hard to rebuild don't get as much airtime." Shota recalls: "It was more of a shock than Bangladesh. In a foreign country, you expect that the background and conditions will be different, but in Japan, the people are supposed to have a lifestyle just like mine, so it's shocking to see how things can change so quickly."

DISCUSSION

Most of the volunteers interviewed hesitated to claim the title of "global citizen" for themselves, but according to the framework used for this study, they may be closer to the goal than they realize. In the cognitive dimension, a common thread among participants was that they have all become more aware of the sometimes invisible, but always present, connections among disparate people in far-flung countries. Several describe learning more about intercultural understanding and human universals, and many either took an interest in global issues or had such an interest from the beginning. And nearly all reported a surge of interest in language learning.

In the interpersonal dimension, heightened awareness of culture and identity, cross-cultural empathy, and respect and value for diversity and difference were commonalities among all participants. Nearly all report increased willingness and confidence to communicate with people from other cultures, and most went on to study abroad or travel independently for an extended time. Several found that their experience gave them the skills to be cross-cultural mediators, while others may have that latent ability but have yet to be put to the test.

The activist dimension showed the least observable difference. The sense of belonging to a global community was clearly there, but few participants had thought about their power and privilege as college-educated citizens of a major industrialized nation, and their responsibility to use them for the good of the world. None of them saw themselves as big enough to have any influence on the world, and perhaps consequently, few had thought about the global repercussions of their daily choices. And while several had been involved in volunteer activities apart from Habitat, none reported being active in any political causes or campaigns. This is not to say that political activism is required for global citizenship – everyone discerns and discharges their responsibility to the world in their own way – but for people with the advantages that these participants have, central to global citizenship is the realization that they *do* have power, that they *do* influence the world whether they try to or not, and that if they so choose, they *can* exert a tremendous force for global change.

CONCLUSION

The Habitat experience seems to have diversified the lives of these ten young people in three main ways. One is by *deepening their understanding of the diversity of the*

world, and learning to see beyond stereotypes. Jun spoke of learning to approach people of different backgrounds without preconceptions, a skill that proves useful in his current job. Koichi realized that no country, Japan or any other, is monolithic, and that no book or map can tell the whole story. Rei learned to serve as an intercultural mediator. Maiko talked about overcoming her fear of Muslims, and she and Jin both stressed the importance of looking at other countries without stereotypes.

Another is by *inspiring them to seek out diversity*. A vast majority of the group reported an increased desire and willingness to communicate with people from diverse backgrounds in Japan. Seven out of ten went abroad again for a longer period, and all but one expressed the wish to do so again.

Finally, this experience seems to have raised many participants' awareness of *diverse ways of living in the world*, and started them thinking that the "Japanese way" is not the only way, or even necessarily the best way. Jun, Kimiko, and Maiko began to question whether the efficiency, convenience, and technological progress so highly prized in Japan were really among the most important things for life. Reona, who already had years of practice looking at Japan from an outsider's perspective, became even more critical of its closed-mindedness, fear of difference, and adherence to outmoded customs. She and Jun both felt that it would be good for Japan if more people had a similar experience, and expressed the desire to say to their fellow Japanese residents, "Get out!"

In conclusion, if the Japanese government is serious about developing "global human resources", it could do worse than to encourage its young people to take part in short-term overseas volunteer service. For these participants, it was the antidote for *uchimuki shikō.* It provided an escape hatch from the confines of Japan and its regulation circuit of overseas tourist destinations, and what they found on the other side of that door inspired them to become confident, interculturally aware, multilingual citizens of the world. If these young people are representative of the next generation of Japanese, then the ghosts of the Tokugawa shoguns may have little alternative but to crawl back into their graves and let them guide Japan back to a leading role on the world stage.

REFERENCES

Appiah, K. A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers*. New York, NY: Norton.

Burgess, C. (2014). To globalise or not to globalise? "Inward-looking youth" as scapegoats for Japan's failure to secure and cultivate "global human resources". *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 13*(4), 487–507. doi:10.1080/14767724.2014.966805

Dill, J. S. (2013). *The longings and limits of global citizenship education: The moral pedagogy of schooling in a cosmopolitan age.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Israel, R. (2012). What does it mean to be a global citizen? *Kosmos*, *79*.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). (2015). *The number of Japanese nationals studying overseas and the annual survey of international students in Japan*. Retrieved August 27, 2015, from www.mext.go.jp/english/topics/1357495.htm

Ockenden, S. (1999). World citizenship: Global villager or global consumer? *Global Issues in Language Education Newsletter, 36*, 8.

Oxfam. (2006). *Education for global citizenship: A guide for schools*. Oxford: Oxfam Development Education Programme.
Schattle, H. (2008). *The practices of global citizenship.* Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield.
Shaw, M. (2000). *Theory of the global state: Globality as an unfinished revolution.* Cambridge: University Press.
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2014). *Global citizenship education: Preparing learners for the challenges of the 21st century*. Paris: UNESCO.
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2015). *Global citizenship education: Topics and learning objectives*. Paris: UNESCO.
Yomiuri Shimbun. (2014, March 1). *Kōkōsei no oya ryūgaku shōkyoku wa 4 wari* [40% of parents of high-school students negative about study abroad]. p. 21.

Charles Kowalski
International Education Center
Tokai University

SCOTT BROWES

5. DIVERSITY ON A GLOBAL 30 'WORLD STUDIES' PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

There is a high degree of agreement, amongst faculty, administrative staff and students, on the value of classroom diversity, of providing students with a varied, stimulating, international environment in which to learn. There is, on the other hand, far less agreement in views on the most appropriate and effective solutions to the practical problems of how to actually create, maintain and use such an environment. In this chapter, I have outlined my experiences, and through interviews have also drawn on the experiences of faculty colleagues, in the university classroom where the ideal of the 'diverse environment' meets practical pedagogy. These experiences take place within the context of two somewhat overlapping government initiatives, the first known colloquially as 'Global 30'[1] and the second as the 'Super Global Universities' project, both designed to promote internationalisation within tertiary education institutions in Japan, and ultimately to educate Japan's future global workforce (*gurōbaru jinzai*). The 'World Studies' program on which I, and other faculty whose views and experiences are mentioned in this chapter, teach has, in part, been funded by these schemes. I start by describing this background before moving on to my personal experiences, then finishing off by putting these experiences into context by comparing and in some cases contrasting them with those of departmental colleagues.

Global 30

One of several enterprises, since the mid-1980s designed to contribute to an increased level of internationalisation in Japan, and more recently to play a part in attracting a target of 300,000 overseas students per year by 2020.[2] This particular scheme ran from 2009 and though christened the 'Global 30' (G30) initiative there were applications from just 22 universities, of which 13 were accepted; there are close to 800 institutions which call themselves universities in Japan. Ishikawa (2011, pp. 196–200) describes the development of the initiative in relation to previous programs and the rather hurried process of application and acceptance which seems to have contributed, particularly through the various conditions it set for institutions to be eligible to apply, to the low uptake. The 13 selected universities were initially provided with 2–400 million yen (apx. 1.6–3.2 million USD)[3] yearly to fund their

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 65–81.

efforts.[4] This funding was reduced by 30 per cent in the 2009 *jigyō shiwake,*[5] only escaping outright abolition in 2010 after protests from university and business groups.

The G30 initiative was followed in the autumn of 2014 by the ten-year 'Top Global University Project' (TGUP),[6] with selected institutions given the designation 'Super Global University' (SGU), another part of the push for international recognition for Japanese tertiary education establishments. Total funding for this latter program was in the region of 7.7 billion JPY (apx. 62 million USD), with type-B institutions (see below) receiving on average 170 million JPY (apx. 1.4 million USD).

This project was conceived against a continuing background of international competition amongst both institutions, to attract able fee-paying students, and international students, for entry into top-ranked institutions. 'Top-ranked' in many cases seeming to necessarily imply 'taught in English', perhaps the only language with sufficient international 'supply' to allow 'top' universities to maintain their rankings. The domestic background for Japanese institutions is also shifting, with a feeling that students now prefer to 'play it safe' as the best strategy for success in future life. There is evidence that Japanese students are becoming increasingly reluctant to study abroad, with number studying in the US down by 50 per cent between 1999 and 2013 (NAR, 2013). Though this may indicate Japanese students' relative inability to compete with students from countries who are newly able to apply to overseas universities.

> "For more than a decade now, Japan has had difficulty getting its students into top-ranked U.S. universities," said Kazuo Nishimura, a professor at Kobe University Interfaculty Initiative in the Social Sciences. "Much of this is because Japanese students lack the ability or drive to do so" (ibid.).

TGUP seems to have been more attractive to institutions than the preceding G30 plan. Of 104 applicant institutions 37 were chosen[7] to receive funding which would allow them employ more foreign staff and make further efforts to recruit overseas undergraduates, bringing 'abroad' to Japan (Maruko, 2014).

Overseas Students in Japan

Since peaking in 2010 total full-time overseas student numbers at universities have seen a gradual decline (see Table 1). Despite criticisms that the TGUP's targets are more of a rhetorical necessity than a practical goal there also seems to be a more realistic recognition built into the TGUP as it acknowledges separate goals for selected institutions. The type-A institutions[8] are ultimately expected to find themselves a place in the top 100 universities worldwide, competing with the likes of Harvard and Oxford. The far more numerous type-B 'Global Traction' institutions (of which mine is one) are expected to 'carry on the good work' (for many started under G30) and to continue to provide increasingly internationalised programs and to gradually expand their appeal overseas (Maruko, 2014).

Table 1. Japan 4-year universities and graduate schools: Total overseas student number 2010, 2014 (Source: JASSO)

	2010	*2014*
Graduate school	39,097	39,979
Undergraduate	70,865	65,865
Total	109,962	105,844

While the ultimate effectiveness of the program, and the others that will inevitably follow, in achieving the policy goals is open to considerable doubt – Satoshi Shirai of Bunka Gakuen University is probably not alone when he calls the plan's overblown rhetoric 'stupid' (ibid.) – that is hardly a consideration for faculty in the classroom where the education of the students we are given responsibility for is the highest priority.

University K, Department J

The institution in which I work is one of Japan's 600 or so private universities, it is situated in the west of Japan and consists of four main campuses in the area outside Osaka, one of Japan's commercial centres. I will refer to it as University K. Students have traditionally been drawn from a nationwide pool but in recent years local students have begun to predominate as universities (of all types) become localised.[9] This has led to the university's focus on attracting local students by creating campuses in locations which are easier to commute to. The 'play it safe' lifestyle strategy means an increasing proportion of domestic students are choosing to remain in the parental home while at university.

Within this university it is I think fair to say that the department in which this program is based, I will call it Department J, has a good reputation, within the university as a whole where it is perceived as being at the forefront of internationalisation efforts, amongst students, and those who advise potential entrants; it is, in local terms at least, moderately 'prestigious'. The generally accepted proxy measure of 'difficulty of entry', the *hensachi*[10] value required of prospective domestic applicants, is in the mid-60s. This is considered in Japan to be a high figure, indicating that the department is hard to get in to; Nakamura's study of 415 private universities ranked them by *hensachi*, those with a value of 60 or above were in the top 'A' group (Nakamura, 1997).

G30 funding was used, in part, to bring in teaching staff from around the world and the 'World Studies' (WS) program started with 50 students and seven full-time faculty in 2011. From the start it was intended to be both similar to (the common phrase is that it is a 'mirror') and simultaneously different to the department's already well-established Japanese-language program (JLP). This evolutionary background seems to have had a variety of effects on course management: Firstly, there is already

a set of precedents in place, the JLP; this both acts as a very necessary guide to the WS program's activity and as a restraint on innovation and change.[11] Secondly, the relationship between the two programs is a constant source of concern: Are they too similar? Are they 'integrated' enough? How do students perceive their affiliation? They are intended to be mirror-images but is there a sense of hierarchy developing? How do JLP students benefit from whatever interaction they have with WS students?

This latter concern is linked to wider consideration of the value of the presence foreign students for the far more numerous domestic students – educational internationalisation not a good in and of itself, it is generally conceived of as something that must ultimately benefit Japan, and in the process Japanese students.

THE 'WORLD STUDIES' PROGRAM

For University K, the result of the initiatives outlined in the introduction can be seen most materially in the foundation of a new four-year degree program taught entirely in English. The 'World Studies' (WS) program, on which I teach, and which provides the experience for this chapter, can be seen as an attempt to solve a number of related but different 'problems'. Firstly, the perceived lack of Japanese graduates with sufficient international knowledge and experience necessary to work in international organisations and businesses. It might ultimately therefore be seen rather as a contribution to Japanese business' attempts to remain globally competitive. Secondly, the restricted appeal of the Japanese language as a medium of undergraduate instruction for that global stratum of students willing and able to travel abroad for their university education. Unlike the English and French languages, there is no significant '*nihongo*-phone' hinterland from which to attract potential students.

The former is solved by effectively creating an international community within a domestic institution, thus giving home students the chance to experience 'abroad' by staying at home. The latter allows institutions to attract a broader layer of international students and take up those unable, unwilling, or disinclined for whatever reason, to try for a place at a university in an English-speaking country. It also has the added benefit of effectively leveraging Japan's geographical situation, nearby expanding student-exporting countries such as the People's Republic of China (PRC), South Korea and Indonesia.

Faculty

The WS teaching staff are drawn from a broad variety of national and cultural backgrounds including Eastern and Western Europe, the US and Canada, and all parts of Asia, faculty include a number of Japanese nationals with strong overseas connections, often with Anglophone countries. In this way at least faculty echo the international nature of the WS student body. On the other hand, the majority of undergraduates are female, whereas the overwhelming majority of staff in Department J are male, outnumbering female faculty 5:1.[12] This imbalance is

slightly rectified within the WS program with the male-female faculty ratio in the region of 3:1.

Student Body

Department J has near 1500 undergraduate students, of whom 250 or so are on the WS program, roughly two-thirds of these are overseas students. The WS student body[13] is currently drawn from 24 different countries, rough proportions are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. WS student numbers by region of origin (May 2015)

Region	*%*
East Asia	78
N. America	8
Europe	3
Other	11

Overall this is fairly consistent with the make-up of the general overseas student body in Japan where historically Chinese(PRC) and South Korean students have made up 70–75 per cent of the student population.[14]

The number of students not entering directly from high-school at the age of 18 is negligible. Female students outnumber male, making up 60–65 per cent of any particular year group. The teacher-staff ratio for the department is in the region of 30:1; this is generally considered to be rather on the low side within this university where the average is closer to 40.

As mentioned previously, WS was conceived internally as reflecting the already established JLP, which had been running successfully for some 20 or more years. JLP and WS share premises, an administrative and managerial framework and staff, and to a degree, faculty. At the end of 2012 there were 110 overseas and 70 domestic students on the program, by 2015 the ratio was approaching the intended 2:1 ratio for overseas to domestic students. To accommodate a broader possible range of overseas applicants, entry is twice per year; in April, which is standard for Japanese institutions, and September, common in northern hemisphere countries and, significantly, the PRC, which provides an important proportion of WS' overseas intake.

Structure

The WS program's structure is fairly typical of undergraduate courses in Japan. Students, if they are to graduate at the end of four years, must complete 132 credits worth of courses, a course is typically 2 credits. Students seem to typically end up

taking 10–12 90-minute classes per semester as many of them try to 'clear the decks' early on to allow them to spend a greater proportion of the fourth year concentrating on *shūkatsu*[15] job-hunting. It should probably be acknowledged that domestic students, and those overseas students intending to look for work through the formal routes used by nearly all Japanese graduates, are likely to have different workloads during the whole of their four years at university, those choosing to go through the *shūkatsu* process almost necessarily having to compress four years of study into rather less time. Overseas students intending to leave Japan after graduation, or to look for work through non-formal channels, can maybe afford to approach their studies in a slightly more leisurely fashion.

Working with/in 'Diversity'

The WS program exists in a context which might well be characterised by the single term 'diversity'; though it might be argued that the terms' implication of a broad spread of differing attributes might be less accurate than perhaps something along the lines of a 'multilayered duality'. A typical content-based (as contrasted with language-teaching) WS class will generally be made up of 20–30 students. The 'layers of duality' typically encountered (also illustrated in Figure 1) can be summarised as follows;

1. WS and JLP students:
   i. Within WS: Domestic and overseas students.
2. Across all these groups:
   i. English language skills, from native to barely adequate.
   ii. Educational background: expectations of university education.

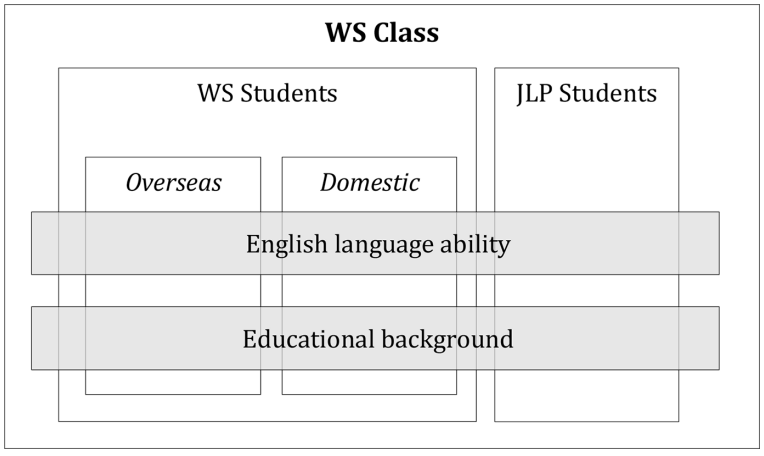

Figure 1. Diversity within a typical WS class group

It should be acknowledged that this is an oversimplification, and as faculty repeatedly pointed out during interviews, many of our students have fairly complex identities:

> The percentage of our students who are bilingual, trilingual, who have lived in at least two or three countries long term is very high (Faculty T).

During the process of getting to know WS students, the question 'Where are you from?' is regularly met with a description that includes the ethnicity of parents, place of birth, place(s) of schooling, countries of residence, passports held, languages spoken and so on. For a good few of the WS students, this question is far from straightforward and indeed a matter, one suspects, for continuous assessment and reappraisal.

Diversity as a Student Choice

The WS student body is almost certainly not representative of the wider student body in that it is one that has actively chosen diversity, at least in the sense that this overlaps with the idea of 'international'.

As far as attitudes towards an 'internationalised environment' the WS student body is to a large extent self-selected; they have in general chosen the program specifically in order to be able to study in the diverse environment it provides. The WS students can therefore be expected to be perhaps more open-minded towards different attitudes and more understanding toward different experiences, many of them are aware that one of the benefits of the program is the chance to test one's own experiences and knowledge and to compare one's own 'common-sense' with that of other students from around the world. And indeed, the faculty teaching experience seems to support this view.

It should probably be acknowledged though that they are perhaps not as diverse in terms of social background as students at state universities, who are not necessarily as restricted by the same financial considerations; this is a private university and while the majority of international students do receive some support from university funds they, and their families, have all been at least able to afford the not insignificant monetary cost of making an application, travelling to Japan and the ongoing cost of fees, rent, daily expenses etc. In this sense one may find higher diversity amongst domestic students at national universities, where tuition fees are much lower.

TEACHING MEDIA STUDIES

The author has a background of 15 years in television news production and entered academia after a master's degree in media studies and a doctorate which investigated the relationship between news production routines and theories of visual communication. This is my first full-time post though I have some experience of language teaching at a UK university.

There have been a variety of challenges in adapting to a new institution, some of which are no doubt contingent on my particular circumstances, the position of my subject area within the remit of the department, and at a broader level the somewhat 'experimental' (and due to its funding, the potentially provisional) nature of the program. These have included:

- The primary focus of department J is quite different to mine; of the more than forty faculty just three teach on mass-media related topics. Having said this, the recruitment strategy for the next few years seems to acknowledge the fact that 'culture' (rather loosely defined) is an area of growing interest to many students.
- Uncertainty as to departmental expectations regarding program structure: How does my course fit with others? How does what I teach complement (or not) what is being taught and learned elsewhere?
- What degree of commitment to expect from students who are taking what, for the majority of them, is a subject of perhaps tangential interest.
- Choosing course material that is useful and relevant to as many students as possible.
- Choosing reading material that is accessible to as many students as possible.
- Maintaining a useful balance between offering material dealing with generally applicable theoretical approaches and providing specific factual knowledge. The former is generally more challenging linguistically, the latter, while easier to grasp, runs the risk of repeating one of the failings of the 'mass media', the presentation of facts without a context for understanding and evaluation.

The most immediate ongoing challenges, rather than those emerging from the managerial environment in which the program operates, can be seen to emerge from the intersection of two types of diversity, diversity of national background and diversity of language proficiency. In general the majority of students' language proficiency is inadequate to allow them to comfortably deal with the kind of material – articles from academic journals, chapters from monographs – that one might expect undergraduates to be confronted with. This means quite reasonably taking a step backwards and identifying material which is both useful and accessible; this in itself is a challenge, as I explain below.

Ultimately my aim is to try to offer students a way of making sense of their own lives; this process can I think begin from 'either end'; by starting with personal experiences of the world and leading students to a more 'academic' position where they can take a step back from this individual standpoint, begin to make generalisations and see the relevance of theoretical concepts in understanding their lives, or, starting with a discussion of theoretical concepts and investigating the relationships with students' everyday experiences. I would prefer starting from the 'personal experience end' as throwing students in at the deep end of theoretical approaches to the mass-media seems unfair. However, this is difficult in the diverse classroom where little can be taken as ground for common understanding, and there is a tendency to become distracted by the 'surface dazzle' of strikingly obvious, and

often entertaining, differences that, after further thought or deeper inspection, might turn out to be less than instructive. This approach also starts off by highlighting differences (unfortunately often along national lines as media systems still tend to be largely national) rather then emphasising similarities. So I have preferred a top-down approach, offering a grand-tour of approaches to media research and asking students to use the ideas outlined in the classes as context for their own experiences. This has lead me to focus initially on theoretical approaches to studying the mass media; and thus back to the problem of identifying material which covers the necessary ground and is still accessible to the majority of students.

Texts aimed at high-school students – these are generally written at a linguistic level where the majority of WS students will be able to concentrate on understanding the ideas discussed rather than just deciphering the meaning of the sentences and words – tend (as far as I have seen) to use the obvious strategy of starting out from learners' personal experiences of mass media, assuming a degree of shared experience. They are generally aimed at learners within at a particular national education system so often refer to particular national channels, or well-known shows, events or personalities. They are thus largely irrelevant, or just incomprehensible, to the majority of our international student body.

Politics and Media

My primary course is one which deals with the relationships between the Mass Media and Politics, I will refer to it as P&M. The injection of the 'political' element further complicates the choice of relevant material and course content.

Students come from differing political backgrounds; not just in the sense of variations on social-democrat/liberal/conservative or Republican/Democratic that one might expect in a more homogeneous British or American classroom, we have a large number of students from the 'Communist' PRC, and a large proportion from South Korea (a military dictatorship until 1987). They are not all from countries where politics, as a topic for discussion and debate in the mass media, exists as such. Thus 'western' treatments of 'media and politics' often make assumptions that are not instinctively valid for some of our students: for example, that information about politics should be as accurate and objective as possible to allow the public to make informed political decisions at election time – this assumes that there *are* meaningful elections, that voting is a meaningful political action, that the result of an election will actually reflect the votes cast, and so forth.

