

Japanese high-school English teachers' role
as citizenship educators: An exploratory
study

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April 2018

Abstract

The study discussed in this thesis addressed the question of how Japanese high-school English teachers (JTEs) may play a role in citizenship education. Similar to other countries, Japan faces challenges in preparing young people for citizenship in the context of globalization and increasing cultural diversity. Previous research from several countries has suggested that foreign language teachers (FLTs) can contribute to citizenship education by teaching intercultural communication skills and nurturing positive attitudes towards diversity. It suggests they can employ materials that promote reflection on contemporary issues, and help learners develop skills for dialogue.

Notwithstanding the importance of English in Japan's high schools, there has been little or no research on JTEs' role in citizenship education, and an opportunity exists to contribute to knowledge in the field. The study discussed in this thesis explored JTEs' role in citizenship teaching through the perceptions of JTEs who were purposively selected for their interest in this area. A questionnaire survey gathered views of 46 JTEs on citizenship and the possibility of incorporating citizenship education into English classes. Semi-structured interviews with 14 JTEs focused on ways they say they teach for citizenship and issues they say they confront in doing so.

The study suggests participants tend towards a cosmopolitan view of citizenship, seeing the need for a strong Japanese identity combined with a sense of global citizenship. They believe JTEs can promote a cosmopolitan outlook by nurturing respect for human rights and cultural diversity and raising global awareness, and tend to emphasize the knowledge and values dimensions of citizenship rather than skills.

The study highlights aspects of the local teaching environment that participants perceive as affecting their ability to pursue citizenship-related aims. It suggests JTEs' role in citizenship education may be constrained by the extent to which schools prioritize entrance exam preparation and associated grammar-translation pedagogies.

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List of Acronyms and Initialisms

ALT	Assistant Language Teacher
CBI	Content-Based Instruction
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
IC	Intercultural Competence
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
FLE	Japan's Fundamental Law of Education
FLT	Foreign Language Teacher
GILE	Global Issues in Language Teaching (a special interest group within JALT)
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
JALT	Japan Association of Language Teachers
JASELE	Japan Society of English Language Education
JET	Japan Exchange & Teaching (Programme)
JHS	Junior High School
JTE	Japanese Teacher of English
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan
SelHi	Super English High School
SGHS	Super Global High School
SHS	Senior High School

List of Japanese Terms

<i>aikokushin</i>	愛国心	patriotism
<i>chikyuu shimin</i>	地球市民	Earth citizen; global citizen
<i>doutoku</i>	道徳	morals; moral education
<i>eigo kyouiku</i>	英語教育	English language teaching
<i>gakushuu shidou</i>	学習指導要領	Course of Study (Japan's national curriculum)
<i>youryou</i>		
<i>hanashiai</i>	話し合い	a Japanese form of discussion
<i>heiwa</i>	平和	peace
<i>hensachi</i>	偏差値	standardized rank score (used to rank educational institutions)
<i>hinomaru</i>	日の丸	Japan's national flag
<i>ibunka rikai</i>	異文化理解	cross-cultural understanding
<i>jinkaku</i>	人格	character
<i>jinken</i>	人権	human rights
<i>juku</i>	塾	a coaching/tutoring school
<i>kankyuu</i>	環境	environment
<i>kimigayo</i>	君が代	Japan's national anthem
<i>kokugo</i>	国語	the national language; Japanese
<i>kokumin</i>	国民	Japanese citizen(s)
<i>koumin</i>	公民	civics (taught as part of social studies)
<i>kokusaika</i>	国際化	internationalization
<i>nashonarizumu</i>	ナショナリズム	nationalism
<i>ningensei</i>	人間性	humanity
<i>nihonjinron</i>	日本人論	theories of the Japanese people
<i>sakoku</i>	鎖国	Tokugawa policy of national isolation (1640-1854)
<i>shimin</i>	市民	citizen
<i>shimin shakai</i>	市民社会	civil society
<i>shimin undou</i>	市民運動	citizens' movement(s)
<i>shingakukou</i>	進学校	school specializing in university entrance exam preparation
<i>shirabe gakushu</i>	調べ学習	investigative learning
<i>shitizunshippu</i>	シティズンシップ	citizenship
<i>shitizunshippu kyouiku</i>	シティズンシップ教育	citizenship education
<i>sougoutekina gakushuu</i>	総合的な学習	Integrated Studies
<i>touitsu shindo</i>	統一進度	“progressing in unison” (describes the common teaching schedule)
<i>yakudoku</i>	訳読	method of translation; a close synonym of the “grammar-translation” method
<i>yutori kyouiku</i>	ゆとり教育	“relaxed education”; “education with breathing space”

Acknowledgements

I want to express my deepest gratitude to those people who assisted me with this research. My heartfelt thanks go to the many Japanese teachers who participated in the project, and especially those who made time in their busy schedules to be interviewed, or who allowed me to observe their classes.

I am indebted to my supervisor, Ian Davies, for his unstinting support. I benefitted greatly from Ian's extensive knowledge of the field, his attention to detail regarding the research process, his prompt and insightful comments on my writing, and his constant encouragement. I could not have asked for a more professional guide, or for one more generous with his time.

I am extremely grateful to everyone who helped produce the Japanese questionnaire used in the study. Naoko Harada was particularly helpful in reviewing my initial Japanese translation. Junko Hagiwara, Julie Higashi, Michiko Hosack, Nami Iwatani, Wakako Koyama, Naoko Nagashima and Tomoko Okuda all assisted in refining the language. I owe a special thank you to Mari Yamamoto who made many suggestions for improving the Japanese wording of both the questionnaire and the interview guide.

I am also grateful to all those who helped put me in contact with the Japanese teachers who became the focus of the study. Kip Cates introduced me to teachers in the GILE network. Kazuya Asakawa, Takaaki Fujiwara, Yuri Ishii, David James, Kahori Kobayashi, Angus McGregor, Mitsuharu Mizuyama, Mary Noguchi, David Peaty and Emiko Yukawa all supplied helpful leads. Takako Ramsden provided valuable information on the *hensachi* school-ranking system.

My brother-in-law, Mark Janes, at the Bodleian Library, was always ready to help me track down elusive sources; I thank him for this, and his many other kindnesses.

Richard Donovan and Chris Summerville acted as external checkers of the coding table used to analyse my qualitative data. I am obliged to them both for their interest in the project, and all the constructive feedback they provided.

Finally, I have to say that none of this would have been possible without the constant support of my dear wife, Michiko, to whom I owe so much.

Author's declaration

Parts of the research, including the findings from the questionnaire survey, were presented in a paper given at the 14th Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Academic Network (CiCe), University of York, UK, May 24th 2012, and appeared subsequently in print as:

Hosack, I. (2012). Citizenship and language teaching in Japanese schools, in P. Cunningham & N. Fretwell (eds.) *Creating communities: Local, National and Global*. London: CiCe. pp. 132-144.

Parts of the research, including some of the qualitative survey findings were presented in the following, unpublished conference papers:

Hosack, I. (2013). *'More than just language': How Japanese English teachers are contributing to citizenship education in Japan's high schools*. Paper presented at the 9th CitizEd International Conference, Tokyo, Japan, July 12th, 2013.

Hosack, I. (2015). *Exploring Japanese English teachers' beliefs about their role as citizenship educators*. Paper presented at the 11th CitizEd International Conference, Singapore, June 4th, 2015.

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work carried out under the supervision of Professor Ian Davies. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Dedication

This is for my dad, Peter, who taught me all the most important things about citizenship, and for Michiko 道子, “child of the road”, who was with me for the whole journey.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis considers the question of how teachers of English in Japan's high schools may contribute to citizenship education as part of teaching English as a foreign language. It explores this question through the perceptions of a group of Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) who were purposively selected because they appeared to be either interested in or involved in teaching for citizenship. The study began with the assumption that such teachers would not only be familiar with the high-school context in which JTEs work, but would also be in a position to offer potentially important insights into how JTEs may address aspects of citizenship education in their English classes.

1.1 Origins of and rationale for the study

The study originates in my more than 30 years' experience as an English language teacher in Japan. I have spent most of that time working at the university level where my teaching has included content-based English classes on themes of democracy and citizenship. Teaching such courses, I became aware of how the English language classroom can provide a place for learners to expand their knowledge of social and political issues, and engage in critical thinking and discussion about matters of citizenship. I became interested in whether Japanese English teachers in secondary schools might have similar opportunities to integrate learning for citizenship with English language teaching.

I was drawn to this field through my work as a language teacher in Japan, but the study should be of wider interest. At the time of writing, Japan boasts the world's third-largest economy, and, as a member of the G7, wields considerable influence in world affairs. In the context of ongoing globalization and fundamental changes within the country, issues of identity and citizenship are now central to discussions of Japan's future. Many of the issues Japan is confronting also concern other nations, not least the question of how ideologies of citizenship should adapt to increasing cultural diversity and global interconnectedness. The way in which Japan's schools educate the next

generation of citizens also has implications for Japan's relations overseas, both with its neighbours in the region and the wider international community.

Against this backdrop, my study aimed to address an aspect of Japanese citizenship education that has hitherto received little attention. Although there is considerable scholarly interest in citizenship education in Japan, the part played by foreign language teachers (FLTs), particularly within secondary schools, remains under-researched. Existing studies that deal with citizenship-related teaching by FLTs in Japan focus on universities (e.g. S. Houghton, 2013; Lockley, 2015). The literature on English teaching at the secondary level, some of which is reviewed in Chapter 2, deals predominantly with language teaching pedagogies and assessment. The links between English language teaching and citizenship education in Japan's high schools have yet to be fully explored. It is this gap in the literature that my study seeks to address.

Further justification for the study is provided by a growing body of research, reviewed in Chapter 2, which highlights areas in which foreign language teaching and citizenship education share similar aims and similar pedagogical approaches. As part of teaching a foreign language, FLTs may play a role in teaching intercultural competence, and nurturing such values as openness and tolerance. By employing communicative pedagogies, FLTs may assist learners in acquiring practical skills needed for engaging in democratic dialogue. And where teaching materials address contemporary social and political topics, the foreign language classroom may become a place where learners reflect on issues that are relevant to them as citizens. To some extent, official language policy in Japan appears to recognize these areas of convergence between foreign language teaching and citizenship teaching; for example, Japan's national curriculum for English, the Course of Study for Foreign Languages, refers specifically to the need to foster positive attitudes towards other cultures, and also to develop students' ability to engage in democratic dialogue. It is striking, then, that little research has been done to illuminate the role JTEs may play in citizenship education in Japan's schools.

A better understanding of how JTEs may contribute to wider, citizenship-related goals in education could help to clarify their role in schools and inform further discussion about the methods and materials they should adopt. English has come to occupy a central place in the school curriculum, and this has given

JTEs an influential role in the education of Japanese children. However, unresolved issues concerning the way English should be taught in schools continue to impinge upon their work. Increasingly, official language policy has been pushing JTEs to do more communicative language teaching, but the priority for many schools remains the preparation of students for high-stakes university entrance examinations. This is widely assumed to entail adherence to traditional grammar-translation pedagogies, which, arguably, have little or no relevance to citizenship education. Again, research is needed to cast light on how JTEs may teach for citizenship in this environment.

This, then, was an exploratory study which addressed an under-researched area with the aim of contributing to our understanding of how JTEs may teach for citizenship in Japan's high schools. It did this by examining the perceptions of JTEs who appeared to have an interest in citizenship education or to have had experience of teaching aspects of citizenship themselves. What notions of citizenship did these teachers have, and how were those reflected in their aims for teaching English? What opportunities did they find in the English curriculum to further their citizenship-related aims, and in doing so, what issues did they confront?

1.2 Research methodology

The study investigated the perceptions of a purposively selected group of JTEs, chosen because they had demonstrated an interest in teaching for citizenship, or appeared to be addressing citizenship-related aims in their own teaching. The aim was to assemble a group of expert informants, whose inside knowledge and experience might yield insights into the central questions of the research. With the aim of maximizing response rates and encouraging participants to share their views, much of the data was collected in teachers' first language, Japanese. Issues of translation were thus a key aspect of the methodology chosen for this cross-language research project.

The study followed a mixed-methods research design, incorporating the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. A questionnaire survey was conducted with a purposive sample of 46 JTEs between November 2011 and March 2012, employing Likert-type items to tap into participants' beliefs about

citizenship, and their perceptions of links between citizenship education and language teaching. An open-ended item invited teachers to share their own experiences of teaching for citizenship. The bulk of the qualitative data was derived from semi-structured interviews carried out between August 2012 and October 2013 with a smaller group of 14 JTEs, purposively selected from the initial pool of participants. In September 2015, further interviews were conducted with two of those teachers following opportunities to observe some of their lessons.

1.3 Overview of the thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 establishes the context for the study with a review of literature spanning several major fields of inquiry. First, it discusses how citizenship has been conceptualized, as a legal status, a feeling and a practice. It highlights some of the main dimensions that shape theories of citizenship, including the relationship between rights and duties, the role of identity, and the idea that citizenship occurs at multiple levels, including not just the national, but also the sub-national and global. Attention then turns to citizenship education and how schools can equip learners with the knowledge, skills and values needed to function effectively as citizens. It highlights literature that identifies a distinct role for foreign language teachers – in teaching with relevant content, in developing skills for democratic dialogue, and in nurturing intercultural competence. The chapter then narrows its focus to the discourse on citizenship and citizenship education in Japan. It reviews literature concerning the role of English in Japan and its relevance to citizenship, then turns to English teaching in Japanese high schools, the immediate context for the study. It draws attention to the apparent disjuncture between government policy, which promotes pedagogies that may be conducive to the infusion of citizenship, and the situation on the ground, which appears to tie many teachers to a traditional, grammar-translation approach that arguably has no relevance to citizenship education. The chapter ends with a brief review of work that justifies the study's focus on the perceptions of individual teachers.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed account of the mixed-methods approach employed for the study. The purposive sampling process is examined in detail,

including the construction of a participant profile, and methods used to recruit suitable teachers. The chapter describes the creation of the survey instrument, highlighting how items were grounded in the literature, and designed to address specific research questions. Special attention is given to translation issues in producing the Japanese questionnaire. The process of analysing the survey data is described, as well as the way results fed in to the purposive selection of JTEs for the second stage of data collection. Issues of translation are again highlighted with reference to the semi-structured interviews, for which a bilingual interview guide was created. The process of analysing the interviews is described, including steps taken to evaluate the reliability of data coding. The chapter ends with a description of classroom observations conducted to gain a better understanding of the context in which JTEs work.

Chapter 4 presents the main findings of the study. It provides a profile of the sample, described in terms of teachers' age, length of teaching experience and school affiliations. Based on the survey data, it uses descriptive statistics to present a broad characterization of teachers' beliefs regarding the requirements of Japanese citizenship, and the links between citizenship education and English teaching. This is followed by a summary of findings from the qualitative data. The relevance of the data to the research questions is highlighted, and findings illustrated with quotes from participants.

Chapter 5 is the first of three discussion chapters that consider the significance of the findings in relation to literature introduced earlier in the thesis. Chapter 5 focuses on participants' conceptions of citizenship. It argues that teachers in the sample tend towards a cosmopolitan view, which acknowledges the importance of national identity rooted in Japan's cultural heritage while also emphasizing the global dimension of citizenship.

Chapter 6 discusses how, in general terms, participants see points of convergence between the aims of English language teaching and those of citizenship education. They are optimistic about the ability of JTEs to address the knowledge and values dimensions of citizenship education, particularly since they see English textbooks as including topics that are relevant to citizenship. They place less emphasis on the ability of JTEs to teach skills for active citizenship.

Chapter 7 focuses on what individual JTEs say about their own attempts to teach for citizenship, drawing mainly on the interview data. It considers what teachers say about their aims, how they say they go about pursuing them, and the contextual factors that they believe either facilitate or constrain them. One of the main findings of the study is that teachers' beliefs about the degree to which they can teach for citizenship vary greatly between different types of school.

Chapter 8 summarizes the preceding discussion and highlights conclusions that can be drawn from the study. After pointing out some of the study's limitations, it goes on to make suggestions for further research that may build upon the insights offered by the study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter reviews scholarship in the fields of citizenship, citizenship education and foreign language teaching, as well as work that addresses each of these areas in the Japanese context. My purpose in this chapter is to establish the need for the current study by highlighting issues raised in the literature and drawing attention to areas requiring further empirical investigation. The chapter also sets out theoretical perspectives that were central to the methodology employed in the study.

The chapter begins, in 2.1, with a brief account of how I went about identifying relevant literature. Section 2.2 deals with the concept of citizenship, and ways in which it has been theorized; 2.3 outlines policy and thinking on citizenship education. Section 2.4 moves on to the main concern of the research: ways in which foreign language teachers (FLT)s can play a role in citizenship education.

Section 2.5 narrows the focus to citizenship, citizenship education and the teaching of English in Japan. Section 2.6 situates the study in terms of gaps in the existing literature, and refers to work that justifies its focus on teachers' perceptions or beliefs. Section 2.7 provides a chapter summary.

2.1 Identifying relevant literature

To explore my interest in the role JTEs might play in citizenship education, and help identify issues that would become the focus of the research, I read widely into literature spanning at least five main areas: i) theories of citizenship, ii) citizenship education, iii) approaches to foreign language teaching, iv) citizenship and citizenship education in Japan, and v) English teaching in Japanese high schools. In my early search for relevant scholarship, I was especially interested in locating studies that connected these different areas of inquiry: for example, work covering the links between citizenship education and foreign language teaching. Consulting databases such as Google Scholar, ERIC and the British Education Index, I used advanced search functions to refine queries: for instance, searching for studies related to “citizenship education AND language teaching” or “citizenship education AND Japan”. Limiting search terms

to work published in the previous five years helped focus my reading on the most recent scholarship.

I identified academic journals that publish research in the field, such as *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, the *Asian Pacific Journal of Education*, and the *JALT Journal*, and searched their archives for relevant studies. I also consulted PhD theses (e.g. D. M. Evans, 2004; Fraser, 2010; Sasajima, 2012) for leads to pertinent literature.

To locate related works in Japanese, I conducted searches with the Ritsumeikan Online Public Access Catalog, using Japanese keywords such as *shitizunshippu kyouiku* (シテ ィズン シ ヲ 教育: citizenship education) and *eigo kyouiku* (英語教育: English language teaching). I also visited the education section of the Ritsumeikan University library to locate journals published by teachers' associations such as *Shin-Eiken* (The New English Teachers' Association) and JAIE (The Japan Association of International Education).

2.2 Citizenship

This section outlines some of the main ways scholars have conceptualized citizenship. The literature reviewed here was fundamental to this research, providing a set of theoretical categories that were used to characterize the citizenship-related teaching aims described by participants. As explained in more detail in Chapter 3, the ideas emerging from the following literature fed directly into the creation of the survey instrument used in the study. This section also highlights tensions between different conceptions of citizenship – in particular, between *national* and *post-national* views. These tensions between different levels of citizenship have an important bearing on the role played in citizenship education by FLT's, whose educational purposes typically transcend national borders.

2.2.1 Dimensions of citizenship: Status, feeling and practice

Along with the ideas of *democracy* and *social justice* with which it is often associated, the term *citizenship* has all the attributes of what Gallie (1955) called an essentially contested concept: “concepts the proper use of which inevitably

involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users” (p. 169). Citizenship, which concerns the nature of the relationship between individual citizens and the communities they belong to, is inherently controversial. As Fouts and Lee (2005) argue, underpinning all attempts to define “good citizenship” are “nothing less than basic assumptions about the very essence and purpose of human existence” (p. 21).

Defining the good citizen has been a preoccupation of scholars since antiquity, but while this provides a rich intellectual legacy to draw upon, the modern-day discourse on citizenship is arguably more complex, and more contested, than ever. As Beiner (1995) observes:

Theorizing citizenship requires that one take up questions having to do with membership, national identity, civic allegiance, and all the commonalities of sentiment and obligation that prompt one to feel that one belongs to *this* political community rather than *that* political community; ... these questions remain as puzzling as ever, perhaps considerably more so in an age when the planetary scope of politics makes the national state appear more like a municipal arena. (p. 20, original emphasis)

To help navigate these complexities, Osler and Starkey (2005) suggest thinking about citizenship in terms of three dimensions – *status*, *feeling* and *practice*.

First, citizenship is a legal *status* conferred upon individuals by a state, which entails certain rights and obligations. As Osler and Starkey note, most of the world’s inhabitants are citizens in this sense. Citizenship of democratic states typically confers more rights and fewer obligations than that of authoritarian states, but even in non-democracies, in addition to an internationally recognized national status, citizenship will provide access to some benefits in return for loyalty to the state and compliance with the law.