Likewise there are very different relationships between the press and politics in different states, and thus very different understandings of the nature of political debate as it appears in the public sphere. To draw simple comparisons; the UK's newspapers, especially at election time, are overt in their support for a particular political party, this would be unthinkable in the 'objective' newspaper style expected of Japan's 'catch-all' newspapers and often seems to Japanese students to indicate a basic failure in the press in the UK. Likewise, in Japan it is very rare to see a politician

ridiculed, they are generally treated with politeness, if not respect, which means that political debate is largely restricted to 'serious' television programs. In the UK there is a tradition of print and broadcast satire which means that politics, and discussion of political ideas, permeates far more of the mass media's content, from 'serious' news and current affairs to sitcoms and quiz shows. There are, amongst students, potentially very different understandings of what the proper relationship between 'the media' and 'politics' is, and therefore what is appropriate subject matter for a course that looks at the relationships between them.

Changing Nature of the 'Mass Media'

Since the late 1990s the mass media landscape, for producers and audiences has changed dramatically. In most developed countries the idea that 'the nation' will, at some given point in the evening all sit down together and watch 'the news' is no longer valid. There is *my* news but there is no longer, for many people, *the* news. In a very informal survey in one of my classes the most popular news source was, 'Yahoo News' and while outlets with rather more concrete identities, such as the BBC and CNN, also featured, there were many instances of replies such as, 'Google', 'from my cell phone apps', 'random news programs' or 'channel 8' (the outlet being identified by the number on the television remote control rather than the name of the actual broadcaster).

In some sense, there is actually no longer any need for audiences to engage critically with a particular media outlet, you can just go somewhere else, or at least it seems to feel that way for many. The answer would seem to be to direct students to a media source that they have available locally and which can act as a point of departure for discussion. However, overseas students' level of Japanese language skills is generally too low to allow them access to local media sources, which are almost exclusively domestic. Thus, daily media experiences tend to be fragmented on arrival at WS and tend to remain so as students are now able, through news websites and aggregator apps, streaming services and program sharing sites, to remain within their domestic media bubble even whilst overseas. Subsequently, even such basic questions as 'What constitutes the mass media?' require extended attention during class time in order that we can reach agreement on standards by which we can rationally rule either 'in' or 'out' particular media forms, texts or outlets.

Approaching Mass Media

To use a rather traditional approach to dividing up approaches to media studies, the following three categories are, I believe, still useful in helping students to make a first step towards approaching the confusingly complex 'mass media' in an analytical manner. I use them here as a framework to outline the results of my classroom experience.

Production

Who makes media content? Why is media content like it is? What elements in the industrial, regulatory, financial, cultural background seem to affect the way content is produced and the nature of the content itself?

For a culturally diverse students body there will be both shared theoretical categories, which the student may not be aware of, and shared objects which can be useful in starting a discussion. For instance, many national media systems contain one or more organisations which can be considered 'public service broadcasters'; the BBC in the UK, NHK in Japan, ABC in Australia. Having said that theoretical distinctions can be hard for students without a knowledge of the nature of the kinds of organisations they have encountered in their media experience; it is very tempting to equate 'the biggest broadcaster that seems to somehow represent the nation' in any particular national system and to assume that they are perhaps theoretically similar. This means that distinctions between state-*sponsored*, state-*funded*, and state-*run* broadcasters might be missed. The statement 'CCTV is China's BBC' is perhaps valid on some level but it is a gross misrepresentation when it comes to their respective roles within the national polity.

This again emphasises the necessity to back up discussions of the varied individual experiences of particular media systems with theoretical knowledge that gives students some way to evaluate these experiences and make rational comparisons with the experiences of others in the class.

Texts

The language of instruction on WS is English. However, there is officially no minimum level of English language ability required for entry onto the program. There is an 'unofficial' or informal understanding of roughly where the line is between an applicant potentially being capable of putting in sufficient extra work to keep up with courses and them struggling to no beneficial effect. This means that classes, though they vary, can contain a broad variety of levels of English language ability, from native to 'struggling'. Needless to say, this results in added complexity when assigning readings, and indeed for any activity where the ability to perform efficiently in a certain language is important.

This diversity has the unfortunate effect of putting one of the most interesting – being both educational and stimulating – areas of mass media research more or less out of bounds, textual analysis. Textual analysis of any sort requires an intimate and profound knowledge and understanding of the language in which the text is written, it requires an understanding of not just the denotational meanings of words and phrases but also their varied connotations. Furthermore, the frequent requirement that intertextual links be considered makes it vital that the analyst has a close to 'native' understanding of other relevant texts and contemporary cultural artefacts. Even without these it may be possible to produce an interesting personal reading

of a text – and maybe this is sufficient – but the motivation behind techniques which emerge from such theories as critical discourse analysis is the elucidation of the workings of the tendrils of power which permeate language use. These can often remain opaque without access to a significant number of interrelated texts the analysis of which is necessarily time-consuming, perhaps prohibitively so for students with limited English skills.

Audiences

All students have experience of being part of an audience. And, while this is the area of media studies that they are most personally engaged with it is also an area where personal experience, and a common-sense, intuitive understanding of the world, is less useful than larger-scale analytical approaches. However, it must also be acknowledged that this is the prime interest for the majority of students, who tend to make their initial approach to study of the mass media (my class is, for most students their first experience of mass media study) from one of two initial questions: Why don't the mass media tell the truth? And, how does the mass media affect society? Responses to both of these questions are necessarily complex and the latter remains one area of media studies where the possible range of responses is bewilderingly broad. Thus, while an approach that starts from theory is, I would argue, most effective when looking at audiences and reception, there remains the problem of identifying meaningful studies which are both accessible and contribute to overall understanding without privileging certain views in what is still an area without a mature consensus view.

THEMES IN FACULTY INTERVIEWS

The following section is the result of informal interviews with five WS faculty,[16] referred to below by their initials (e.g. 'Faculty T'), carried out during summer 2015. It should be noted that formal coordination across the majority of courses (language courses are an exception) on the WS program is minimal. There is no designated body specifically tasked with managing the WS program, it is dealt with as an integrated part of the overall department structure. Faculty are thus allowed a high degree of autonomy in what they teach and how it is taught. Some of the themes and concerns that arose with a degree of consistency are outlined briefly below.

WHAT KIND OF 'DIVERSITY'?

Faculty most instinctively seem to think of diversity in terms of nationality, and unsurprisingly most mentions of different groups of students within the classroom tended to identify them by national affiliation. I would suggest that this is probably in line with how students experience diversity within the department. It would be

interesting to investigate whether this perception is peculiar to overseas students visiting a largely (and speaking rather naively) mono-cultural, mono-ethnic country like Japan, where other social divisions – and thus other potential sources of affiliation – such as religious affiliation, social class and ethnicity tend to be overwhelmed by the mere fact that the visitors are 'not Japanese'.

Other types of potential diversity were identified ('social background', 'family background', 'political background' (Faculty S), sexual identity (Faculty R) but did not seem to be as relevant as nationality.

Diversity Blindness

While being appreciated as a good thing to have in the classroom, there is also a tendency – perhaps peculiar to academics – to be diversity blind. One faculty member, who deals regularly with the modern history of East Asia, made the straightforward point that;

> I try to teach as neutrally as possible (Faculty T).

Another stated simply;

> In some of my classes diversity doesn't matter for me (Faculty S).

The issue then is often how to deal with the relative degrees of ease with which a considered, 'neutral' understanding of certain events and ideas, contrasts with the various understandings gained by students throughout their education within their national school system. When dealing with history this is obviously an issue primarily for PRC, South Korean and Japanese students who have been through systems where the teaching of history has become politicised.

'Diversity is Good'

One of the most striking (due to the high level of agreement), yet probably least surprising, things to come out of the interviews was the feeling that working with diverse groups of students is nearly always a Good Thing.

> I feel diversity is a great asset […] I learn, and students learn a lot (Faculty S).

> It's a much more enriching environment for learning [...] I think during your university years you should experience diversity and lots of different ways of seeing the world and thinking an interacting with people who have a different perspective (Faculty R).

It was mentioned that both students and faculty were able to learn, hear interesting insights, encounter new points of view, gain direct insight into life in other countries and generally have a more stimulating classroom experience with more diverse groups.

A 'Universal' Point of View

Diversity seemed to be particularly useful in classes where it can be utilised contrastingly to highlight shared values. Faculty from discipline areas as varied as International Law, Peace Studies and Anthropology all mentioned that they were ultimately dealing with 'universals' – whether this is a methodology for solving international disputes (Faculty S), shared human experience of 'rights of passage' (Faculty A) or simply sharing a desire for peace (Faculty K).

Diversity as Resource

Another common theme was the value of a diverse student body as an informational resource for the whole class.

> When we discuss nuclear issues, nuclear power plants, I simply ask students; how many nuclear power plants do you have in your country and what is the plan for the future? We were surprised to know that there were quite a few in China, because it's not possible for us to get the details, but the students were able to get the details in the Chinese language and it was easy for us to make a list (Faculty K).

The value of the information and experience that a diverse student group can bring to the class, especially through their varied linguistic strengths and 'local' knowledge, was identified by many faculty members as being particularly beneficial.

Making Use of Diversity

While all faculty interviewed acknowledged the benefits of a diverse classroom environment, none had developed any particular strategies or activities which made systematic use of it. This seems to be a rational reaction to an environment where the make-up of any particular class is largely unpredictable – we generally expect that a class will contain a variety of nationalities, but what the exact variety will be we generally don't know until we actually meet the students at the beginning of the semester.

However, one faculty member did mention that certain more 'performative' elements of his anthropology class were more effective when he could 'use' a student with a particular cultural background (Faculty A).

> I don't want to say I don't notice divisions amongst [the students] but I don't really take account of it the teaching methodology I use, [it] can work just as well for people in a mixed group or one of purely one nationality (Faculty T).

I too have a certain 'demonstration', in a class dealing with intercultural communication, that tends to work more effectively – as an illustration of how cultural variation in comfortable interpersonal distance during conversations can

lead to 'misunderstanding' – when I can identify an individual with a cultural background with a higher typical interpersonal distance. Needless to say, this does not always work as planned as personal variations tend to be more significant than any theoretical variation!

Inevitable Tensions?

It is important to point out that faculty, myself included, had actually encountered very few situations where the diverse nature of the classroom population had led to any sort of problem or tension. This is perhaps unsurprising given that WS students have chosen this environment precisely because of the diversity it offers. National differences leading to tension in the classroom is rare;

> We've had, what, 3 or 400 students through WS? and I know of maybe one or two instances (Faculty T).

Situations that faculty mentioned during the interviews all tended to be related to the seemingly perennial historical and territorial disagreements between Japan, the PRC and South Korea.

However, given that ultimately the entire program is aimed at finding ways to improve global cooperation and mutual understanding, these tensions – when they happen within the context of a relevant class – seem to be accepted as a necessary part of giving students a way of moving beyond the narrow national viewpoint often acquired during previous education.

Other Themes

One of the areas where diversity was mentioned as lacking was in the variety of age groups represented amongst the student body. Nearly all students enter the course directly from high-school, or their national equivalent, at age 18. The WS course occasionally attracts students who have spent time doing voluntary work overseas, or have perhaps transferred from another university, but these individuals are rare. During my time at University K, I have taught two that I am aware of, and while their experience outside education tends to allow them a more mature outlook on study at university, they are still in their early 20s. Another area was that of 'sexual identity', one faculty member with a professional interest in this issue remarked that they were surprised at the seeming uniformity of the student body in this respect.

CONCLUSIONS

A diverse student body seems to be almost universally regarded as almost totally beneficial by those in the WS classroom, however making use of this diversity in a formal way in the classroom does not seem to be regarded as a priority. The benefits are seen to emerge more or less 'naturally' from the presence of students with varied

backgrounds, WS staff are granted the flexibility, and have the ability, to make constructive use of the differences in experience and opinion they come across in any particular class.

However, national diversity, while undoubtedly valuable, should not distract from the lack of other types of diversity which would also be valuable, specifically class/social background, ethnic/racial background and a greater breadth of age groups. Expanding diversity in these areas is perhaps beyond the control of individual departments or even whole universities; private universities have to remain financially viable, part-time degrees for mature students, whether at graduate or undergraduate levels, are rare and there seems to be little enthusiasm for trying to expand the potential student population beyond the traditional 'high-school leavers only' model. This is despite a government commitment (perhaps again primarily rhetorical) to lifelong learning, and a portion of the domestic population who have both the resources and the desire to engage in formal education at higher levels.[17]

NOTES

1 Formally, the *Kokusaika kyoten seibi jigyō* [Internationalisation centre maintenance project]

2 Announced 29 Jul 2008, *Ryugakusei 30man-nin keikaku* –http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/20/07/08080109.htm

3 Calculated at 120JPY to the US dollar.

4 Japan Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Technology (MEXT) Press Release, 3 July 2009. Retrieved from: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/21/07/1280880.htm

5 A public spending review procedure introduced by the DPJ government in 2009.

6 Formally, the *sūpā-gurōbaru daigaku-tō jigyō* [Super-global university etc. project]. Details from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science website: http://www.jsps.go.jp/j-sgu/

7 MEXT Press Release, September 2014. 'Selection for the FY 2014 Top Global University Project'. Retrieved from:http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/26/09/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/10/07/1352218_02.pdf

8 The majority of the national universities and from private institutions, Waseda and Keio.

9 Personal conversation with senior faculty.

10 Technically speaking *hensachi* is 'a deviation score from the midpoint average for all other students who take a given test'(McVeigh, 2002, p. 33), operationally it is used by those involved in education in Japan as an 'objective' measure of how institutions compare to one another in terms of how difficult they are for students to enter.

11 A recent internal review of the WS program identified its 'mirror' positioning as one aspect needing reconsideration and possible reform.

12 University-wide policies are in place to redress this imbalance but due to the fact that faculty turnover is extremely low any significant improvements are still decades away.

13 All data on the WS and Dept. J student body is taken from publicly available university documents dated May 2015.

14 Japan Student Services Organisation (JASSO), 'The Summary of Result on an Annual Survey of International Students in Japan'. Retrieved 21 August 2015, from: http://www.jasso.go.jp/statistics/intl_student/ichiran_e.html

15 *shūshoku katsudō*: the highly formalised, and time-consuming, job-hunting process whereby the majority of Japanese graduates enter full-time employment.

16 They are identified with the single initials S, T, A, K and R. Their research areas vary from religion and conflict resolution through to military history, international law and sexual identity.

[17] From the evidence of lifestyle surveys carried out by advertising agencies such as *Hakuhodo* and *Dentsu*, it seems that there are other groups within society with both an interest in formal learning and, potentially, the necessary resources in terms of time and money.

REFERENCES

Ishikawa, M. (2011). Redefining internationalization in higher education: Global 30 and the making of global universities in Japan. In D. B. Willis & J. Rappleye (Eds.), *Reimagining Japanese education: Borders, transfers, circulations, and the comparative* (pp. 193–223). Didcot: Symposium Books Ltd.

Maruko, M. (2014, October 22). Universities aim to boost their global ranking. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/10/22/national/universities-aim-to-boost-their-global-ranking/

McVeigh, B. J. (2002). *Japanese higher education as Myth*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Nakamura, C. (1997). *Abunai Daigaku* [Universities that are in danger]. Tokyo: Sangokan.

NAR (2013, November 12). Japanese universities punch up studying abroad options. *Nikkei Asian Review*. Retrieved from http://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/Education-Career/Japanese-universities-punch-up-studying-abroad-options

Scott Browes
Department J,
University K

PAUL CHAMNESS MILLER

6. CHALLENGING THE MYTH OF HOMOGENEITY IN JAPAN IN FIRST-YEAR WRITING[1]

INTRODUCTION

When I first considered the idea of moving to Japan to teach English, I was expecting the content of my courses to focus predominantly on a combination of the four language skills (i.e., reading, writing, listening and speaking). However, at my current university the emphasis of the overall curriculum is to prepare our students to become global citizens as they develop their language skills. In fact, part of the official mission of Akita International University (AIU) is to encourage students "to mutually accept different worldviews and value systems, work together to solve various issues, and have the strength to pioneer new paths to the future" (AIU, n.d.). In order to achieve this goal, the university hires faculty from around the world, all students are required to study abroad for one year (and about 25% of students on campus are on study abroad at AIU from our partner institutions), and students have two choices for a major—global studies or global business.

In addition to the institutional push for globalization described above, faculty are also encouraged to help foster a sense of multiculturalism and to think critically about the world. This expectation is also extended to faculty in my program, English for Academic Purposes (EAP), where our students first come before taking basic education courses and those related specifically to their major. All students admitted to AIU must first pass through EAP, which can take from one to three semesters (or longer if they fail any of the courses along the way), depending on their TOEFL score, which is used as a placement test. Students take three courses—speaking & listening, reading, and writing during each of these semesters. Our program is also responsible for several basic education courses that are required of all students, such as a basic composition course, a second advanced writing course, an academic reading course, and several specialized courses that one might typically find housed in an English department of most universities. I teach mostly the third level of EAP writing and the Freshman composition course, along with a few other courses as needed.

Effects of Conformity on Diversity in Japan

The challenge with teaching in Japan is that schooling in primary and secondary grades is, for the most part, rote memorization and the mere regurgitation of information. Students are not encouraged to think critically about society's issues,

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 83–101.

and are certainly not welcomed to criticize the system, but instead to simply accept it, follow the rules, and never question it. This is further exacerbated by the conformist ideology that dominates the society. There is a famous saying that most Japanese have heard throughout their life: "The nail that sticks out is hammered down" (World of Quotes, 2013, p. 4). This summarizes the collectivist worldview that is taught from birth, that the needs of the group have priority over individual needs and desires (Ritts, 2000; Takeda, 2012). Consequently, individualism is avoided in the classroom, in the workplace, and everywhere else in society (Brightman, 2005).

This conformist approach to life perpetuates the myth of homogeneity that continues to run rampant among Japanese people, who blindly believe in a "pure" ethnicity that is Japanese, despite the fact that the world is ever shrinking and diversifying, including in Japan (Burgess, 2010). This belief is manifest in the general population's attitude toward multi-racial (or multi-ethnic) Japanese citizens. The word used in Japanese to refer to such individuals is *hafu*, borrowed from the English word *half*. This term in and of itself reveals this mentality—that someone who has more than one ethnic or racial ancestry is not "pure" Japanese. And those who discriminate against *hafu* do so openly, blatantly, and unapologetically, whether in schools, restaurants, stores, or *onsen* (natural hot spring bathhouses). One case involving an *onsen* took place in Hokkaido, where a group of non-Japanese residents of Japan went to relax, but were told they could not enter because they were not Japanese. When the owner was asked whether their bi-racial children would be allowed, the owner said they would only be admitted if they "looked Asian" (Quigley, 2013). The experience of these individuals barely begins to describe the plight of bi-racial/bi-cultural individuals in Japan, but more stories are surfacing almost daily. For example, the lives of several bi-cultural people are documented in a recent film, *Hafu: The Mixed Race Experience in Japan*, which reveals the lived experiences of five bi-cultural Japanese folks (Nishikura & Takagi, 2013).

In addition to many Japanese citizens believing in the myth of a "pure race," homophobia and transphobia are also very common in Japan. Unlike North America, where most hatred toward the LGBTQ community is based on religious ideology, in Japan it is based on ignorance and the desire to hold on to traditional cultural values, once again stemming from the conformist, collectivist worldview that most Japanese possess. Consequently, many Japanese view homosexuality or identifying as transgender as a deviant behavior that is breaking away from the conformity that is expected (Ó'Móchain, 2015). Alternatively, some individuals still believe that "such people" do not exist in Japan (Fylling, 2012). Regardless of the reasons underlying the disdain for the LGBTQ community in Japan, schools do not talk about sexual or gender identity, where youth could have plenty of opportunities to challenge the negative messages they receive throughout their lives (Kumashiro, 2003; Tsuzuki, 2003). The result is that LGBT youth face the same challenges as those living in North America, facing isolation, depression, rejection, bullying, and worse (Dankmeijer, 2003).

Challenging Conformity in Japanese Education

From the beginning of my career as a professor at my university in Japan I have had to battle this mentality in many of my students. Many students have never had to discuss issues of sexual and gender identity, and some are not comfortable talking about them. And due to the lack of experience in having such discussions, students do not know how to discuss these topics, even if they are open to the topics themselves. Additionally, given the context of my classroom, where almost all of my students are non-native speakers of English, I must also take into consideration the learners' linguistic ability. Many students are unable to articulate their thoughts about issues of diversity in their first language, so expecting them to be able to have such discussions in English is even more challenging, making tasks based on such topics potentially too taxing.

Theoretical Foundation

The challenge for me, as an advocate for social justice who places high value on incorporating issues of social justice and diversity in my courses, is to find other methods besides only using words to allow my students to express themselves. As a writing teacher, one such example is to consider coupling a reduced amount of writing with other media for expression, such as creating artistic projects with drawing, painting, collages, and other tasks that reduce the amount of language necessary to achieve the goals of the lesson. Such activities provide opportunities for individuals to express themselves beyond words not in their vocabulary, and can reduce the cognitive load that processing language significantly requires above their current abilities (Al-Shehri & Gitsaki, 2010; Leahy & Sweller, 2004; Paas, Vang Gog, & Sweller, 2010). In so doing, the second language learner is able to use cognitive resources on the content of the lesson, without the added pressure of processing language that is too difficult. Of course, appropriate preparations are necessary, such as vocabulary building activities and tasks that will activate background knowledge.

Not only are there linguistic benefits in using artistic expression in educational settings that include second language learners, but such methods are a unique, yet important, method in gaining information about how an individual makes sense of an issue related to social justice (Leavy, 2009). Knowles and Cole (2008) note that the in-depth exploration of artwork enables people to produce an insightful description that words just cannot always convey. Furthermore, Adams (2002) found that artistic expression can have a positive impact on the growth of social justice movements. Specific to language learners, Berho and Defferding (2005) discovered that incorporating a visual practice into English as a Second Language (ESL) lessons plays an important role in creating a positive learning atmosphere for language learners. It is based on these ideas that I believe that the engagement in an artistic project provides learners who may not be so outspoken with more effective opportunities to freely express their feelings about social justice issues.

To that end, there were two research questions that guided this study: (1) How do students at an international liberal arts college in Japan use artistic expression as a symbol and medium for expressing their new insights into issues of social justice? (2) What role does integrating visual art practices in class lessons play in cultivating students' understanding of diverse social identities?

METHODOLOGY

Setting

The setting of this study is a small liberal arts university in rural Japan that is ranked among the top five universities in Japan. There are two majors: global studies and global business. The entire curriculum, university wide, is taught in English, in an effort to prepare them to be global citizens and to be highly sought in the job market upon graduation. The study took place in academic writing course, one of the three required courses in the EAP program at the university. In this course, the primary goals are to help students develop the skills to write academic essays and to develop critical thinking skills, but it is up to the instructor to decide how to achieve these goals.

Participants

The participants were 18 students enrolled in an academic writing course. They were all first-semester first-year students coming from several different parts of Japan. About one third of the students were returnees, having lived part of their childhood outside of Japan in places like the United States, Brazil, Australia, Malaysia, and China. All of the returnees came back to Japan to go to high school prior to coming to the university to pursue their higher education degrees. The others had never lived outside of Japan, and about one third had never left Japan, even on vacation.

Procedures

This particular project that I designed took place over two days and combined an emphasis on two primary goals for the course: developing writing skills in English and fostering critical thinking. On the first day, I asked the students to read *Michael's Diary* (Bryant, 2013). This story, presented in a shortened diary format, is about a ten-year-old boy named Michael whose dream is to receive a sewing machine for his birthday. This story offers a critical opportunity to challenge gendernormativity in a second language classroom, not only because of the story, but also because of the way in which is written. In diary format, the sentences are short, written in conversation style, and each "entry" of the diary is its own topic. These features of the reading afford a second language reader the ability to process the language more easily than a typical story written in narrative style. For the lesson, the students were

asked to read the piece on their own. After students completed the reading, I led a group discussion where they were asked to think about the meaning behind the reading, what it means to be bullied—a term that is, unfortunately, becoming all too common across borders and cultures—at school, what it means to have supportive parents, especially when a child does not conform to stereotypical gender roles, and how this story might have been received if the family were Japanese. Once our class discussion was complete, students broke up into small groups of three or four where they drew and colored (with colored pencils, markers, or crayons) anything they wanted about their understanding of the topic and themes of the story. Students were also encouraged to talk to each other about the story and their drawing in English while they were working. Additionally, they were asked to write a short description of their drawing.

In the same manner, during the next class session, students read *Death by Bullying* (Lockette, 2009). This is a short blog post that discusses the rise in the number of teenagers who are committing suicide because of bullying, and in particular remembers the death of Carl Hoover, who was bullied not because he identified as gay or transgender, but simply because his peers perceived him as such. This story is a great contrast to the reading in the first lesson, because unlike Michael from the story on the first day, Carl conformed to what society expects of a boy; he was involved in several sports and was even a member of the Boyscouts. But somehow, his peers determined that he failed to fully conform to the social construct of what a boy is supposed to be. Sadly, he ended his own life right before his twelfth birthday. Again, this particular reading is ideal for non-native speakers of English because the reading is short and the paragraphs are manageable. But perhaps even more important is that the author provides simple examples, statistics, and even suggests resources that students and teachers can utilize to help counter bullying and hopefully save a life. As on the first day, once the students read the article, I led a short whole-class discussion in which students talked openly about bullying, and especially whether they think bullying is a problem in Japan or not, and specifically on their campus. Then in small groups, students used the remaining class time to draw and color a response to the reading in the same manner as the previous day's activity. They also wrote a short narrative to describe the drawing once their drawing was complete. Once again, during the small group activity, students were encouraged to talk about the reading and their drawings as they worked.

Framework

In order to address the guiding questions of the study, I approached the topic through the paradigm of narrative analysis. Polkinghorne (1988) referred to the term narrative as "the process of making a story, to the cognitive scheme of the story, or to the result of the process" (p. 13). Given the unique context of this setting, where the participants were not native speakers of English, many of whom struggled to articulate their views and opinions on topics of social justice, I had to view the

notion of "narrative" from a non-traditional approach, using both artistic expression and written word to put the narrative together. Ultimately, the narratives that came from this project still allowed the participants to convey their own ideas through their own words and drawings, where they were able to "impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives" (Riessman, 1993, p. 2) and in the lives of others.

In this study, without exception, these students' personal drawings and narratives served as the central resource for exploring how they made sense of the topics that were raised in the activities in which they were engaged as described in the previous section. As Kraus (2006) noted, personal stories are key elements in examining the link between an individual and other people and social groups. What the participants in this study chose to draw and write revealed significant findings in how they relate to members of the LGBT community and their struggles in educational settings.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data for this study were the drawings and written text that each student created in response to each reading. Analysis was based on the ideas of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and in particular, theoretical sampling. As the analysis took place, I developed preliminary themes. As the analysis continued, I refined and added themes as they emerged. I used the 3-pronged process of constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1988), and began with open coding, where I highlighted those words and phrases that I felt were salient to the topic as I read the data. Then I moved to the axial coding process, where I began to cluster data and identify possible themes. Then I moved to selective coding, where I continued to make meaning of the data and searched for relationships between themes for additional refining.

In the end of the analysis, what emerged from the students' drawings and narratives were several themes. The first theme that emerged was that students were able to retell the stories that they read through their personal drawings and personal narratives. Within that theme were two sub-themes. The first was that some students expressed their attempt and effort at understanding the content of the stories they read. The second was that the drawings and narratives demonstrated their acceptance of the boys in the stories (or lack of acceptance) through the retelling of the story in their own way. Another theme that emerged was expressing their understanding of difference and the fact that individuals must either accept or reject that difference. Yet other students found it important to express their understanding of accepting the existence of gender stereotypes and identity, while others depicted the conflict that occurs in gender identity. Contrary to the conformist ideology that is central to Japanese culture, some students gleaned from the story the importance of happiness and what makes individuals happy is what matters, while others highlighted the importance of acceptance from family and friends. Other students summarized their view with images that suggest it is important to be who you are and that you are not alone, and that through all of this, we are able to create a better future.

DISCUSSION

Understanding the Content of the Stories

Several students chose to depict a summary of the entire reading, which was an acceptable option for this particular in-class activity. Figure 1 illustrates one student's drawing based on the second day's reading (Lockette, 2009) that shows how summarizing the whole story was done through drawing. As the image indicates, this student highlighted the fact that Carl Hoover was a boy who played sports, but was still called names, especially "gay," resulting in his decision to take his own life. The narrative this student wrote in the textbox is also simply a summary of the main points of the story, including Carl's age, his interests, how he was treated, and his suicide. This student's work exemplifies how when a student is not comfortable in thinking critically about the topics raised in the reading, they tend to merely summarize the story in a matter-of-fact manner.

Acceptance of the Boys in the Stories

Instead of summarizing the entire story, some students focused on a specific topic that was particularly salient to them, that of acceptance. One example of this can

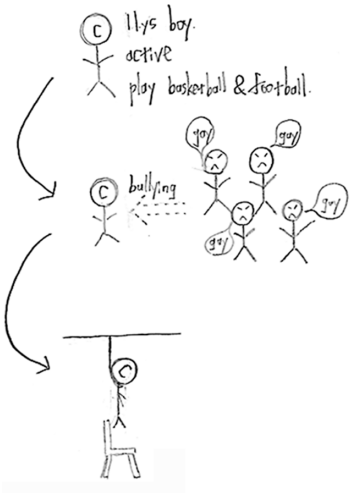

Figure 1. Example of understanding whole story

be seen in Figure 2, where, during the first activity (Bryant, 2013), the student's drawing and narrative focus on the idea of how Michael's family and friends evolved into accepting him for who he is. The drawing shows Michael holding a sewing needle, frowning, and two people looking at him with frowns on their faces. Then the same scene is drawn again, but with Michael and the people smiling. The narrative addresses the attitudes of the people who thought his interest in sewing was "strange" but then "they came to appreciate him, his interests and personality." This student's work is but one example of how learners might move beyond a shallow summary into thinking more critically about issues of social justice.

Understanding of Difference

Another theme that emerged from some students' narratives suggests that they began to understand that difference is good and should be celebrated. Figure 3, which came from the second reading (Lockette, 2009), illustrates how one student began to develop this understanding of difference. The drawing presented is a school of fish, where all of them look the same, except for one. This student has made a connection between the story and the notion of conformity that is so prevalent in Japanese society. All of the other fish appear to avoid the fish who is different, and

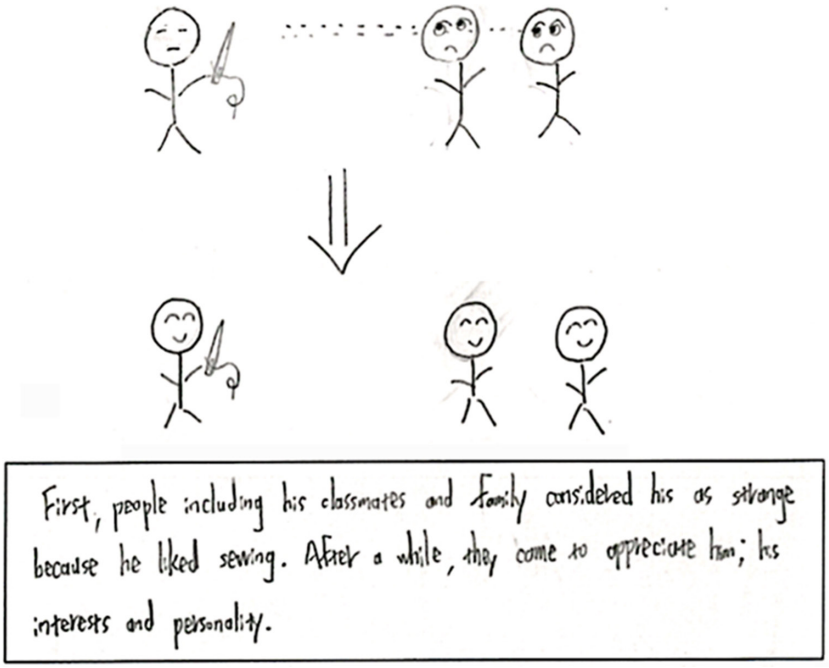

Figure 2. Example of acceptance

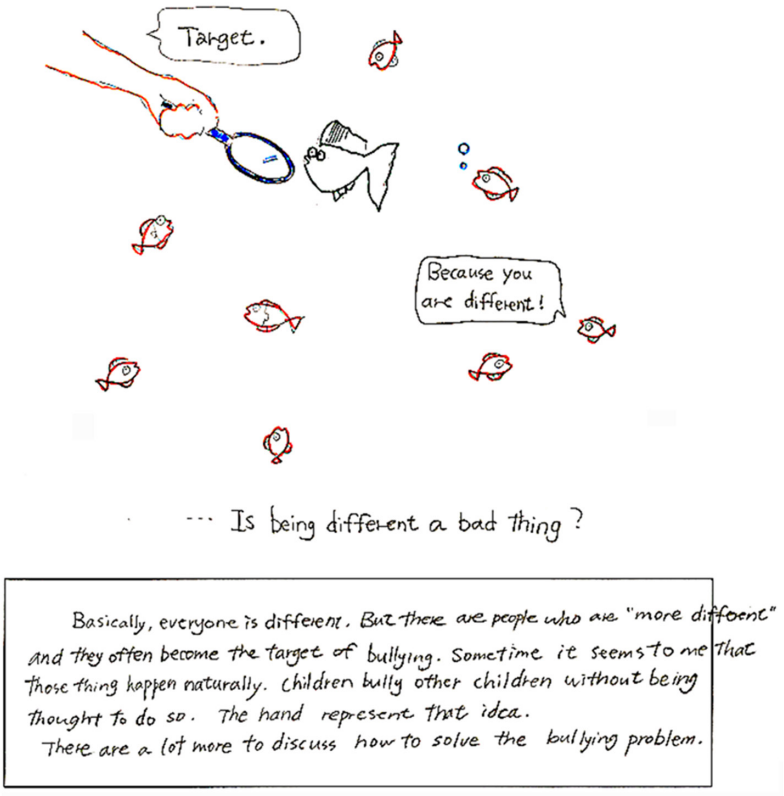

Figure 3. Example of understanding difference

one of them is saying, "Because you are different!" The student also wrote directly below the image, "… Is being different a bad thing?" In the textbox, the learner again highlights an understanding of difference by writing, "Basically, everyone is different. But there are people who are 'more different' and they often become the target of bullying." The author of this narrative attempts to briefly address why bullying happens and expresses the desire to find a way to solve this problem. Examples such as this student's work reveal that developing a critical understanding of social justice issues is possible, and this understanding can be conveyed even in a context where such topics are often taboo.

The Existence of Gender Stereotypes and Identity

One of the themes of Bryant (2013) is the notion of stereotypes as they relate to gender identity and the roles that have been imposed by society's constructs of what

it means to be a boy or a girl. Several students addressed this theme in their drawings and narratives, as seen in Figure 4. The drawing depicts Michael sitting at a desk, clearly troubled by these stereotypes. One the one hand, he loves sewing and likes keeping his long hair, activities that society says should be things that girls like. On the other hand, boys should like playing sports such as soccer, baseball, and football. But this student also includes Michael's father as an example of acceptance, and his father saying, "OK. Don't care You're my son. Right [sic]?" In addition, this student's narrative explains even further the acknowledgement of these stereotypes: "There are a lot of people who are confusing that my mind is like a boy or girl despite they are opposite sex [sic]." The student further notes, "His hobby is sewing like girls …. Therefore he was made a fool and was said a gayboy [sic] …." Then the learner added more critical thinking about the issue by including, "I think the important thing is to accept such a person like him. He is not wrong and it might

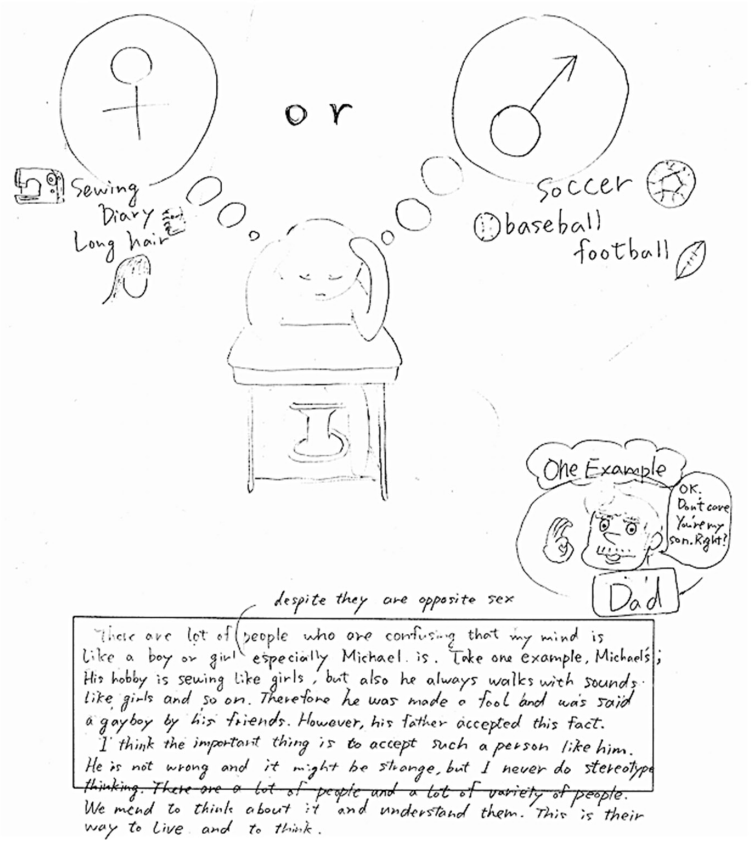

Figure 4. Example of gender stereotypes and identity

be strange, but I never do stereotype thinking [sic].” This student has displayed rather sophisticated thinking about this topic, acknowledging that many people have stereotypes about what a boy and girl should like to do in their spare time, but notes that this way of thinking is wrong and we should accept that this is their life.

Conflict in Gender Identity

The conflict that can arise as a result of not conforming to society’s construct of one’s gender is another theme that several students chose to address in their drawing and narrative. Figure 5 is the example of one student’s thoughts about this conflict, and in particular in the context of Japan. The drawing first shows Michael’s experience from the first reading (Bryant, 2013), showing his love for sewing, the conflict with some classmates, but the acceptance of his sister and parents and how this made him happy. Then this student drew a boy who liked sewing in Japan, and it being

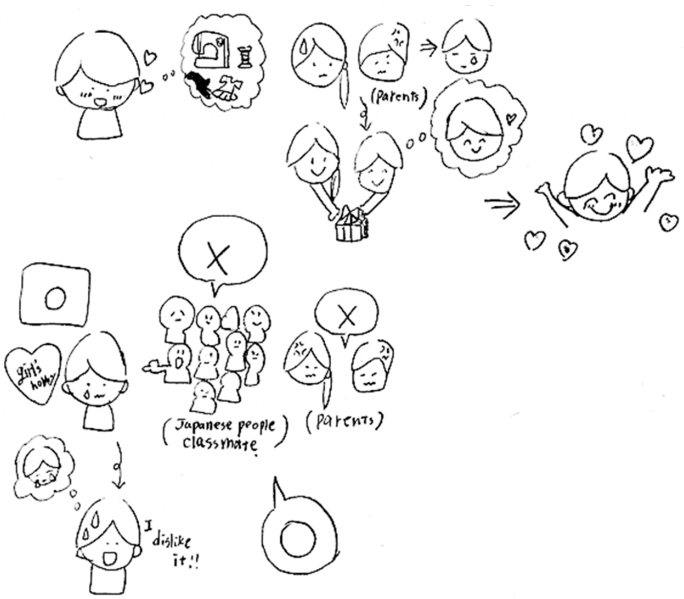

Figure 5. Example of conflict in gender identity

identified as a "girl's hobby." Additionally, the student drew Japanese classmates mocking the boy who likes to sew and the parents who are not happy, either. Finally, we see the boy in tears from this rejection saying, "I dislike it!!" The student's narrative adds further clarification to the drawing: "Michael's thinking and hobby is like a girl. His classmates dislike the such as unusall person. Se he was bully [sic]." The student then attempted to compare this situation to what would happen if the boy were in Japan by noting that, "In Japan, that case makes the some bullying … Some such as boy [sic]." Although this student's writing is perhaps unclear, we see that this student was able to convey some critical thinking with the drawing and the writing, attempting to draw a connection between a Western story and Japanese culture and the conflict that can arise, including bullying.

What Makes Individuals Happy is What Matters

Another important theme that surfaced in the data is that despite the push to conform in Japanese society, many of the students believe that individuals should do what makes them happy, not what others think they should do. An example of this is illustrated in Figure 6, based on the first reading (Bryant, 2013), where this particular student chose to focus on what makes Michael sad and what makes him happy, demonstrating an understanding of the importance of doing things not because they are typical of the gender binary construct that society imposes on us, but because they bring us joy and fulfillment. For example, this student divided the drawing into two sections: things that make Michael sad and things that make him happy. On the "sad" side are pictures depicting sports, scissors to represent cutting his hair (because Michael likes to keep his hair long), and peers making fun of him. On the "happy" side one finds a sewing machine, clothes he has made, and the love of his parents. The student's words reveal an understanding that "even though his preferences are different from others, the love of the people around him will never change." Along with this revelation, this student has shown through the drawing and the narrative the importance of doing what makes us happy, not doing what is socially constructed by society.

The Importance of Acceptance from Family and Friends

Several students highlighted the belief that acceptance from family and friends is also important. As an example from the first reading (Bryant, 2013), this theme is presented in Figure 7. Inside a big heart, the student has drawn Michael and his family. Along with the family, there is a depiction of what Michael likes to do and what he does not like to do. Below this, the student has drawn friends who are happy and smiling, and classmates who are bullying him. At the same time, the image illustrates how friends can block the negativity of bullies. In the narrative, the student wrote about how the support of friends and family was crucial in countering the effects of the bullies and to give him the strength to be himself. This example

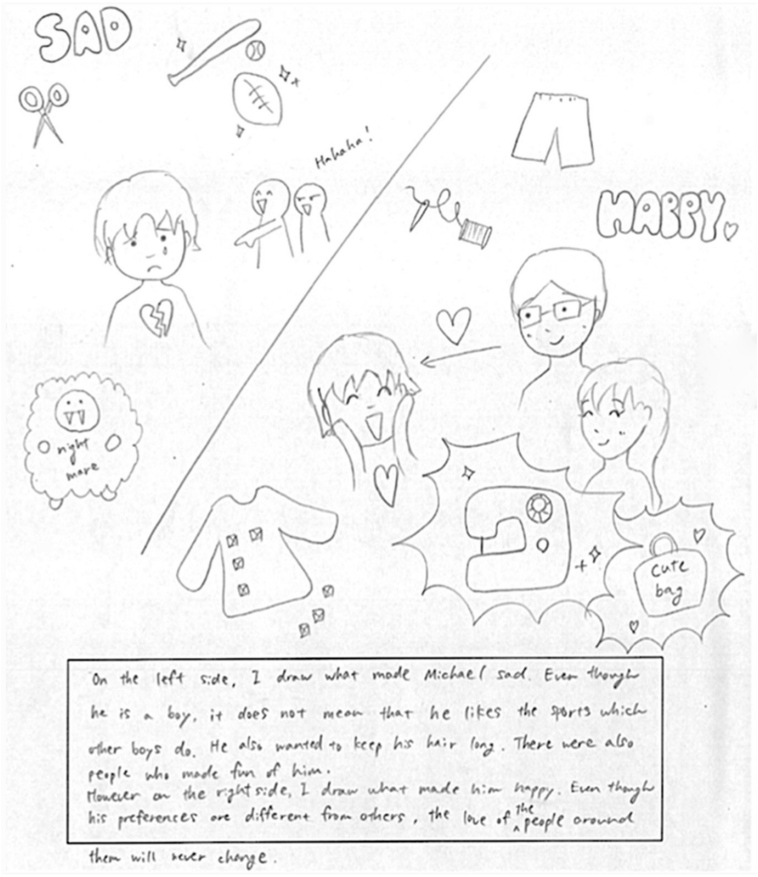

Figure 6. Example of the importance of doing what makes us happy

demonstrates that some students began to think about how Michael was able to keep positive and be himself.

Be Who You Are Because You Are Not Alone

In some cases, students focused on the positive aspects of being true to oneself. As is seen in Figure 8, this particular student highlighted the idea that there are always people in our lives who will support us, and as a result, we should be who we are. The drawing, based on the first reading (Bryant, 2013) has Michael in the center, with the bullies drawn on the left and his supportive parents on the right. Michael appears to be unhappy. But there are arrows indicating that despite the bullies, the parents' support enables him to be happy anyway. To support the drawing, the

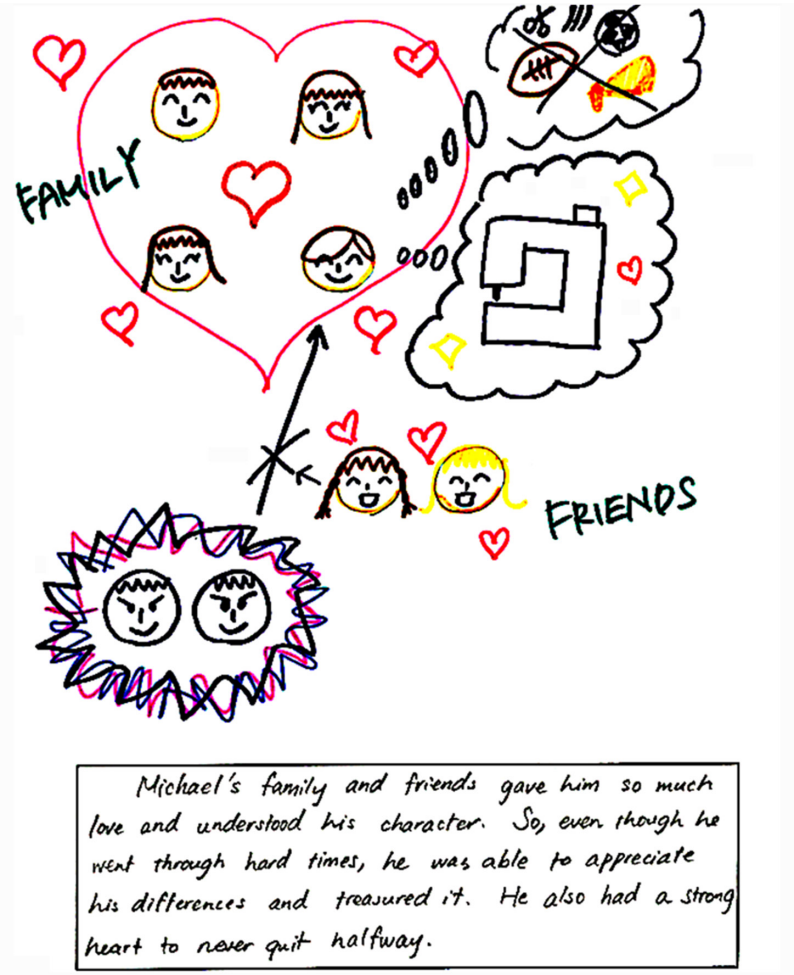

Figure 7. Example of the importance of family and friends

student emphasized the importance of being who we are because, "there will be some people who will support you, and you will never be alone." This narrative and drawing are but an example of this type of thinking that several of the students displayed in their work.