The second of Osler and Starkey’s categories, citizenship as *feeling*, reflects the fact that “citizenship is probably most immediately experienced as a feeling of belonging” (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 9). Although a degree of formal equality is conferred by the legal status of citizenship, people’s willingness to participate in the community relies on a sense that they belong to it. Experiences

of unequal access to the formal benefits of citizenship – owing to discrimination on the grounds of gender or ethnicity, for instance – can undermine a person’s sense of belonging to the community, diminishing their citizenship. Citizenship as feeling is not confined to the state; as Osler and Starkey note, people also feel attachments to regions or localities, or indeed to transnational or global communities.

The third category, citizenship as *practice*, refers to the way in which people act to improve their communities, utilizing their rights as citizens. According to Crick (2000), being conscious of one’s capacity to effect change is the mark of a *citizen*, who is involved in making laws, as opposed to a *subject*, who merely obeys them. In the context of democracy, the practice of citizenship includes political activities such as participating in public debates or demonstrations, in addition to voting in elections. It also includes a myriad of activities within civil society, including publicizing perceived injustices or raising money for good causes. Whether or not a person has the legal status of citizen will affect their ability to practice citizenship in these sorts of ways, but again, Osler and Starkey do not see acts of citizenship being restricted to people with national status: “Individuals can practise citizenship as holders of human rights, working individually perhaps, but usually with others to change the way things are” (p. 14).

“Status, feeling and practice” is a convenient way of conceptualizing citizenship, but what these categories entail for the “good” citizen is a matter of values. The following sections outline some of the main normative traditions in theories of citizenship.

2.2.2 Responsibilities, rights, and community

Historically, there have been two dominant strands in citizenship theory – what Heater (1999) terms the *civic republican* and *liberal* traditions – and these continue to shape contemporary debates.

Briefly, republicanism conceives citizenship chiefly in terms of a person’s *duties* to the community. Republican citizens are expected to be actively engaged in public life, enthusiastic in meeting their civic responsibilities, and ready to sacrifice private wants when these conflict with the public good. In ancient

Athens, often seen as the birthplace of the civic republican ideal, active citizenship was equated with moral virtue: according to Crick (2000), “no human being could be themselves at their best without participating in public life” (p. 4).

In contrast to civic republicanism, liberal theory – which traces back to Hobbes and Locke, and the ideals of the French and American revolutions – conceives society as constructed primarily for citizens’ individual rather than collective benefit. Accordingly, citizenship is defined mainly by the *rights* a person enjoys. The good liberal citizen certainly has social obligations – principally to observe the law and pay taxes – but these duties are “thin” compared to the republican notion of citizenship, which is thick with responsibilities (Heater, 1999).

Liberal theory has developed in conjunction with the gradual enlargement of rights claimed for citizenship. In *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950), Marshall argued that democratic citizenship in the West developed in three phases – the civil, political and social. Civil rights, a product of the 18th century, guarantee personal liberties, such as freedom of speech and the right to justice. In the 19th century, citizenship was extended to incorporate political rights, including the right to elect and be elected. Finally, the 20th century witnessed an expansion of “the social element” (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992). Social citizenship recognizes that participation in society requires a certain standard of living, so extends to citizens a full gamut of social entitlements – to education, health and social security, for instance.

That debates on citizenship continue to focus on the balance between rights and duties is evident in the critique of liberal theory offered by communitarianism. This sees the idea of the individual as an abstraction, and stresses the importance of communities in the formation of identity and conceptions of the good citizen (Carr, 2008). This communitarian view resonates with what has sometimes been claimed as an “Asian” perspective on citizenship (see 2.2.6).

2.2.3 National citizenship in the context of globalization

For the past three centuries, theories of citizenship have focused on the duties and rights of people living within *national* communities. Heater (1999) shows

how the process of modern nation building involved a fusion of liberal and republican ideas. Nation states became the principal guarantors of personal liberty, but in turn needed to be sustained by allegiance from citizens, for whom patriotism became a civic duty.

One of the main functions of national citizenship has been to establish boundaries between “us” and “them”, to determine who is admitted as a citizen and on what terms. Over the past few decades, scholarship has focused increasingly on ways national citizenship is being affected by the ongoing globalization of human affairs. While globalization is not a new phenomenon, technological advances in transport and communications have accelerated the process, producing unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness (Kaldor, 1999; Merryfield & Duty, 2008).

Globalization has blurred many traditional criteria for distinguishing between “us” and “them”. Large-scale migration, along with rapidly shifting demographics in many countries, has produced state populations of increasing cultural diversity. Such changes threaten to undermine notions of citizenship based on ideologies of shared national culture, and indeed have led to what some regard as a “crisis of citizenship” (e.g. Castles & Davidson, 2000). One result has been a resurgence of national sentiment, illustrated by the rise of political parties with an avowedly nationalist agenda. Neo-nationalism is also evident in the redoubled efforts by some governments (including Japan’s) to nurture patriotism in schools. As Beiner (1995) observes, “Nationalism is typically a reaction to feelings of threatened identity, and nothing is more threatening in this respect than global integration” (p. 3).

2.2.4 Cosmopolitan citizenship

Rapid globalization is also undermining the capacity of nation states to provide effective governance, particularly in dealing with issues on a planetary scale such as climate change. The global economy has increased the power of multinational corporations to determine international capital flows, significantly cutting into the capacity of states to conduct national economic policy and to underwrite the fate of their own citizens. One reaction to these developments has been a

renewed interest in theories of post-national citizenship such as cosmopolitanism (Soysal, 2012).

The vision of cosmopolitan or world citizenship founded on a common humanity has inspired thinkers for at least two thousand years (Fine, 2007). As Heater (1999) suggests, however, events of the past century – including the horrors of two World Wars, and existential threats posed by nuclear arsenals and environmental degradation – have made this vision more compelling than ever:

If the regime of nation-states has brought humanity to this pass, then should not the moral principle of citizenly allegiance to the state in all conscience be complemented, even superseded, by a consciousness of the responsibilities and obligations of world citizenship? (p. 136)

Fouts and Lee (2005) argue that compared with the kind of “supranational” citizenship status conferred by the EU, “global citizenship is rather a kind of self-awareness or self-identity” (p. 42); in Osler and Starkey’s terms, it is a *feeling* rather than a *status*. Heater (1999, 2004), however, points to a growing body of international agreements – including the UN Charter, the International Bill of Human Rights, and the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees – that already defines a post-national, legal status for people *as human beings*, even if states are still the main guarantors of individuals’ rights.

Globalization has also intensified the feeling and practice dimensions of world citizenship. The revolution in communications technology together with increased opportunities for international travel have led to a degree of homogenization in world culture, and helped propagate a feeling of shared destiny. Electronic communications facilitate transnational acts of citizenship by individuals: for example, through participation in an expanding number of international NGOs working to address a host of global issues, from environmental conservation to campaigns against the death penalty.

Oxley and Morris (2013) highlight the complexity of current debates on global citizenship. A central question concerns the relationship between global and national citizenship, and whether aspiring to cosmopolitan principles such as universal human rights is compatible with the particularistic attachments of patriotism. Papastephanou (2008) has been critical of the “either/or” manner in

which patriotism and cosmopolitanism are often discussed in the literature. She points to a long philosophical tradition, including the thought of Condorcet, Rousseau and Kant, which conceives love of country and love of the world/humanity as compatible ideals.

Oxley and Morris (2013) observe that the term “cosmopolitanism” covers a range of moral positions on this issue. They identify “strong cosmopolitans” such as Nussbaum and Singer, for whom universal ethics should supersede other attachments (to one’s nation or family, for example), and who therefore view global citizenship as a morally superior *alternative* to national citizenship, and distinguish this position from that of “new cosmopolitans”, like Appiah, Kymlicka and Beck, who view a person’s readiness to identify with the global community as rooted in prior identities formed at the national or local level.

The new cosmopolitans, then, embrace the idea of multiple citizenships (Heater, 1999, chap. 4) in that they see global citizenship as something that should exist alongside national citizenship, rather than replacing it. This is the sense in which I use the term “cosmopolitan” in this study. Osler and Starkey (2005) argue that in a globalized world, education must prepare learners for cosmopolitan citizenship, which embraces citizenship identities at different levels, including the local, national and global. Cosmopolitan citizenship is characterized by a global outlook and a commitment to universal principles of justice, human rights and tolerance of diversity. These universal principles apply at all levels of citizenship. As Osler and Starkey argue:

Cosmopolitan citizenship ... is not an alternative to national citizenship, nor is it even in tension with national citizenship. It is a way of being a citizen at any level, local, national, regional or global. It is based on feelings of solidarity with fellow human beings wherever they are situated. (p. 23)

Citizenship is now commonly conceived in this way, as comprising multiple affiliations that operate at different, overlapping levels. Heater (2004), for example, proposes four geographical levels – provincial, national, continental and world. Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999, pp. 83-84) suggest four “layers” of citizenship – moral, local, national and global.

2.2.5 The ethical dimension of citizenship: The good neighbour

To some extent, ideas employed in the academic discourse are familiar to the wider public; the language of rights and responsibilities, national identity and the global community is frequently found in the media. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that for many people being a good citizen is not primarily about a political or national identity, but rather a matter of behaving ethically towards others, particularly those with whom one interacts on a daily basis.

In a survey of more than 700 teachers in England, Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999) found that over 80% of participants believed the most important attributes of good citizenship were characteristics such as “moral and ethical behaviour” and “concern for the welfare of others”. The authors also asked teachers what they associated with the word “citizenship”. Although responses included some references to global responsibilities,

it was more common to find teachers exemplifying discharging responsibilities as a good citizen in terms of parking the car properly, not letting the dog bark too loudly, picking up paper litter, etc., and the contrast then being made with those behaviours that are careless of other people’s property and interests, e.g. vandalism (p.49)

The authors find “a huge gap between the views of those academics who have produced models of citizenship and the views of teachers on the nature of citizenship” (Davies et al., 1999, p. 7).

2.2.6 Citizenship and culture: A Western concept?

It can be argued that the discussion of citizenship presented above is overwhelmingly “Western” in orientation. In his comprehensive history of citizenship, Heater (2004) gives some consideration to *non*-Western thought, noting, for example, the cosmopolitan elements in Confucianism, and the Advaita school of Hinduism embraced by Ghandi. He concedes, however, that, “much discussion about state citizenship tends to be predicated upon the West European/North American contractarian and liberal traditions of political

thinking and revolutionary and parliamentary experiences” (p. 292). It is important, then, to question the relevance of citizenship to other regions and cultures of the world.

“Status, feeling and practice” (Osler & Starkey, 2005) offers a convenient way of thinking about citizenship under a variety of political regimes (both democratic and non-democratic) and at different levels (local, regional, national and global), and the three dimensions can also be usefully applied to different cultures. Of course, Heater’s point about a Western bias in the discourse refers to a specific, *normative* account of citizenship rooted in the liberal tradition of individual rights. As the above discussion should illustrate, however, liberalism is only one strand in a complex, dynamic discourse, which has been shaped by republican notions of duty, participation and civic virtue, and the solidaristic concerns of communitarianism, as well as by the liberal emphasis on rights.

Arguments *against* the applicability of Western notions of citizenship to other cultures came to prominence in the 1990s, in the “Asian values” debate initiated by Singapore’s Lee Kuan Yew. Proponents of Asian values argued that what counts as good citizenship is a matter of culture, and consequently East Asian countries, with their shared Confucian heritage, were justified in pursuing a different path to modernization from countries in the West. Criticizing a World Bank report of the time, Lee argued:

It makes the hopeful assumption that all men [*sic*] are equal, that people all over the world are the same. They are not. Groups of people develop different characteristics when they have evolved for thousands of years separately. Genetics and history interact. (Zakaria, 1994, p. 117)

In the same interview, Lee addressed the question of whether there was a distinct Asian model for political and economic development:

I don’t think there is an Asian model as such. But Asian societies are unlike Western ones. The fundamental difference between Western concepts of society and government and East Asian concepts ... is that Eastern societies believe that the individual exists in the context of his [*sic*] family. He is not pristine and separate. (p. 113)

Although Lee sought to emphasize essential differences between East and West, his references to the “pristine and separate” individual of liberal theory, and to the importance of family to “East Asian concepts”, recall the communitarian critique of liberalism within the “Western” discourse on citizenship.

The appeal to “Asian values” by elite politicians in the region was quickly dismissed as self-serving (Kim, 1994), and based on a selective reading of Confucius (Sen, 1999). Jenco (2013), however, suggests that the Asian values discourse makes an important contribution to the social sciences in that it “anticipates ongoing efforts to understand knowledge production as a *global* rather than a Euro-centric process” (p. 255, my emphasis).

In the field of citizenship education, the past few decades have seen a burgeoning of international collaboration by academics seeking to learn from different cultural traditions. Japanese scholars have been notably active in this work (e.g. Davies, Mizuyama, Ikeno, Parmenter, & Mori, 2013; Gifford, Mycock, & Murakami, 2014). Davies (2010) welcomes these opportunities for scholarly cross-pollination, and cautions against the “temptation to cling too strongly to a series of supposed dichotomies” (p. xiv), such as individualistic-collective, East-West:

concepts of citizenship in the ‘east’ are not restricted exclusively to traditions of ‘western’ political thought and may instead depend on different ways of viewing the world. Further, within ‘east’ and ‘west’ there are many distinctions of thought and practice. Many so-called ‘eastern’ ideas and practices will be recognized in the ‘west’, and *vice versa*. (p. xiv)

Literature reviewed in Section 2.5 highlights distinctive features of Japanese thinking on citizenship and citizenship education, and also points of convergence with international trends.

2.3 Citizenship education

This section focuses on education, reviewing literature that addresses ways in which governments have approached the teaching of citizenship in schools. This

provides important contextual information for the study, and introduces concepts that are used later, in Section 2.5, to characterize citizenship education in Japan. This section also looks briefly at issues of pedagogy and, in highlighting the emphasis on participatory learning styles found in the citizenship education literature, helps to establish common ground with foreign language teaching. As explained later in Chapter 3, concepts discussed in this section were used in the construction of the survey instrument, which sought to tap into JTEs' perceptions of the links between English teaching and citizenship education.

During the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century – shortly before the period when my study was conducted – there was a surge of interest in citizenship education among scholars and policy-makers. To some extent, attention has now shifted, so that, for example, in England, a change of government in 2010 led to greater focus on character education, economic awareness and the promotion of volunteerism in schools (Kisby, 2015). Nevertheless, there continues to be substantial academic interest in citizenship education; Kerr (2012) sees a global consensus on its importance and argues that comparative, international studies have moved the discourse on from its former Western focus.

This international scholarship reflects the fact that countries throughout the world face similar challenges in educating for citizenship, particularly owing to the globalizing trends outlined earlier. In democracies around the world there has been a perception of crisis. Disengagement from community groups (Putnam, 2000), and rising levels of xenophobia and political extremism have been interpreted as a threat to democracy, which needs to be addressed through education. In some countries, inward migration has fuelled fears that national identity is being undermined, bringing the issue of community cohesion to the fore and prompting renewed efforts to promote patriotism in schools. There has also been concern that falling rates of electoral participation and a perceived increase in anti-social behaviour reflect a decline in civic-mindedness among the young. At the same time, greater awareness of global risks such as climate change and the loss of biodiversity has encouraged the view that education systems with a traditionally national focus need to adopt a broader, cosmopolitan perspective, and nurture a degree of world-mindedness in students.

The international consensus on the importance of citizenship education has been charted in a series of surveys by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The most recent of these – the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) completed in 2016 – surveyed policies, curricula and outcomes of citizenship education in 24 participating countries, including three from Asia and five from Latin America (Schulz et al., 2016). The IEA surveys have revealed some important international trends in the way citizenship education is provided, and these are outlined in the following sections.

2.3.1 Modes of delivery

The ICCS studies reveal considerable diversity in the way citizenship education is provided, both within and across countries. Across countries they identify a “mixed tripartite approach” (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010, p. 56), with citizenship education being i) taught as a single subject, ii) integrated into other subjects, or iii) included as a cross-curricular theme. Integration of citizenship education into other subjects – typically social sciences, such as history or economics – emerges as the most common approach internationally (Schulz et al., 2016).

Davies (2012) identifies issues associated with these different methods of provision. In favour of an integrative or cross-curricular approach, it can be argued that the goals of citizenship education are relevant to *all* teachers, so attempts to segregate it off as an independent subject are unnecessary and undesirable. Indeed, one of the clearest findings of the IEA studies has been that regardless of how citizenship education is provided, the general ethos or climate of a school is a major influence on the development of young people’s attitudes and knowledge regarding citizenship.

On the other hand, there are also strong arguments for establishing citizenship in schools as a single subject, perhaps in addition to a degree of integration and cross-curricular work (the methods are not mutually exclusive, as Davies notes). Research carried out in England and Wales by Whitty, Rowe and Aggleton (1994) found that when schools were instructed to provide it as a cross-curricular theme, citizenship was effectively marginalized. Teachers were

concerned mainly with their own subject, reluctant to allocate time to teaching cross-curricular themes, and often unsure about *how* to do so. The researchers concluded that there was “clearly a danger of the themes being visible at the management level but failing to materialize in the classroom” (p. 179).

2.3.2 The citizenship curriculum

There is a consensus in the literature (e.g. Crick & Lister, 1979; Heater, 2004; Kennedy, 2008; Schulz et al., 2016) that to prepare learners for full participation in society, the citizenship curriculum needs to cover three, interrelated dimensions – *knowledge*, *attitudes* (or *values*), and *skills*. This is in contrast to the narrower focus on knowledge of political and legal systems that characterized older forms of political education or “civics”. The tendency to refer to “citizenship education” rather than “civic education” reflects this broader approach (Schulz et al., 2010). In the first decade of this century, advocates of citizenship education emphasized the need to nurture *active* citizens to counter the perceived decline in civic-mindedness in many democracies. Whereas an accumulation of knowledge alone might be sufficient for passive citizenship, to promote active citizenship, schools also needed to address values and skills (Ross, 2008). More recently, political changes have led to a shift away from teaching active citizenship skills and greater weight being placed on values and personal morality. Kisby (2015) argues that while such character education can contribute to the values dimension of citizenship, the current emphasis on personal ethics and volunteerism in the school curriculum in England, for example, risks depoliticizing citizenship and denying young people the skills needed to bring about social change.

The broader, though shifting, understanding of what should be taught has in turn stimulated research on citizenship pedagogy. Echoing Ross on the importance of teaching for active citizenship, Hughes and Sears (2008) argue that “best practice in citizenship education is broadly constructivist in character and must engage students in meaningful activities designed to help them make sense of, and develop competence with, civic ideas and practices” (p. 128). Summarizing research in this area, Hahn (2010) concludes that students are more likely to develop attitudes required for democratic citizenship where they have

experienced “active, participatory learning activities and there is an open climate for discussion” (p. 15). Evans (2008) acknowledges the range of active, participatory pedagogies for teaching citizenship, but also warns that research has tended to focus on the policy level, and this may obscure what teachers actually do.

The expansion of scholarly interest in the field has resulted in a growing number of in-country studies, in addition to comparative, international surveys like those conducted by the IEA. These in-country studies draw attention to points of international convergence, but also highlight historical and cultural factors that have produced distinct national variations. Kennedy (2008) emphasizes the role of competing ideologies in the shaping of national priorities for citizenship education:

the citizenship curriculum, as a reflection of a nation’s requirements of its young people as citizens, will reflect current values and priorities that are subject to change and revision depending on the salience of particular ideologies. Such a curriculum is never value free or neutral: it will always reflect current conceptions of the ‘good citizen’ as the ends towards which the curriculum is directed. (p. 486)

The discourse surrounding the introduction of citizenship to the national curriculum in England provides a good illustration of how shifts in priorities at the national level can impact upon education policy. In particular, it demonstrates how liberal and republican schools of thought have been challenged by increased attention to issues of culture and identity.

A framework for the new curriculum, introduced in 2002, was produced by the Advisory Group on Citizenship Education, in a document known as the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) after the group’s chairman, Sir Bernard Crick. The Crick Report, which has influenced policy around the world, including in Japan (Takaya, 2017), characterized the purpose of citizenship education as follows:

to make secure and to increase the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities needed

for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in so doing to establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community. (QCA, 1998, p. 40)

The report went on to specify learning outcomes in three main areas – social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. These recommendations blended liberal and republican views of citizenship, but also illustrated the tension that exists between them. Thus, while the report called for pupils to learn about their *rights*, this was tempered by a strong emphasis on *responsibilities*, including a duty to respect the rule of law, and be concerned for the common good.

The Crick group’s recommendations were criticized by some commentators as amounting to a “limited view of citizenship”, which “entirely fails to acknowledge globalization or even to recognize an international dimension” (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p. 92), or to consider issues of inequality and exclusion that can impinge upon rights. Kiwan (2008) argues that in underplaying identity-based conceptions of citizenship, the Crick Report paid insufficient attention to the notion of citizenship as feeling. The motivation to participate in society is contingent upon individuals feeling they belong, and this means that issues of personal identity and cultural diversity in the community need to be seen not as problematic for citizenship, but as an integral part of it. Responding to such arguments, the UK government subsequently added an “identities and diversity” strand to the national curriculum for citizenship. Political change in the 2010s has since led to further shifts, which give greater prominence to a national narrative and what are referred to as “Fundamental British Values” (Starkey, 2018).

2.3.3 The global dimension of citizenship education

The shifting focus of scholarship on citizenship education mirrors changes in the way citizenship itself is conceived (see section 2.2). In particular, increasing attention has been paid to how schools address the global dimension of citizenship. Globalization has undermined state-centred notions of citizenship and at the same time brought about a resurgence of nationalism, challenging

educators to develop new ways of teaching that address individuals' relationship to global society as well as to the nation. Reviewing the situation in England in 2004, Davies, Evans and Reid (2005) found that while a global dimension was largely absent from citizenship education, a wealth of pedagogical ideas and teaching materials had been developed by teachers working in world studies and global education. They credit global educators such as Pike and Selby (1988) with expanding the scope of citizenship teaching to include not only more global content, but also greater emphasis on exploring the interdependence of issues, and making temporal connections between the past, present and future.

Although virtually all countries included in the ICCS studies continue to promote national identity and allegiance through citizenship education, most also include a global dimension (Schulz et al., 2010; Schulz et al., 2016). An earlier study by Rauner (1997) also identified a convergence around an increasingly post-national model that includes teaching about international systems, human rights and global citizenship, in addition to nationally focused components. In this post-national model, Rauner observes, "World, regional, and subnational notions of citizenship are added to but do not replace national citizenship ideas" (p. 117). This may suggest an international convergence around the idea of multiple citizenships, but as other scholars have noted, increased attention to the global dimension in citizenship curricula does not necessarily signal acceptance of the cosmopolitan ethics espoused by Osler and Starkey (2005).

Gaudelli (2009), for example, argues that the discourse on global citizenship continues to be dominated by neoliberal and nationalist priorities. On this reading, the inclusion of a global dimension in citizenship curricula may be motivated by national, economic interests, and citizenship still seen as primarily an issue of national affiliation. Pike (2008) draws attention to ongoing tensions within global education between conservatives, who advocate a rather superficial acquaintance with other cultures and an uncritical acceptance of neo-liberalism, and reformative global educators, who place more emphasis on criticality and issues of social justice, equity and sustainability.

According to Gaudelli, cosmopolitanism is still a minority discourse compared with the dominant ideologies of neoliberalism and nationalism. He sees the curriculum for global citizenship developed by the anti-poverty NGO

Oxfam as embodying broadly cosmopolitan principles. Oxfam (2015) pronounces its framework for global citizenship to be “transformative”,

developing the knowledge and understanding, skills, values and attitudes that learners need both to participate fully in a globalised society and economy, and to secure a more just, secure and sustainable world than the one they have inherited. (p. 5)

In terms of the *knowledge* dimension, the Oxfam programme includes teaching about human rights, social justice, peace, identity and diversity. It addresses such *skills* as critical thinking, self-awareness, empathy, communication and cooperation in conflict resolution. It seeks to encourage such *values* as respect for human rights and for the environment, openness to diversity, commitment to social justice, and positive attitudes towards participation.

2.4 Foreign language teachers as citizenship educators

Literature reviewed here extends the general discussion of citizenship education presented above and links it directly to my study by focusing on three specific areas where FLT's are seen to have an important contribution to make: by teaching with relevant content; by helping learners develop skills for participating in dialogue; and by nurturing intercultural competence. Together, these three interrelated areas constitute a framework that I use to develop a theoretically informed perspective on what my participants say about the possibilities of infusing citizenship education into English teaching in Japanese high schools.

Literature reviewed here connects foreign language teaching and citizenship education in terms of shared aims and shared pedagogical styles. In particular, a communicative approach that incorporates content-teaching as well as language-teaching aims is seen to be especially relevant to the pursuit of citizenship-related goals by FLT's. While the purpose of this study was not to *evaluate* how JTEs say they are teaching for citizenship, the theoretical framework that emerges from the literature provides a tool for reflecting

critically upon what it is they say they are trying to do, and how they say they are trying to do it.

The role of FLTs in citizenship education has often been overlooked. In its recommendations for citizenship teaching in the UK, for instance, the Crick Report made one, fleeting reference to the potential of foreign languages to “offer a contrasting perspective from other countries on national, European and international events and issues” (QCA, 1998, p. 53), but gave no indication that FLTs might also play a part in nurturing values and skills of citizenship. Similarly, a more recent collection of studies on Japanese citizenship education (Ikeno, 2011), and a review of multicultural education in Japan (Ikeno, 2017), include no mention of foreign language teachers.

In the context of ongoing globalization, and growing cultural diversity within nations, issues of ethnicity and identity have become increasingly important to citizenship education (Kiwan, 2008). Related to this, the idea that foreign language teaching has an *educational* function as well as an *instrumental* function has gained wider recognition, especially within public-sector institutions (Porto & Byram, 2015a). The Council of Europe (2007) has identified a central role for foreign language education in nurturing a common European identity that embraces cultural and linguistic diversity:

Language education policies are intimately connected with education in the values of democratic citizenship because their purposes are complementary: language teaching, the ideal *locus* for intercultural contact, is a sector in which education for democratic life in its intercultural dimensions can be included in education systems. (p. 36)

Similarly, in its curriculum for global citizenship, Oxfam (2015) highlights the contribution FLTs can make to developing “knowledge and appreciation of different cultures and their world views”, and “awareness of global interconnectedness” (p. 13).

There is growing recognition, then, of the role FLTs can play in education for citizenship. Crucially, however, as Hennebry (2012) notes, this role assumes certain kinds of language-teaching pedagogy, and not simply the teaching of language *per se*. The following sections develop this point, outlining three main

ways that emerge from the literature in which FLT's can make a distinct contribution to education for citizenship: engaging students with citizenship-related content, nurturing skills that enable them to participate in dialogue, and promoting intercultural competence.

2.4.1 Content and language

FLT's can contribute to citizenship education by teaching with citizenship-related content. According to Maley (2004), since "language teaching has no defined content" (p. 3), FLT's are free to teach about more or less *any* subject matter. This view is a comparatively recent one, as Richards and Rodgers (2001) demonstrate. Until the emergence of the Reform Movement in the mid-nineteenth century, teachers of modern languages worked on the same assumptions that for centuries had guided teachers of Latin and Greek: that learning a language was essentially a matter of mastering its grammar, and that grammar should be taught deductively, through translation exercises and rote memorization of grammatical rules. Thus, language teachers' subject matter consisted very clearly of the grammar and vocabulary of the target language.

All this changed during what Richards and Rodgers (2001, pp. 14-16) refer to as "the methods era", particularly from the 1950s to the 1980s, which revolutionized the teaching of foreign languages. While variants of the grammar-translation method continue to play an important role in some parts of the world – and, crucially for this study, in Japanese schools – for more than three decades, foreign language teaching has been dominated by the communicative approach.

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) "emphasizes that the goal of language learning is communicative competence, and ... [it] seeks to make meaningful communication and language use a focus of all classroom activities" (J. C. Richards & Schmidt, 2002, p. 90). Compared with grammar-translation, the emphasis placed on "meaningful communication" in CLT implies radically different roles for teachers and learners. Learners take centre stage in the lesson, interacting with one another in communicative tasks; there is far less explicit grammar teaching as it is assumed learners will acquire grammatical rules inductively, through the trial-and-error process of communication. A large part of the teacher's role is to facilitate this communication by providing materials

and activities that will stimulate talk, and it is in this sense that Maley refers to the absence of defined subject matter.

Those who advocate a role for FLTs in teaching citizenship-related content (e.g. Peaty, 2004) also draw support from theories of Content-Based Instruction (CBI) and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). CBI and CLIL are often treated differently in the literature, but as Cenoz (2015) demonstrates, there is no essential difference between them: both refer to the teaching of academic content through a second language, and treat language as a “medium of learning” rather than something taught for its own sake (Mohan, 1986, chap. 1). For convenience, I use the term CBI to refer to CBI/CLIL.

In their comprehensive account of CBI, Brinton, Snow and Wesche (2003) present a case for organizing language courses around topics or themes rather than linguistic items, arguing that “a second language is learned most effectively when used as the medium to convey informational content of interest and relevance to the learner” (p. ix). They outline various models of CBI which are distinguished by the relative weight given to language and content. In the *theme-based* model, content is taught by a language teacher; the main aim is to improve students’ language skills, but the simultaneous learning of content is an inherent feature of the model. It is this theme-based model of CBI, which Brinton, Snow and Wesche (2003) argue is “appropriate at virtually all levels of language proficiency” (p. 20), that is most relevant to the Japanese high-school context (and further references to CBI should be understood to refer to the theme-based model).

There is, then, substantial theoretical support for FLTs who wish to address particular content as they teach language. What arguments are there for them to address citizenship-related topics in particular? By “citizenship-related”, I refer to topics that concern the *public sphere* rather than the personal sphere that has tended to be the focus of language courses (Starkey & Osler, 2003). The public/private dichotomy relates to philosophical traditions outlined earlier, with republicanism focusing on the duty of citizens to participate in the public realm of politics, and the liberal tradition emphasizing the need for rights to protect liberties, many of which are enjoyed in the private sphere. More recent theory, particularly from a feminist perspective, has challenged the private/public distinction, demonstrating, for example, how relationships within the “private”

sphere of the family and the home are inextricably tied up with “public” matters of power and policy. Global education has also emphasized the need for greater awareness of the links between the “private” choices individuals make as consumers and the very public effects those choices can have, in terms of their environmental impact, for instance. Citizenship-related topics concern the public sphere in the sense that they address the question highlighted by Hess and McAvoy (2015), “How should we live together?” (p. 166). It is also clear that many topics schools could address as matters of personal ethics or “character” can also be considered from a public-policy standpoint as issues of citizenship (Davies, Grammes, & Kuno, 2017).

The Crick Report (QCA, 1998) argued that students need to acquire a basic knowledge and understanding of society “through the topical and contemporary issues, events and activities which are the lifeblood of citizenship education” (p. 42), and identified these as spanning social, moral, political, environmental and economic issues. It also emphasized that such issues should be explored at a range of levels, from the local to the national, regional and global.

While the content taught by FLTs can address any of these levels, there is a particular interest in the profession in the *global* dimension. Cates (2005; 2002) observes that many language teachers feel a personal *moral* responsibility to address contemporary global issues:

Our world faces serious issues of terrorism, ethnic conflict, social inequality and environmental destruction. How can we prepare our students to cope with these challenges? What is our responsibility as language teachers in a world of war, poverty, prejudice and pollution? (K. Cates, 2005, p. 59)

Cates argues that this is not just a matter of personal ethics, however; language teachers have a professional responsibility, he says, to try to further educational goals adopted by international organizations like the UN. He cites UNESCO’s Linguapax Kiev Declaration which affirmed the responsibility of FLTs to “further international understanding through their teaching”, and do what they can “to enhance mutual respect, peaceful co-existence and co-operation among

nations” (as cited in Cates, 2005, p. 61). Like Cates, Peaty (2004) argues that FLTs are justified in incorporating human rights issues into their lessons since these have been sanctioned by international agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Likewise, Birch’s (2009) argument that FLTs should teach for global citizenship is grounded in the Earth Charter, an international declaration of values of sustainability, social justice and democracy that “has been endorsed by over 2,000 organizations and millions of people around the world” (p. 42).

To sum up, then, FLTs may often be able to address citizenship-related content in their lessons. The widespread adoption of CLT and, in particular, the influence of CBI theory, have highlighted the importance of teaching with content that is relevant to learners and engages their interest, and this has encouraged many FLTs to view the language classroom as a forum for learning about contemporary topics. Many language teachers feel a personal and professional responsibility to address matters of citizenship in their classes, and they can point to internationally framed agreements, as well as second-language acquisition theory, as endorsing them in this.

2.4.2 Teaching *with* and *for* discussion

Informed by the communicative approach, foreign language classes have become sites for learner-centred, interactive talk of all kinds, and this gives FLTs a role in teaching for citizenship. As Starkey (2005) argues, “In many respects communicative methodology is in itself democratic. The skills developed in language classes are thus directly transferable to citizenship education” (p.32). Through facilitating classroom talk – particularly where this addresses public-sphere issues – FLTs can contribute to citizenship education in two important and related ways, which correspond to what Parker and Hess (2001) refer to as teaching *with* and teaching *for* discussion.

2.4.2.1 Teaching with discussion

With communicative activities that focus on topics related to the public sphere, FLTs can create a discursive classroom where students are “talking to learn”

(Alexander, 2008). This can encourage reflection on the topics being discussed, and, according to Crick (1998), may also help nurture associated values:

children learn responsibility best and gain a sense of moral values by discussing, with good guidance from the earliest age, real and controversial issues. Talk, discussion and debate are the bases of social responsibility and intercourse and the grounding and practice of active citizenship. (p. 64)

Hess and Avery (2008) provide a review of scholarship on the role of discussion in citizenship education. They see a consensus among scholars that discussion acts as a vehicle for promoting democratic values, as well as increasing knowledge and awareness of social topics. Some studies differentiate between types of talk. Parker and Hess (2001), for example, distinguish between deliberation, seminar and conversation modes of discussion, and contrast these with other kinds of discourse like debate. On the other hand, Hess and Avery (2008) refer to suggestions in the literature that the benefits of classroom talk to civic learning may be related not so much to the *form* discussion takes or to whether talk focuses on *issues* as to the sense students have of being in a classroom with an open climate: “It may be that while controversial issues discussions do matter in terms of democratic outcomes, students’ sense that they are in a classroom where they can speak and their opinions are respected also matters” (pp. 508-9). The latest ICCS study reports positive correlations between students’ interest in social and political issues, and teachers establishing classroom climates in which discussion is encouraged (Schulz et al., 2016).

Teachers of any school subject may find opportunities to include discussion of contemporary topics, and indeed this is what all teachers are urged to do when citizenship is treated as a cross-curricular theme (K. Brown & Brown, 1996; Whitty et al., 1994). It can be argued, however, that the communicative pedagogies employed in the foreign language classroom make it especially conducive to the kind of citizenship-related talk referred to by Crick.

The principles of CLT are in many ways similar to those of dialogic teaching (Alexander, 2008; Mercer & Dawes, 2008). Drawing on the work of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, which presents knowledge-building as a reciprocal,

discursive process, Hardman (2011) argues that teachers should aim to teach dialogically, giving students opportunities to actively explore new information through talk. Traditional teacher-fronted lessons tend to deny learners this opportunity, since

knowledge is often presented by the teacher as closed, authoritative and immutable rather than as a reciprocal process in which ideas are discussed between student and teacher and student and student so as to take thinking forward and open it up to discussion and interpretation.
(p. 37)

This characterization of traditional, non-discursive classrooms bears a close resemblance to pre-communicative language teaching, and such pedagogies as the audiolingual method and grammar-translation method. As Starkey (1991) notes, these leave little room for discussion:

In such approaches the teacher controls the form of linguistic exchanges, ... and grammatical considerations (rather than the truth or the desire to express something) control the range of acceptable answers. The teaching style is teacher-centred rather than learner-centred, authoritarian rather than democratic. (p. 216)

In contrast, Starkey (2005) argues that CLT is “in itself democratic” (p. 32). Moreover, where FLTs adopt a communicative approach, their teaching can take on important features of the dialogic pedagogy advocated by Hardman. Richards and Rodgers (2001) discern three principles that constitute a theory of learning for CLT:

- the *communication principle*: “Activities that involve real communication promote learning.”
- the *task principle*: “Activities in which language is used for carrying out meaningful tasks promote learning.”
- the *meaningfulness principle*: “Language that is meaningful to the learner supports the learning process.” (p. 161)

Reviewing the principles of dialogic teaching provided by Alexander (2008), the similarities with CLT are striking. For example, Alexander describes dialogic teaching as *reciprocal* – teachers and learners “listen to each other, share ideas and consider alternative viewpoints” – and, at the same time, *purposeful* – “teachers plan and steer classroom talk with specific educational goals in mind” (p. 38). This resonates with CLT’s focus on structuring lessons around “real communication” and “meaningful tasks”.

Alexander (2008) also describes dialogic teaching as *supportive*: learners “articulate their ideas freely, without fear of embarrassment over ‘wrong’ answers, and they help each other to reach common understandings” (p. 38). Again, this is similar to the atmosphere FLT’s try to establish for learners engaged in communicative tasks. Since such tasks focus on meaning rather than form, as Willis (1996) advises, “The teacher ... should encourage all attempts to communicate in the target language. ... Learners need to feel free to experiment with language on their own, and to take risks. Fluency in communication is what counts” (p. 24). To be sure, FLT’s are concerned with grammatical accuracy, but when using activities intended to promote speaking fluency they are likely to save any error correction for other, form-focused phases of the lesson. Certainly, CLT does not entail the frequent highlighting of errors that characterizes the grammar-translation method.

2.4.2.2 *Teaching for discussion*

Under the influence of CLT, pair- and group- discussion activities have become such an established feature of foreign language classes that there is perhaps a risk of FLT’s overlooking their full potential in terms of citizenship education. Indeed, Parker and Hess (2001) observe that although teachers of all subjects routinely teach *with* discussion as a means of enriching students’ understanding of content, typically less attention is paid to teaching *for* discussion, where “discussion is not an instructional strategy but a curricular outcome” (p. 274).

The ability to engage in discussion was recognized in the Crick Report as a skill that needs to be addressed in citizenship education:

The [citizenship] curriculum should ... cover practical skills that enable young people to participate effectively in public life and prepare them to be full citizens. It should enable children and young people to develop *discussion, communication and teamwork skills*. It should help them learn to *argue cogently and effectively, negotiate successfully* and *co-operate with others*. (QCA 1998, p. 19, my emphasis)

Although Crick and his colleagues appear to have largely overlooked the contribution FLT's can make to citizenship education, teaching for discussion falls well within their remit. This is reflected in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001), which, for example, calls for FLT's to teach language to enable the expression of opinion, agreement and disagreement, and also interaction strategies such as taking the floor, turn-taking, and asking for clarification. Although little research has been done on the effectiveness of teaching *for* discussion (Nanni & Brown, 2016), a recent study by Bardovi-Harlig, Mossman and Velleng (2015), conducted with students of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) in Canada, provides empirical evidence of the value of teaching formulaic discursive expressions. They found that compared with a control group, students who had been taught expressions for agreement, disagreement and asking for clarification were significantly more likely to use this language in discussion, and that this resulted in clearer contributions from those students.

Preparing learners for discussion also allows FLT's to address procedural issues and values associated with democracy. Starkey (2005) recommends that students be reminded regularly of ground rules for discussion, especially where sensitive issues are being addressed. He cites examples of rules agreed by pupils in the UK, such as "Listen to each other", and "Make sure everyone has the chance to speak". He suggests further rules that promote respect for human rights: for example, "Discriminatory remarks, particularly racist, sexist and homophobic discourse and expressions are totally unacceptable at any time" (Starkey, 2005, p. 33).

As Starkey and others have argued, then, communicative language teaching affords FLT's a potentially important role in what Tardieu calls "education for dialogue" (as cited in Starkey, 2005, p. 32). And where communicative activities

focus on the sorts of citizenship-related topics discussed in 2.4.1, the foreign language classroom can become what Palmer (2005) considers an “ideal context” for teaching citizenship. Indeed, Palmer argues that language teaching and citizenship education are complementary: “Citizenship, which is both personal and controversial, relating to who we are and what our beliefs are, is ideally suited to task-based learning and the development of meaningful discourse or communication in a foreign or second language” (p. 123).

2.4.3 Intercultural competence

A third way in which FLTs can contribute to education for citizenship is in developing learners’ ability to interact successfully with people from different cultural backgrounds. Ongoing globalization and the increased interdependence of states, along with international migration and growing ethnic diversity within nations, have made interaction with people with different cultural backgrounds a fact of everyday life for many, if not all, citizens. As Bennett (1998) observes, for most of human history, people have tended to react negatively to difference – with suspicion, avoidance, hostility and, often, violence. Overcoming ethnocentrism and prejudice, and promoting values of openness and tolerance, have become integral aspects of teaching for citizenship in multicultural societies.

Reflecting these developments, the past few decades have seen a realignment of the goals of foreign language education in what some have referred to as an “intercultural turn” (e.g. Holmes, 2014). Advocates of an intercultural approach (e.g. Byram, 1989; Kramsch, 1993; Risager, 2007) have re-asserted the centrality of culture to language teaching, arguing that the preoccupation among language teachers with communicative competence has often meant culture being marginalized. CLT has tended to focus on transactional concerns (Corbett, 2003; Starkey, 1991). Thus, according to Byram and Guilherme (2000),

FLT has remained concerned with the indoctrination of ‘skills’ and, in its focus on technical issues, forgotten that communication is not just a matter of passing information or obtaining goods and services, but of

interacting with other human beings in socially complex and rich environments. (p. 71)

Writing with reference to increased migration in Europe, Byram and Zarate (1996) argue that FLTs must embrace objectives which go beyond developing learners' communicative competence, and which extend to helping them become "intercultural speakers" with the ability not only to interact directly with people from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but also to act in a mediating role. Such a role demands a complex set of competences which include not only foreign language skills but also knowledge of cultural practices, the capacity to recognize any cultural differences that may impinge on effective communication, and the willingness to try and negotiate them. As Maley (1994) observes, "These are educational issues that reach out well beyond mere language teaching. Cultural awareness-raising is an aspect of values education. As such it offers a welcome opportunity for transcending the often narrow limits of language teaching" (p. 3). This expanded role for FLTs has been formally recognized in Europe. According to the Council of Europe (2007), "language teaching, the ideal *locus* for intercultural contact, is a sector in which education for democratic life in its intercultural dimensions can be included in education systems" (p. 36).