Struggles to Think Critically

Not every student successfully achieved the goals that were sought, and instead of developing the ability to think critically about the topic, instead struggled to fully

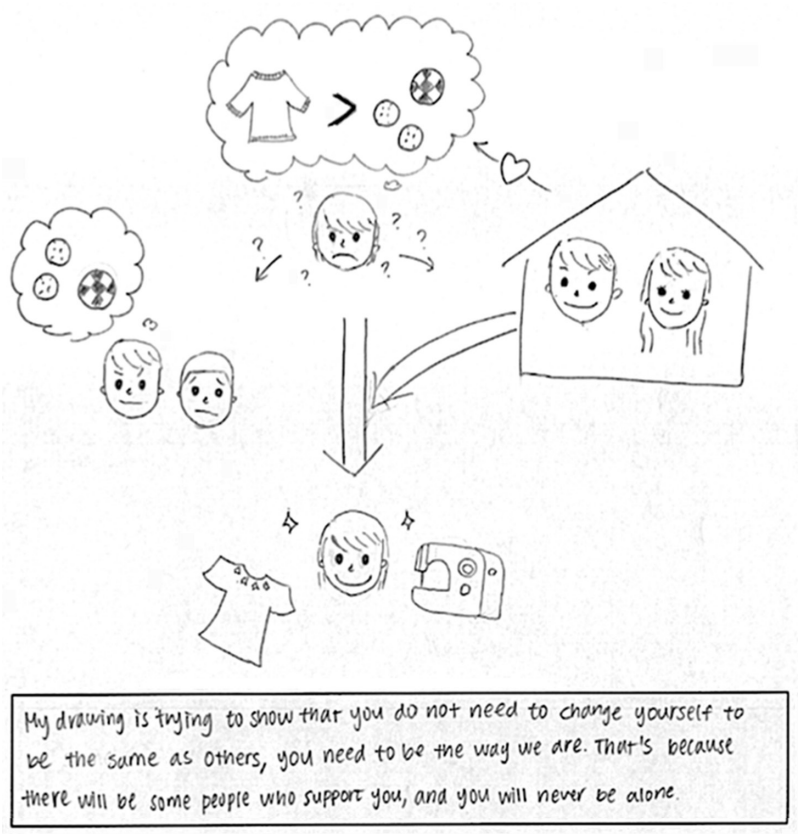

Figure 8. Example of being who you are

grasp the point of the lesson. As evidenced in Figure 9, this particular student, while perhaps accepting and understanding some of the ideas behind the lesson, still attributes certain activities and characteristics to one particular gender (e.g., pink is for girls, blue is for boys; sports are for boys; sewing is for girls). The student's drawing displays this way of thinking where we see a bow on top of Michael's head that is half blue and half pink. Inside the lightning, the student has attributed certain activities to either boys or girls, based again on a small person with either pink or blue. The drawing is explained in the caption, where the student wrote, "he is a boy, but he like [sic] things that girls like." At the same time, the student acknowledges the love of Michael's parents, irrespective of his interests, but again, couched in the stereotypical attributes of what it means to be a boy: "They don't care about [sic] his hobby is boyish or not." While this example might appear to be a lack of success, I used such examples to help

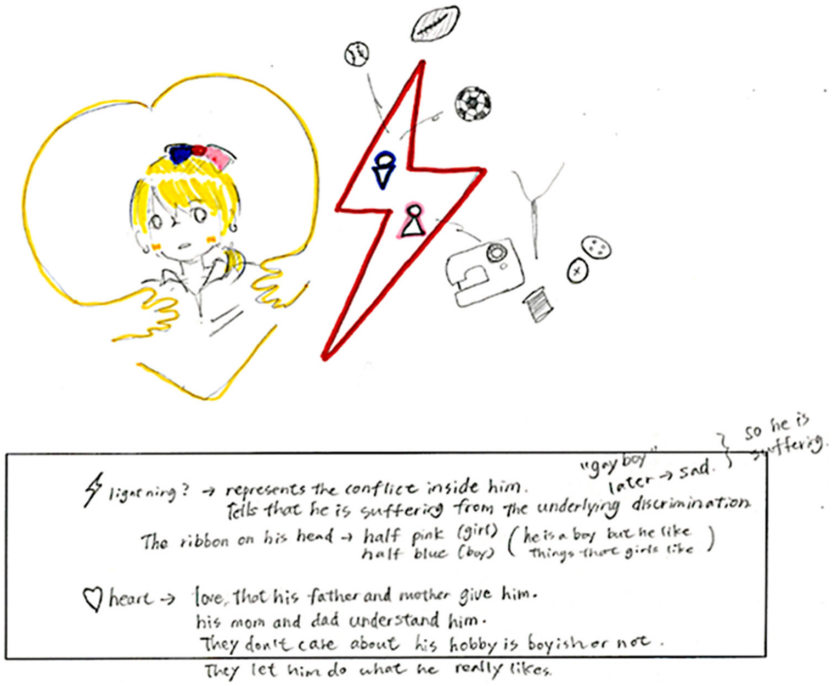

Figure 9. Example of student struggle from first reading

monitor the progress that students made with the challenges to gendernormative ideas. I was able to use this information to later develop activities to challenge these ideas even further.

The last example, Figure 10, exemplifies a similar way of thinking to that displayed in Figure 9, namely the difficulty in letting go of the gender binary of male and female. We see this in the student's drawing, where Carl is seen with a basketball and a soccer ball, and then he is seen in a dress. This student referred to his actions that reflected what is typically perceived as a girl in his textual description. As the student noted in the caption, "He was being bullyed [sic] because of his actions like a girl [sic]." Students who have been engrained to believe that certain behaviors are for girls and certain behaviors are for boys, often grapple with changing their ideas of these social constructs for a very long time. Some may never accept that there are other views of gender identity because of very rigid constructs about how one should behave. Students who do not conform to society's construct of what is means to be a boy or a girl tend be blamed when they are victimized, as if society is saying, "Well, if you would act like everyone else does, you wouldn't be bullied." This example alludes to this way of thinking, almost implicitly blaming Carl for his own death.

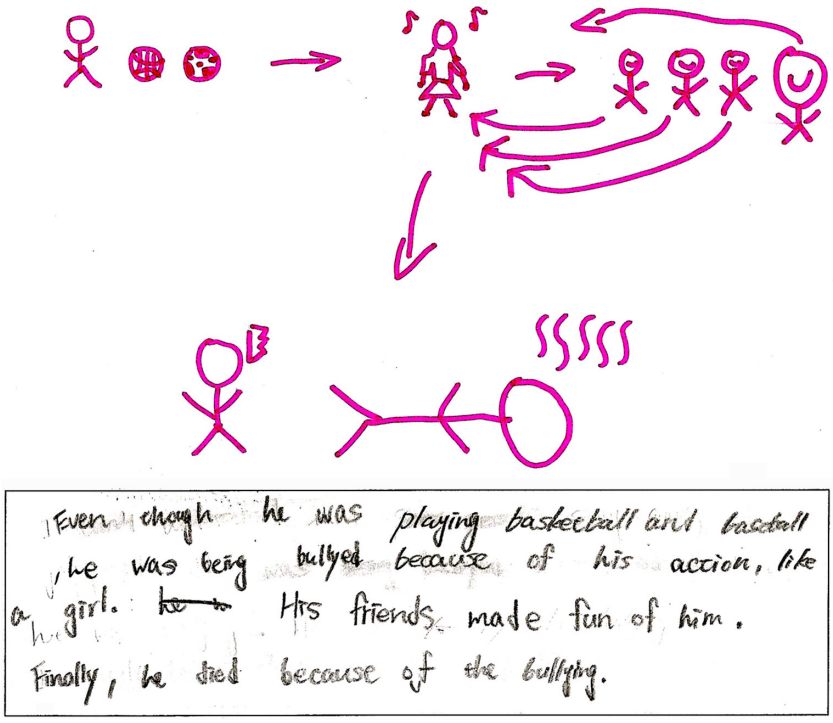

Figure 10. Example of student struggle from second reading

REFLECTIONS ON WHAT THIS MEANS

As this chapter has described, it is possible to develop lessons in a language classroom that incorporate the goals of teaching social justice and diversity through a critical lens. By selecting queer readings and giving students opportunities to reflect and convey their thoughts, I have illustrated examples about how students can develop different perspectives about the themes presented in the readings. Through our in-class discussions of the readings, students demonstrated a growing awareness that there are different ways to exist in this world that challenge social constructs, and doing so is okay. Finally, having these discussions in a language class have demonstrated how such topics intersect with culture, language, and other aspects of humanity while building students' linguistic ability.

As is the case for many English learners, whether teaching in an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) setting or an English-as-a-Foreign-Language (EFL) setting as presented in this study, thinking critically about social justice issues, is commonly a new experience for the learner. Consequently, the teacher must be careful not to assume any level of background knowledge on the part of the students, especially

topics related to sexual behavior, gender identity, and so forth, because in many countries, such topics are considered highly taboo, including Japan. Therefore, lessons must be carefully scaffolded to build vocabulary and language skills necessary to engage in topics of gender identity, sexual identity, among others.

Out of deference to students and their families, while also accounting for cultural and social more, it is important to scaffold lessons carefully by selecting texts and crafting discussion questions that require no background knowledge. I used the discussion in my lessons as an opportunity to build in key terms such as gender, LGBT, and identity; we allowed these terms to come up organically in our discussion, rather than having a pre-determined list of "vocabulary words," because the primary goal in this first experience for my students was to discuss these issues and foster the beginning of critical thinking related to these topics. As I found in my own teaching, artwork and other creative expression gives English language learners the opportunity to convey their critical ideas, and recognize and expand their awareness about identities beyond their own.

As language teachers and teacher educators, we can emulate through our own actions and the choices we make with our curriculum that regardless of the content that we are teaching, social justice issues can become an integral part of the classroom. Although cliché, in such instances, our actions do speak louder than our words. Our students see what we believe, not necessarily by what we say but by what we do. It is through our actions that students will then know which teachers truly believe what they purport to be important.

NOTE

[1] Portions of this chapter originally appeared in Miller, P. C., & Endo, H. (2016). Introducing (a)gender into foreign/second language education. In S. Miller (Ed.), *Teaching, affirming, and recognizing trans and gender creative youth: A queer literacy framework*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

REFERENCES

Adams, J. (2002). Art in social movements: A case from Pinochet's Chile. *Sociological Forum, 17*(1), 21–56.

Al-Shehri, S., & Gitsaki, C. (2010). Online reading: A preliminary study of the impact of integrated and split- attention formats on L2 students' cognitive load. *ReCALL*, *22*(3), 356–375.

Akita International University. (n.d.). *About AIU*. Retrieved from: http://web.aiu.ac.jp/en/about/philosophy

Berho, D. L., & Defferding, V. (2005). Communication, culture, and curiosity: Using target-culture and student-generated art in the second language classroom. *Foreign Language Annals, 38*(2), 271–277.

Brightman, J. D. (2005). AAPI culture brief: Japan. *Asian Culture Brief, 2*(6). Retrieved from http://www.ntac.hawaii.edu/downloads/products/briefs/culture/pdf/ACB-Vol2-Iss6-Japan.pdf

Bryant, T. (2013, Summer). Michael's diary. *Teaching Tolerance, 44*. Retrieved from http://www.tolerance.org/magazine/number-44-summer-2013/department/michael-s-diary

Burgess, C. (2010, March). The "illusion" of homogeneous Japan and national character: Discourse as a tool to transcend the "myth" vs. "reality" binary. *The Asia-Pacific Journal.* Retrieved from http://www.japanfocus.org/-Chris-Burgess/3310/article.html

Burgess, C. (2012, May). Maintaining identities discourses of homogeneity in a rapidly globalizing Japan. *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*. Retrieved from http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/Burgess.html

Dankmeijer, P. (2003). Commentaries on being gay in Japan and China. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Issues in Education, 1*, 43–54.

Fylling, E. (2012). *Her story: Lesbians in Japan and South Korea* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Oslo, Norway. Retrieved from https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/24407/Fylling.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* New York, NY: Aldine.

Knowles, J. G., & Cole, A. L. (2008). *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples and issues.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kraus, W. (2006). The narrative negotiation of identity and belonging. *Narrative Inquiry, 16*(1), 103–111.

Kumarshiro, K. (2003). Introduction: Translations of "Homosexuality and other sexualities: How to teach about human rights and living together." *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Issues in Education, 1*, 74–75.

Leahy, W., & Sweller, J. (2004). Cognitive load and the imagination effect. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *18*, 857–875.

Leavy, P. (2009). *Method meets art: Arts-based research practice.* New York, NY: Guilford.

Lockette, T. (2009, April 13). Death by bullying. *Teaching Tolerance* [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://marioncountyschoolcounselors.blogspot.jp/2009/04/death-by-bullying-article-from-teaching.html

Nishikura, N., & Takagi, L. P. (Producers & Directors). (2013). *Hafu: The mixed-race experience in Japan* [Motion picture]. Retrieved from http://hafufilm.com

Ó'Móchain, R. (2015). Coming out in Japan: A survey of attitudes among university students. *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies, 15*(1). Retrieved from http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/ejcjs/vol15/iss1/omochain.html

Paas, F., van Gog, T., & Sweller, J. (2010). Cognitive load theory: New conceptualizations, specifications, and integrated research perspectives. *Educational Psychology Review, 22*, 115–121.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Quigley, J. T. (2013, October 3). In Japan, will *Hafu* ever be considered whole?: Mixed-race individuals and their families seek acceptance in a homogeneous Japan. *The Diplomat*. Retrieved from http://thediplomat.com/2013/10/in-japan-will-hafu-ever-be-considered-whole/1/

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. (Qualitative research methods series No. 30). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ritts, V. (2000). *Culture and aging*. Retrieved from http://users.stlcc.edu/vritts/aging.html#top

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tsuzuki, M. (2003). Is sex between people of the same gender wrong? *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Issues in Education, 1*, 79–88.

World of Quotes. (2013). *107 Japanese proverbs*. Retrieved from http://www.worldofquotes.com/proverb/Japanese/4/index.html

Paul Chamness Miller
Faculty of International Liberal Arts
Akita International University

MARY FRANCES AGNELLO

7. "WE HAVE ALL BEEN HERE BEFORE"

Old and New Multicultural Reflections on Banking Education in a Japanese University

MULTICULTURAL JAPAN

"Place" figures largely into perspective and views of the world. As a United States citizen working abroad in a public university in Japan, I am both honored and baffled at the newfound opportunity that I have to reinvent myself as a scholar to some degree in a developed nation that is re-inventing its educational system. Although reform and change occur slowly in Japan as they do elsewhere in the world, in my one-year tenure in a Japanese university institution whose curriculum is English-focused, I am experiencing a sort of "déjà vu" sentiment as I listen to discussions and read scholarship boldly defining global citizenship, global leaders, and prepared human capital in Japan (DeCoker, 2013; Hoffman, 2013; Okano, 2013). Teaching and researching at this moment in history as Japanese lawmakers change the Constitution of post World War II occupied Japan to allow autonomous and proactive self-defense against military aggression, as the effects of natural disaster continue to ravage the landscape and communities in Japan, as the aging population enters its retirement years, and as the Chinese economy surpasses Japan's as the second largest in the world, I marvel at how much what is happening currently is a re-run of the Reagan "A Nation at Risk" early 1980s when the U.S. saw its manufacturing capabilities surpassed by Germany and Japan. As is often the case when social, economic, and political problems beset a nation, it is good to have a scapegoat in order to rally citizens and workers around a common goal or cause (Berliner & Biddle, 1997). In the U.S. of the 1980s, teachers and the educational system were cast as culpable for all of the woes facing the bulwark of the American political and economic system (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1994; Popkewitz, 1991; U.S. Department of Education, 1983; Agnello, 2001). In current Japan, the focus on universities seems to be currently concerned with the super global university, Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM), and fewer liberal arts

As it has been explained to me, the current mode in Japanese higher education is to have students rest on their laurels of the "banked" education that they received in high school (Freire, 2000). In an educational setting that is curriculum-, text-, teacher-, and test-centered, the Japanese students have come to our institution having been steeped in banking education defined by Freire (2000/1977). They have not had

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 103–116.

access to a dialogic curriculum. On the contrary, the teachers talk and the students listen. Students learn the curriculum that is taught to them by teachers who want them to do well on the college entrance exams. They learn passively and take exams. They balance their learning accounts with the information deposited by the teachers into their accounts (Freire, 2000/1977). Once they arrive at university, they do not have to work very hard, and the life of most students is a breeze as compared to what students endure in our institution. Our university offers an English curriculum whereby students are expected to master English expository, research, and multi-genre writing, speaking, and academic reading through an English medium. My understanding is that our students work very hard unlike other university students around the country.

However, life in a demanding institution can become even more difficult when students who were regarded as very competent in English in their various parochial settings encounter many international and Japanese students whose English skills surpass theirs. Many of them are under grave and even oppressive pressure from their parents to do well during their high school years and at a university that expects them to exercise critical thinking, independent thought, and informed and original production of English academic speech and writing while learning to be compliant workers. In essence, the students are now expected to be different kinds of students than they have been trained to be. Herein lies the rub of contradiction in experiences students have had, as well as the power of educational institutions at all levels and the media to create passivity in learning, superficial understanding of cultural symbols (many of them Western), and little ability to question, impose logic, or string together short sentences that are information packed (as we prefer thesis statements to be).

Regardless of what is going on internationally, nationally, and locally in educational policies, I find myself at a high point in my qualifications and experiences from which to draw in a reflective practice of teaching mostly Japanese speakers and a few other international students how to write effectively in English. As I constantly reflect on my teaching practice engendered by many of my mentors and scholarly predecessors (Dewey, 1916/2008; Kincheloe, 1991; Saltmarsh, 2008; Simpson, 2006, 1994; Simpson & Stack, 2010; Simpson, Jackson, & Aycock, 2005) and my students (Justyna, Agnello, & Thomas, 2015), I see the pitfalls against which Freire warns us—that is of becoming an oppressive teacher (Freire, 2000/1970). How easy it can become to tell myself and my students that I am enforcing harsh policies against them because they need to learn how to behave in an English-speaking environment to prepare themselves for their study abroad and international employment. In an effort to teach a unit on critical thinking in order to promote student success in their work to write a critique, I employed the example of Coca Cola advertising showing the students three different ads that were attention grabbing historically spanning back to the 1970s when Coke wanted to teach the world to "… sing in perfect harmony" to a more contemporary one in which an urban setting is experiencing turmoil with an explosion of a news stand. A third one that I found lovely to look at

was my focus. I assessed it as pernicious in its hidden assumptions—one of polar bears "open"[ing] happiness" as they scuttle an unopened bottle of Coca Cola over an imaginary goal line, saving it from breaking and savoring its refreshing flavor that we are told will lead to happiness.

THE ASSIGNMENT

I asked the students to choose an article, advertisement, or something they saw on line or in a magazine that they would like to critique. Because the power of the internet is so hegemonic in the students' lives, as well as social and educational settings, I used the example of Coca Cola believing that it would offer a rich source of social, economic, environmental, and other kinds of critical interpretation from which students could develop their thinking and around which they could build their critical analyses. We looked at several examples of student writing to ensure that students saw different kinds of analyses and critiques.

THE STRUGGLE

Lying to Children

As my colleagues and I generated materials with which to engage the students in the process of critical analysis and interpretation in order to prepare the evidence around which they would build their compositions, we asked them to think about what they saw and did not see in the Coke ad and some of their selected *Youtube* videos about which they thought that wished to write. One student presented a commercial for life insurance in which a young female child recounts the many ways in which her father possesses wonderful, loving, caring, thoughtful, and many other attributes, except "he lies". As it turned out the father is pretending that he drops off his daughter to go to work every day, but in reality he is looking for work and doing hard manual labor while he is interviewing and trying to find a job in the business world. When I asked students to deconstruct or analyze what they saw in this ad—"lying" came up. I asked the students how often parents lie to young children in Japan using the "boogie man" – Namahage character as an example. Tradition holds that when children are young and misbehave in Japan, Namahage will pay them a visit and punish them. As a precautionary measure, it is customary for community men to dress as Namahage and visit the children periodically to ensure that the youngsters will always be on their best behavior for fear that Namahage will get them if they are not. This is a similar tradition to that of the boogie man in the U.S. I asked my students how often we lie to young children. They said, "Not very often if at all." I asked them about Santa Claus, the Easter bunny, the tooth fairy. Other kinds of discussion led back to the idea of the father lying to the young girl. Steering the students toward the idea of life insurance and what is necessary to purchase it, I asked the students to consider how an unemployed or underemployed man would be able to afford life

insurance. Class ended there and I worked with this student, Naki, (a pseudonym) as she produced a powerful analysis and critique of the insurance company for misleading lower income people that buying insurance is a most important priority for them, that spending money on insurance is a good use of their money, and that purchasing life insurance is more important than a dad who is alive and providing, food, security, and tuition for education. She wrote adroitly:

> Moreover, the commercial ended with a message saying "A child's future is worth every sacrifice. Pursue more from life". According to … the message, the initial purpose of buying life insurance is to allow children to pursue more from life. Perhaps spending this premium money on children's extra curriculum activities or tuition classes would be more cost-effective than paying monthly premiums where one can only benefit from it when serious accidents or death happen.

Naki's educational background was constructed in Singapore, Hong Kong, and Africa where her father's work is based. She has a high level vocabulary, extremely competent fluidity, and powerful reasoning skills. She is modest, hard working, dedicated, grade conscious, and studious. She wrote a parting email to me at the end of this semester as she exited my class with stellar grades. She said:

> Hello Professor, Thank you for your email. I learnt a lot and generally had a great time in your class. Not only did I improve my writing skills with your help, I also learnt about the APA citation style. Lastly, thank you for your little treats and words of encouragement.

Naki was a student who did not come from traditional Japanese schools. She had had some good training in rhetoric and critical thinking. Her vocabulary is extensively academic, and she was able to make good progress because she already had a very firm foundation. Turning to some other student examples, we can observe the differences in those who have been socialized in banking education and those who have not.

Leonardo and Coke

Another student shared an advertisement of Coca Cola that centered on a young man sleeping on a book, dreaming about Leonardo da Vinci flying in a balloon, and a drop of Coke waking the young man just in time so that he could make it to his exam on time. I asked my students what they saw. The girl who brought the ad and several others said that they thought the Coke was a life saver for the boy who might not do well on the exam since he was asleep instead of studying, but at least he had not slept through the exam. In this case Coke was a very good thing. I asked the students what about Coke would have helped the young man. They agreed that the caffeine helped him. I asked them if there were other available common Japanese beverages that would offer a student some caffeine in order to help in studying or staying awake. One student said "green tea". I asked the students to talk about the benefits of green tea. They had a short exchange about the idea that green tea would be more economical, more

readily available, and healthier for the student. Many of the students looked dubious and considered that Coca Cola at 120 Yen each is not very expensive and a very good deal, providing a refreshment that they like, as well as caffeine that keeps them going in their busy university lives. Moving the analysis along, I asked the students who Leonardo da Vinci was. The young woman who had shown the advertisement Youtube video said that he was an artist. I asked them what they knew about Leonardo and flying and if they knew anything about da Vinci's drawings of flying machines. They knew nothing about them and had never heard anything related to da Vinci's being more than a celebrated fine artist. At the time I was compelled to seek some information about da Vinci to share with the students. I would have been extremely happy if the student who brought the ad would have found some such information to present to the class or would have written about da Vinci's contributions to the world in her analysis outline.