Perhaps the most influential theorist of teaching for intercultural communication is Michael Byram, who, with his framework for intercultural citizenship (Byram, 2008a), provides a comprehensive account of how FLTs can contribute to education for citizenship, particularly in its intercultural dimension. Contrasting his approach with Osler and Starkey (2005), who emphasize the importance of fostering citizen *identities*, Byram (2008a) focuses on the *competences* citizens need at any level where mediation between different cultures is called for. Drawing upon his earlier model of intercultural competence (IC), Byram (1997, 2008a; Byram & Zarate, 1996) outlines competences – or *savoirs* – in five areas. As shown in Table 2.1, these *savoirs* embrace the three dimensions of learning: *knowledge* (for example, of cultural products and practices), *skills* (of interaction, interpretation and so on), and *attitudes* (such as curiosity and openness). Note that Byram often distinguishes between intercultural competence (IC) and intercultural *communicative* competence (ICC), of which IC is a component. The distinction is not important for this

study, and throughout the thesis I use “intercultural competence”/IC to refer to Byram’s model.

Table 2.1
Byram’s model of Intercultural Competence (IC)

Competence	Examples
<i>savoir être</i>	<u>Attitudes</u> : curiosity, openness, readiness to engage with other cultures / question one’s own.
<i>savoir</i>	<u>Knowledge</u> : of cultural products / practices in one’s own & other countries; history of relationships between countries; national memory; social institutions; sources of misunderstanding between different cultures etc.
<i>savoir comprendre</i>	<u>Skills</u> : interpreting documents or events from another culture and relating them to documents or events from one’s own. Identifying ethnocentric perspectives / areas of misunderstanding; mediating between conflicting interpretations etc.
<i>savoir apprendre / faire</i>	<u>Skills</u> : interacting with people from other cultures in real time; drawing on knowledge, skills and attitudes to acquire new cultural information or to mediate between one’s own and a foreign culture.
<i>savoir s’engager</i>	<u>Critical cultural awareness</u> : the ability to critically evaluate aspects of other cultures and one’s own.

adapted from Byram (2008a), pp. 230-233

Byram (2006, 2008a) demonstrates how the educational objectives addressed by the five *savoirs* either align with or complement many of those identified by the Council of Europe, and by scholars such as Gagel and Himmelmann, whose work is in the German tradition of *politische Bildung* (political education). Indeed, Byram (2006) argues that FLTs can address aspects of citizenship education that these writers tend to overlook:

Political/democratic education as presented by Gagel and Himmelmann seems to assume a common language among all those learning democracy. They do not address the practical linguistic skills necessary in international political engagement, even though Himmelmann’s list of contents refers to globalisation and foreign cultures. ... A foreign-language education perspective can complement and enrich this element of ‘democracy learning’ (p. 124)

FLTs’ role in developing “practical linguistic skills” is well-established, but is given a new urgency in being linked explicitly with education for democracy.

For Byram, it is teaching for the final competence in Table 2.1 – *savoir s’engager*: “the ability to critically evaluate aspects of other cultures and one’s own” – that constitutes a particularly distinctive role for FLT in citizenship education. One of the principal tasks of FLT in schools, he argues, is to “introduce young people to experience of other ways of thinking, valuing and behaving” (Byram, 2003, p. 18). In doing so they can help foster a degree of criticality among learners about their own society and their own cultural assumptions: “by comparison and contrast with what other people do, say and think, you’ll get a different perspective, an outsider perspective on what people around you take for granted” (Byram interviewed in Porto, 2013, p. 154). Byram sees FLT as contributing to a process of “tertiary socialization” which can transform the narrower perspectives acquired through primary socialization in the family and secondary socialization in the local community and schools.

Heater (2004) underscores the importance of FLT helping learners become aware of their own prejudices, especially in societies where ethnic and religious allegiances can work against the development of a common sense of citizenship. He also stresses the importance of encouraging “rational and flexible thought ... a willingness to be critical and a capacity to question information” (p. 345), along with tolerance and respect for other people’s values. Byram’s work on intercultural citizenship maps out a clear role for FLT in nurturing the reflexive criticality and tolerant attitudes that Heater argues are essential to citizenship in culturally diverse nations.

At the same time, Byram (2008b) argues that FLT can promote a sense of citizenship that transcends national boundaries. He maintains that citizenship education has tended to focus on the *national* sphere: “The perspective remains essentially inward looking, whereas the perspective of foreign language teaching is outward looking” (p. 129). Aligning himself with Starkey (1999) and Cates (2000), Byram (2003) frames foreign language teaching as a political project, which “can and should be a challenge to the isolationism of the nation-state” (p. 20).

I’m not saying that we should suppress national identity by any means, but what foreign language teachers ... can contribute to, is to extend the

perspective to the international, and to find ways ... in which an international perspective, and an international identification, can be created through cooperating and working with people of another country.

(Byram interviewed in Porto, 2013, p. 154)

Byram (2008b) argues that FLT's can play a key role in the development of international civil society, not only by encouraging learners to look beyond national attachments, but in practical ways, by cooperating with colleagues internationally to engage learners in joint projects. A recent book published by the Cultnet group of intercultural educators and researchers details various international initiatives which aim to infuse language classrooms with intercultural citizenship teaching (Byram, Golubeva, Hui, & Wagner, 2017).

Byram is sceptical about the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship, however, at least in the sense advocated by strong cosmopolitans (see 2.2.4), who see global citizenship as *supplanting* national citizenship identities. For Byram, national identities are “very tenacious” and make it difficult for individuals to identify *only* with global society. What *is* possible, however, is the cultivation of knowledge, skills and attitudes that facilitate international, intercultural cooperation:

What we're trying to do is move beyond the national borders and the restrictions in thinking that that creates into some kind of international citizenship rather than cosmopolitan citizenship.

(Byram interviewed in Porto, 2013, p. 154)

Although he distances himself from the term “cosmopolitan citizenship”, I see Byram as aligning with the “new cosmopolitans”, who view global citizenship as being rooted in national cultural attachments, and with the cosmopolitan citizenship envisaged by Osler and Starkey (2005), which embraces citizen identities at multiple levels – global, national, regional and local.

The three areas outlined above are not an exhaustive list of ways in which FLT's might conceivably contribute to citizenship education. Recent work has also

explored the potential of linking foreign language teaching and service learning, for example (Rauschert & Byram, 2017). Together, however, the approaches described in this section – teaching with content related to citizenship, nurturing skills for dialogue, and teaching for intercultural competence – constitute a distinct role for FLTs.

However, while there is a growing body of research linking the work of FLTs with teaching for citizenship – particularly in the area of intercultural competence/intercultural citizenship, where numerous projects are underway (e.g. Byram et al., 2017; Byram & Wagner, 2018; Porto, 2018) – studies to investigate the links between citizenship education and English teaching in Japanese secondary schools have been lacking. It is this gap in the literature that my study seeks to address.

The literature reviewed above strongly suggests that Japanese teachers of English may have an important role to play in educating young Japanese for citizenship in the context of globalization and increasing cultural diversity. On the other hand, literature presented in the next section also suggests that any contribution JTEs could make to citizenship education may be severely limited by the prevailing culture of English teaching in Japanese schools, which prioritizes preparation for university entrance exams, and teacher-fronted, grammar-translation pedagogies.

2.5 The Japanese context

The purpose of this section is to clarify the need for my research by drawing on the preceding discussion of scholarship on citizenship, citizenship education and the role of FLTs, and establishing its relevance to Japan. It begins, in 2.5.1, by reviewing literature that identifies tensions in how Japanese citizenship is conceived. As in some other countries, traditional, national views of citizenship are being challenged by globalization and increasing cultural diversity. This has had repercussions for citizenship education, the focus of 2.5.2. Scholars differ in their assessments of the Japanese approach to citizenship education, some emphasizing its distinct, predominantly national character, and others focusing on points of convergence with international trends. Recent measures taken by the government to strengthen patriotic education in schools are contrasted with

elements of cosmopolitanism in the curriculum. The evident tension between national and post-national tendencies is important in framing the role of JTEs in teaching for citizenship.

2.5.3 considers the status of English in Japan, reviewing key government documents which foreground English as a tool for strengthening Japanese identity and pursuing the national interest overseas. However, Japan's language policy also exhibits clear cosmopolitan traits in that foreign language teaching is presented as a means of promoting respect and tolerance for other cultures.

2.5.4 provides an overview of English teaching in Japanese high schools, highlighting the tensions between government language policy, which increasingly emphasizes training in practical English skills, and the pressures that many teachers feel under to stick to traditional, grammar-translation pedagogies, which are commonly viewed as essential for university entrance exam preparation. This disconnect between policy and practice is seen to have important implications for JTEs wishing to incorporate teaching for citizenship into their lessons.

2.5.1 Japanese conceptions of citizenship

According to Taniguchi (2011), the Japanese concept of citizenship is somewhat different from other countries owing to the country's "unique historical background" (p. 3), and, in particular, its Confucian heritage. During the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), Confucianism, with its emphasis on loyalty, harmony, and deference to authority, provided the philosophical justification for the *shi-nou-kou-shou* system, which arranged samurai (*shi*), farmers (*nou*), artisans (*kou*) and merchants (*shou*) in a rigid social hierarchy under the emperor (Goto-Jones, 2009). While Confucianism has clearly influenced Japanese conceptions of citizenship, O'Dwyer (2017) warns that, particularly in the field of education, it has too often formed the basis for "anachronistic, orientalist stereotypes" (p. 208) among Western scholars, which ignore cultural diversity within Japan and the social transformations brought about by modernization. Today, the differences in Japanese conceptions of citizenship that Taniguchi alludes to are essentially a matter of degree. Regarding citizenship in the wider Asian context, Davies (2010) comments that, "Many so-called 'eastern' ideas

and practices will be recognised in the ‘west’, and *vice versa*” (p.xiv), and this observation is certainly true of Japan.

2.5.1.1 *The terminology of Japanese citizenship*

The English word “citizen” has various equivalents in Japanese, each of which has different connotations. Karaki (2007) discusses four terms, shown in Figure 2.1, which he argues reflect the evolution of citizenship in Japan.

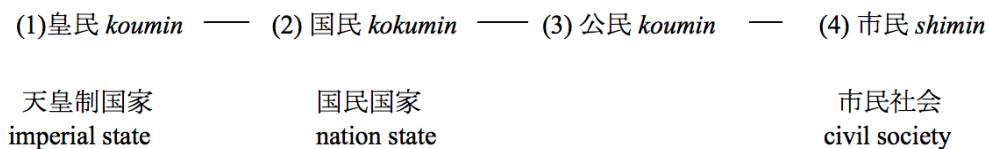


Figure 2.1 Japanese citizenship terminology Adapted from Karaki (2007, p. 46)

The first term (1), *koumin* (皇民), which is only used today in discussions of history, refers to the Japanese person as a subject of the emperor under the pre-war imperial system. The terms (2) *kokumin* (国民) and (4) *shimin* (市民) are in everyday use to refer to citizens, but have different connotations. *Kokumin* – literally, “person of the country/state” – refers to a *Japanese* citizen: that is, someone with the legal status of a Japanese national. When used in the context of schools, *kokumin* has associations with patriotic education and the inculcation of national identity. On the other hand, *shimin* – literally, “person of the city” – carries the sense of the individual citizen acting in civil society. The term *shimin* came to prominence in the 1950s through the *shimin undou*, or citizens’ movements, which campaigned, for instance, against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty (*Anpo*). Owing to this early association of *shimin* with anti-establishment causes, the word still has negative connotations for some Japanese (Ogawa, 2009). Particularly with the expansion of Japan’s voluntary sector, however, *shimin* has become the usual way to refer to citizens in the municipal sphere, and as participants in NPOs.

The other term Karaki discusses is (3) *koumin* (公民) – literally, “public person” – which is the name of the civics component of the social studies subject taught in high schools. Explaining the placement of *koumin* between *kokumin* and *shimin* in the diagram, Karaki quotes guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education in 1967: “In essence, the ‘public person’ (公民的資質) ... must be understood to combine two meanings – citizen (*shimin*) as a member of civil society, and citizen (*kokumin*) as a member of the nation” (as cited in Karaki, 2007, p. 45, my translation). This attempt to combine two very different concepts of citizenship in one notion of the “public person” (公民) was problematic, and the reference to *kokumin* in the Ministry’s guidelines was widely criticized at the time as inviting associations with pre-war nationalism.

There continues to be a tension between the two senses of citizenship denoted by *kokumin* (national) and *shimin* (civil). It is interesting how in recent years, perhaps to sidestep the *kokumin/shimin* controversy, the Japanese discourse on citizenship education increasingly employs the English “citizenship” as a loanword – *shitizunshippu* (シテ ィ ズン シ ッ プ) – written in the *katakana* script reserved for words of foreign origin. (The fact that “citizen” and “citizenship” can be translated in various ways in Japanese has important methodological implications for my study. These are discussed in 3.6.3.2.)

This discussion of terminology has highlighted some of the main themes in the Japanese discourse on citizenship – in particular the tension between the “national” and “civil”. The sections that follow expand on these ideas in relation to Osler and Starkey’s (2005) three dimensions of citizenship – status, feeling and practice.

2.5.1.2 *The status of Japanese citizenship*

Japanese nationality is based on parentage, on the principle of *jus sanguinis*. The law allows for the naturalization of foreign nationals as Japanese citizens, but, since Japan does not recognize dual citizenship, this requires renunciation of any prior nationalities and comes with the expectation that naturalized citizens will assimilate fully as Japanese. Crucially, the government does not publish statistics on the ethnic origin of Japanese nationals, including those who have naturalized,

thus maintaining a clear dichotomy between Japanese – who are assumed to be ethnically homogeneous – and foreigners (Kashiwazaki, 2013).

Japan’s constitution – drafted under the US Occupation and enacted in 1947 – enshrines three fundamental principles in Japanese law: democracy, respect for human rights, and the preservation of peace. It provides an extensive list of rights for Japanese citizens which encompass civil liberties (*jinshin no jiyuu* 人身の自由), political rights (*sanseiken* 参政権) and social rights (*shakaiken* 社会権). Only three major duties (*sandai gimu* 三大義務) are specified for citizens: the duty to educate one’s children, support oneself through work, and pay taxes. While aspects of the constitution remain controversial – in particular, Article 9, whereby Japan renounces its right to wage war and maintain an army – it has provided a durable legal framework for democratic citizenship in Japan, and in this respect Beer and Maki (2002) judge it to be “one of the world’s most successful documents” (p. 95). With its emphasis on human rights and democracy, the constitution has been a key rallying point for progressive educators in Japan, including the left-leaning Japan Teacher’s Union, *Nikkoyoso* (Motani, 2005).

2.5.1.3 *The feeling of Japanese citizenship*

Osler and Starkey (2005) argue that individuals experience citizenship most directly as a “feeling of belonging” (p. 9). Data from a survey conducted in 2013 by the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) reveal high levels of national identification in Japan, with 96% of respondents expressing emotional attachment to the country, and 61% believing patriotic feelings are essential for national unity (Murata, 2014).

The literature emphasizes the centrality of cultural factors in the construction of national identity in Japan. In an often-cited survey of national attitudes, Karasawa (2002) identified a commitment to national heritage as the main component of Japanese identity. He suggests that the strong attachment to *cultural* distinctiveness reflects the fact that, unlike the US, Japan has never been a *political* superpower.

More than a simple attachment to traditional culture, however, it is the widespread belief in the cultural *unity* of Japan that appears to have been key to national identity. This unity is a central tenet of *nihonjinron* (日本人論 – literally, “theories of the Japanese people”), a popular discourse in post-war Japan that purports to explain the unique characteristics of the Japanese. The historical roots of *nihonjinron* can be traced to the Tokugawa and Meiji periods. Dower (1999) sees similarities with wartime nationalist propaganda which invoked the Japanese people’s “unique and indomitable ‘Yamato spirit’” (p. 104). What Burgess (2010) refers to as the “post-war reconstruction of Nihonjinron”, however, was part of a concerted effort to erase the image of the wartime imperialist state (Karasawa, 2002) and construct a new national identity based on a sense of ethnic distinctiveness. Fundamental to the *nihonjinron* discourse is the notion that the Japanese are a racially homogeneous people (*tanitsu minzoku* 単一民族) who also share a common ethnicity and language.

Most *nihonjinron* writing was published during the 1970s and 80s, and, in the ensuing decades, scholars have waged something of a crusade against the discourse for its failure to acknowledge the reality of ethnic diversity in Japan (Okano & Tsuneyoshi, 2011). The clear consensus among academics now is that Japan is multicultural. Burgess (2010), however, criticizes the readiness of many scholars – especially Western academics – to dismiss the *nihonjinron* notion of homogeneity as a nationalist myth. He points to evidence from public surveys that suggests “homogeneous Japan” is indeed the prevailing discourse among most Japanese. Similarly, Siddle (2013) argues that increasing cultural diversity appears to have had little impact on most ordinary people’s sense of what it means to be Japanese:

the widespread acceptance of Nihonjinron myths as ‘common sense’ effectively denies such diversity and ensures that to be a Japanese citizen and enjoy constitutional rights requires both the practice of ‘unique’ Japanese culture and the possession of Japanese ‘blood’. (p. 152)

Another integral aspect of Japan’s national identity is the national language (*kokugo*). The idea that this embodies a unique Japanese spirit (*kotodama*) was a

central theme of *nihonjinron* (Gottlieb, 2012), and recent surveys suggest that for many Japanese, being a native speaker of the language is a more important marker of citizenship than even parentage (Burgess, 2012). This is reflected in the idea, apparently held by many Japanese, that their language is too difficult to be properly learned by foreigners. Gottlieb (2005) draws attention to the fact that there are two ways to refer to the language: *kokugo* (国語) is the “national language”, spoken by natives and taught in schools, whereas *nihongo* (日本語) is the Japanese taught to foreigners. Thus, “the ... native-speaker word for the language is different, although the language itself is of course the same, clearly designating the insider-outsider tenets of the Nihonjinron stance on language” (p. 15). A corollary of this insider-outsider view of language is the common assumption among Japanese that as a nation they are not naturally gifted in foreign languages. Indeed, Befu (as cited in Seargeant, 2009, p. 55) went as far as to argue that the difficulty of reforming foreign language education in Japan may result from policy makers’ unconscious desire to *preserve* low levels of foreign language proficiency as a way of maintaining Japanese people’s sense of their own “separateness”.

2.5.1.4 The practice of Japanese citizenship

For most Japanese, the *practice* of citizenship is arguably characterized less by political participation than by involvement in their local community. In recent decades, concerns have been raised about dwindling electoral turnout and the apparent disengagement of Japanese citizens from formal political processes. Turnout in the 2016 parliamentary elections was just 52.6 percent (International IDEA, 2017). A recent survey by national broadcaster, NHK, found that in the previous decade there had been a significant increase in the number of Japanese saying they “had never and would never” engage in political activities such as signing petitions or contacting public officials. Part of the reason for this trend, it suggested, is a pervading sense that “even if I participate in politics, nothing will change” (Kobayashi, 2015, para. 3, my translation).

Tsukada (2015) cautions against attributing low rates of political participation to citizens’ apathy. He provides data suggesting that the majority of

Japanese *are* interested in politics and *do* want to play an active role in bettering the country. Although ordinary Japanese are often characterized as being averse to political involvement, the post-war period has seen periods of intense political activism, most obviously in the mass demonstrations of the 1960s and 70s against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty, and Japan's involvement with the Vietnam War (Avenell, 2010). There have been ongoing social movements throughout the post-war period – campaigns for the rights of Korean residents, for example, or protests against US military bases in Okinawa – but large public demonstrations have been comparatively rare. Recent events, however, including the perceived mismanagement of the nuclear crisis at Fukushima and the passing of the State Secrecy Law under the Abe administration, have triggered the largest mass protests seen in decades. Ogawa (2016) argues that these may herald a new activism in Japanese politics.

Notwithstanding these recent developments, overtly political activism is relatively unusual in Japan, and for most citizens civic participation is focused on the local community (J. Tsukada, 2015). Involvement in local neighbourhood associations – to which an estimated 90% of households belong – is part of everyday life for most Japanese, and involves them in such activities as environmental preservation, fire and crime prevention, traffic control, and organizing cultural events. Participation is voluntary but typically viewed as a civic duty (Haddad, 2012).