As it turned out, this particular Japanese student, Yuko, did not write her critical analysis about Leonardo and Coca Cola. Instead she wrote a very strong paper about an iPhone 5S commercial shown during the Christmas holidays. It appeared that I had intimidated her from writing about Leonardo or that she decided it was too much trouble. She wrote an informed, thoughtful, and contextually critical paper. Here are her concluding thoughts:

> Depending too much on a smart phone can do more harm than good, iPhone is too expensive as a Christmas present and the Japanese do not buy them just because it is a Christmas holiday now because they do not put a great value on Christmas. This commercial was shown on TV in many different countries; therefore, a kind of commercial which has more universal value could have brought about more benefit for the company especially with regard to boosting sales in Japan.

She shared cultural knowledge about Japanese priorities, celebration, and interest in spending large sums of money for gifts. She manages to be critical in her own right—not looking at media or information as I might—but as a young, informed and educated Japanese woman might.

The abandonment of the Leonardo ad does deserve a bit of attention nonetheless. Interestingly, at about the same time during the semester when my student shared this video with the class, my colleague was frustrated that the liberal arts curriculum that our students encounter had not taught them about Leonardo. We shared concerns that much of what our students had learned in high school was exam preparation, along with a cram school curriculum geared toward exam preparation and success, falling short of what university students should know. Looking to another European perspective, I turn to Michel Foucault, (1995/1977) to help explain what has happened to Japanese students during their banking educational years. Foucault's careful analysis of the exam illustrates what my colleague and I agreed had conditioned our students and rendered them somewhat limited in their abilities to look at images that they see in the media routinely and truly know the meanings of them below the surface or to know the contributions of many people, including Japanese scholars and artists. Foucault wrote that the examination works to create hierarchy through

a normalizing judgment, making it possible to categorize, justify, and exert punitive measures against individuals, as well as to transform information into "political investment" and the exercise of power over individuals (Foucault, 1995/1977, pp. 184–185). In the case of our Japanese students, they have been observed, objectified, and measured, just as is the case in the U.S. and in many nations where modern educational institutions have been built. They have been disciplined by the exam which fits nicely into banking education. The knowledge of the exam belongs to the teacher and the teacher deposits that knowledge into students' heads, whereby they need to verify their points are substantial enough to go further in their educational and professional lives. The students we have had enough points, and they have the drive to be competent Anglophonic global leaders. We are motivating them further.

Greeting Cards and Gender

Having been an advocate of woman's rights and being very aware of the inequities facing women in the workplace in the U.S., and even more so in Japan, I bring empathy and compassion to the topic of gender. When one of the students, Yusuke, shared an advertisement that he would like to critique, he showed an American greeting card ad in which an interview for a job entails a male executive talking to several interviewees—both male and female. The executive tells them the interviewees that the job for which they are applying is full time 24 hours a day, seven days a week. There are no holidays, no weekends or days off, no vacations, no over time, and no salary. The young job applicants laugh and say that that is just way too much to ask. Imagine their shock when they learn the job they have been applying for is for "mother". They are incredulous. In effusive compliments they exclaim their gratitude to their mothers. I admitted to the class that although I had been very forthcoming in my gratitude to both of my parents for all that they had done for me, this advertisement for a greeting card directed specifically at mother's day cards made me feel guilty. I wanted the students to say that they felt guilty also and that they felt like they were being forced to buy a greeting card for their mothers because they had not shown enough gratitude for all that their mothers had done for them. When I asked one student if she would buy a card because of this commercial, she said, "No because she always makes her mother a card." When I asked others what they thought about in response to this advertisement, they said that they thought about their fathers. I found that interesting. Two young male sophomore university students felt like too much attention and gratitude was being shown the mother and that there needed to be more said about the father's contributions to children's well-being and upbringing.

Nusuke, a student educated in Japan, wrote his critical analysis including the idea of over recognition of mothers to the neglect of the fathers in this ad. Perhaps the sexism that these students have learned all of their lives in a very patriarchal Japanese society, has only been reinforced in the young men's experience, training, and socialization, not to be easily erased or overturned. Yet upon examination of his paper, he makes some very good points:

> It is true that many women engage in household work, but nowadays fathers who live with their children are taking a more active role in caring for them and helping out around the house. To find out why this ad focuses on women, I firstly have to talk about the social demands for women and men. Even though the government insist[s] [on] the equal employment opportunity between men and women, the unbalance of the opportunity still exists. Many people still believe that women should do housework rather than outside job, and then that men should be in charge of outside job rather than inside job…

He ended with a conciliatory message that we need to be thoughtful and appreciative of all of those who work, even those behind the scenes. He concluded his paper with the following:

> [The ad] can also improve by focusing not only [on] women but also men or others who do housework. I think that this commercial will help to understand how tough housework is. Then, people will show gratitude not only toward those who work outside the house, but also toward those who work inside the house. It is hoped that more and more people will recognize and appreciate people behind the scenes. Although this ad only focuses on moms, we should know that there are a lot of people who help us behind the scenes. Therefore, we need to pay attention to them and make appreciation to them.

Yusuke was critical of gender appreciation dedicated solely to women. His awareness of changes in the Japanese society was evident. Also, he indicated his and perhaps other Japanese male experiences of contributions of single male families and males to their families in general. I am a bit disappointed because I know the oppression that women suffer in Japan. But perhaps the students are much more aware than I am of the difficulty that all people face in Japan in general.

Deconstructing Polar Bears and Coca Cola

As an example of an analytical template which the students might employ to pursue critical analysis of the Coca Cola polar bear ad, I asked students upon the first showing of the video what they had seen. In two different classes, several of the students said that the polar bear is an endangered species. I asked them what that meant. I also asked them what they saw in the commercial. One of the students said that the commercial was bringing attention to the polar bears. I asked how this was the case. I pointed to the "Open happiness" message at the end of the commercial and queried them about how "opening happiness" had anything to do with the plight of the polar bear. One of the students said that he liked the commercial. I asked why. He said it is inviting and fun. I made some comparisons of it to a game in which players try to reach a goal carrying a ball. I also said that it reminded me of the *Happy Feet* animation. I told the class that if they wanted to write a critique of an advertisement like this one, their task would include finding as much information

as they could about polar bears and Coca Cola to provide evidence that in fact, much of what the multinational corporation is doing contributes to the demise of the polar bear, rather than providing it happiness. In the outline for the first draft lesson, I provided students with the information attached here as a template for what they might consider doing for their commercial critique. In it, I showed several definitions of "happiness" that did not relate to the polar bear experience.

One Japanese male student, Atsushi, who had lived abroad wrote a very strong paper about a particular washing machine purportedly "washing away global warming" because it is environmentally manufactured so as not to use very much power. The discussion of climate change and endangerment of species led to this paper based on the polar bear who removes his coat to wash it in the machine before putting it back on – clean and luxurious. Atsushi's introductory paragraph ended here with his thesis: "In reality however, producing these products do[es] not benefit the polar bears at all. In fact, they are slowly pushed to a verge of extinction because of the factories polluting the air and advancing global warming." Atsushi cleverly asked after presenting dictionary definitions of "eco-friendly" if this brand of washing machine is indeed eco-friendly. He reasons:

> Samsung won numerous awards for their "Eco-Designed and Sustainable Technology" and many of their products are awarded with the "Energy Star". The "Energy Star" award is only given for energy-efficient products. The average products that are given the "Energy Star" award in 2012 use 30 billion kWh/year less energy than the products without the award. With all these data given to us from Samsung, it can be said that they are "eco-friendly" in their terms. However, even if they are trying to be less harmful to the environment, they are still harming the environment.

He also cautions in his paper that using the polar bear, a struggling endangered species, in comical ways to promote products is irresponsible. In his words, "[The issue of the polar bear] should not be trifled in ads just to catch consumers' attentions. Having these comical ads about global environment is the reason why so many people are still very ignorant about the seriousness of this issue." This student is extremely competent in his use of the language, his technique of addressing the question at hand, and looking beneath the surface to see what is not being said in advertising, in addition to what is being said. He is a quiet, young man, reserved and serious, and very dedicated to his passion-music. Along the way, he had some opportunities to advance his learning and self development in several areas. All in all, he has more than a banking education in his account.

DISCUSSION

Japan finds its economy lacking in long term stable jobs, its cities in the South burgeoning with masses of people and automobiles, its rural countryside depopulating, its young leaving their hometowns and prefectures to work in urban

centers, its infrastructure diminishing with only five years left before the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, its English skills and capacity to compete in the global economy wanting, and its university students vacillating between adherence and conformity to banking education (Freire, 2000/1970). Many of the students lack criticality whereas many university professors value original and critical thought. What the students have experienced all of their lives is receptive education or a Freirean "banking education" or passive learning in which knowledge is deposited in their heads by teachers to be regurgitated on the tests. They are not alone in the globalizing world in which nations are challenged to harness their "bio-power" (Foucault, 1990) to promote human capital growth.

More and more testing has driven the U.S. education system since the 1980s. Although pundits, critics, and policymakers argue that we educate students for critical thinking, what we see more and more of in the U.S., and now in Japan, is the force of global capitalism weighing heavily on peoples' ability to pay for university education, homes, and many other luxuries such as vacations. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the top 1% in the U.S. and around the world has afforded wealthy businessmen like Bill Gates the right to influence education with little experience and knowledge of life in schools. Japan, at least, has a good rail and road system which is not the case in the U.S. It also has a health care system that serves the public. The food in Japan is fresh and much of it grown without pesticides. However, new trade agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Pact Agreement accords threaten Japan's and other import nations with contaminating its food supplies, rice in particular, with genetically modified rice from the U.S., as well as exacerbating the problems of Japanese agriculture.

Japanese citizens have recently rebelled against the change in the constitution, the status quo in U.S. military bases in Japan, and many Japanese are keenly aware that English is being promoted now more than ever in its educational system. Last year as students in Beginning Writing Level III classes considered the essay topic of adopting English as a second official language, most of them voiced concern about losing their culture and language, their "nihon" ways. I was somewhat amused by their fear; however, having crossed the Pacific to work in their university system, I feel sympathetic and empathetic for their concerns over many potential changes beyond their control. In addition to their complaints that their English education system is bad, they voice concern over being trained to take tests and only to write well enough to pass university entrance exams. I explain to them that American students feel many of the same hesitations and regrets about foreign language and all education in the U.S.

As I assess what my first impressions of my students and AIU were upon arrival versus at the present after three semesters of living, working, and breathing the environment of a much smaller university than those to which I am accustomed, I believe that I was not totally shocked upon arrival, nor have I been disappointed with our students or their willingness to work and excel in English. I have widened my views of students' possibilities for experiencing success in

our programs, but I see the difficulties faced by those have been socialized in the top-down hierarchy of testing and banking education implemented by the teacher and the text-dominated classrooms common across Japan. There are a few exceptions to the typically uncritical perspectives possessed by students as we saw in the examples of Naki, Yuko, Yusuke, and Atsushi. The students I had this semester made great strides over all. Of the 40 students registered in my class at the beginning the semester, two withdrew, three failed, two struggled through with procrastination problems and other conflicts. Those who remained and wrote their way to success struggled the most with topic and thesis statements, along with informational transition sentences. They managed to master the American Psychological Association citation system adequately. Over all, they progressed in their writing abilities building writing strength and deepening their understanding of what good writing is.

In addition to the writers' topics shared here, there were some very good papers written. Many of the students addressed inadequacy of English language education in Japan in addition to other difficult topics. Some of them wrote about climate change, terrorism, genetically modified food, pre-natal testing, food supply in Japan, and the effects of artificial sweeteners, among many other topics. There were analyses conducted by others of the high suicide rate in Japan, tying it to over all unhappiness stemming back to a very controlled educational environment in which the Japanese grow up and to the un/happiness of stay-at-home mothers versus working mothers. In both of these papers, the long work and school days, lack of holidays, unwillingness to take days off, culture of bullying, male-dominated workplace and government, and related topics surfaced. All of the students relished the opportunities that they had to pursue topics that interested them. They enjoyed the presentation of their research to their peers in a rotating workshop that had them move from station to station. I feel like a lot of learning took place this semester—on the students' parts and my own.

CONCLUSION

With experience studying French, Italian, and Spanish in the U.S., as well as English as a Second Language, I have been prepared to work with these driven students. My on-the-job training in urban and rural classrooms exposed me to the kinds of social dynamics my students describe in their backgrounds. Additionally, my study-abroad years in France and all of the international experiences I accumulated before coming to Japan helped build my capacities for working with Japanese students who desire international study, leadership, exposure, and work opportunities. However, there is no panacea for teaching them how to be critical thinkers and writers when they have been trained to be good regurgitators, just as students in the U.S. have been conditioned. I constantly assess and re-assess my work relying on Joe L. Kincheloe's ten recommended dispositions for critically constructive teachers (Agnello, 2016). Kincheloe, a mentor and scholar of critical pedagogy encouraged all teachers who

are serious about working successfully with their students to develop these skills: become inquiry oriented, comprehend the social construction of knowledge and power relations, create worlds of learning in classrooms, communities, and on the global scale, improvise in their thinking, acting, reflecting, and interaction with students, respond to situated participation, be directed by critical, self-, and social reflection, concern themselves with and be inspired by democratic self-directed education, respond to multicultural educational perspectives, strive toward action, and care first and foremost about human interrelationships.

I can honestly say that my Japanese setting has inspired a new lens of multicultural learning on my part, as well as given me opportunities to inquire, improvise, respond, exercise criticality, re-think my vision of democratic education, take action, care first and foremost for students whose backgrounds are different than those I have taught in the past, and to create as well as re-create transformative learning in my new situation. This has been a challenging metamorphosis that I chose and I feel good about it though some days I wonder if I have been effective at all.

Exercising my abilities to dialog (Freire, 2000/1970) is no guarantee that my students will appreciate the work I have done with and for them. However, it does ensure that I am keenly aware of any teachers' potential to be oppressive, to want students to think in certain ways and to bring my own "baggage" to the classroom. Also, because every day I can recreate myself and students' opportunities for learning, I am challenged by my work, my students, and very aware of the sociopolitical and economic factors working against all of our efforts for meaningful learning. It gives me great satisfaction when I see their awareness of gender and power in their communities, the nation, and the world. I want my students to question the role of multinational corporations in climate change, endangerment of animal species, and usurpation of public spaces and resources such as air and water. It is a tall order but I am up for the challenge, and as demonstrated by Naki, Yuko, Yusuke, and Atsushi, they are as well. However, all of the efforts of the dialogic teacher do not erase the years of passivity, indifference, and compliant assent that students experienced in their banking education easily or quickly.

REFERENCES

Agnello, M. F. (2001). *A postmodern literacy policy analysis*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Agnello, M. F. (2016). The dispositions of teachers as researchers: A call to action. In M. F. Agnello & W. "Bill" Reynolds (Eds.), *Critical pedagogy in the field: The influences of Joe L. Kincheloe* (pp. 27–38). Dordrecht, NE: Springer.

Berliner, D. C., & Biddle, B. J. (1997). *The manufactured crisis: Myths, fraud, and the attack on America's public*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

DeCoker, G. (2013). Enduring issues, new contexts. In G. DeCoker & C. Bjork (Eds.), *Japanese education in an era of globalization* (pp. 3–17). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Dewey, J. (1916/2008). *Democracy and education*. Radford, VA: Wilder Publications.

Dewey, J. (1920). *Letters from China and Japan*. New York, NY: E.P. Dutton & Co.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality*: *Vol. 1. An introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1995/1970). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books.
Freire, P. (2000/1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). New York, NY: Continuum.
Hoffman, D. M. (2013). Reading Japanese education: Enduring tensions, emerging challenges. In G. DeCoker & C. Bjork (Eds.), *Japanese education in an era of globalization* (pp. 18–30). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
Justyna, E., Thomas, J., & Agnello, M. F. (2014, November). *An overview of Dewey in an on-line class*. A paper presented at the International Association of Intercultural Education. Toronto, CA.
Kincheloe, J. L. (1991). *Teachers as researchers: Qualitative inquiry as a path to empowerment*. New York, NY: Falmer Press.
Kincheloe, J. L. (1993). *Toward a critical politics of teacher thinking: Mapping the postmodern*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
Kincheloe, J. L. (1995). *Toil and trouble: Good work, smart workers, and the integration of academic and vocational education*. NewYork, NY: Peter Lang.
Okano, K. H. (2013). Ethnic schools and multiculturalism in Japan. In G. DeCoker & C. Bjork (Eds.), *Japanese education in an era of globalization* (pp. 85–99). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
Popkewitz, T. (1994). *A political sociology of education reform: Power/knowledge in teaching, teacher education, and research*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
Popkewitz, T., & Brennan, M. (1994). Certification to credentialing: Reconstituting control mechanisms in teacher education. In K. M. Borman & N. P. Greenman (Eds.), *Changing American education: Recapturing the past or inventing the future* (pp. 57–69). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
Saltmarsh, J. (2008). Why Dewey matters. *The Good Society*, *17*(2), 63–68.
Simpson, D. (1994). *The pedagodfathers: The lords of education*. Calgary, Alberta, CA: Detselig Enterprises, Ltd.
Simpson, D. (2006). *John Dewey: Primer*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Simpson, D., & Stack, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Teachers, leaders, and schools: Essays by John Dewey*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
Simpson, D., Jackson, M., & Aycock, J. (2005). *John Dewey and the art of teaching: Toward a reflective and imaginative practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
U.S. Department of Education, National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Mary Frances Agnello
Faculty of International Liberal Arts
Akita International University

APPENDIX A

Outline of Polar Bear Coca Cola Ad Critique Teacher Example

I. Paragraph I—Introduction and presentation of the problem

Topic sentence:
Perhaps if we ask ourselves what happiness is, what the condition of the polar bear is, and to what degree Coca Cola makes us happy and contributes to the rescue of the endangered polar bear, we can begin a critique of the Coca Cola polar bear commercial we viewed on Youtube.com.

Thesis statement:
Particularly, if people are concerned about climate change and the commercialization of our beliefs, deep analysis of the Coca Cola polar bear advertisement reveals three important ideas about which we consumers should inform ourselves.

Supporting evidence:

A. There is a nonsensical and playful attitude portrayed by Coca Cola polar bear commercial which diminishes the seriousness of the condition of the polar bear as an endangered species.
   1. Resembles "Happy Feet" film
   2. Is beautiful and appealing to look at
   3. Beautiful color—light blue is calming
B. Despite the efforts to show support for endangered species like the polar bear, Coca Cola takes massive amounts of water out of the eco-system and puts it on shelves in Coke bottles which can contribute to climate change.
C. The idea of happiness is more than what a Coke can provide us.

II. How can Coca Cola provide us happiness?

Definitions of happiness:

A. According to Webster's New World College Dictionary (Fourth edition, p. 647), "happy" derives from the Middle English, "happi" and means the following:
   1. "favored by circumstances; lucky; fortunate"
   2. "having, showing, or causing a feeling of great pleasure, contentment, joy, etc.; joyous, glad, pleased"
   3. "exactly appropriate to the occasion; suitable and clever; apt; felicitous"
      Happiness is the noun—a state of experiencing the above feelings or ways of being.
B. Wealth and Human Happiness in Plato's and Aristotle's Views
   Plato: Plato states that every man can achieve happiness by dealing with his given situation and doing the best job he can do.
   http://www.bing.com/search?q=Plato's+definition+of+happiness&src=IE-TopResult&FORM=IETR02&conversationid=
C. Happiness is also equated with the following concepts related to the Webster's definition of happy at the happiness website.
   1. A state of mind
   2. A life that goes well for the person leading it
      http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/happiness/

III. The condition of the polar bear: The Polar Bears International Website provides a full description and background of polar bear studies.
   In the 1960s and 1970s, polar bear populations experienced demise because of hunting. Today the largest cause of polar bear population destruction is emission of greenhouse gases. Rising temperatures mean the following conditions for

polar bears: " reduced access to food, drop in body condition, lower survival rates of young, increase in drowning and cannibalism, as well as loss of places for "denning". http://www.polarbearsinternational.org/

Elaborate on the polar bear.

IV. How can what Coca Cola and Pepsi do actually harm the polar bear?

They compete for soft drift and bottled water sales around the world. Taking so much water out of the atmosphere affects the amount of vapor that contributes to rainfall, as well as protects the earth from the sun's harmful rays. Of course, they are not the only large companies who affect the earth's atmosphere, but they definitely are two of the big ones.
http://www.dailykos.com/story/2008/12/18/674594/-Why-Coca-Cola-CAUSES-global-warming

V. What is Coca Cola doing for the polar bear? And climate change?

VI. What is the contradiction between what the polar bears need and what Coca Cola does routinely as part of its mission?
A. Make money for the shareholders investors
B. Sell more Coke
C. Branch out and secure more investments in other commodities—farmland, orange groves, water/springs

VII. What can I do as a person who has several concerns?
A. who likes to drink Coke
B. is gravely concerned about climate change
C. is worried about the power of corporations
D. is worried about the survival of people, species, and the planet.

VIII. How can I develop a more informed view of advertising and what those who spend lots of money attempting to sell me products do to entice me to buy the products despite their negative effects on my health and the world?

Conclusion: Restatement of the problem and something to inspire thought.

JOE SYKES

8. HIDDEN DIVERSITY IN THE CLASSROOM

INTRODUCTION

An early catalyst in my development as a teacher was time spent in Japan in the *Eikaiwa* industry, an educational context in which diversity was ignored or even denied, yet perhaps one of the defining characteristics of the classroom, with students of all ages and background. A praxis approach to teacher development and the constant challenges presented by diversity in the classroom led to a teaching philosophy with learner autonomy at its core. Evident in my account is the interplay between dynamic sociocultural, psychological, political and historical forces from which my current teaching philosophy emerged. This chapter documents the trajectory of my teaching philosophy, illustrating the key role played by diversity in the classroom. The first half of the chapter describes my struggle against standardisation and uniformity and the latter discusses how best to deal with diversity in the classroom.

A ROUND UNIFORMITY PEG IN A SQUARE EDUCATIONAL HOLE

The following narrative gives some insight into my state of mind at the beginning of my journey as an English teacher, and alludes to some of the contextual factors that helped to shape it.

> "So how does your time here, teaching English for Nova, fit in to your grand plan?" asked my student. "Good question" I thought. I had just finished telling be a medical student, about my dreams as they had been when I left university the year before. Having graduated with a BSc in Environmental Management, I liked the idea of working in the eco-tourism industry in an exotic locale, such as Ecuador or Sri Lanka. This plan seemed to fit with my desire to spend time in a tropical paradise, while at the same time applying what I had learned during my time at uni. So, how did working for Nova in Akita, Northern Japan, fit in with this grand plan? Of course, I rationalised that it was a chance to learn Japanese, a major tourism language, but in reality, I was just drifting from one attractive opportunity to the next: first building stages for rock concerts and music festivals and now experiencing a new and exotic culture, while earning enough money for a free and single man to live a lively social life and see the sights. In fact, the plan I had described was one of many and, probably, one that I had chosen to tell due to a feeling that people of consequence, like the high flying medical researcher/doctor/ advanced English student to whom I

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 117–130.

was speaking, have long term goals and have the strategies and dedication to achieve them. In actual fact, I was still in adventure mode and liked the idea of buying a Japanese motorbike and riding it home across Eurasia back to my hometown, where I imagined I would receive a hero's welcome.

18 Months Earlier

Having completed my studies, I was waiting to graduate from uni, working part-time as a doorman at the Piccadilly Hotel in Manchester city centre, pondering the next step. Some of my course-mates had already lined up jobs in environmental consultancies – the obvious path, while others, like me, had no clear goal, but a vague idea that they wanted to affect positive change, using the knowledge that they had gained through the course. In my case, I also wanted to see the world and experience new things – work on my life CV, if you like, rather than my professional CV. With these feelings, I went to a career's fair, with hundreds of companies and organisations trying to attract promising graduates to come and work for them. The jobs in the environmental sector all sounded dull and depressing. The idea of working for Stockport City Council, Waste Management Division, or anywhere remotely like it, didn't appeal to me in the slightest.

Feeling more than a little despondent, I trudged towards the exit, but on the way a sign caught my eye, which read "Teach in Japan". It had never previously crossed my mind to either go to Japan, or to teach (growing up with teacher parents had cured me of any ambitions of that kind), but the pictures were bright and glossy and I felt a certain allure. The money was good, my lack of teaching experience didn't seem to matter and, although it didn't fit the profile of the type of country that I usually liked to visit, i.e. developing, wild and visually spectacular (I wasn't aware of Japan's natural beauty at the time), Japan had a certain mystique that drew me in. I enquired about the job and the requirements and asked for an application form. I didn't expect to qualify considering my lack of experience or relevant qualifications, but I got the job and ended up in Akita, Tohoku, Japan, where, with the exception of a one-year working holiday in New Zealand, I have been ever since.

Within the context of Japan, English, apart from being taught in schools and universities, is a major corporate concern. High levels of disposable income resulting from the financial bubble of the 1970s and 1980s, globalisation and the fetishisation of 'foreigners' (stereotypically westerners) meant that English lessons became a status symbol, leading to the birth of a highly profitable English school industry. Although the bubble slowly deflated over the subsequent decades, the *Eikaiwa* industry continued to grow (*Eikaiwa* is the term used to denote English conversation schools, an abbreviated form of the Japanese for 'English conversation', which is *Eigo-no-kaiwa*). The industry is characterised by standardisation (of everything,

from curriculum to décor), a customer service ethos and a corporate image promoted by attractive young foreigners (mostly white and, ideally, blond). Teachers were hired without any qualifications, purely on merit of being 'native-speakers' of English (more on 'native-speakerism' later). All curriculum and material development, including lesson plans was done centrally. At its worst, the job of the teacher was to "deliver standardised formulaic lessons in accordance with [the company's] corporate image" (Currie-Robson, 2015, p. 28), enabling the company to capitalise on the positive associations carried by Western culture for many Japanese people. There has been little academic interest in *Eikaiwas* but, for an entertaining account of the industry, Currie-Robson's (2015) exposé, "English to Go: Inside Japan's English Teaching Sweatshops" details the inner workings of the industry. This is where my English teaching career began. The industry objectifies its foreign employees and is undoubtedly exploitative, but as may be evident in the 'working holiday' attitude in the narrative above, I was emerging from a youth shaped by Thatcherism and hedonistic 1990s Manchester and was driven by a desire for adventure meaning the 'eikaiwa' industry suited my needs at that time rather well. It is important to note, however, that although I worked for Nova, perhaps the most notorious of these companies, the conditions were rather different in the smaller towns of Tohoku (the northern part of Honshu, Japan's largest island), with less standardisation and better conditions, and teachers typically stayed for multiple years, rather than the average four months elsewhere in Japan.

Apart from being part of the global trend of 'McDonaldization' as described by Ritzer (1993), characterised by efficiency, quantity over quality and standardisation, the *Eikaiwa* phenomenon is, arguably, also a manifestation of 'native-speakerism', a term coined by Holliday (2006) and originally defined as "a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterised by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2006, p. 385, cited in Houghton & Rivers, 2013). As is implied in this definition, 'non-native' teachers of English are considered deficient. Holliday (cited in Houghton & Rivers, 2013) argues that 'native-speakers' use this ideology to promote their own interests at the expense of the 'non-native' speakers. However, as is evident in the overview of the *Eikaiwa* industry above, the situation is not so straightforward in the Japanese context. Although, this ideology may underpin the desirability of 'native-speakers' as English teachers, in the 'eikaiwa' industry it is clearly the 'native-speakers' who are exploited, discriminated against and dehumanised. Furthermore, Rivers (2013) argues that although 'native-speakers' are often favoured in hiring for English teaching jobs in higher education, they suffer discrimination with regards to advancement and job security. This indicates that, in Japan, both 'non-native' and 'native-speakers' suffer discrimination, although perhaps in different ways.

As a 'native-speaker' who worked in two *Eikaiwa* schools that only hired 'native-speakers', it is difficult to ignore the institutional discrimination involved in the hiring process. On the other hand, I have also been subject to objectification and

dehumanisation by the *Eikaiwa* industry and its clientele by being selected to teach demo lessons on the basis of my nationality or my appearance, for instance. While acknowledging that I was the beneficiary of this ideology, I believe an assumption that anyone can teach their mother tongue without training is demeaning to all English teachers. I also find the standardisation of teaching to be deskilling and demoralising. Nevertheless, I did not find any of these issues to be a threat to my identity at that time, perhaps due to the fact that during the early stages of my career, teaching was means of earning a living and funding my other interests, therefore it was not an important part of my identity. As teaching grew in terms of its importance to my life and identity, however, I became increasingly resistant to the imposition of the 'native-speaker' label. I feel it undermines my credibility as a committed English teacher, as it implies that I am qualified to teach English only on merit of where I was born, and fails to account for the fifteen years I have spent refining 'the art of teaching'.

The *Eikaiwa* industry in Japan is reductive in several ways. As a form of 'native-speakerism' it is culturally reductive in that is assumes the dichotomous ideology of 'us' and 'them', which ignores the diversity within both 'native-speaker' and 'non-native' speaker groups as well as the intergroup similarities. Underlying the implementation of a standardised curriculum is an assumption that the student body can be universalised, ignoring the inevitable diversity among the learners. Centralised curriculum and material development attempt to reduce the art of teaching to a set of discrete teachable skills and activities, which serve to reduce the role of the teacher to that of a technician. While this simplistic approach to education may be efficient from an economic point of view, it is not conducive to quality education. The reality of the situation can be seen below in the description of my very first induction into *Eikaiwa*, the *Nova* system.

> Nova was a major player in the Eikaiwa industry, with over 400,000 students and nearly 1000 schools at its peak, and was the largest employer of foreign nationals in Japan. The slick corporate feel and regular appearances of 'demo lessons' on my schedule ensured that I never forgot that Nova was ultimately a business, and its survival depended on 'customer satisfaction'. The students were customers who paid hundreds of thousands of yen for the privilege of taking lessons with 'native speakers' of English. I discovered that I was not alone in lacking teaching experience or qualifications, but each new teacher went through 'on-the-job-training', which consisted of learning the 'lesson steps' that constituted the 'Nova Method', applying them to the Nova textbooks and teaching a supervised lesson on our first day. By the third day of training, having taught a total of six lessons, we were deemed ready for service, beginning our usual daily teaching load of eight 40-minute lessons the very next day. An additional challenge was the scheduling system, which allowed students to 'sign in' to any class of students of their level that had less than four students, which was the maximum class size, any time up until 10 minutes

> before the class began. We were also expected to avoid teaching the same lesson from the book more than once to the same student, where possible, meaning the 10 minute 'break' we were given between lessons was usually spent record keeping for the previous lesson and choosing and planning the next lesson. The usual scenario involved planning our lesson as we walked to class, or even, as we made small talk with the students at the beginning of class.

Considering the conditions described here it is easy to see why curriculum and material development is done centrally. This assembly line model of education undoubtedly achieves efficiency, one of the central tenets of the 'McDonaldized' *Eikaiwa* business paradigm (Currie-Robson, 2015). Maximum efficiency in the *Eikaiwa* industry demands that a teacher has a full teaching schedule (ideally, with each class full to capacity), leaving little time for reflection and almost no time for planning. Since 'eikaiwa' is a corporate concern, efficiency is primary. However, the reality of the classroom does not allow for strict adherence to rigid formulas. Classrooms are sites of hidden diversity and dynamicity, which are brought in primarily by the students and must be taken into account in any serious endeavour to teach, if these endeavours are to succeed. The following sections describe my awakening to the inevitable hidden diversity and my attempts to cope with it in the classroom.

WRESTLING WITH DIVERSITY

> Needless to say, the induction into the Nova system was very stressful and, for this reason, tears from the new teachers in the first week were not unusual and the turnover was very high, with the average length of stay being only four months. However, as a 24-year-old who knew no better, this was just the way it was and I just got on with it. Initially, it was about getting through the steps smoothly and confidently, or in the words of my supervisor "teaching the lesson plan". However, I noticed that the plan did not necessarily address the needs of the students. In fact, although the students were streamed into levels based on their ability, there were obvious differences within each level, the students had problems with different things. So, as I became more familiar with the lessons in the book and what language features they addressed, I began to see the system as a pretty comprehensive tool kit, which could be applied flexibly to the diverse needs of the students. I would go to class with no plan at all and converse with the students or set general conversation tasks and then, on the basis of the kind of grammatical mistakes I was hearing, I would decide what I was going to teach. I had moved from "teaching my lesson plan" to "teaching the students". It was around this time that I began receiving genuinely positive feedback and, perhaps partly as a result of this, to get real satisfaction from my work.

This extract shows that I was able to adapt Nova's rigid curriculum to the reality of the classroom by accommodating the diverse needs of the learners, as I saw them,

by using the canon of formulaic lessons in a flexible and spontaneous manner. The transition from "teaching my lesson plan" to "teaching the students" and attempts to personalise lessons, I intuitively implemented a 'learner-centred' approach to language teaching, which is often considered to be a central tenet of 'CLT' which has strongly influenced ELT in recent decades (Nunan, 1988). Leaving aside ethnic diversity, diversity was perhaps the most palpable characteristic of the Nova student body. Students represented both genders, in what seemed like equal measure; all ages, students from junior high school age to senior citizens were eligible to take adult classes and there was a 'kids' program which started at two years old; there were people from every socio-economic stratum, with a broad range of vocations, from farmers, shipping crew and self-defence force members to doctors, lawyers and academics. Nova was even recommended by the health authorities as an ameliorative activity for people with mental and emotional difficulties. Such diversity was difficult to ignore and the small class sizes (maximum class size was four students) meant that trying to determine an 'average' student for which to target was meaningless, flexibility and personalisation of lessons was the logical response. This early teaching experience still shapes my teaching philosophy to some extent.

After a number of years teaching in Nova and spending a year abroad pursuing other ambitions, I started a master's course in TESOL. The course was carried out in distance mode, which enabled me to continue teaching as I did it. The course helped to reinforce the praxis mentality that I naturally tended towards, provided theories and concepts on which to reflect, developed an understanding of the processes involved in language acquisition, provided tools for enquiry and practical ideas with which to experiment, all of which helped to broaden and deepen my outlook on language teaching, ultimately making me a better teacher. The extract below explains how experimentation with new ideas, inspired by the course, and theorising praxis provided new insights into the challenges of diversity in the classroom.

> An author that I found particularly inspiring was Scott Thornbury, who had a novel approach to teaching grammar, drawing on up-to-the-minute Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory. His book, 'Uncovering Grammar' (2005), had a number of ready-made activities, with photocopiable worksheets. Thinking this would prove me an innovative and well-informed teacher; I decided to implement what I had learned with my students. The book offered a progression from the traditional Present, Practice, Produce (PPP) method of teaching grammar to a radical 'emergentist' approach: grammaring tasks, which encouraged the view that grammar is a dynamic process rather than a set of static structures; consciousness-raising tasks, which aimed to draw attention to grammatical points in input; on to the grammar emergence tasks. The 'grammaring' and 'consciousness raising' tasks were relatively successful, despite some doubts about whether time spent away from the usual book was time well spent. However, trying to implement the 'grammar emergence' tasks proved far more problematic. It is rare that you get outright defiance in an

> eikaiwa classroom, but the eyes of the students said enough. Their bewildered expressions screamed "WHY ON EARTH ARE WE DOING THIS?" The students clearly hadn't read Thornbury's book or theories of emergentism in second language acquisition (irony intended)! Of course this wouldn't have come as a surprise if I had thought about it in advance, or if I thought that the perspectives of the students even mattered. These were intelligent adult learners who had (literally) bought into the Nova system, presumably, in part, because it made sense to them and seemed like it would help them to meet their language learning goals. Who was I to start doing something different? After all, I was working in the service industry and I was supposed to be giving them a pre-packaged product that had been sold to them by the highly trained sales team.

This experience brought home the fact that the learners themselves bring their own beliefs about learning to the classroom, through which they view the methodologies being employed by the teacher. If the dissonance between their own theory of learning and the way a class is taught is too great they will not be receptive to the teacher or the activities they are trying to use, even if the activities are theoretically conducive to language acquisition and, as Oxford and her colleagues point out, "unexpressed expectations often serve the basis for evaluating a teachers behaviour and judging the status of that teacher" (Oxford et al., 1998, p. 7). This presented a dilemma between teaching in the way the students expect – which, in this case, was probably determined largely by Nova policy – and the way I think is best, based on theory. Perhaps, in retrospect, since the learners (or, more accurately, clients) had made an informed decision about what kind of language programme they wanted, I should have conformed to the Nova method. However, the extract below describes my teaching experience in a different *Eikaiwa* school and adds another layer of complexity to the dilemma.

> A similar lesson was learned after the spectacular demise of Nova Corporation. 2007 was a very bad year for Nova. A succession of scandals, including the arrest of seven Nova teachers on drugs charges, the murder of a teacher and international media coverage of a breech of Ministry of Trade, Economy and Industry regulations that culminated in the imposition of business restrictions. Our wages began to be delayed, then not paid and ultimately Nova closed and the president was imprisoned for embezzlement. I was fortunate enough to have been offered another job at a competing English school, so I made a smooth transition into a new place of work. The new school was very different from Nova in a number of ways, the two most striking differences were: the teachers out-numbered the sales staff three to one (in contrast to Nova where the numbers were about even if not in favour of the sales team) and there was virtually no centralised dictum on the way we were supposed to teach. Of course, my first reaction was elation because I would no longer be bound by the tyranny of the 'Nova method'. However, my initial enthusiasm was curbed

> by the realisation that I was bound by an even more centralised and deskilling phenomenon; mainstream ELT textbooks. These interchangeable formulaic slices of dry white bread took the students from one prescriptive task to another, feeding them little 'Grammar McNuggets' (as Thornbury (2005) calls them) along the way, avoiding any controversial topics, leaving the teacher (and perhaps the students) feeling stuck in an interminable train with no doors, trundling through a grey, featureless landscape. I had to escape the hegemony of those books!
>
> The students had paid good money for the textbooks, so I had to use them to some extent. I tried using them selectively, picking activities that I thought would be interesting or useful and supplementing them with my own ideas. Some students were relieved to be doing something different, but many appeared to be a little mistrustful of my little detours. The written word seemed to represent an authority that should not be questioned. In fact one student informed the management of the school that she wanted to quit my class because she would be going abroad soon and felt she could make quicker progress through the book by herself. Needless to say, I found this exasperating, since I was confident that she would have been better prepared to go abroad if she had continued to use the language actively in communication with other people in my class. However, it was a reminder that you can't just start to teach in a way that contradicts the expectations of the students, it leads to resistance and learning will probably be hampered.

The school described above had no explicit methodological dogma to lure in the students, like Nova's, and there was no single book to follow. This meant that there was no 'right' way to teach, even from an official perspective, and it could be assumed that each student had their own unique preconceptions about the way language learning and teaching should proceed. According to Gabillon (2005), beliefs are formed through socio-cultural experience, suggesting educational experience, either formal or informal, plays a role in the development of learner beliefs. It is well known that learning in schools, in Japan, generally entails working through the book, the contents of which are rarely, if ever, questioned. Correspondingly, one could infer that the mistrust of my deviations from the book that ultimately led to one student terminating her contract could be attributed to a belief in the authority of the written word, formed on the basis of experience in the Japanese formal educational system. While this may imply that one should teach according to the expectations of the students, one must not forget that many of the students were receptive to the alternative approach I was taking. Once again, diversity lay at the root of the issue, this time diversity of expectations. At Nova, I was struggling under the force of the Nova method that was pressing down from above. Here, I was being pulled between my own teaching philosophy, the beliefs and expectations of the students, and the authority embodied by the generic textbooks. The following extract describes my attempts to deal with this situation.

> I was presented with a dilemma because, although I wanted to respect the beliefs of the learners – I had read all about individual differences, I was interested in cross-cultural psychology and I was against universalising learners – I was pretty sure that my beliefs were more likely to get results than the beliefs of the learners which had probably developed from their own language learning experience, at school and through using those generic books. One solution was to try and sell my methods to the students, but I was a little uncomfortable with the idea of ignoring the beliefs of the students. Thus, I decided it was best to engage my students in discussion about the process of learning a language and try to help them to understand some of the key theoretical principles in the field of SLA, then, use these as reference points for explaining the rationale for the activities we were doing in class. It wasn't perfect, some students found it boring or difficult, while others seemed (perhaps, rightly) impervious to challenges to the belief system that had served them well up to that point. Nevertheless, this is something that I continue to do to this day and it helped me to see that my principles of language learning and teaching were missing, perhaps, the most important and interesting component: affect – the messy intertwined intangibles, including emotions, beliefs, values, attitudes and motivation.

The extract above documents the realisation that my teacher beliefs focused exclusively on cognition. Although, language acquisition is partly a cognitive process, one cannot ignore the neurobiological, affective, sociocultural and political processes that interact dynamically with cognition and with each other, allowing language to emerge. One must view the learner holistically, as a human being, with beliefs, feelings, desires, interests, historical influences and social relationships of various kinds all of which influence their orientation to language learning and vary not only between people, but also within one person from moment to moment. Bearing this in mind, 'perspective-consciousness' (Oxford et al., 1998, p. 5) – awareness and consideration of the viewpoints of others – is important, on the part of the students and of the teacher. As the extract suggests, openly discussing our perspectives is one way of dealing with this, although the efficacy of this can be limited by learners' inability to articulate their perspectives, due to either insufficient language proficiency, or the implicit nature of their beliefs. Elsewhere, I have documented attempts to mediate the sharing of learners' conceptions of learning through the use of metaphor (Sykes, 2011a, 2011b), which provided a useful means of facilitating reflection and promoting 'perspective-consciousness' thereby making students more tolerant of unfamiliar teaching methods. To some extent, this succeeds in revealing existent diversity, but fails to provide a solution to many of the associated problems. One potential solution could be a learner-centred teaching style that fosters learner autonomy and allows students to pursue learning in a way that suits their own learning orientation.

IS AUTONOMY THE ANSWER?

Learner autonomy has been defined in a number of ways. Some definitions emphasise independent action and the psychological capacities involved (Dickinson, 1987; Little, 1991), others take a more ideological perspective positing freedom and self-determination as an inalienable right (Candlin, 1997), and some take a more sociocultural view, emphasising cooperation (Dam, 1990). Suffice to say, drawing on the work of Paiva (2008), I define learner autonomy as a complex system involving psychological, sociocultural and ideological processes that interact dynamically, and manifests in self-direction in learning. While I consider learner autonomy to be fundamental to successful learning, there have been some challenges to this belief, which have helped to highlight the influence of context in language learning and the complexity of the learner autonomy construct. The extract below demonstrates that the implementation of a learner-centred approach and the construct of learner autonomy are not unproblematic.

> The second English school I worked at contracted us out to the business sector, primarily teaching engineers who needed English to conduct business overseas. It was interesting! My learner-centred approach led me to rely heavily on learner-generated language, specific to their needs. In other words, we worked together to enable them to talk about their work. They provided the ideas and I helped them with the language needed to express them. Needless to say, I now have some pretty specialised knowledge about some obscure industries, like power steering and semiconductors. Anyway, informed by my newly held conviction that effective learning could only occur if the learner took sufficient responsibility for their learning, I tried to structure my lessons to allow negotiation over content and ensure that the students would be doing plenty of self-study, i.e. homework.
>
> To my chagrin, this approach was mostly met with passive resistance. With the larger groups of lower level students, this just meant that little effective learning took place. However, my failed attempts to reason with some of the more able students helped me to see things from their perspective. They were high-level professionals – managers of departments, in many cases – and they knew that there were things that they could do by themselves to further their English proficiency, but they were busy with more important things – like setting up factories abroad or overseeing manufacturing operations – and they had convinced their management to pay for someone else to manage their language learning for them, namingly, me! I suppose they were right, and perhaps taking the initiative to enlist the services of an English teacher, could be considered an expression of learner autonomy. Having said that, progress was pretty slow for many of these ‘in-company’ students. Furthermore, the few that did take responsibility for their learning made impressive progress, in most cases.

The extract above demonstrates the essential role of motivation and space (in the sense of time and energy to spare) in language learning, especially when learners are expected to take more responsibility for their own learning. My instinctive response to resistance in my students was apologetic, but perhaps one could conclude that if they were too busy to take any responsibility for their own learning, they were too busy to learn English. Nevertheless, the extract also shows that autonomy can take different forms and cannot be reduced to a set of discrete skills that can be taught although it is possible to encourage the use of some of the associated skills, such as goal setting, planning, reflecting, self-assessment. The learners who enlisted me as a teacher to assist them with their learning and then resisted my instruction show strong *personal* autonomy in the way Young (1986) conceived it – "authoring one's own world without being subject to the will of others" (p. 35) – but perhaps lacked the *learner* autonomy, the motivation and the space to learn. The lack of progress made by students who refused to take some responsibility for their own learning, exemplifies the inextricable links between learner autonomy, motivation and language acquisition, a view advanced by Deci and Ryan (1985). This notion has been very influential over the way I teach, I see the teacher's role as creator of an environment in which learners can pursue their own goals through collaboration with each other, by managing group dynamics and setting tasks that will facilitate activity that leads to language acquisition. Although self-direction over learning is often considered to be an innate capacity (Benson, 2011, p. 73), it can be enabled or supressed depending on the context. While, I have emphasised the importance of avoiding the suppression of learner autonomy, simply being left to their own devices rarely leads to learner autonomy or effective learning (ibid., p. 11). One important role for the teacher to play is to facilitate praxis through dialogue, between teacher and students, which encourages reflection on learning. Sharing reflections on the learning process also serves to promote 'perspective-consciousness'.

The account thus far has portrayed the process through which I arrived at a learner-centred approach, with learner autonomy at its centre, as a logical progression. However, it would be naïve, or perhaps dishonest to claim that this conclusion was entirely the result of critical reflection on my practice. That would be to ignore my own ideological predisposition. The narrative extract below reveals how my historical trajectory has played a role in constructing this predisposition.

> 15 years in Japan, taking the role of educator, gives me a fresh perspective on my own education. This helped me to see that in addition to the belief that learner autonomy makes learning more successful, the concept resonated with my broader anti-authoritarian outlook and a feeling that my own formal education had often failed to engage me intellectually. It had often felt irrelevant to my interests. My compulsory education had felt like it was exactly that: COMPULSORY. It was something that I was made to do, a drain on my time. Of course, as a committed educator, I do not question the value of education, but I have always had the sense that much of the educational machine either went

> unquestioned, or followed a model with which I did not agree. One model was the assumption that knowledge for knowledge sake is something that everyone should pursue. As it happens, this is now my own approach to learning, but to base a model of mass education on this, ignores the diversity of interests and aptitudes found in young people and amounts to a linear and hierarchical path on which educators attempt to shape young people in their own image. This approach fails to take into account the dreams and aspirations of the young people it is supposed to serve, and views those who step off the path as somehow less. The other model that I have always held in equally low regard is the 'corporate/industrial training ground' model, in which purpose of education is to prepare young people for the workplace. This impoverished view of education can, at best, provide young people with the skills they are perceived to need for the world, as it is today, but not necessarily the skills they will need when they actually finish their education. Furthermore, to allow the employers of today to micromanage the education of the future workforce can only lead to stasis; economically, socially and politically. In my view education should enable young people to imagine their own future and acquire the skills and knowledge as needed. Fostering learner autonomy – enabling learners to control their own learning and make their own choices – is one way to achieve this.