Though not as pervasive as neighbourhood associations, participation in other civil groups is also increasingly common in Japan. The past two decades have witnessed important developments in Japan's civil society (*shimin shakai* 市民社会), in particular a massive expansion of non-profit organizations following the passing of the NPO law in 1998. The new legislation was itself a response to pressure from citizens' groups who, following the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995, proved more effective than government bodies in organizing relief efforts (Leheny, 2013), inspiring a "volunteer boom" in Japan. As of 2015, more than 50,000 NPOs had been incorporated, involved in such areas as community welfare and environmental preservation (Japan NPO Center, 2017).

2.5.2 Education for citizenship in Japan

Over the past two decades, debates about the nature of citizenship and citizenship education have intensified in Japan. As in other countries, these debates have often been characterized by a sense of crisis. Following the collapse of its bubble economy in the early 1990s, Japan entered a prolonged recession, which became known first as the “lost decade” (*ushinawareta juunen* 失われた十年) and later as the “lost twenty years”. The economic malaise has been accompanied by a series of national emergencies – notably the Great Hanshin Earthquake and sarin gas attacks on the Tokyo subway in 1995, and the catastrophic “triple disaster” of the Great East Japan Earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdowns at the Fukushima Dai-ichi plant in March 2011. These events, and the apparent inability of Japan’s government to respond effectively, have undermined public confidence in the authorities, and triggered a period of anxious reflection on the state of the nation (Goto-Jones, 2009).

A sense of crisis clearly underlay the *Declaration on Citizenship Education* (*Shitizunshippu Kyouiku Sengen*) published in 2006 by METI, Japan’s Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. According to this document, rapid changes in Japan’s economy, technological development, ongoing globalization, and shifting personal values have produced an increasingly unequal society with growing disparities in income, education, employment and health. Japanese society, argues METI, “can no longer be understood with our previous ways of thinking” (Keizai Sangyousho, 2006, p. 2, my translation). These disturbing developments were presented as a rationale for new initiatives in citizenship education, much as the Advisory Group on Citizenship in England framed its own recommendations as responding to “worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life” (QCA, 1998, p. 8). Indeed, METI was clearly influenced by the work of Crick’s committee, citing the citizenship curriculum in England as an example of what could be done in Japan.

As yet there have been no moves by the Ministry of Education (also referred to as “MEXT”) to introduce citizenship as a stand-alone subject. In the majority of public schools, formal teaching for citizenship remains under the umbrella of social studies. At the senior high-school level, this includes a civics

component (*koumin* 公民) in which students study modern society, politics and economics, and a separate subject, moral education (*doutoku* 道德), which aims to nurture such values as diligence, sincerity, and a sense of public responsibility (McCullough, 2008). The introduction of Integrated Studies in 2002 (see below) has also offered some scope for schools to expand citizenship-related project work. More recently, and since my study was conducted, the lowering of the voting age from 20 to 18 in 2015 has enfranchised students in the final year of senior high school, and rekindled interest in education for political literacy. A new subject, “public affairs” (*koukyou* 公共) will replace *koumin* from 2020, but will remain part of social studies (“New compulsory subjects”, 2018).

As many scholars have noted (e.g. McCullough, 2008; Parmenter, 2004; Tegtmeier Pak, 2016), it is in the informal school curriculum that “real” training for Japanese citizenship occurs. From the time they enter primary school, Japanese students must perform such duties as cleaning the school facilities, organizing after-class club activities and extra-curricular events, and attending meetings to discuss school rules. It is this hands-on involvement in running the school that is seen as providing the most important training for adult life in Japan. Fieldwork carried out by Cave (2011) suggests that among teachers in junior high schools, these activities tend to be viewed as more important to children’s development than formal lessons.

While in the vast majority of Japan’s schools teaching for citizenship is infused throughout the formal and informal curriculum, there have been numerous local experiments in citizenship education as a stand-alone subject, most notably in Shinagawa and Ochanomizu in Tokyo. Mizuyama’s (2010) review of six initiatives across the country illustrates the breadth of thinking on citizenship education in Japan. Some initiatives emphasize personal moral development, whereas others emphasize participation in local community projects. Mizuyama acknowledges the lack of consensus, but discerns a steady evolution in Japanese thinking towards more active, participatory conceptions of citizenship.

At the same time, as Karaki (2007) observes, the discourse in Japan continues to be shaped by tensions between traditional notions of citizenship, which emphasize a strong national identity and loyalty to the state, and newer,

post-national views of citizenship, which incorporate a global dimension and emphasize active engagement in civil society. Karaki sees evidence of the latter in METI's *Declaration on Citizenship Education*, but points to the revision of Japan's Fundamental Law on Education (FLE) with the aim of cultivating patriotism as evidence that national views of citizenship continue to dominate.

Scholars are somewhat divided on the issue. Parmenter, Mizuyama and Taniguchi (2008) see the citizenship curriculum as overwhelmingly Japan-centred, to the point of discouraging the development of identities beyond the nation. They argue that the "natural" approach to instilling citizenship values through involvement in day-to-day school activities, along with the relative absence of teaching for political literacy, also risk promoting an uncritical acceptance of the state-sponsored view of national identity, with its underlying assumption of Japanese ethnic homogeneity. In the same vein, Higashi (2008) views efforts by national and local governments to promote "*kokoro* education" (こころの教育: "education of the heart") through workbooks featuring emotional appeals to traditional national virtues, as an attempt to "landscape the minds and hearts of Japanese" (p. 39), and build strong national identities that can withstand the perceived threats of globalization.

Tegtmeyer Pak (2016) takes a different view, arguing that formal citizenship education in Japan conforms to international trends identified by the IEA (see 2.3), which include teaching universal values associated with human rights, intercultural understanding and some element of global citizenship, in addition to national history and culture. She sees the informal curriculum as exhibiting more distinctively Japanese traits, but concludes that "the formal curriculum of Japanese citizenship education looks remarkably similar to that practiced in other states" (p. 29).

Other scholars (e.g. Fujiwara, 2011; Ishii, 2003; Motani, 2007) emphasize opportunities within the curriculum for progressive educators to introduce aspects of global citizenship education. Especially important was the introduction of Integrated Studies (*sougouteki na gakushuu* 総合的な学習) in 2002 as part of government efforts to promote *yutori kyouiku* ("relaxed education", or "education with breathing space"). Since no curriculum is specified for Integrated Studies, schools are required to develop their own

teaching plans, but MEXT guidelines clearly recommend “international understanding” as a theme to be addressed. Motani (2005) argues that this “progressive turn” in Japanese educational reform has provided a unique opportunity for teachers who wish to promote learning on environmental issues, cross-cultural understanding and global citizenship.

Although formal citizenship education in Japan includes a strong emphasis on the *national*, then, as Tegtmeier Pak (2016) argues, there are also elements that converge around international norms. The situation conforms to Saito’s (2010) characterization of Japanese education in the post-war period as an ongoing interplay between competing institutional logics of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. According to Saito, although the reform of the FLE in 2006 consolidated the position of nationalism within Japanese education, at the same time it also expanded the cosmopolitan tenets of the 1947 FLE drawn up under the US Occupation. Thus, while the new FLE includes teaching of Japanese traditions and “love of the nation” as principal objectives, it retains the commitment to “world peace and the welfare of humanity” and adds a call for schools to “respect other countries and cultivate attitudes to contribute to the peace and progress of world society” (as cited in Saito, 2010, p. 17). Saito concludes that Japanese education is now “firmly anchored in the compromise between nationalism and cosmopolitanism” (p. 17). He points to the use of slogans such as “Japanese who live in world society” (世界の中の日本人) and “cosmopolitan Japanese” (国際的な日本人) as examples of “composite” phrases that simultaneously evoke nationalist and cosmopolitan goals (p. 4).

2.5.3 English in Japan: Language and policy

Foreign language learning has been a preoccupation of Japan’s authorities for centuries, but always viewed with a degree of ambivalence. On the one hand, foreign languages have been seen as a key to national security and economic development, but on the other they have aroused suspicion as potential threats to Japan’s indigenous culture. Under the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan entered more than two hundred years of self-imposed isolation – the *sakoku* period (鎖国, 1640-1853). Overseas travel was forbidden for ordinary Japanese, and the only

authorized communication with foreigners was confined to a Dutch trading community on the small island of Dejima, specially constructed off the coast of Nagasaki. While this allowed Japan to benefit from some highly regulated exchange with the outside world, it also acted as a bulwark against undue foreign influence. Seargeant (2005, 2009) argues that long after the forcible end of the *sakoku* policy by Commodore Perry's American trade mission, a "Dejima mentality" has persisted in shaping Japan's "protectionist and ideologically regulated" contact with the international community (Seargeant, 2009, pp. 69-70).

Following the end of the *sakoku* era, Japan embarked on a period of rapid modernization, fearful of colonization by foreign powers. In the latter half of the 19th century, the study of foreign languages, and English in particular, became an elite pursuit of Western know-how based on the translation of foreign texts into Japanese. The strategy of *wakon yousai* (和魂洋才 "Japanese spirit, Western learning") allowed Japan to embrace modern technology while simultaneously resisting Westernization and preserving its own cultural identity. As Koizumi (2002) puts it, "When this [modernization] strategy succeeded, the Japanese attributed it to *wakon*, the Japanese spirit, rather than to *yousai*, Western learning" (p. 30).

The rise of nationalism and militarism in the 1930s and the war in the Pacific were a setback for the study of foreign languages in Japan, but following Japan's defeat in 1945 the importance of learning English became widely accepted (Ike, 1995). Under the US Occupation, the Japanese education system was restructured, and for the first time English became a required subject for all junior high school children (Aspinall, 2013).

In the post-war period, English teaching has gained increasing prominence in Japanese education. During the 1980s, high-profile initiatives such as the JET Programme were at the centre of a policy of *kokusaika* (国際化), or "internationalization". Successive amendments to the Course of Study (*gakushuu shidou youryo* 学習指導要領) – essentially a national curriculum for Japan's schools – have steadily increased the presence of Foreign Languages (i.e. English) within the school curriculum. Now English accounts for more class time than any other subject, including *kokugo* (Japanese) (MEXT, 2008a).

This brief historical background highlights themes running through the discourse on English language teaching in Japan. Seargeant (2009) notes that scholarship in this area (e.g. Ike, 1995; Koike & Tanaka, 1995) often focuses on the close historical association between English education and Japan's connections with the outside world: "While the English language is not cast as being directly responsible for this political history, it is presented in such a way that its status becomes an index of Japan-international relations" (p. 49).

In the context of globalization, government policy documents very explicitly link English teaching to Japan's capacity to pursue its overseas interests. Particularly influential was the report of the Commission on Japan's Goals in the Twenty-First Century, published in January 2000 and known in English as *The Frontier Within*, and MEXT's 2003 *Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* (hereafter referred to as "the *Action Plan*"). These documents and the debates surrounding them provide clear examples of the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in Japan's post-war education policy (Saito, 2010). The *Action Plan* and the new Courses of Study based on it, include language that provides a cosmopolitan rationale for learning English. English is presented as fundamental to education that "aims at instilling a broader perspective and an understanding of different cultures, fostering attitudes of respect, ... and the ability to live with people of different cultures" (MEXT, 2003, §3). Announcing the *Action Plan*, then Minister of Education Atsuko Toyama drew attention to the challenges posed by globalization: "Given such circumstances, international understanding and cooperation are essential, as is the perspective of living as a member of the international society" (Toyama, 2003, para. 1). Thus, at least part of the reason given for cultivating citizens' English abilities was to raise their consciousness of belonging to an international community.

On the other hand, language policy in Japan has also been guided by more nationalist priorities. The *Action Plan* reflects what Kubota (2015) refers to as the "neoliberal promise of English" (p. 3), which presents proficiency in the language as essential to participation in the world economy and Japan reaping the benefits of globalization. At the same time, globalization is widely perceived as a process that threatens to dilute national identity (Tollefson, 2013). Yamagami and Tollefson (2011) draw attention to how Japanese government

documents and the wider political discourse concerning English teaching tend to frame globalization as more threat than opportunity. For example, during debates in the Japanese Diet on the pros and cons of introducing English classes to elementary schools, members of the governing party aired concerns that it would risk undermining children's identity as Japanese, and threaten national unity.

In fact, the *Action Plan* is as much concerned with the teaching of Japanese as it is with English, “combining ideologies of both internationalism and nationalism in one policy” (Gottlieb, 2012, p. 18). While it proposes various improvements to English teaching in schools, including better teacher training, a greater focus on practical communication skills, and expanded use of native English-speaking ALTs, the *Action Plan* is clear that all this must go hand in hand with a renewed focus on the teaching of Japanese. Indeed, students' success in English is deemed to *depend* on proficiency in the national language:

It is necessary to foster in students the ability to express appropriately and understand accurately the Japanese language and to enhance communication abilities in Japanese *in order to* cultivate communication abilities in English. (MEXT, 2003, my emphasis)

In *The Frontier Within*, English proficiency is promoted along with IT skills as part of global literacy. Kawai (2007) interprets this as an attempt to minimize the perceived threat to Japanese identity. She notes how the original, Japanese version of the report refers to English as *saiteigen no dougu* (最低限の道具) – “the minimum tool” – for understanding the world. Seen in this way, as a neutral lingua franca rather than as a language that embodies distinct, foreign cultures, English can be presented as wholly necessary to Japan's continued prosperity in a globalizing world, but at the same time as posing no threat to Japanese language and culture.

Moreover, if English is conceived of as a neutral tool, it can be put to the service of the nation by projecting its culture overseas. Seargeant (2009) refers to this as the “promulgation function” of English, noting the “interesting paradox whereby promotion of a nationalist sentiment requires the embracing of a ‘foreign’ language” (p. 79). While stressing that all Japanese should be able to

communicate in English, the authors of *The Frontier Within* gave reassurances that this was to strengthen Japanese language and culture, and raise Japan's profile in the world:

if we treasure the Japanese language and culture, we should actively assimilate other languages and cultures, enriching Japanese culture through contact with other cultures and showing other countries the attraction of Japanese culture by introducing it in an appropriate fashion in their languages. (Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the Twenty-First Century, 2000, chap. 6, §V 3)

Hashimoto (2013b) argues that, ultimately, the government's reason for promoting English is its concern that "Japanese people's voices are not being heard internationally because of inadequate language skills" (p. 178).

While English is promoted as an international lingua franca and a means of projecting Japan's interests abroad, Japanese government policies on English can also be seen as furthering reflexive, inward-looking objectives, concerned with the way Japanese citizens view themselves in relation to the outside world. Some scholars see policy as being guided by the *nihonjinron* discourse, and its notion of a culturally and linguistically homogeneous Japan. According to Liddicoat (2007), "Within the *Nihonjinron* ideology, the study of languages of the other reinforces what it means to be Japanese; in other words, distinguishing self from other, insider from outsider, 'we' from 'they', and Japanese from non-Japanese" (p. 38). This tendency can be seen in the announcement that ahead of the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, MEXT will "vigorously promote" learning about traditional Japanese culture and history in English with the aim of "nurturing ... [a] sense of Japanese identity" (MEXT, 2013, §1). Barrett and Miyashita (2016) suggest that in view of the expected increase in foreign visitors to Japan in the lead up to the Olympics, "MEXT aims to equip students to become capable of presenting Japan [*sic*] identity to the world in a type of 'we vs. you' discourse ..." (p. 62).

The concerns that have shaped Japan's English education policy are also closely associated with the discourse on citizenship. *The Frontier Within* is a wide-ranging discussion of the challenges Japan faces in a globalizing world, and

the knowledge, skills and values that current and future generations of Japanese will need in order to confront them. There is, of course, a strong emphasis on *national* priorities and on the identity Japanese require as *kokumin* (Japanese nationals), but at the same time there is recognition that the boundaries between the national and the global are becoming harder to distinguish:

The ties of international interdependence will become even closer, and the international and domestic spheres will become so seamlessly linked that it will be unclear where one stops and the other begins. Many people will have a direct sense of living in the world even while living in Japan. ... And given the interplay of diverse interests crossing the line between the domestic and the international, the general public will need to develop a deeper awareness of what Japan's own national interest is. We must develop our sense of enlightened national interest ... [which] must be based on the recognition that the pursuit of Japan's interests will resonate with the pursuit of global public interests and that the achievement of global public interests will overlap with the achievement of Japan's interests. (Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the Twenty-First Century, 2000, chap. 1, §IV 4)

It is recognized, then, that Japanese increasingly relate to the outside world not simply as *kokumin* but also as *individuals* (*kojin* 個人). As individuals, they will need to develop not only a sense of Japan's "enlightened national interest" but also of the "global public interests" they share with other members of the international community. It is implied that individual Japanese have an active role to play in ensuring that national and global interests overlap: "The main actors are individuals; individuals will change society and the world. From this will emerge a new society and a new Japan" (chap. 1, §V). Thus, while the English language is envisaged as having a clear promulgation function (Sergeant, 2009) in that it can be employed to project a Japanese presence overseas, at the same time *The Frontier Within* acknowledges a more nuanced role for English in facilitating the negotiation by individuals of complex national and international identities.

In addition to the role of English from a national policy perspective, it is also important to consider what the language means for individual Japanese. For most Japanese, learning English is more likely to be seen as enhancing individual life chances than conceived of as a national duty. Seargeant (2009) argues that English can be aspirational for Japanese on different levels. There is, of course, an instrumental desire for English as a means of improving employment prospects in an increasingly globalized job market. Seargeant notes, however, that by itself English proficiency is unlikely to count for much compared with other, traditionally more significant, factors in shaping a Japanese person's career opportunities, such as age, gender, and university attended. For those already well positioned in these respects, English may have added instrumental value, but for the vast majority of Japanese, English is still not a requirement for finding work. On the other hand, Seargeant suggests that anyone who feels disadvantaged within Japan's traditional social hierarchy may be drawn to English because of its association with "Western" culture, which is perceived as offering more opportunities for personal advancement (because of higher levels of gender equality, for example). According to Seargeant, then, the appeal of English to Japanese needs to be understood not only in terms of "the potential that English will allow *within* given social structures", but also "the potential that English will allow to *transcend* given social structures" (p. 123, original emphasis).

Literature reviewed in this section demonstrates the complicated status of English in Japan. English is both a means for promoting the national interest overseas *and* a medium for developing a sense of belonging to an international community. It is an instrument of national policy, but also a tool that individual Japanese can utilize for their own betterment, and perhaps to develop identities that transcend the nation. English is, therefore, closely tied up with matters of Japanese citizenship, and with the tensions that exist between national and post-national perspectives. This means there is a clear need for research to illuminate how those charged with *teaching* English to young Japanese can contribute to citizenship education. Literature reviewed in 2.3 has established that FLT's *can* play a distinct role in teaching knowledge, values and skills for citizenship, but also suggests that this role implies the use of participatory, communicative pedagogies. The purpose of the next section of this review is to establish what

the literature tells us about how English is taught in Japan's high schools. Government policy reviewed above might suggest that schools are focusing on the English communication skills targeted in the *Action Plan*. As explained below, however, numerous studies have revealed a disconnect between policy and practice which raises doubts about whether JTEs working in this environment will be able to make any contribution at all to citizenship education. In this way, the next section underscores the necessity for my study.

2.5.4 English language teaching in Japan's schools

According to Ike (1995), "Nothing has been more vehemently argued than the problem of the inefficacy of English education in Japan" (p. 5). It is more or less standard practice for scholarly works, and even Japanese government documents, to frame English teaching in Japan as a problem that needs fixing (Seargeant, 2009).

Attention has focused on the persistence of the grammar-translation approach in Japan's schools. Grammar translation is characterized by the deductive learning of grammar rules, and the translation of sentences into and out of the target language. Teaching is typically in the student's first language, and there is a strong emphasis on correcting errors (J. C. Richards & Rodgers, 2001). Although in most parts of the world grammar translation was the dominant approach to foreign language teaching until the 1940s, the method was gradually supplanted by oral approaches, and especially CLT. Japan, however, is one country where grammar translation is still widely practised.

Grammar translation is commonly identified with *yakudoku* (訳読), the traditional Japanese method of translating languages, which Hino (1988) claims dates back more than a thousand years. *Yakudoku* involves the word-by-word translation of the target language into Japanese, then the reordering of the translated words to match Japanese syntax. Although there are differences between them, the terms grammar translation and *yakudoku* are often used synonymously in the literature. Both share a focus on written texts as opposed to oral/aural skills, and both have given rise to a regime of regular testing in public schools (Gorsuch, 1998).

Since 1989, the Course of Study has steadily placed more emphasis on practical English communication skills. Such efforts are not entirely new. In 1922, British linguist Harold Palmer was invited to Japan as an advisor to the Education Ministry, and spent the next 14 years there, promoting teaching methods based on structured conversation drills. Aspinall (2013) considers these to have been “ahead of their time” (p. 51), and they failed to make any lasting impression. More recent attempts to shift high school English teaching away from grammar translation and towards a more communicative approach include the JET Programme, the insertion of Oral Communication courses into the high school curriculum, the introduction of English language activities at the elementary school level, and the requirement, since 2013, that English classes be conducted in English rather than Japanese.

Notwithstanding attempts to promote CLT in schools, as Tahira (2012) observes, “There remains a big gap between the stated policies and what is actually done in the classroom” (p. 3). Numerous studies have found that many JTEs continue to employ teacher-centred, grammar-translation pedagogies. Sakui (2004) conducted fieldwork in high school English classrooms and found that,

Teachers spent most of the class time involved in teacher-fronted grammar explanations, chorus reading, and vocabulary presentations. ... Overall, in the observed class periods taught by Japanese teachers, if any time at all was spent on CLT it was a maximum of five minutes out of 50. (p. 157)

More recently, Humphries and Burns (2015) and Cave (2016) report similar findings. Nishino (2011) found that although many Japanese teachers said they wanted to make their lessons more communicative, very few actually did this.

Multiple factors have contributed to the gap Tahira (2012) identifies between policy and practice. Many commentators stress the role of grammar-oriented university entrance exams in shaping what happens in high school English classrooms (e.g. Aspinall, 2013; J. D. Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Gorsuch, 2000). According to Aspinall (2013), for many schools these tests constitute a “shadow curriculum” and have a more powerful effect on classroom

teaching than the Course of Study. Traditionally, entrance exams have focused on reading comprehension and grammatical knowledge, and this in turn has meant many teachers feel obliged to use *yakudoku* teaching methods, which are widely seen as the most reliable way of teaching to the test (Gorsuch, 2000; Underwood, 2010). Given these powerful washback effects, many scholars have called for university entrance exams to be revised as an essential step to reforming English language teaching in Japan's schools (e.g. LoCastro, 1996; Sakamoto, 2012).

The teachers in Nishino's (2011) study also pointed to large classes as making speaking activities difficult to organize, and appeared to have little confidence in their ability to conduct CLT; Lamie (1998) draws attention to the general lack of training for teachers in communicative methodologies. O'Donnell (2005) reports frustration among JTEs with institutional restrictions, including a heavy burden of non-teaching tasks, and the expectation of parents and colleagues that they prioritize exam preparation.

Given these restrictions, perceived or otherwise, teachers are likely to fall back on the traditional *yakudoku* methodologies they themselves experienced as students. As Borg (2004) explains, the methods teachers were exposed to at school constitute "'default options', a set of tried and tested strategies which they can revert to in times of indecision and uncertainty" (p. 274).

This tendency is highlighted by Humphries and Burns (2015), who provide a case study of JTEs at a *kousen* college, which combines a senior high school curriculum with two years of tertiary education. This means that unlike teachers in most other high schools, *kousen* teachers are under no pressure to prepare students for university entrance examinations, so are free to adopt new teaching styles. The authors discovered, however, that teachers

circumvented the CLT-oriented approaches of the new textbooks and expressed considerable uncertainty about how to implement them. In the face of such uncertainty, ... [they resorted] to routine teacher-centred approaches where they maintained practices that were familiar and comfortable. ... [T]here were no opportunities for students to interact with the materials or their peers to investigate new cultures, solve

problems, and/or express their interests and opinions. The teachers guided the students through the content, supplying answers orally, and providing Japanese translations and explanations. As a result, class-time was mostly devoted to teacher-talk. (p. 246)

Similarly, in a study of 92 senior high school teachers, Taguchi (2005) found that even in Oral Communication classes,

the methodology used in teaching spoken skills was essentially the same as the one used in traditional English classes. Teachers did not seem to understand how to use speaking and listening exercises in a communicative manner and consequently reverted to their traditional methods (e.g. going over vocabulary items, choral repetition). (p. 10)

Perhaps the highest-profile government initiative to shift attention to English communication skills has been The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. Since its inauguration in 1987, the JET Programme has promoted team teaching in schools, which involves Japanese teachers collaborating with Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in some classes. There are now more than 4,500 foreign ALTs attached to the programme in any given year (CLAIR, 2015), the majority of whom are native English speakers, typically from the US, Canada, the UK, Australia or New Zealand. The opportunity for Japanese teachers to work with ALTs has important implications for the incorporation of citizenship teaching into English classrooms (see 7.2.3), so it is worth considering the JET Programme in some detail.

Although the JET Programme is most often discussed in the context of EFL in Japan, its origins were political (Miyazato, 2009). The programme was first proposed by the Ministry of Home Affairs – not by the Ministry of Education, which was initially reluctant – and then championed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an instrument of *kokusaika* or “internationalization” (McConnell, 2000). Hood (2001) argues that the main motivation for the programme was not the improvement of English skills at all, but rather the projection of a positive image of Japan around the world. There are now some 62,000 former JET participants in 65 countries (CLAIR, 2015) all of whom will

have acquired some understanding of Japan while living there. The Japanese government judges the JET Programme to have been successful, and has signalled its intention to increase the number of ALTs to as many as 50,000 by 2023 – at least one for every elementary, junior and senior high school in the country – in order to “improve the English communication abilities and raise the ‘international spirit’ (*kokusaisei* 国際性) of young Japanese” (LDP, 2013, p. 7, my translation).

In terms of its impact on English teaching, opinions on the JET Programme are mixed. As described above, attempts to promote communicative language teaching in Japanese schools are widely judged to have been unsuccessful, with numerous studies revealing limited uptake of CLT by Japanese teachers. Nevertheless, some research suggests team teaching has had beneficial results. Gorsuch (2002) found that Japanese teachers who had taught with ALTs reported improvements in their English-speaking ability and displayed more positive attitudes to CLT. She concludes that “ALTs are causing positive changes in JTEs’ professional abilities” (p. 22). In another study, Miyazato (2012) found that team-taught classes were highly motivating for students.

From the Ministry of Education’s standpoint, the ALT’s main function is to assist Japanese teachers in improving students’ English communication skills and act as a cultural resource, but depending on such factors as the type, size and academic standing of the school, the way team teaching is conducted varies greatly between schools. Many scholars have focused on the JTE-ALT relationship and concluded that successful collaboration hinges on the way each perceives their respective roles (e.g. Hiratsuka & Barkhuizen, 2015; Miyazato, 2009). Some JTEs tend to defer to ALTs as native-speaking authorities on the language, assigning them a prominent place in lessons, while others may see them in a more limited role, as exotic embodiments of foreign culture whose activities and comments always need to be explained to students (Mahoney, 2004). While many JTEs welcome the opportunity to collaborate with ALTs, others view them as a troublesome distraction from the task of preparing students for university entrance examinations.

2.6 Situating the study within the literature

Whether it is concerned with the dynamics of team teaching, the take-up of CLT, the adherence to *yakudoku*, or other areas, the literature on EFL in Japan's high schools tends to concentrate on *language-teaching* aims. Very little research has approached the subject from a citizenship perspective. What studies have been done on the role of FLTs in citizenship education in Japan have generally focused on the tertiary level. For example, Houghton (2013) conducted action research with her university English classes to explore pedagogies for fostering critical cultural awareness, and in another, joint project, combined intercultural dialogue with environmental action in the community (S. A. Houghton & Huang, 2017). Lockley (2015) investigated how a content-based English course on Japan's international history affected students' attitudes towards interacting with people from other cultures. A recent book by Yoshihara (2017) explores the role of university EFL instructors in teaching gender-related topics.

These examples further demonstrate the recognition among scholars that EFL teachers may be in a position to combine language-teaching aims with education for citizenship, but there has been very little work on this at the secondary level in Japan. Numerous studies have analysed the content of high school English textbooks – for example, in terms of cultural representation (e.g. M. Yamada, 2010), or attention to global issues (Hasegawa, 2011) – but they do not consider how this content relates to JTEs' educational aims, or how teachers actually use textbooks in class. Ikeda (2013) addresses issues of pedagogy, reporting on an apparently successful content-based course on global issues, but again, his main interest is in the implications for students' language skills. There is a clear need for research to investigate how JTEs at the high school level may do more than teach language and play a role in citizenship education.

My study is intended to contribute to our understanding in this regard by investigating the perceptions of individual JTEs. Fullan (2007) has emphasized the pivotal role of individual teachers: "Educational change depends on what teachers do and think – it's as simple and as complex as that" (p. 129). Literature reviewed in this chapter suggests that while some elements of the Japanese high-school environment may be conducive to the infusion of citizenship education into English teaching, other factors appear to obstruct this. My study aims to

provide insights into how individual JTEs may work within this environment to further citizenship-related teaching aims. In their work on teacher agency, Priestley, Biesta and Robinson (2015) suggest that what a teacher is able to do in the classroom results from a complex interplay of factors, including the framework provided by education policy, the practical realities of the school teaching environment, and the expectations of students, colleagues and other stakeholders. They identify teachers' beliefs as a key element in this process.

A considerable body of research suggests that teachers' views on educational matters are worthy of scholarly attention. In what remains an influential review of the earlier literature, Pajares (1992) draws attention to some important findings. Teachers' beliefs about education appear to be formed early in life, and although they are shaped by experience, they tend to be resistant to change. Beliefs have also been shown to strongly affect teachers' practice. Castro, Sercu and Garcia (2004) surveyed EFL teachers in Spain for their views on a new policy promoting teaching for intercultural competence. They found the amount of time teachers were willing to devote to culture as opposed to language was closely related to how they perceived the purposes of language education. In Japan, numerous studies have highlighted the influence of teachers' beliefs in the widespread adherence to traditional, *yakudoku* pedagogies (e.g. Humphries & Burns, 2015; Nishino, 2012; K. Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004). My assumption in designing this research project was that to investigate JTEs' role in citizenship education, we can usefully begin by asking teachers what they think.

While not wishing to understate the importance of precision in conceptualizing teachers' mental constructs, for the purposes of this study I take a rather "common-sense" approach, and in discussing "what JTEs think" I use "views", "perceptions", "beliefs" and other synonyms interchangeably. Borg (2003) observes that the literature on teachers' beliefs has often become preoccupied with terminology. He points to the plethora of concepts employed to analyse "what teachers think, know and believe" (p. 81), including beliefs, knowledge, perceptions, maxims, conceptions of practice, and personal theories – to name a few. Borg argues that this profusion of terms has sometimes led to conceptual confusion, suggesting "superficial diversity" when in fact there is "considerable overlap" between them (p. 83); he proposes "teacher cognition" as a general term for this field of inquiry. These issues of terminology are not taken

up further in the thesis; my point here in referring to the work of Pajares and Borg is simply to establish the validity of research that treats teachers' perceptions as data worthy of analysis.

2.7 Chapter summary

Ongoing globalization and transnational migration are challenging traditional conceptions of citizenship based on exclusively national affiliations. In some parts of the world, this has led to a rise in nationalist sentiment, and prompted education policies that aim to nurture patriotism and consolidate national identity. At the same time, globalization has increased awareness of the interconnectedness of the world community and encouraged interest in *post-national* ideas of citizenship. This is reflected in the international trend towards the inclusion of global citizenship and human rights in school curricula. As Saito (2010) argues, Japanese education exhibits both of these tendencies, with some elements that emphasize strong national allegiance, and others that ostensibly promote cosmopolitan values. There is an obvious tension between these two tendencies, though Saito argues that the two are in a state of balance.

Literature reviewed in this chapter suggests foreign language teachers can contribute to citizenship education in ways that are especially relevant to how citizens conceive their relationship to the global community and how they are able to interact with people from other cultures. FLT's can teach with materials that help raise learners' awareness of contemporary social and political events, including, for example, those related to human rights and other global issues. With discussion activities that focus on this kind of content, learners can be encouraged to reflect on issues, form opinions and exchange them with others. This process can also incorporate teaching *for* discussion, whereby learners develop not just skills of self-expression, but also acquire values that underpin democratic dialogue. The work of Byram and others on intercultural competence identifies a broad range of competencies that can be developed through foreign language education that are directly relevant to citizenship in the context of increasing cultural diversity.

All of this suggests that teachers of English in Japan's secondary schools may have an important part to play in education for citizenship. The existence of

teacher associations such as *Shin-Eiken* and GILE, which aim to promote aspects of citizenship teaching through English, further suggests that at least *some* JTEs are interested in this kind of teaching. Nevertheless, other research reviewed in this chapter indicates that the way English is commonly taught in Japanese high schools may not be conducive to the citizenship-teaching role for FLTs envisaged by scholars like Starkey and Byram. There is a need for empirical research to discover what role JTEs may play in this situation. The aim of this exploratory study is to offer new insights into this under-researched area. Chapter 3, which follows, begins by setting out the research questions that emerged from literature reviewed in this chapter and that served to guide the inquiry.

Chapter 3 Methodology

This chapter presents the aims of the study and the research questions that guided it. It describes the process of data collection and analysis, including sampling procedures, creation of the survey instrument and interview schedule, and the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data.

3.1 Aim and research questions

The study aimed to further our understanding of how Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) may contribute to citizenship education. It focused on a purposively selected group of JTEs who were identified as having an interest in teaching for citizenship. A questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews were used to investigate these teachers' perceptions of issues relating to my research questions. The two main research questions and five sub-questions were:

Research Question 1 (RQ1)

Do participants believe Japanese English teachers have a role to play in citizenship education?

Sub-questions:

- (i) What do participants understand by “good citizenship”?
- (ii) What links do they see between English language teaching and citizenship education?

Research Question 2 (RQ2)

How do participants believe they are combining education for citizenship with English language teaching?

Sub-questions:

- (i) What citizenship-teaching aims do participants have?
- (ii) How are they trying to achieve those aims?
- (iii) What contextual factors do they believe affect their ability to combine English language teaching with education for citizenship?

3.2 Preparatory work

As part of the process of formulating the research questions, and before a suitable research design was selected, the following preparatory work was undertaken.

3.2.1 Initial contacts with Japanese teachers of English

To develop a better understanding of the teachers who would be the focus of the study, and to gauge whether teaching for citizenship was something that might be relevant to them, I conducted informal interviews with three JTEs based in high schools in Tokyo and Osaka. One was an experienced teacher I had met previously on a teacher-training course. I judged she would be a valuable source of information concerning the situation of JTEs in public high schools. The other two teachers were chosen for their special interest in teaching about global issues and contacted through GILE (Global Issues in Language Education), a special interest group within JALT.

Two of these informal interviews were extended email exchanges, and the other was conducted via Skype (see 3.7.4 on Skype interviews). I hoped the teachers might suggest avenues for research I had not previously considered, or draw my attention to any “dead ends” where research might not be worthwhile. I asked teachers such questions as “What do you think a good citizen is?”, and “Is there anything that happens in your classes that you think might be connected with teaching for ‘good citizenship’?” I discovered that although teachers were acquainted with some concepts associated with citizenship, such as civic responsibility, patriotism and tolerance of diversity, they were not familiar with the terms “citizenship” or “citizenship education”. They also raised issues involved in translating these English terms into Japanese (see 3.6.3.2).

3.2.2 Consultations with experts in the field

I sought further guidance from four scholars whose work I came to know as I read into the existing literature. I contacted each person directly, outlining my research interests and requesting a short, informal meeting to discuss my

proposed project. The resulting conversations helped shape the study in its early stages.

One of the researchers I spoke to is an acknowledged expert in the field of intercultural communication. Our conversation helped me appreciate the multiple dimensions of intercultural competence as it relates to citizenship (see 2.4.3), and alerted me to the dimension of criticality. Another meeting was with a leading scholar in the area of human rights education, who encouraged me to look further into the literature on dialogic teaching (see 2.4.2.1). A third scholar, who has done extensive fieldwork in Japanese schools, drew my attention to important cultural factors I should consider when inviting JTEs to participate in the study (see 3.5). A further meeting was held in Japan with a renowned Japanese expert on citizenship education, and this provided valuable information on recent citizenship teaching initiatives in Japan.

3.3 Research design

As shown in Figure 3.1, the study was originally planned to include three stages of data collection involving a gradual “funnelling” of participants: a questionnaire survey with an initial sample of approximately 50 JTEs; semi-structured interviews with around 15 teachers chosen from among the survey respondents; and finally, classroom observations and follow-up interviews with a still smaller group of about five teachers. This relatively small number of participants was considered sufficient given the exploratory nature of the research, and the purposive nature of the sample. For the survey, a sample of around 50 teachers would exceed the accepted minimum of 30 participants for statistical data analysis (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000), and help to ensure a sufficiently large pool of respondents from which to select candidates for interview. Dornyei (2007) suggests that for a well-designed interview study, as few as 6–10 participants might be sufficient. By planning to interview around 15 teachers, I hoped to include JTEs from different types of school – both private and public schools, and both junior and senior high schools – thus reflecting some of the heterogeneity of the sample (Cohen et al., 2000).

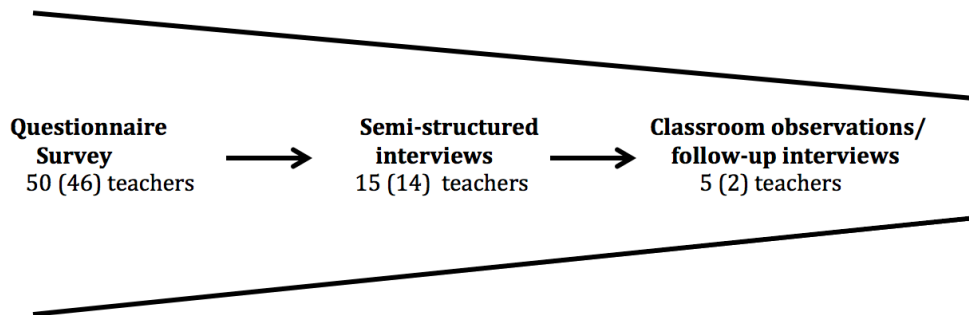


Figure 3.1 Funnelling participants through purposive sampling (shows the number of participants it was planned to involve at each stage; numbers in parentheses show how many *actually* took part)

In the event, it proved difficult to arrange all the classroom observations I had planned. Although I contacted seven teachers enquiring about the possibility of observing lessons, all but two were either unable or unwilling to accommodate me. Possible reasons are considered later, in 3.8.1, which also provides details of the classroom observations I was able to conduct (five lessons, two teachers). These observations provided insights into JTEs’ teaching context which proved valuable in the interpretation of the survey and interview data.

Owing to the difficulty I had in setting up class observations, as illustrated in Figure 3.2, the final study included two main stages of data collection: a questionnaire survey comprising both closed-ended (quantitative) and open-ended (qualitative) items, and semi-structured, qualitative interviews.

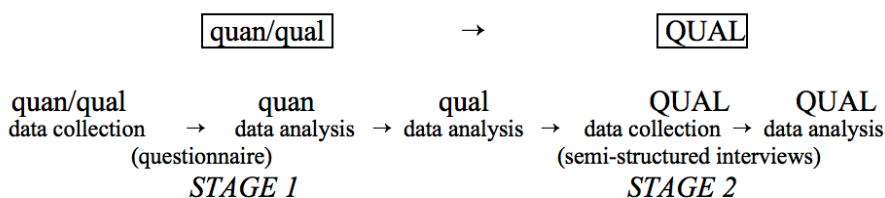


Figure 3.2 Research design adopted for the study

Overall, I adopted a mixed-methods approach, following a similar process to the sequential explanatory design described by Cresswell et al. (2003). Their design involves an initial phase of quantitative data collection and analysis, followed by a second, qualitative phase that builds on the initial quantitative findings. Researchers adopting this model typically give more weight to the quantitative phase, using a *QUAN* → *qual* design, in the notation commonly employed for

mixed-methods research (Cresswell, 2009). My study gives greater weight to qualitative data, however. It is similar to the *quan* → *QUAL* approach described by Dörnyei (2007): an “interview study facilitated by [a] preceding questionnaire survey” (p. 172). For reasons given below, my questionnaire also included a qualitative component in the form of an open-ended item, so the study follows the *quan/qual* → *QUAL* design shown in Figure 3.2.

The weight given to qualitative data is in keeping with the exploratory nature of the study. With its focus on uncovering new ideas and insights rather than testing theories or making predictions, qualitative research is itself exploratory (Croker, 2009). Nevertheless, I thought that a quantitative element would help me gain a sense of what teachers across the sample as a whole think about citizenship and citizenship education. To this end the questionnaire was comprised mainly of closed, Likert-type items (see 3.6.2).

The research design was also informed by sampling considerations. As described in 3.4, I employed a purposive approach to sampling. Dörnyei (2007) suggests that an initial questionnaire can provide information to assist the researcher in selecting participants for subsequent stages of data collection. This was the rationale for the gradual funnelling of participants illustrated in Figure 3.2, with each stage of data collection helping me to focus on participants whose experience appeared most relevant to the study.