Here, it is made clear how my own experience with education has had a prevailing influence over the way I have constructed my educational philosophy. It is impossible to specify to what extent this has coloured the reflexive process that has led to my current ideology, but it is clear that bias played a role. It also raises the question of what else is lying below the level of conscious awareness. Perhaps knowledge of what the biases are and their causes are less important than having the humility to acknowledge that we are unwittingly subject to largely irrational affective forces, which brings us back to the importance of acknowledging diversity and 'perspective-consciousness'. Despite recognising the biases that have led to my belief in the importance of autonomy in language learning, I maintain that it provides a practical solution for issues of diversity in the classroom and by enabling learners to follow their own interests, which has the associated benefits of higher motivation and faster learning. Furthermore, in keeping with its political philosophical origins, learner autonomy has a critical dimension. A classroom that emphasises learner autonomy can help to develop the agency necessary for participation in a democratic society.

CONCLUSION

The classroom is a microcosm of society and the way it is managed and the modes of interaction that develop there may, on some level, shape the students' orientation to society beyond it. For instance, a classroom where the teacher makes all decisions, students are expected to passively obey and diversity is suppressed and ignored is unlikely to produce citizens who question authority, one of the prerequisites of a

truly democratic society. On the other hand, a classroom that celebrates diversity and expects students to take responsibility for their own learning and includes them in decision-making is more likely to foster the agency needed to pursue their own goals and have a voice in shaping the world around them.

With this notion in mind, I, like van Lier (2004, p. 8), treat the classroom as a 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998) in which learners are autonomous agents who work alone and with others, to 'author their own worlds' (Damasio, 2003 cited in Van Lier, 2004, p. 8). Besides the instrumental benefits of enabling learners to pursue their own interests and continue their learning beyond the classroom, learner autonomy holds broader value as a facilitator of self-direction in learning more generally and in self-determination. This highlights the political dimension of learner autonomy and suggests a critical agenda. In order to realise this ideal, ideological forces that shape opinion must be laid bare, which can be achieved through a pedagogical framework that promotes equitable dialogue between teachers and students, allowing meaningful learning to emerge. Our students, equipped with the skills needed to take learning into their hands and knowledge of themselves and their world promise to make up an informed citizenry capable of affecting positive change on society. This is what drives my educational ambitions now. By writing this chapter, I have created a space in which I reflected on the development of my teaching philosophy and the forces that influenced its trajectory. Hidden diversity – in the form of diversity of needs, diversity of learner orientations and the corresponding diversity of expectations – emerged as a key factor in shaping the way I think about teaching.

REFERENCES

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogical imagination*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Benson, P. (2011). *Teaching and researching autonomy* (C. N. Candlin & D. R. Hall, Eds., 2nd ed.). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Candlin, C. (1997). General editor's preface. In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. Harlow: Longman.

Currie-Robson, C. (2015). *English to go: Inside Japan's sweatshops* (1st ed.). CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Dam, L. (1990). Learner autonomy in practice. In I. Gathercole (Ed.), *Autonomy in language learning: CILT* (p. 16). London: Bourne Press.

Damasio, A. (2003). *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, sorrow and the feeling brain*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behaviour*. New York, NY: Plenum.

Dickinson, L. (1987). *Self-instruction in language learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gabillon, Z. (2005). L2 learner's beliefs: An overview. *Journal of Language and Learning*, *3*(2), 233–260.

Holliday, A. (2006). Native-speakerism. *ELT Journal: English Language Teachers Journal*, *60*(4), 385–387. Retrieved from 10.1093/elt/ccl030\nhttp://0-search.ebscohost.com.edlis.ied.edu.hk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=22868535&site=eds-live&scope=site&groupid=Test

Houghton, S. A., & Rivers, D. J. (2013). Introduction: Redefining native-speakerism. In S. A. Houghton & D. J. Rivers (Eds.), *Native speakerism in Japan* (1st ed.). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Little, D. (1991). *Learner autonomy 1: Definitions, issues and problems*. Dublin: Authentik.

Nunan, D. (1988). *The learner centred curriculum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oxford, R. L., Tomlinson, S., Barcelos, A., Harrington, C., Lavine, R. Z., Saleh, A., & Longhini, A. (1998). Clashing metaphors about classroom teachers: Toward a typology for the language teaching field. *System*, *26*, 3–50.

Paiva, V., & Braga, J. (2008). The complex nature of autonomy. *... de Estudos Em Lingüística Teórica E ...*, *24*, 441–468. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0102-44502008000300004&script=sci_arttext

Ritzer, G. (1993). *The McDonaldization of society* (1st ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Rivers, D. J. (2013). Institutional native-speakerism: voices of dissent and acts of resistance. In *Native Speakerism in Japan* (1st ed., pp. 60–73). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Shotter, J. (1984). *Social accountability and selfhood*. London: Blackwell.

Sykes, J. (2011a). Facilitating reflection on implicit learner beliefs through metaphor elicitation Joe Sykes. *Pan-Pacific Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *15*(1), 91–113.

Sykes, J. (2011b). Promoting self-awareness in learners through metaphor elicitation. *Learning Learning*, *18*(1).

Thornbury, S. (2005). *Uncovering grammar* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Macmillan Education.

Van Lier, L. (2004). The ecology and semiotics of language learning: A sociocultural perspective. *Educational Linguistics*, *3*. doi:10.1007/1-4020-7912-5

Wenger, E. (1998). Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity. *Systems Thinker*, *9*, 2–3. doi:10.2277/0521663636

Young, R. (1986). *Personal autonomy: Beyond positive and negative liberty*. London: Croom Helm.

Joe Sykes
English for Academic Purposes Programme
Akita International University

JO RAPHAEL

9. 'THIS IS A BANANA'

A Retrospective View on Learning to Teach Language through Drama in Japan

INTRODUCTION

A Proper Journey

At three different times spanning three decades I travelled from Australia to Japan to teach English. I travelled not only to teach, but also to experience the exhilaration of being exposed to new places, culture, settings, and human relationships. A journey to another land, and the encounter with difference that it affords, is an embodied and affective experience that shifts one's perspective and activates an embodied thinking and reflecting. The 'proper journey', says Johnstone (2016), 'is one during which you leave your certainties and acquired beliefs at home, and see everything with skew-whiff eyes and in unusual light' (p. 17). As an educator, travel for teaching served to make my familiar teaching strange again – opening the possibility for new awareness, to see teaching and learning differently, and discover something new.

In this chapter I take a retrospective view and map some of the thinking and reflecting that occurred in and through relocating my teacher-self. This is an autoethnographic self-study of my teaching practice as a drama and English language educator, with a focus on what I learned from my experience of teaching within Japanese contexts. Drawing upon memory of important learning moments, artefacts including diaries, teacher's notes, and generated resources, I reflect on my cognitive and physical actions, my praxis (Freire, 1970/2011), developed over my three episodes of teaching English as an additional language (EAL) in Japan. To further my thinking, I apply some lenses of post-structuralist theory that I have gathered into my theoretical toolbox throughout my career as a teacher, teacher educator and researcher.

Background

My initial preparation as a teacher was a four-year undergraduate degree qualifying me to teach both drama and English. In the 1980s, when I undertook this degree, Australia had adopted a policy of multiculturalism and was accepting large numbers of refugees mainly from South East Asia. Pre-service teachers were required to

N. Araki (Ed.), Diversity in Japanese Education, 131–145.

learn methodology for teaching what was then called English as a Second Language (ESL). After graduating I taught drama and English for two years in a school with a high level of EAL students. Since the beginning, it was my plan to teach for two years to save enough money to take twelve months off to travel, with my sights set on the countries of Asia. At that time Australia had a reciprocal agreement with Japan that people under the age of twenty-five could obtain a once only working holiday visa. I secured my visa and travelled to Japan where I spent five months teaching in a small language school. I remember that I did not really want to leave, there was so much still to learn, but other travel arrangements had been made in advance so with some regret I departed with the intention of returning again in future.

My second return to Japan came four years later, after a period of teaching drama and theatre in a college of technical and further education in Australia. This time I obtained a full-time teaching position and visa sponsorship with a Tokyo-based academy for interpreters and translators. I stayed for over two years.

My third return was not until twenty-two years later. I had never expected that it would take so long to arrange a return to Japan. In the intervening years I had continued teaching and undertaken an academic career in education, including completing a Masters in Education and a PhD. My university teaching and research became increasingly focused in the areas of teacher education, drama education, inclusive education and applied drama and theatre. I travelled for work and conferences but the opportunity to visit Japan for teaching and research did not eventuate. That was until I received an invitation from a colleague who was now employed at a university in Japan. She proposed we collaborate on a winter intensive course using drama for teaching English language and global citizenship and I eagerly accepted the offer.

METHODOLOGY

This study is an autoethnographic self-study inquiry into my experience as a drama educator learning to teach English as an additional language. As I adopt this approach, I am also aware that there are some who question validity in autoethnography. Critics see the potential for inquiries using this method to present a romantic construction of the self. However, others have highlighted the value of the intimate storying and analysis for illuminating the subtleties of the contextual landscape that this approach affords (Hancock, Allen, & Lewis, 2015). In this autoethnography, I draw upon layers of lived-experience as a teacher. Learning to teach is continuous, and in this study the lessons are laid down like sediments with additional strata of theoretical understandings in between, gained through reflective practice research over three decades. Autoethnography affords a longer passage of time than many ethnographic studies allow. The career-long passage of time allows me ‘to contextualize or re-contextualize empirical facts or memories within interpretations or perspectives that “make sense” of them in new or newly appreciated ways’ (Altheide & Johnson, 2011, p. 584).

For this chapter I take a cross-section of this experience and select some prominent events for closer analysis. These events represent critical moments in my learning to teach. They are nodal moments that appear in the sediment, like clasts, or rocks of a harder material, they have endured and are deserving of closer analysis. These moments are etched in my memory because they were affective moments, embodied, intensely felt, and therefore not easily forgotten. They are the moments that are remembered often because they caused at the time a ‘shock to thought’ (Massumi, 2002; Thompson, 2009). The process of thinking through these moments has been continuous throughout my career and I am interested in the ways that these ‘micro experiences can illuminate macro issues’ (Hancock, Allen, & Lewis, 2015, p. 181).

This is also a self-study of teaching practice. Self-study as methodology is about learning from experience, it often involves reflection on practice, particularly in relation to problems, tensions and dilemmas (Loughran & Northfield, 1998). Self-study also involves not only a study of my own practice, but study in collaboration with critical friends, fellow educators whose different perspectives throw much needed new light on research of the self. Critical friends question assumptions and provoke new ideas (Samaras, 2011). Through discussions, critical friends have heard and fed back on my accounts, and these discussions have helped to reveal understandings and deepen thinking. In this chapter, I also count among my ‘critical friends’ the theorists whose works I have encountered and tested my practice against over time. If I look at the spines lined up on my bookshelf, stalwarts like Dewey and Freire stand shoulder to shoulder with philosophers such as Deleuze and Guattari. Praxis, suggests Freire, ‘requires theory to illuminate it’ (1970/2011, p. 125). I put theory to work in my analysis of the stories that I have chosen as nodal moments in learning to teach English as an additional language.

The process of taking up theoretical tools, digging into past experience and exploring my personal geology, is also a process of unearthing new theory, or lessons for teaching. The illustrated ideas and emerging theories presented in this chapter are about teaching within diverse contexts, and teaching learners whose needs and motivations are also diverse. However, the main focus of this chapter is on diversity in approaches to teaching EAL.

SAITAMA, 1986

When I arrived at the Saitama office I immediately felt it was a friendly place. Shoes off, slippers on, I was guided into a pleasant room and asked to sit at a large round table. I was given a form to fill out and I set to work answering the questions: What is your opinion of teaching Japanese children? How would you like to teach them? What kind of person are you? The principal, Maruta-san, showed me a photo album as a way of illustrating what goes on at the school – excursions, overseas study tours, concerts, summer camps, and instructor weekends. ‘Learning should be fun!’ she said, and I agreed. This looked like an exciting place to teach and learn. Maruta-san

had intimated that my drama teaching experience would be an asset and there would be plenty of opportunity for me to use it.

The contract was signed and the schedule set. I was to come to the main office each afternoon and meet with one of the Japanese teachers who would take me to one of several classrooms within a few train stations or a bus ride from the main office. There the Japanese teacher and I would co-teach consecutive classes of elementary school students, three forty-five minute classes with three different age levels, from age eight to twelve years.

On my first day my fellow teacher was Matsui-sensei. We discussed her lesson plan and I how I might contribute. Her lesson was already structured; my role was to add some authenticity as a native English speaker. The routine was to begin the class by asking the students questions about the day, date and weather. After the usual greetings, my first task was to ask the questions. Judging from the confusion that this caused it was obvious that the students were accustomed to the questions being asked in a very particular way and order. I confused them, even without mixing up the order, but when Matsui-sensei asked them, they answered in perfect unison. The lesson began and ended with games that were always competitive although, I noted, there was scarcely any English language involved. Although fun, often the educational value of these games eluded me completely and I wrote in my diary, 'Where is the learning?'

In my diary over subsequent teaching days I described the highly structured and formulaic nature of the classes and lamented that 'the students were not owning the language' but merely 'learning bits by rote'. The elements of fun were the games that seemed barely relevant to the language learning. I felt as though there was little possibility for me to change a routine in which teacher and students had grown so comfortable.

I supposed that the worksheets provided for the classes had been designed to be attractive, especially to children, because of the big cartoon drawings to illustrate the language and vocabulary. The teachers sometimes asked the students to colour in the drawings. I wondered whether this was in the hope that the act of colouring would somehow help them remember the vocabulary. I noted that an illustrated worksheet on naming fruits and vegetables was coming up for my next class. At the last moment before leaving home I decided to pack some real fruits and vegetables into my bag to take to with me.

The teacher explained that she would introduce the vocabulary and grammar of the exercise to the students. She explained that my role was to say the name of each fruit and vegetable and the students were to repeat. It was then their turn to point at the pictures, 'This is an apple', said one student cautiously. 'This is a banana' said the next pointing to the picture. At that moment I pulled a real banana from my bag. 'This is a banana!', I said. The bright yellow, by now slightly bruised and sweet smelling banana that suddenly appeared before them was a surprise that led to spontaneous laughter from all. One by one, like Mary Poppins, I pulled fruits and vegetables from my bag. As I did, the students laughed more and without prompting

called out the names of the fruits and vegetables in English. When they didn't know the word in English they were asked to pick it up and ask 'What is this?' Someone was quick to reply, 'This is a carrot'. Soon there was a rush of students eager for their turn to pick up a fruit or vegetable and to ask and answer in English. With the fruits and vegetables laid out, it occurred to me that I could open a greengrocer shop. 'Who wants to come to my shop?' I asked as laid out my produce on the table. The students eagerly gathered around and their regular teacher, realising that her students had already moved well beyond the plan she had for them in this class, happily wrote some sentence structures for shopping on the board. The students did not hesitate to become the eager shoppers jostling for their turn to use their English to buy produce from the Australian greengrocer who had appeared in their class that day.

Reflections on the Appeal of a Banana

My introduction to the language school, and my employment on the basis of being a qualified and experienced teacher, gave me expectations that my role in classes would be more than the token native English speaker in the classroom. The environment was new to me and I came prepared to be introduced to new approaches. What disturbed me most was that I could see little evidence of learning. As an experienced teacher, my instinct and desire was to work towards enhancing learning. Although I could not have known the outcome, perhaps, I now reflect, smuggling fruit into the classroom was a subversive act on my part as an attempt to influence learning in a space in which I felt I had little control. It was perhaps a demonstration of creative praxis—making a change in order to arouse a better learning outcome.

I have wondered over many years about the disruption caused by an ordinary banana in the classroom. It was a disruption to the non-learning that I had perceived, that precipitated an increase in motivation amongst students to speak in English. The appearance of real fruit and vegetables in the classroom was surprising and caused an affect—an immediate felt response in the students. 'Affects aren't feelings', explains Deleuze, 'they're becomings that spill over beyond whoever lives through them' (1990, p. 137), they are what come before the felt intensity of an emotion like goose bumps, the pricking of tears, or an impulse to laugh. Affect is 'that which is felt before it is thought; it has a visceral impact on the body before it is given subjective or emotive meaning' (Hickey-Moody & Malins, 2007, p. 8). Affect precedes articulation through language, it is a bodily sensation that is sustained and provoked particularly by aesthetic experiences (Thompson, 2009; Deleuze & Guattari, 1994). Encountering the real fruit seemed to awaken the students' senses and open them to new possibilities, including possibilities of communicating in English—becoming English speakers.

I have also reflected on the sensory and aesthetic nature of the fruits and vegetables and the part they played in the productive dramatic activity and language learning they precipitated. Greene (1978) draws our attention to the artistic-aesthetic in

education, not only out of a belief in the intrinsic value of experience in the arts, but because of a concern for the anaesthetic character of many educational institutions that serve to render students 'passive – gazers not see-ers; hearers, not listeners' (p. 169). She refers to the notion of 'wide-awakeness' (p. 42), a kind of heightened awareness important for both learners and teachers. I wonder at the experience of the banana to waken the students to learning. For Freire, it is the 'banking' style of education that anesthetises students, whereas a 'problem-posing' approach liberates creative power in learners (1970/2011, p. 81). Dewey (1938/1971) proposed his theory of experience in response to criticisms of a new progressive philosophy of education. He viewed traditional education as being focussed on teaching of fixed content imposed by adults on students in ways that were highly organised and structured. Dewey proposed that experience is important in education because of the ways it potentially 'arouses curiosities, strengthens initiatives, and sets up desires and purposes that are sufficiently intense' (p. 38) to carry over into the future. The banana was an interloper in the classroom from the real world outside. Experiencing the banana was an appeal to the senses of sight, smell, touch and taste, and just as it was real, so too could the students' communication in English be more real.

Prior to the banana episode, I had lamented the apparent lack of any real communication in English in these classes. The communicative approach to additional language learning, explains Piazzoli (2011), places the emphasis on 'authentic' resources and authentic contexts for communication. The classroom with its tables, chairs, textbooks and exercises was far from an authentic environment, and within it, the appearance of an actual smelly banana seemed absurd. It provoked spontaneous laughter, an affective response that united the class. In the years since this incident I have come to understand the significance of laughter in learning with a view to taking this laughter more seriously. Vlieghe, Simons and Masschelein (2010) explain that much of the research on laughter in education is about its potential to increase motivation and make learning memorable or fun, or to sugar the pill of learning. They argue that this is a limited view, preferring to take an affirmative view of laughter. They suggest that 'communal laughter not only grants the possibility to revolt against the unequally structured organisation of the Western schooling apparatus and society, but moreover that it might constitute a moment of radical equality or democracy' (p. 720). This notion of democracy allows me to consider that the laughter shared over the banana served to disrupt any sense of the usual constraints in the classroom, broke down resistances, and reduced anxiety about speaking English. Shared laughter interrupted the usual hierarchies of teacher/student and native/non-native English speaker. This, in turn, made it easier for the students to engage freely in speaking in the dramatic role-play using the fruits and vegetables as props.

Lessons from the 'banana' episode remained with me, and were likely to be in the back of my mind when I returned to Japan to teach English language again five years later.

TOKYO, 1991

The academy in which I taught was renowned for its high quality programs. It employed only appropriately qualified instructors and had three campuses in key Tokyo locations. In each of the locations there was a state of the art language laboratory. As part of the program, all class groups would experience both tutorials in regular classrooms and language lab classes. In language lab students were seated in forward-facing rows of numbered cubicles where they could see the teacher but not each other. They wore headphones, had their own recording devices and a printed listening comprehension worksheet in front of them. As teacher, I sat behind a desk on a raised platform in front wearing headphones and microphone as I faced the panel of flashing lights, gauges, buttons and switches. For me learning to use the equipment was what I imagined it might be like to learn to pilot a plane. It was a stressful experience and I wrote about it at length in my diary at the time. Even as a write about it now, I feel my blood pressure rise. I was both teacher and pilot, facing the rows and rows of controls that allowed students at different times to hear the prepared recording, to hear me and hear each other. At times I was also required to simultaneously record their voices, play them back and record my master tape onto their individual tapes so that they could operate them for themselves. At the end of the session the correct answers were given so that students could mark their papers. The language lab was designed to improve listening comprehension but had little to do with real communication and I found the experience to be completely alienating.

By comparison the tutorials held in the classroom space offered freedom for teacher and learners. There were textbook exercises that I was expected to cover, but I desired an antidote to the highly structured and isolated style of learning in the lab. I preferred a more social approach to teaching and learning. I wanted to create an atmosphere for more authentic communication and one in which the reluctant speakers could not hide. In the Intermediate level language classes I reduced the amount of time spent on textbook exercises which I believed could be just as easily done outside of class, and used the models of language together with appropriate props to animate the class through dramatic role-play. My aim was to get as many people moving, speaking and listening as possible, in as many different combinations. I modeled some of the language with students and I focused on successful communication and fluency rather than grammatical accuracy. Once they were set off on the role-play task I would move around and take on roles to join in the role-played conversations. Through the drama strategy the classroom was transformed into a noisy environment filled with English speakers, with many more students taking the opportunity to speak.

In the Advanced level English language classes I sought opportunities for students to use their more sophisticated language skills. These were students who already worked in companies that had international links and in many cases were sent by their company to these classes to improve English for business purposes. Taking the themes from the course materials, which included media reports and news articles,

I attempted to start up discussions on contemporary topics. It seemed at times that no amount of enticement or provocation would get the discussion going. For some of these advanced language students it was not the lack of language that was holding them back, but rather a reluctance to express an opinion. I devised role-play experiences that required students to take on roles of different stakeholders in an issue. For example, in a drama about the use of animals in pharmaceutical cosmetics testing, students took on the roles of scientists, marketing people, consumers, patients, company managers, medical professionals, public relations, media representatives, animal rights activists and so on. I prepared name badges for each role as a visible sign that they were now 'in role' as someone else. Given the ability to speak in these fictional roles within an imagined fictional forum, we were engaged in rich and generative discussion about the issues and the various perspectives that people may hold, and the language flowed freely.

Reflections on Spaces for Learning

I am unaware of whether the discomfort I felt when in the language lab was also experienced by my students. It may have been that the structure of the labs provided a sense of security for students, whereas the tutorial room, where they were subject to the unpredictable pedagogies of a foreign teacher, might have caused anxiety for some. Either way, space is not neutral or passive; rather, space is active in causing sensations of disequilibrium. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) offer various notions of space as smooth and striated, territorialized, and deterritorialized. In putting this theory to work, I see the language lab with its cubicles, worksheets and prescribed structure, as a striated space; not only in a physical sense, by constraining people in isolation from each other, but in the ways learning and thinking is organized, focused, directed and judged as being right or wrong. By contrast, the regular classroom space, while still formal, offered fewer boundaries and limitations. Taking up Deleuzian notions of space, Hickey-Moody and Malins (2007) explain that 'Smooth spaces are those in which movement is less regulated or controlled, and where bodies can interact—and transform themselves—in endlessly different ways' (p. 11). Space in Deleuzian conceptual terms is not physical, but rather conceived in multiple ways. It is not simply the physical nature of language lab or the classroom, or the activity that typically occurs within them that determines smooth or striated space. Both are capable of being smooth and striated, territorialised or de-territorialised. A re-territorialised space, suggest Deleuze and Guattari, can be deterritorialised with the smallest deviation. I argue that the improvised dramatic role-play gave rise to a smooth space in which students were free to improvise with their English language. In this smooth space the atmosphere was playful and experimental, with the emphasis on fluent communication rather than a potentially stultifying emphasis on grammatical correctness. Deleuze and Guattari suggest that smooth spaces allow for a sense of becoming. In this case, students are becoming communicators in English language. For the Advanced students in particular, the experience of playing

roles other than themselves provided a freedom from the constraints of hierarchies and social rules that they usually experienced in relation to one another and their teacher. They were in effect protected by their role and liberated to speak as if they were other than themselves. In this sense the role-play provided the smooth space in which students are free to express opinions, experiment with different tones and registers, and communicate in a fully embodied way. Through the dramatic fiction of the role-play they could more completely exercise their socio-linguistic competence.