The mixed-methods approach also benefitted the study by providing opportunities for triangulation. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) warn that, “Exclusive reliance on one method, ... may bias or distort the researcher’s picture of the particular slice of reality she is investigating” (p. 112). The opportunity to compare participants’ responses across the quantitative and qualitative data sets enabled conclusions to be drawn with greater confidence. The methods employed for the two stages of data collection were also selected for their “complementarity”: the interviews allowed teachers to clarify or elaborate on their responses to the questionnaire, enriching my understanding of the survey data (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989).

3.4 Sampling issues

The study aimed to contribute to our understanding of how JTEs may play a role in citizenship education by exploring the perceptions of teachers who appeared to want to address citizenship-related aims in their own classes. The relevant population for this research, then, was not Japanese teachers of English *per se*, but rather JTEs who approach their work in a particular way. This called for a purposive approach to sampling.

3.4.1 A purposive sample

As Denscombe (2007) notes, purposive sampling “allows the researcher to home in on people or events which there are good grounds for believing will be critical for the research” (p. 17). The approach is more efficient than random sampling, since it avoids the need to collect data from respondents who may lack knowledge or experience relevant to the study. A purposive sample is likely to yield more meaningful data since purposefully selected participants tend to be better informed than randomly selected ones (Tongco, 2007).

An obvious disadvantage of purposive sampling, however, is that since it is “deliberately and unashamedly selective and biased” (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 104), participants cannot be taken to represent any wider population. This limits the extent to which findings can be generalized beyond the sample itself. Since this study was exploratory and intended to gather insights from a very specific group of teachers, the benefits of a purposive approach outweighed the lack of statistical grounds for generalization that a randomized sample would allow. Tongco (2007) cautions that the purposive nature of the sample needs to be stated clearly when findings are reported, to discourage readers from inferring generalizable conclusions.

To meet its intended purpose, sampling needed to be conducted systematically and with care. The sequential *quan/qual* → *QUAL* research design was integral to this process. The following sub-sections describe the methods used to recruit JTEs who fit a participant profile for the questionnaire survey. The survey was itself conceived as a further sampling instrument: the information it provided enabled the identification of suitable candidates for the

second, interview stage of data collection.

3.4.2 The participant profile

Following Evans (2006), I created a participant profile to guide the search for potential informants. Tongco (2007) also recommends a profile to make the sampling process systematic, and increase its reproducibility. For the first stage of data collection, prospective participants would: i) be Japanese, ii) currently be teaching English at a junior or senior high school, and iii) have indicated an interest in at least one aspect of citizenship education (defined very broadly, as described below). The following elaborates on these selection criteria:

i) Participants should be Japanese

Japanese nationality is a requirement for public servants in Japan, including public-school teachers, so foreign nationals account for only a small minority of full-time English instructors at the high-school level, and are concentrated in the private sector. Although non-Japanese nationals do teach English in public high schools, the vast majority are employed as ALTs. Since foreign English teachers comprise such a small, atypical group in Japan's high schools, the study was confined to Japanese teachers.

ii) Participants should be teaching English at a junior or senior high school

Once data collection had started, this criterion was amended to allow the inclusion of data provided by three respondents who were not *currently* teaching in high schools, but who were deemed to be valuable informants. Two teachers were recently retired, but each had around 30 years' high-school teaching experience. Another respondent had recently switched to an elementary school, but, again, had many years' experience as a junior high-school teacher.

iii) Participants should indicate an interest in at least one aspect of citizenship education

This was the key criterion for inclusion in the first stage of data collection. As described in more detail in 3.4.3, I considered teachers to have displayed at least an "interest" in citizenship education if, for example, they attended a related

conference presentation. Where a teacher was found to be an active member of a professional organization that promotes teaching for citizenship, or to have authored articles on related themes, this suggested not merely an interest but perhaps a high level of commitment to citizenship education.

As described above, the survey was conceived as part of a “funnelling” process, helping me to identify as potential interview candidates JTEs who were not just “interested” in the themes of the study, but who also appeared committed to addressing aspects of citizenship in their own teaching (see 3.7.3.1 for the interview participant profile). A further round of funnelling occurred when selecting teachers for classroom observations and follow-up interviews (see 3.8).

3.4.3 Purposive sampling methods

This section describes methods used to identify teachers who fit the participant profile. Where possible, it indicates how many participants were recruited using each method.

3.4.3.1 Direct approaches

I conducted a search of professional journals such as *The Language Teacher*, 『英語教育』 (*Eigo Kyouiku: The English Teachers' Magazine*) and 『新英語教育』 (*Shin Eigo Kyouiku: The New English Classroom*) for articles written by JTEs. Where an article touched on citizenship-related themes, I contacted the author directly by letter (see Appendix C), inviting them to complete the questionnaire. Letters were sent to 25 teachers, and at least ten of those agreed to participate.

Attendance at academic conferences proved another effective way of contacting JTEs with an interest in citizenship education. In autumn 2011, both the Peace as a Global Language conference in Nishinomiya, and the JALT conference in Tokyo, included workshops on such themes as peace education and human rights. High-school teachers attending these workshops could be identified from their conference-delegate name badges. Direct approaches made

to such teachers yielded at least eight participants for the study.

3.4.3.2 Calls for participants

Whereas some participants were recruited through the direct approaches described above, others responded to general appeals for help, so were essentially self-selecting. Two such appeals were made, in both English and Japanese (see Appendix D), outlining the aims of the study and inviting interested teachers to complete the questionnaire. One was placed in the GILE newsletter. A second call for participants was posted on the Facebook page of *Shin-Eiken* (新英語教育: *Shin Eigo Kyouiku*) – an organization that promotes teaching about peace and human rights. It is not possible to determine a response rate for these calls for participants (see 3.4.3.4), but based on the number recruited by other methods, I estimate that up to 25 JTEs responded to them.

3.4.3.3 Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling was another method employed in the first stage of data collection. As suitable respondents were identified using the purposive approaches outlined above, they were asked to recommend other teachers that might fit the participant profile. In a variant of this method, I contacted the principals of several high schools offering special “international” courses: for example, one private school that runs Model United Nations activities, and another that offers an International Baccalaureate programme which aims to prepare students for “global citizenship”. The principals were asked to distribute the questionnaire to any JTEs who displayed an interest in citizenship-related themes. Seven suitable participants were found in these schools.

Even as part of a purposive sample, snowballing has potential weaknesses. As Oppenheim (1992) observes, while it may be effective in swelling the number of participants, “it is difficult to know how accurately these represent the population of concern” (p. 43). This also applies to the “calls for participants” circulated through GILE and *Shin-Eiken*. While these were targeted at JTEs with an interest in teaching for citizenship, those who volunteered were,

of course, self-selecting.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) stress that where snowball sampling is employed, particular care is needed when identifying initial contacts. The direct approach used in this study allowed me to check that prospective participants met the selection criteria. A further, *ex post facto* check was possible using the personal information respondents provided in the questionnaire (concerning age and current teaching position, for example). Indeed, five teachers who completed questionnaires were later excluded from the data because they did not meet all of the sampling criteria.

3.4.3.4 Response rate

Owing to the nature of some of the sampling methods used and the fact that teachers could complete the questionnaire anonymously, an accurate response rate cannot be provided for the survey. It is impossible to know how many JTEs saw the general appeals for help, or how many of those who did see it went on to complete the survey. Even in the case of direct approaches by letter – of which 25 were sent – an accurate response rate cannot be given. I know that at least ten teachers I wrote to did participate since they provided their names in the questionnaire; however, it cannot be known whether other teachers completed the survey anonymously or chose not to participate at all.

To sum up this section, although my participants comprised a non-probability sample, which means findings cannot be generalized to other JTEs, the purposive selection of teachers who fit the participant profile means the sample can be characterized as one of expert informants. As teachers who not only had close professional acquaintance with the English language curriculum in Japan's high schools, but had also displayed an interest in combining language teaching with teaching for citizenship, my participants were well placed to provide information relevant to my research questions.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The research conformed to the ethical guidelines issued by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2011). The ethical principles most relevant to the study were voluntary informed consent (including the right of participants to withdraw) and privacy.

Voluntary informed consent presumes full disclosure of the researcher's aims and the role participants are asked to play. Whether they were contacted directly by letter, approached at a conference, or via one of the other methods described above, all prospective participants were told the aims of the project and why their cooperation was being sought. The preamble to the questionnaire, in both paper and online versions, also summarizes the aims of the project and gives the same assurances.

Participants' privacy was safeguarded by allowing the questionnaire to be completed anonymously. Teachers were invited to supply their names and email addresses only if they consented to being contacted again about the study. Thus, further involvement was on an opt-in basis. All survey data were stored in password-protected electronic files. Back-up copies were similarly password-protected.

Survey respondents who appeared to fit the participant profile for the second stage of data collection were contacted by email or letter and invited to take part in an interview. In Japan, it is not common practice for educational researchers to ask participants to *sign* formal consent forms (Kikuchi & Browne, 2009), and indeed, a conversation with one scholar who has conducted fieldwork in Japanese schools suggested that asking for signatures could cause unnecessary suspicion about the purposes of the study. For this reason, I considered email correspondence in which JTEs confirmed interview arrangements to have established their consent to participate. On the day of each interview, I confirmed verbally that I had permission to make an audio recording. All teachers consented to this. Two JTEs who were interviewed via Skype agreed to calls being recorded. All audio recordings and transcripts were stored in password-protected files.

Mindful of how busy Japanese teachers are, I tried to keep the "bureaucratic burden" (BERA, 2011, p. 7) of participation within acceptable

limits. Teachers involved with piloting the draft questionnaire reported that some sections took longer to complete than expected. Based on their feedback, I shortened some sections to reduce the possibility of respondent fatigue (see 3.6.2.1). When arranging interviews, I asked teachers to choose a location that was convenient for them and where they would feel comfortable answering questions about their work. Teachers were offered no incentive to take part in interviews, but were given a small thank-you gift of green tea on the day. In Japanese culture, there is an expectation that a visitor takes an *omiyage* (お土産) gift for the person receiving them.

Classroom observations were conducted in two schools. Where necessary, permission was sought from school administrators, as well as from the JTE concerned. Out of respect for students' privacy, no photographs or audio recordings were made during these school visits.

3.6 Questionnaire survey

For the first stage of data collection, a self-completed questionnaire was considered the most efficient way of gathering information relevant to my research questions. The survey was focused on RQ1, seeking a general indication of teachers' beliefs about citizenship, and the possibilities of integrating citizenship education and language teaching in Japanese schools.

3.6.1 Development of the instrument

I felt it was important to collect as much data as possible in JTEs' first language. The questionnaire was administered entirely in Japanese, both to help ensure comprehension, and allow teachers to respond to the open-ended item more fully and freely. I also hoped that a Japanese questionnaire would attract a better response rate than one administered in English. Browne and Wada (1998) surveyed more than 1,200 JTEs using an English-language questionnaire and report a "dismal" response rate of just 18.6%.

I wrote the questionnaire in English then translated it myself into Japanese. This Japanese draft was then checked and edited by two Japanese academics (see 3.6.3 for a discussion of translation issues). Finally, the draft

questionnaire was piloted with a group of six JTEs, all of whom suggested improvements to language and organization.

3.6.2 Structure of the questionnaire

The final version of the questionnaire included five sections (see Appendices A and B for Japanese and English-language versions). Sections I~III were comprised of closed-ended Likert items, a format I believed teachers would be familiar with. The decision to adopt a five-point scale including a neutral, middle category followed a recommendation by Aldridge and Levine (2001). They argue that omitting this middle category in order to “force” participants to express an opinion closer to either of the two ends of the scale can be annoying for respondents with genuinely neutral views. Section IV, which invited comments on issues of citizenship and language teaching, was the only open-ended item in the survey (see 3.6.2.4). Section V asked teachers to provide personal details, including age, length of teaching experience, and type of school they were teaching in. What follows is a more detailed description of each section of the questionnaire, its relevance to the research questions, and revisions that were made based on feedback received at the piloting stage.

3.6.2.1 Section I

The first part of the questionnaire addressed Research Question 1 (i): “What do participants understand by ‘good citizenship’?” Teachers were asked to rate the importance of various personal attributes to Japanese citizenship.

Section I was designed as an introduction to the themes of the research. At the piloting stage, several teachers expressed doubts as to whether JTEs would be familiar with the term *shitizunshippu kyouiku* (シテ ィズンシップ教育), or “citizenship education”. The list of “good citizen” attributes in Section I was intended to orient participants to the topic by illustrating the potential scope of citizenship education

The draft version of Section I included 35 “good citizen” attributes, and teachers were asked to rate the importance of each one to Japanese citizenship.

The attributes were based on an extensive review of the literature (in particular, Davies et al., 1999; Heater, 2004; W. O. Lee & Fouts, 2005; McLaughlin, 1992; QCA, 1998; Rauner, 1999), and designed to provide a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, set of concepts for thinking about citizenship. The following dimensions were identified as being particularly useful for characterizing different views of citizenship (Chapter 2 provided a more detailed discussion of these concepts):

a) National vs. post-national views – national views of citizenship are concerned with the rights and responsibilities of citizens in the context of the nation state. They are likely to stress such aspects as patriotism, preservation of a strong national identity, and the prioritizing of national interests abroad. In contrast, post-national views tend to stress global citizenship, placing greater emphasis on international law and universal human rights; they can also include the cosmopolitan notion that citizens have multiple identities reflecting memberships of communities at the local, national, regional and global levels.

Items intended to tap into teachers' views on the national–post-national dimension include those referring to “national” sentiments such as “being patriotic” (item 11) and “wishing to promote Japan’s national interests in the world” (item 13), and those that refer to “post-national” inclinations such as “feeling a sense of responsibility as a member of a global society” (item 16).

b) Rights and responsibilities – as outlined earlier, the balance between rights and responsibilities continues to shape the discourse on citizenship. Liberal views emphasize individual rights, seeking to maximize personal freedoms and keep duties to a minimum. In contrast, the civic republican tradition sees citizenship as involving a “thicker” set of responsibilities, and a commitment to collective welfare rather than the pursuit of individual interests.

Examples of survey items that address the rights–responsibilities dimension include item 1, “understanding one’s own rights and how to exercise them”, and item 3, “being willing to obey people in authority”.

c) Participation – this dimension concerns the extent to which citizenship is deemed to involve active participation in the community. Clearly, this is related

to the rights and responsibilities dimension. Republicans see active involvement in public life as a civic duty, whereas liberals are more likely to think in terms of the right to participate, and the right to a private life. The questionnaire emphasized participation as a separate dimension, because, particularly in the context of citizenship education, views differ not only on the extent of a citizen's right or duty to participate, but also on the *skills* required for effective participation. Items that sought teachers' views on these participatory skills include item 22, "being able to communicate with people from other cultures", and item 25, "being able to gather and analyse information using various kinds of media".

d) A moral dimension – As Davies, Gregory and Riley (1999) found in their survey of UK teachers, there is a common perception that being a good citizen is a matter of personal morality, or being a good neighbour. Items in the questionnaire that addressed this moral dimension include item 2, "being willing to put the public interest ahead of one's own private interest", and item 30, "behaving in a moral and ethical way".

In addition to the English-language literature, I also consulted Japanese sources (e.g. Ikeno, 2011; Keizai Sangyousho, 2006) to ensure the dimensions outlined above were relevant to the discourse on citizenship in Japan.

Finally, reflecting the survey's emphasis on *education* for citizenship, the attributes listed in Section I covered the three main aspects discussed in the literature: *knowledge*, *values* and *skills*.

The teachers with whom I piloted the draft survey suggested that the questionnaire took too long to complete, and recommended that it be shortened. Based on their feedback, the number of items in Section I was reduced, from 35 to 30. "Being conscious of being a member of a global community" and "Having a responsibility to global society" were combined to create one new item, "Feeling a sense of responsibility as a member of a global society". Two other attributes – "a willingness to try and understand other people's way of thinking", and "knowledge of Japan's political and legal systems" – were judged by all teachers to be either essential or very important, and thus deleted since they appeared to be uncontroversial. "Knowledge of international politics and

economics as they affect Japan” was deleted because teachers found the wording awkward, and I realized this aspect of citizenship was adequately covered by other items, including “wishing to protect/advance Japan’s interests in the world”. Finally, “knowledge needed for participating in the economic sphere (e.g. concerning market principles, and consumer rights and workers’ rights)”, which was originally taken from METI’s *Declaration on Citizenship Education*, was omitted since it addressed knowledge people might need as consumers rather than citizens, so did not fit neatly into any of the dimensions used to structure Section I.

3.6.2.2 Section II

Sections II – IV of the questionnaire addressed Research Question 1 (ii), asking participants to reflect on the links between citizenship education and teaching English.

Section II listed 25 teaching aims, each of which could be seen as addressing one or more of the citizen attributes introduced in Section I. Together, the aims cover the three main dimensions of citizenship education – values, knowledge and skills. Teachers were asked to indicate how far they believed each aim could be furthered through high-school English classes in Japan. The draft questionnaire included an additional section (25 items) where teachers were asked to indicate how far they had been able to address each aim *in their own classes*. Addressing concerns raised during piloting that the questionnaire took too long to complete, this section was deleted and the open-ended item in Section IV amended to invite teachers to reflect on their own teaching experiences there.

When constructing the questionnaire, I used the word *aims* rather than *objectives* (although in the thesis, I use these words interchangeably). Richards and Schmidt (2002) make the distinction between *aims*, which they see as “long-term goals” or “the underlying reasons for or purposes of a course of instruction”, and *objectives*, which are more specific, “more detailed descriptions of exactly what the learner is expected to be able to do at the end of a period of instruction” (p. 370). JTEs usually teach a number of different English courses – some focusing on grammar, some on skills such as reading and speaking. They may also teach Integrated Studies. My interest was in how JTEs might have aims that

motivate them to seek ways of bringing citizenship into any of the courses they teach. In translating the questionnaire, I used the Japanese *nerai* (狙い; ねらい), which has the same general sense of teaching *aims*, as opposed to *mokuteki* (目的) or *mokuhyou* (目標), which suggest more specific *objectives* (Kensui dayori, 2014). (Other issues of translation are dealt with in 3.6.3.)

3.6.2.3 Section III

Section III also addressed Research Question 1 ii), but whereas Section II focused on specific teaching objectives, Section III aimed to move participants towards more general conclusions. Teachers were presented with 10 statements concerning the links between citizenship and language teaching: for example, “Some skills that students acquire in English language classes are important for good citizenship” (item 2), and “Citizenship education belongs in subjects like social studies, not in English language classes” (item 4). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement.

3.6.2.4 Section IV

This open-ended item invited teachers to share their opinions about the possibilities of combining citizenship education with English teaching, and to describe anything they had done in their own classes that they believed was relevant to citizenship. I hoped that freely composed answers to this question would yield insights into teachers’ thinking and provide clues for interpreting responses in other sections. Bryman (2008) recommends that self-completion questionnaires include few open-ended items so participants are not deterred by the prospect of having to write long answers.

3.6.2.5 Section V

The final section asked for participants’ personal details, including age group, length of teaching experience, time spent at their current school, and courses they were responsible for. They were also asked to provide information about the kind

of school they were based at – for example, whether it was junior or senior high, private or public. I assumed any of these factors might influence teachers’ ability to incorporate citizenship-teaching objectives into their classes. For instance, I wondered whether teachers at private schools might have more freedom to diverge from MEXT’s Course of Study, and whether longer-serving teachers might have more freedom to innovate by reason of seniority. (Note that most public-school teachers are transferred regularly between schools. Typically, a teacher will stay only five or six years at any one institution). As explained later, in 4.1.3.2, the open-ended format of the question on school type resulted in missing data from some respondents and suggested that a checklist format might have been better.

3.6.3 Translation issues

As a native speaker of English conducting research with teachers whose first language was Japanese, I recognized that translation issues would be central to this study. The main issues are discussed below.

3.6.3.1 Translation in cross-language research

As an example of cross-language research, my study involved the collection of data in one language and their translation into another (Temple, 2002). As Squires (2009) observes, such research is fraught with methodological challenges. According to Temple and Young (2004), researchers often ignore issues of translation when reporting studies where data were gathered from speakers of other languages. They argue that this is to misrepresent the data as “a collection of facts” (p. 164) constituting new knowledge about informants, whilst ignoring the central role of the translator in the production of these “facts”. Scholars who have taken up these methodological issues (e.g. Fersch, 2013; Piazzoli, 2015; Temple & Young, 2004) urge transparency in reporting cross-language research. In order to interpret findings, the reader needs information about the translation process, including who the translators were, translation methods, and when translation occurred.

The bilingual researcher has clear advantages in conducting cross-language studies (Temple & Young, 2004). Researchers who do not speak the language of their participants must rely on third-party translators, but bilingual researchers can be involved directly with the translation of research instruments and data. This translation process is itself a form of data analysis and may yield important insights (Piazzoli, 2015). Nevertheless, while enjoying certain advantages, the bilingual researcher is unlikely to qualify for insider status, so it is essential that they reflect on their role in the collection and analysis of cross-language data (Fersch, 2013).