As a drama educator, I was used to a way of teaching and learning that is embodied and social, so the classroom experiences I created reflected this preference. At the time I could not fully appreciate the learning that was also occurring in the language lab experience. I saw the two approaches as starkly contrasting alternatives and knew which I preferred. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) remind us that smooth and striated space are not alternatives, rather, ‘the two spaces in fact exist only in mixture: smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space’ (p. 524). They refer to a ‘dissymmetrical necessity to cross from the smooth to the striated, and from the striated to the smooth’ (p. 536). Deleuze and Guattari suggest that smooth space provides the inspiration and ‘the metrics of striated spaces (*metron*) is indispensable for the translation of the strange data of a smooth multiplicity’ (p. 536). In other words we need the inspiration that occurs within a smooth space but a striated space is necessary for extending and producing something from that inspiration. One kind of space is not necessarily better than the other – each offers different potential. Like accuracy and fluency in language learning, neither the language lab nor the classroom-based learning with dramatic role-play, would have been enough on its own. Together they provided spaces of learning that that allowed for both progress and becoming.

AKITA, 2016

Twenty-two years after my episode with the language institute and thirty years after my episode of teaching children in the after-school English classes, I returned to Japan. This time I was to collaborate with colleagues across three countries to design and teach a course in drama for language learning and global citizenship in a Japanese university.

The night before my teaching was to begin I peered through the window of the locked door that was to be my classroom for the week long intensive. As I suspected, it was a typical university classroom space with rows upon rows of forward facing tables and chairs filling the room. I arrived early the next morning to shift them all by pushing the tables to the rear of the room in order to create as much open space as possible. By the time the students arrived, there was a circle of chairs surrounding an empty space. As they entered, the students reacted with surprise to the different arrangement. We began with an introduction to applied theatre and applied drama or, as I explained, a kind of learning by doing. I provided some background information

and theory and showed slides with images of some examples of adult engagement in drama for learning from around the globe. I mentioned that we would be taking a process drama approach to learning. In 'process drama', I explained, we work together as a whole class to create drama in response to a theme and based on a stimulus or 'pretext'. In process drama students and teachers work together. We are all participants and, at times, audience for each other.

I had anticipated some hesitation in students and remembered the banana incident so many years earlier, and what it had taught me about the importance of laughter in reducing anxiety and creating a sense of a joyful learning community for teacher and learners. I decided to begin with some drama warm-up exercises and games designed for fun, to get bodies moving in the space and students working in small groups of different combinations on fast and playful problem-solving tasks.

Each day of the intensive we embarked on a different process drama using pre-texts that had been carefully selected to focus attention on selected global issues. Each day the students' commitment to the process drama deepened. On the fourth day the pretext was the picture storybook, The Island, by Armin Greder (2007). In this story the people who live on the island find a stranger on a beach where he has floated on his makeshift raft. They do not share a common language and he is unable to communicate with them. They regard him with suspicion. The students began by making their own tiny rafts from sticks and string, and used their bodies to make tableaux or still images to show events on the stranger's fateful journey. They took on the roles of villagers and carried out a complex and often heated discussion about what to do with the stranger. They made their own decisions in role and enacted them through drama. As we worked through different drama strategies the pages of the story were revealed, and the students registered the parallels with the decisions they had made when in role as villagers, with the responses of the villagers in the story. We came to the page in the story that described the villagers' growing anxiety: '*"Foreigner Spreads Fear in Town," said the newspaper in big black letters*'. The students became journalists and villagers simultaneously conducting interviews in pairs and swapping roles so that they could have both experiences. The room was noisy, buzzing with English language, incisive journalists asked penetrating questions and intense villagers passionately described their views of the stranger. After enough time had passed, continuing in role as journalists, they were asked to use their notes to write the newspaper article that would go with the headline. I wrote in my diary, 'The room that was filled with noise during the interviewing, suddenly became silent as every 'journalist' began writing feverishly'.

Reflections on Process Drama for Language Learning

I brought to my teaching in Akita, not only my learning from my previous teaching in Japan, but also all that I had done since. In the interim, I had developed study and practice in process drama. Process drama is based on the work of Dorothy Heathcote

(for example Wagner, 1980; Heathcote & Bolton, 1995) and has been developed by many practitioners since (for example O'Neill, 1995; Bowell & Heap, 2001). Process drama begins with the careful selection of an aesthetically charged pretext (Dunn & Stinson, 2011). Working with this pretext, such as a story, a poem, a song or an artefact, 'the participants, together with the teacher, [comprise] the theatrical ensemble and engage in drama to make meaning *for themselves'* (Bowell & Heap, 2001, p. 7). Process drama creates 'an experience of intensity and significance from which we emerge changed in some way. […It gives] us a vision of our humanity and a sense of the possibilities facing us and the society in which we live' (O'Neill, 1995, pp. 151–152). I now viewed the role-play drama of my previous teaching to pale in comparison to what was possible in process drama. Playing roles is part of process drama, but it draws upon many other drama strategies and conventions to explore themes, topics and ideas. Role-play for learning is often used in a purely functional way, without attention to the importance of structuring the work dramatically and without attention to artistry (Taylor, 2000; Smigiel, 2000; Dunn & Stinson, 2011). Dunn and Stinson stress the importance of teacher artistry when applying drama as pedagogy for additional language learning. They argue:

> …it is only when teachers/facilitators are able to hold both the artistry of the form and the intended learning in one hand, as it were, that the full promise of working with drama and additional language learning can be realised. (2011, p. 618)

The full promise of drama and additional language learning could be considered to be what Rothwell (2011) describes as a blend of cognitive, affective and physical experiences that 'makes the learning more 'real' and memorable' (p. 591). For Rothwell, process drama served 'to open students' imaginations to the complexity of communication in its socio-cultural context and speaking another language may now be more salient for them' (p. 592). This is what I had recognised in the highly focused, active and purposeful speaking, listening and writing that arose out of the process drama when students were in role. This is something Piazzoli (2011) also recognized was important when engaging her adult language learners in process drama. The drama experience, she suggests, demanded a degree of trust, and most importantly, the disclosure of the private self in the public sphere. This parallels the *hone-tatamae* divide in the Japanese context. Piazzoli explains that building trust through process drama:

> … generated affective space, which neutralised a pre-existing competitive, judgemental group dynamic and elicited a more collaborative, supportive learning environment, where students could take risks and let go of their self-conscious attitudes when speaking in the target language. (p. 564)

Creating an atmosphere for play and playfulness is an important aspect of drama pedagogy. It is not by accident, I explained to my students in my introduction, that so many words connected to 'drama' and 'theatre', also include the word 'play' such

as ‘a play’, ‘players’, ‘playwright’, and ‘playhouse’. Drama, theatre and play are intrinsically linked. This class offered drama as an opportunity to embrace language learning through a mode akin to play, in the way young children learn, and learn their native language, without fear of consequence.

By moving the rows of desks, I was in a way deterritorialising the classroom in order to make a space for drama that invites participants to come together in different ways. Drama is a social activity in which both students and teachers are open to sometimes surprising possibilities of what may unfold in the course of the activity. Following the class my Japanese colleague, as critical friend, commented, ‘You are really challenging their educational worldview’. She said she had noticed some raised eyebrows when I talked about process drama as an opportunity for teachers and students to make meaning together and particularly at my suggestion that, as a teacher in drama, I was a learner too. We talked at length about degrees of comfort (and discomfort) for students when entering the open space and confronting a teacher who proclaims herself not an expert, but a facilitator of drama, and fellow learner in the process. In this I am enacting what Freire would call ‘*co-intentional* education’ whereby:

> Teachers and students (leadership and people), co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge. (Freire, 1970/2011, p. 69)

According to Freire, pedagogy must be problematic, knowledge acquisition begins with problems and tasks that are relevant to the learners’ immediate situation (Matthews, 1980). Through the process drama I am engaging with the students in what Freire terms ‘problem-posing’ education. The drama process strategies and conventions offer creative problems to be solved. Process drama involves students in dramatic situations, which are immediate to them, and demand spontaneous and often complex language usage. Advanced language learners, such as the university students in this class, need opportunities to move beyond their comfort zones in order to practise their advanced language skills and communicate complex ideas.

Diversity of Pedagogical Approaches in Teaching English

This chapter presents a diversity of teaching contexts and these contexts involve a diversity of learners. The learners, children, workers, and university students have varied motives for learning English and undoubtedly, as individuals, very different needs. However, the focus of my reflection in this chapter has not been so much on this diversity of students, as the importance of a diversity in pedagogical approaches for all students.

In the face of the more structured and striated pedagogical approaches that were standard in some of the environments in which I found myself teaching in Japan, I

sought to introduce drama as pedagogy as a kind of disruption to what I perceived to be non-learning, or less than optimum learning. As an educator armed with drama as a pedagogical tool, I perceived a need, and activated new possibilities for extending student learning in English through drama.

However, as a drama teacher learning to be an EAL teacher, I had other lessons to learn about teaching too. The standard modes of language learning I came up against in these Japanese contexts, while at first seeming anathema to me, were reconsidered to have purpose and merit for many learners. I realised the full promise of English language teaching and learning was revealed through providing diverse and contrasting pedagogical approaches that included cognitive, affective and physical approaches (Rothwell, 2011), as well as embodied, aesthetic and arts-based approaches. Drama experiences are offered not ‘instead of’ but rather as a powerful additional method alongside some of the more typical and traditional approaches to teaching and learning in EAL classrooms.

This autoethnographic research has afforded me the opportunity to apply the theory that enlightens an understanding of pedagogical diversity in teaching EAL. Applying theory to my reflection on practice allows me to more fully appreciate the synergies activated through taking up diverse and contrasting modes of teaching and learning. It also raises the importance of providing EAL students with access to teachers who have diverse pedagogical styles, skills and beliefs.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described a journey of learning to teach in new contexts over three decades. The reward of the true journey, says Johnstone (2016) is that it makes you think. This is a journey that has involved a praxis of drama for learning—the continuous interplay between thinking and acting. Since the affective space caused by the micro-event of the banana in the classroom all those years ago, I have come to reflect and more fully understand drama as pedagogy for language learning. I have also gained a deeper and broader (macro) understanding of the potential of drama to generate and encourage a multi-sensory affective space of learning in which students are free to spontaneously and willingly communicate.

Learning through drama can provide opportunities to take risks with complex language usage in the relatively safe space of the fictional drama. This mix of risk and safety seems contradictory, but getting a balance of the two is important. Examples of this are when the Saitama students spontaneously used English language at the greengrocer’s shop, when the Tokyo students argued and debated as if stakeholders in the animal rights forum, and when the Akita students took on roles of journalists and villagers in ‘The Island’ process drama. The drama activity promoted engagement and motivation and helped to decrease language anxiety and increase fluency. Moreover, through contemporary issue-based process drama, students had the opportunity to think deeply and to consider and communicate complex ideas from a range of different perspectives.

Play is the essence of learning in drama, and like laughter in learning, it needs to be taken more seriously. Play is important because of the way it liberates, and facilitates a less controlled and less restricted smooth space for learning. When playing 'as if' in the real world, participants are also bracketed from the real world, and real world consequences. A playful approach to learning through drama grants permission, which is particularly important for adult language learners, to experiment and take on challenges, and ultimately, may lead them to realise and be surprised by the extent of communication they are capable of achieving.

Advanced language learning can be seen to occur in the interplay between the dynamic smooth space of learning opened up through the drama activity, and the more rule-dominated and structured space of language learning to which many students have become accustomed. Taking up the concept of spaces as striated and smooth (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) in this autoethnographic reflection, I find new ways of understanding a praxis that honours the importance of creating spaces for language learning that allow for both progress and becoming. Worksheets, language drills, rote learning, language lab and textbook exercises all have their place, they provide a means of measuring progress in language acquisition. The playful and social space of educational drama, the freedom afforded through fiction and role-play, and the opportunities to learn through all the senses in a fully embodied way, create conditions for 'becoming' and a chance for students to practice and emerge as more effective and authentic English language users.

REFERENCES

Altheide, D. L., & Johnson, J. M. (2011). Reflections on interpretative adequacy in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 581–594). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bowell, P., & Heap, B. (2001). *Planning process drama*. London: David Fulton.

Deleuze, G. (1990). *Negotiations*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London & New York, NY: Continuum.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1994). *What is philosophy?* London: Verso.

Dewey, J. (1934). *Art as experience*. New York, NY: Capricorn Press.

Dewey, J. (1938/1971). *Experience and education*. New York, NY: Collier.

Dunn, J., & Stinson, M. (2011). Not without the art!! The importance of teacher artistry when applying drama as pedagogy for additional language learning. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 16*(1), 617–633.

Freire, P. (1970/2011). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Herder & Herder.

Greder, A. (2007). *The island*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Greene, M. (1978). *Landscapes of learning*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Hancock, S., Allen, A., & Lewis, C. W. (2015). *Autoethnography as a lighthouse: Illuminating race, research, and the politics of schooling*. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from http://www.eblib.com

Heathcote, D., & Bolton, G. (1995). *Drama for learning: Dorothy Heathcote's mantle of the expert approach to education*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Hickey-Moody, A., & Malins, P. (2007). Introduction: Gilles Deleuze and four movements in social thought. In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian encounters: Studies in contemporary social issues* (pp. 1–24). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Johnston, B. (2016, March 5). From A to B: The art of travel, Essay. *The Age,* pp. 16–17.

Loughran, J., & Northfield, J. (1998). A framework for the development of self-study practice. In M. L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Reconceptualizing teaching practice: Self-study in teacher education* (pp. 8–20). London: Falmer Press.

Matthews, M. (1980). Knowledge, action and power. In R. Mackie (Ed.), *Literacy and revolution: The pedagogy of Paulo Freire* (pp. 82–92). London: Pluto Press.

Massumi, B. (Ed.). (2002). *A shock to thought: Expressions after Deleuze and Guattari*. London: Routledge.

O’Neill, C. (1995). *Drama worlds: A framework for process drama*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Piazzoli, E. (2011). Process drama: The use of affective space to reduce language anxiety in the additional language learning classroom. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 16*(4), 557–573.

Rothwell, J. (2011). Bodies and language: Process drama and intercultural language learning in a beginner language classroom. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance, 16*(4), 575–594.

Samaras, A. P. (2011). *Self-study teacher research: Improving your practice through collaborative inquiry.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Smigiel, H. (2000). Making life work. In J. O’Toole & M. Lepp (Eds.), *Drama for life: Stories of adult learning and empowerment* (pp. 273–282). Brisbane: Playlab Press.

Taylor, E. (2000). Role-play without tears. In J. O’Toole & M. Lepp (Eds.), *Drama for life: Stories of adult learning and empowerment* (pp. 263–272). Brisbane: Playlab Press.

Thompson, J. (2009). *Performance affects: Applied theatre and the end of effect*. Basingstoke, England & New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vlieghe, J., Simons, M., & Masschelein, J. (2010). The educational meaning of communal laughter: On the experience of corporeal democracy. *Educational Theory, 60*(6), 719–734.

Wagner, B. J. (1979). *Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a learning medium*. London: Hutchinson.

Jo Raphael
School of Education
Faculty of Arts and Education
Deakin University, Australia

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Mary Frances Agnello, PhD, is a professor in the English for Academic Purposes Department at Akita International University in Japan. Her background was in foreign language education focused on French and Spanish and teaching English language learners. Having taught for several years in urban and rural schools in the Houston, Texas metropolitan area, she focused on language, literacy, and culture in her masters and doctoral studies. Her university work has focused on diversity education and working with future teachers, as well as studying the discourses of literacy including human capital, cultural, multicultural, and financial. Mary Frances' doctoral study of discourses of literacy was published as *A Postmodern Literacy Policy Analysis* (2001) and a co-authored text *A Critically Compassionate Financial Literacy* (2015) have furthered her interest in the interrelationships among public and educational policy and the kinds of literacy that the public at large develops and that teachers teach in classrooms. Her post in Japan brings her full circle to where she started her professional career in teaching English language learners. The effects of neoliberal reforms on literacy development and education in general inform her current research.

Naoko Araki, PhD, is an associate professor in the Faculty of International Liberal Arts at Akita International University in Japan. Her career as an educational researcher focused in the areas of curriculum and pedagogy in additional language education. Her long-standing research interest in interdisciplinarity, as well as implications for intercultural communication have provided scholarly opportunities to theorise everyday language and cultural practices. To date this is illustrated by contributions to: professional publications, international research forums, community engagement, and undergraduate/postgraduate education. This has been facilitated through engagement in language education, intercultural communication theory, and praxis of teaching and learning. Naoko's research and teaching practice constructs ways of theorising knowledge, research, and pedagogical effectiveness.

Scott Browes, PhD, is an associate professor teaching media and communication at a large university in central Japan. Before studying for his doctorate at the University of Sheffield, Scott had a career in television news production, being involved in news programming and documentary production for various Japanese networks and the Reuters news agency. Starting as a producer in TBS's London bureau his career has included camerawork, video editing, technical planning and organisation, studio production, ending up with a stint as news program director in Tokyo and a period freelancing in the UK. A working life focussed on the visual qualities of television news has led to his interest in the expressive aspects of news images. Scott's PhD

looked at aspects of visual semiotics in television news in Japan, a particular focus was the elucidation of a straightforward methodological approach, rather than one which relies primarily on 'expert' knowledge and authoritative interpretation, which could then be of practical use in the classroom. More broadly, Scott maintains an interest in all aspects of the broadcast media in Japan and has published comparative studies which look at the differing visual styles of news in the UK and Japan.

Charles Kowalski, MA, is Vice-Chair of the International Education Center, English Language Section, at Tokai University near Tokyo, where he has been teaching for 15 years. He studied the pedagogy of ESOL and Spanish at SIT Graduate Institute in Brattleboro, Vermont, and Japanese at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, California. His research interests focus on peace education in EFL and the role of oral storytelling in language teaching. He has conducted workshops on both these subjects for language teachers throughout Asia, and is a two-time winner of the "Speaker of the Year Award" from the Japan Association for Language Teaching. He is the advisor for his university's chapter of Habitat for Humanity, and has accompanied student volunteer expeditions to India, Nepal, Bangladesh and the Philippines.

Paul Chamness Miller, PhD, is Professor of the Faculty of International Liberal Arts at Akita International University in Akita, Japan, where he teaches writing and a course on popular culture. His research focuses on instructional methods of teaching languages, critical pedagogy, and the issues of under-represented youth and teachers in the K-12 setting. He has published several books and peer-reviewed articles in journals committed to social justice and multiculturalism, such as *Multicultural Perspectives*, *Multicultural Education*, and *The Journal of Thought*. He is editor-in-chief of *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, an international journal whose focus is to examine the intersections of language studies and power, identity, society, social justice, and so forth. He also serves as the co-editor of *Research in Queer Studies*, a book series published by Information Age. His current research projects focus on the effects of study abroad on students' understanding of cultural capital, the experiences of bicultural youth (commonly called *hafu* by Japanese society), and the experiences of queer athletes.

Jo Raphael, PhD, is Lecturer in Drama Education in the Faculty of Arts and Education at Deakin University, Melbourne. She teaches in postgraduate and undergraduate pre-service teacher education programs and is Course Director of the Master of Teaching (Secondary). In addition to her university teaching, Jo regularly spends time in school classrooms and in community arts and education contexts. Jo is also Artistic Director of Fusion Theatre, an inclusive company, working in areas of disability and disadvantage. Understanding drama as a powerful learning pedagogy has had a significant influence on Jo's career as an educator. She has applied drama for learning within diverse contexts including cultural institutions such as museums

and galleries and in areas of the humanities, history, science, and environmental sustainability. An extended period of teaching across a range of contexts in Japan allowed her to explore drama as a pedagogy for learning English as an additional language. Jo's recent research interests and publications have been in the areas of drama education, inclusive education, and applied drama and theatre. Her PhD study incorporated arts-based methods and brought together her interests in, drama as pedagogy, teaching for diversity and teacher education. Jo has received awards for teaching excellence and service to her profession. She is currently Director of International Liaison on the board of Drama Australia.

Yuko Sato is a bachelor student at Akita International University. She is the founder of LGBTQI organization at her university. She has been interested in the areas of education and gender and sexuality and she is currently studying to receive a teaching license for English language teacher in Japan. She spent a year in Leiden University in the Netherlands as an exchange student and studied courses for Minor to Gender and Sexuality in Society and Culture. She plans to write her graduation thesis on history of Japanese sexuality and contemporary LGBTQI issues in Japan. After earning her Bachelor's degree and teaching license, Yuko is planning to go onto a graduate school to pursue her further study in gender and sexuality in Japan.

Kim Senior, PhD, is an independent scholar and writer. In the 1980's she lived in Japan and studied Japanese and Ethics at Okayama University. She worked as a teacher of Japanese and the Humanities in the secondary and tertiary sectors in the ACT and Victoria before completing her Ph.D at the University of Melbourne in 2008. Her career as an educational researcher focused in the areas of curriculum theory and pedagogy. Her research interests include visual research methodology, literacies and class-room based pedagogical research. She is intrigued by visual culture and visual literacy as a medium for communication the complex and nuanced. She recently published "Teaching to Learn: a graphic novel" based on an ethnographic research project. Her second graphic novel will explore cultural identities and the liminal space between Self/Other.

Joe Sykes, MA, is a lecturer at a small international liberal arts university in Japan teaching English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Prior to working in universities, Joe worked in Japan's *Eikaiwa* (private English conversation school) industry teaching students from all walks of life and managing and training teachers. In this context an interest developed in the unique personalities of learners, the agendas they bring to the classroom and the influence these have on the teaching/learning dynamic. While studying for his Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Second or Other Language (TESOL), this interest in learners as individuals led to a focus on learner beliefs and, ultimately, autonomy in the educative context. On the basis of this interest in autonomy, from the onset of his university teaching career Joe has been involved in establishing and running self-access language learning centres and developing

learner-centred classroom pedagogies. Joe is currently studying for a doctorate in the School of Education at the University of Sheffield exploring how autonomy develops in the university context, from social-psychological, sociological, critical and spatial perspectives, employing a participative approach to inquiry, through the co-creation and interpretation of multimodal narratives.

Yuki Wada is a graduate student studying to become a qualified Japanese language teacher while teaching Japanese language in Bergen, Norway. She joined the Regional Research Club and did field work to see how people with foreign roots live in her hometown, Iwakuni, Yamaguchi when she was in high school. This made her aware that Japan might require a new form of education for all the residents to coexist in the diversifying world. After entering an international university where classes are conducted in English, a foreign language for her, she developed her interest in second language education as a social integration policy and in the correlation between language and identity. During her one-year study at in Bergen, she studied gender and migration at the university of bergen and learn about the educational principles advocated by Nikolaj F.S. Grundtvig at a Danish folkehøjskole. Based on these experiences, she is currently striving as a Japaense language teacher at the local university and folkeuniversitetet in Bergen to find a way to create an educational setting where everyone can actively and confidently participate, while crafting their identity by learning Japanese language.