I am aware of the advantages I have in conducting cross-language research in Japan, and also my limitations. I have worked as a teacher of English in Japan for almost 30 years. In 1988-89, as an ALT I taught with Japanese teachers in both junior and senior high schools. Since 1996 I have been teaching at a Japanese university, but had frequent opportunities to interact with high-school JTEs, as an instructor on teacher-training courses. In 1996, I completed a Master's degree in Japanese, which included a substantial amount of Japanese-to-English translation. In the same year, I passed Level 2 of the Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (JLPT). This is roughly equivalent to the N2 level of the new JLPT, which reflects, "The ability to understand Japanese used in everyday situations, and in a variety of circumstances *to a certain degree*" (The Japan Foundation, 2012, my emphasis). However, while I am confident of my ability to converse meaningfully on educational topics in Japanese, as a non-native speaker, there are limits to what I can comprehend, and to how clearly I can express myself. These limitations had important implications for the way I conducted the study.

Where possible, I wanted to give teachers the opportunity to provide information in their first language, believing this would allow them to express themselves more freely, and also encourage more teachers to participate. In a study about current issues in high-school teaching, Browne and Wada (1998) sent an English-language questionnaire to some 1,200 JTEs. Although piloting had suggested it did not require translation, they report that the overall return rate was "a dismal 18.6%" (p. 99), and speculate that a Japanese survey instrument would have encouraged more teachers to respond.

The questionnaire used in my study was entirely in Japanese. I first wrote the questions in English, then translated them myself. My initial translation was then put through two stages of bilingual and monolingual checks by nine native speakers of Japanese (see 3.6.3.2).

Analysis of the survey responses was straightforward from a cross-language point of view. Most of the survey comprised closed items that could be analysed numerically, and although almost all the written responses to the open-ended item were in Japanese, these were typically short and easy for me to translate, with only occasional assistance from native speakers of Japanese.

For the interviews, however, there were more practical difficulties to consider. Questions could be prepared in Japanese beforehand, and since I intended to record each interview, anything I did not understand could be checked later with native Japanese speakers. Nevertheless, I was concerned that if interviews were conducted solely in Japanese, any comprehension problems might limit my ability to probe teachers for more detail and ask follow-up questions. I also knew that transcribing a Japanese interview would take me considerably longer than transcribing an English one, and, even with native-speaker checking, be more prone to errors. I did not have the resources to hire professional interpreters or translators, and although I had access to native Japanese speakers who assisted with translation on a voluntary basis, I needed to rely on my own Japanese abilities to conduct and transcribe interviews.

In light of these concerns, and since participating teachers all had a good command of English, I decided to adopt a bilingual approach to the interviews. The interview guide was bilingual, allowing me to ask questions in either English or Japanese. Teachers were invited to speak whichever language they preferred, and to switch between languages whenever they wished. To encourage teachers to speak Japanese if they wanted to, I began each interview and asked many of the questions in Japanese. Two of the 14 interviews were conducted *mainly* in Japanese, but the majority combined English and Japanese with regular switching between the two languages. (This has important implications for the way teachers' voices are represented in the thesis. 3.9 outlines my approach to quoting JTEs.)

Cross-language researchers need to exercise caution where participants are speaking in what for them is a foreign language. Piazzoli (2015) describes

how, for a doctoral thesis written in English on the use of drama in second language acquisition, she conducted interviews in Italian with international students who were learning the language. The interviews were “often slow and fragmented, with varying degrees of communication breakdowns, requests for rephrasing and clarifying. Answers were peppered with lexical, syntactical and grammatical inaccuracies, mispronunciations and native language interferences” (p.88). When Piazzoli analysed her interview transcripts, she realized the extent to which she, as the interviewer, had shaped the conversation. In her efforts to make questions clear to students and elicit intelligible answers, she had often asked what amounted to leading questions, and had to discard most of the interviews from her analysis.

My teacher-participants had a good command of English, and while some of our exchanges included code switching, re-phrasing and requests for clarification, there were no obvious breakdowns in communication. When analysing interview transcripts, I was very conscious of my own role in the conversation (K. Richards, 2003), and screened out any responses to what, on reflection, appeared to be leading questions (see 3.7.5).

3.6.3.2 *Translating the survey instrument*

For translating questionnaires, McKay et al. (1996) recommend “conceptual translation”, which “uses terms or phrases in the target language that capture the implied associations, or connotative meaning, of the text used in the source language instrument” (p. 94). They argue that “literal translation” and reliance on dictionaries should be avoided. When producing my initial Japanese translation of the questionnaire, rather than consulting dictionaries, as far as possible I referred to relevant literature in Japanese (e.g. Minei, 2007; Mizuyama, 2010) looking for conceptual equivalents to the English. METI’s (2006) *Declaration on Citizenship Education* (『シテ ィズンシップ教育宣言』) was especially useful as it provides a comprehensive list of values, knowledge and skills for citizenship in Japanese.

Nine native Japanese speakers were involved in preparing the final version of the questionnaire. Harkness and Schoua-Glusberg (1998) distinguish

between bilingual and monolingual feedback in the process of revising translated questionnaires. They argue that bilingual checks, where a bilingual reader has access to both the translated questionnaire and the original, are essential for identifying discrepancies between the two texts. However, they also recommend monolingual checks where the reader is working ideally in their native language and sees only the translated questionnaire. This can help to refine the language and produce what the authors call “covert translations”: that is, “texts which read/sound like questionnaires designed in the target language” (p.109). They argue that respondents may react differently to a questionnaire they perceive as a translation, so covert translations are always preferable.

Following these recommendations, the translation process for my questionnaire included both bilingual and monolingual checks. My initial translation was given to two Japanese teachers of English, one of whom teaches courses on global citizenship so was well acquainted with my research themes. Substantial revisions were made to the Japanese translation based on these first, bilingual checks. English and Japanese versions of the document were also shown to two other Japanese teachers, and further revisions made based on their comments (see below).

The bilingual checks helped produce a Japanese questionnaire that was considered good enough to pilot monolingually with a group of five JTEs. They were asked to complete the questionnaire, then comment on the format, the time it took to complete, and the clarity and naturalness of the Japanese. The following highlights the main translation issues raised during the revision process.

Clearly, the translation of key terms such as “citizenship” and “citizenship education” was of the utmost importance. The English word “citizen” has numerous equivalents in Japanese, each with its own connotations. As discussed in 2.5.1.1, Karaki (2007) points to “at least 4” (p. 46): *kokumin* (国民), *shimin* (市民), and two terms which share the same pronunciation – *koumin* (公民) and *koumin* (皇民). *Koumin* (皇民), meaning “imperial subject”, is of historical importance, but otherwise not very relevant to discussions of Japanese citizenship today. *Koumin* (公民), literally, “public person”, is the name of the

civics component taught as part of social studies in Japanese high schools, but is seldom used in other contexts.

The two remaining terms highlighted by Karaki, *kokumin* and *shimin*, are in everyday use in Japan, and as discussed in Chapter 2, they suggest two very different perspectives on citizenship. *Kokumin* refers to a Japanese national. *Shimin* is used more often to refer to citizens in the municipal context, and as actors in civil society.

The Japanese character 性 (*sei*) means “nature” or “quality” and functions in a similar way to the English suffix “-ship”. Two possible translations of “citizenship”, then, are *kokuminsei* (国民性) and *shiminsei* (市民性). The former, *kokuminsei*, has a clear focus on the *national* context, referring to something like the presumed character traits of “the Japanese”. *Shiminsei*, on the other hand, is used when referring to citizens in a more general sense, without the overt *national* focus, and, indeed, the terms *shimin kyouiku* (市民教育) or *shiminsei kyouiku* (市民性教育) are increasingly used to refer to citizenship education. Nevertheless, *shimin* can have somewhat negative connotations (Ogawa, 2009), being associated with what Avenell (2010, p. 5) refers to as a “*shimin* versus establishment” narrative, originating in the post-war struggle of Japan’s left against the US-Japan Security Treaty (1959–60). These connotations were picked up by one of the first Japanese editors of the questionnaire who cautioned against the use of a *shimin*-related term. Item 5 in Section I of the questionnaire asked about the importance of citizens participating in “political activities other than voting”. In my first translation, this was rendered in Japanese as 市民運動など投票以外の政治的な活動を参画すること: “taking part in political activities other than voting, for example *in citizens’ movements*.” The Japanese editor interpreted the term *shimin undou* (市民運動, citizens’ movements) negatively, as an aggressive kind of Nimbyism:

it somehow gives negative impressions. ... The first thing I thought [of] was the resistance involving local residents, activists, and students in constructing Narita Airport that went on for more than 15 years starting from the early 1960s, which included violence. (personal communication, June 7, 2011)

In his book *Making Japanese Citizens*, Avenell (2010) explores “how the *shimin* idea and civic activism evolved from a stance of resolute antiestablishmentism in the late 1950s to symbols for self-responsible, noncontentious, participatory citizenship in the Japanese nation by the 1990s” (p. 6). But as the Japanese teacher’s comment demonstrates, the term *shimin* still has negative connotations for some. For this reason, it was used sparingly in the final Japanese version of the questionnaire.

The main term used for “citizenship” in the questionnaire was the Japanese loan word based on the English: *shitizunshippu* (シテイズンシップ). Karaki (2007) argues that to understand the meaning of *shitizunshippu*, it is necessary for Japanese to bear in mind all four notions of “citizen” – 国民, 市民, 公民 and 皇民 – which makes *shitizunshippu* a convenient umbrella term when discussing the nature of citizenship in Japan. This appears to have been the view taken by METI (2006) in opting to use the loan word *shitizunshippu* in the title of its *Declaration on Citizenship Education*.

At the piloting stage, two Japanese teachers said they thought some participants might not fully understand the term *shitizunshippu kyouiku* (シテイズンシップ教育, citizenship education) and suggested using the “indigenous” Japanese term 市民教育 (*shimin kyouiku*) instead. However, I decided to retain *shitizunshippu* here. For the reasons given above, it seemed the best *general* term for the broad range of citizenship attributes covered in the questionnaire. Moreover, as explained earlier, Section I of the questionnaire was itself intended to familiarize participants with the nature and scope of citizenship education.

Another translation issue raised during the piloting stage concerned the best way to render “critical thinking” in Japanese. In my original English questionnaire, one item in Section I asked about the importance of citizens “viewing things critically, and questioning ideas”, which I translated as “ものごとを批判的に見て、考えに疑いの念をもつこと” (literally, “seeing things in a critical way, and having feelings of doubt towards ideas”). One of the Japanese editors suggested removing the second half of this item (“questioning ideas”) which she felt was unclear (“whose ideas?”, she asked). The intention behind the two-part formulation was to emphasize that “critical” was meant in the positive sense of evaluating new information rather than the negative sense of finding

fault. Like the English word “critical”, the Japanese *hihanteki* (批判的) carries both positive and negative meanings – a point raised by another teacher who helped pilot the questionnaire. An item asking only whether citizens needed to “view things critically” was open to this kind of negative interpretation. Given doubts about the clarity of the statement with “questioning ideas”, however, I wrote a new item based on a suggestion from one of the Japanese editors. In the final version of the questionnaire, the item reads “ものごとを批判的に、そして多角的にとらえる” – “viewing things critically and seeing them from multiple perspectives”.

3.6.4 Conducting the questionnaire survey

Participants could choose to complete the questionnaire online using a link to the SurveyMonkey site, or as a hard copy which they could return to me using the stamped-addressed envelope provided. SurveyMonkey is an online survey tool that many researchers have recommended for the flexibility it offers in question design and its ease of use for respondents, which helps ensure a high completion rate (Rosenbaum & Lidz, 2007; Waclawski, 2012). At the time, while a basic account with SurveyMonkey allowed construction of an online survey with up to 10 sections free of charge, the number of separate items that could be included within a section was limited to 20. My questionnaire included more items than this (for example, Section I had 30 “citizen attribute” items, while Section II had 25 “teaching objective” items). Rather than compromise on the questionnaire format, I bought a £200 one-year subscription to SurveyMonkey giving me access to enhanced features. This allowed me to create an online survey with an unlimited number of sections/items.

Apart from the method used to fill in answers (mouse clicks and keyboard, as opposed to pencil and paper) and mode of submission (online as opposed to through the post), the online and hard-copy versions of the questionnaire were identical. Research suggests that varying the mode of administration in this way has no significant effect on people’s responses (Bryman, 2008). I assumed the majority of teachers would be used to operating a computer and have Internet access, and hoped the convenience of the online

questionnaire would result in a higher response rate. According to Bryman (2008), overall response rates are better with online surveys, particularly where they include open-ended items, which also tend to be answered in more detail when completed online.

Notwithstanding the convenience of the online survey, I imagined some teachers might prefer a traditional pen-and-paper questionnaire, so gave participants that option. When it came to analysing the data, paper questionnaires would take longer to process; the responses would need to be entered into the data-analysis software by hand, whereas data from the online surveys could be downloaded in digital format and quickly imported. But the prospect of getting a higher response rate from teachers who might be averse to working online outweighed the relative inconvenience of processing paper-based responses.

As described above, I made several, targeted appeals for participants, and these provided a link to the online survey instrument. A potential danger here was that *anyone* with the link would have access to the questionnaire, and this could have undermined the purposive nature of the sample. A safeguard was provided by requiring online participants to enter personal details in Section V (the survey could not be submitted if this was left blank), which allowed me to check that respondents fit the participant profile.

3.6.5 Analysis of questionnaire data

This section describes the procedure for analysing both the quantitative and qualitative survey data. Analysis of the interview data is dealt with separately (in 3.7.6).

3.6.5.1 Preparing data for analysis

In total, 53 questionnaires were returned – 13 as hard copies and 40 online. I began by checking respondents' personal details to ensure they fit the sampling profile. Questionnaires from five respondents who did *not* were excluded from the data (see 4.1.1), along with two questionnaires that were largely incomplete. This left a total of 46 questionnaires for analysis.

Data from the paper questionnaires were added to the online data using the manual input function provided by SurveyMonkey. After checking that no errors had been made in inputting this information, I downloaded the complete data set from SurveyMonkey in two separate files – SPSS and PDF. The first file was imported directly into SPSS Statistics (Version 19.0 for Mac), which was used to analyse the numerical data from the questionnaire. Information about respondents’ schools (whether private or public, junior or senior high school, etc.) was also coded numerically in SPSS.

Teachers’ written responses to the open-ended item in the questionnaire were printed out from the PDF files, and coded by hand (see 3.7.6.1).

3.6.5.2 *Quantitative analysis*

Using the SPSS Chart Builder function, I created frequency tables from data generated by Sections I–III of the survey, and the information teachers provided about their age, length of teaching experience and school affiliation. Chapter 4 presents descriptive statistics derived from these tables which help to characterize the sample, and provide a general indication of teachers’ views about citizenship and the links between citizenship education and language teaching.

There is some dispute in the methods literature concerning the treatment of Likert-type items. Many statisticians argue that data produced by this rank-order response format must be treated as ordinal data at best, and therefore as unsuitable for analysis using interval-scale statistics such as means and standard deviations. Field (2009) notes that where self-report instruments ask participants to ascribe ratings, this is essentially subjective so, “we should probably regard these data as ordinal *although many scientists do not*” (p. 8, my emphasis). Observing how the field of applied linguistics “consistently treats [Likert scales] as interval scales” (p. 11), Brown (2011) argues that the controversy is partly due to researchers’ tendency to confuse individual Likert-*items* with multi-item Likert *scales*. Brown asserts that data presented in Likert *scales* is clearly interval, “so descriptive statistics can be applied” (p. 13), as well as other statistical procedures, although, “naturally, the reliability of Likert scales should be checked using Cronbach alpha or another appropriate reliability estimate”

(p.13). Reporting means and deviations for individual Likert-*items* is also legitimate, according to Brown, though he suggests researchers may also want to give the percentage of respondents selecting each option, and “let the reader decide how to interpret the results at the Likert-item level” (p.13). In any case, “we should not rely too heavily on interpreting single items because single items are relatively unreliable” (p. 13). Following Brown’s recommendation, I have used response percentages, as well as means and standard deviations, to report the quantitative findings in Chapter 4.

Analysis of the survey data included the creation of one Likert-*scale*. To summarize data from Section III, I combined teachers’ responses for the ten Likert items into a single, multi-item scale that could serve as a measure of how optimistic a teacher was regarding the possibility of JTEs teaching for citizenship. In constructing this “optimism scale”, the scores for negatively worded items in Section III (items 1, 4, 5 and 8) needed to be reversed; for example, strong disagreement with item 1 – “there is no connection between English language teaching and education for citizenship” – was scored as 5 on the optimism scale, rather than 1.

As Brown (2011) recommends, I checked the internal reliability of the optimism scale using Cronbach’s Alpha. According to Dörnyei (2007), for scales comprising about ten items, internal consistency estimates ought to be around 0.8. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient for the ten items in my optimism scale was 0.82, suggesting they work well together as a measure of a single construct: the degree of optimism a participant has regarding the potential for teaching citizenship through English in Japanese high schools.

3.6.5.3 *Qualitative analysis*

37 teachers responded to the open-ended item in Section IV of the questionnaire. Three teachers wrote brief comments in English, but all other responses were in Japanese.

All the Section IV data were copied into a single Word file, and each teacher’s contribution identified with a number and details of their teaching situation (e.g. public SHS). I made hard copies of this data, and began my analysis by reading each answer carefully to make sure I understood the

Japanese. To aid comprehension, I wrote short summaries of each teacher's answer in English, but continued to work with the original Japanese text when coding the information. Like Dörnyei (2007), I found I could code data more efficiently working with a hard copy, rather than on the computer screen. This was especially true with Japanese text, which I sometimes needed to annotate with translation notes. I began by reading teachers' comments and making marginal notes on themes as they emerged (see Figure 3.3 for an example). I repeated the process several times and accumulated a list of more than 50 topics. To help organize these topics into a more manageable set of codes, and enable some quantitative treatment of the data, I imported the Section IV responses into NVivo. Further details of how I used this software are given in 3.7.6.2.

3.7 Interviews

The questionnaire relied heavily on closed, Likert-type items. While these allowed me to survey a sizeable group of teachers (46) in a relatively short period of time (November 2011 to March 2012), the resulting data provided only a rough sketch of teachers' perceptions, and was related mainly to RQ1, about the possibility of JTEs teaching for citizenship. The interviews were intended to take the study beyond a general consideration of what informants believe in this regard, and to provide richer insights into how individual JTEs think they are actually going about teaching citizenship through English (RQ2).

3.7.1 Semi-structured interviews

For reasons given in the following section, the interviews were semi-structured. A basic framework was provided by an interview guide, which helped ensure that each interviewee spoke about the same broad themes, and coherence was maintained across the study as a whole.

3.7.2 Creation of the interview guide

Based on my analysis of the survey data and with reference to my research questions, I created an interview guide comprising 12 sections (see Appendix E).

Interview questions were also informed by my reading of the literature: for example, where they asked about teaching opportunities provided by Integrated Studies or team teaching.

While acknowledging the importance of remaining flexible during interviews, Bryman (2008) recommends building a certain degree of order into the interview guide so that the conversation flows reasonably well. Questions in the first three sections of my interview guide were designed to be asked in order.

Section 1 was intended to put teachers at ease and encourage them to talk about themselves. Richards (2003) suggests starting with questions about something interviewees are familiar with, so interviews began with brief questions about the teacher's current school and teaching responsibilities. These were followed by a more open question – "*Why did you decide to become an English teacher?*" – which invited a lengthier response.

Sections 2 and 3 of the guide moved the conversation on to the topic of citizenship and language teaching. These questions gave teachers the opportunity to elaborate on their survey answers; for example, "*You said that ~ is essential for Japanese citizenship. Why do you think so?*" Teachers were also invited to expand on their response to item 9 in Section III of the questionnaire: "*You said you think that as an English teacher you personally have a role to play in helping students become 'good citizens'. What are some of the ways you can do that, do you think?*"

Sections 4 to 11 of the interview guide dealt broadly with RQ2: "How do teachers believe they are combining teaching for citizenship with English language teaching?" Questions asked about the context in which JTEs were teaching (section 4), about textbooks (section 5) and any supplementary materials (section 6) they were using, about their pedagogical practices (section 7), about any other opportunities they had found for teaching citizenship (section 8) including collaboration with ALTs (section 9) and extracurricular activities (section 10), and about their involvement with outside networks (section 11). These questions could be asked in any order, which allowed me to move freely around the guide, responding to cues from interviewees, and encouraging them to develop ideas and make connections between topics as they wished (Denscombe, 2007). Section 12 brought the interview to a close, and gave teachers an opportunity to make any final comments.

Since teachers were invited to speak either Japanese or English (see 3.6.3.1 above), it was important that I could ask questions in either language. The interview guide was thus a bilingual document. The initial translation of English questions into Japanese proved relatively straightforward since I was able to recycle much of the language from the questionnaire. The Japanese questions were checked and edited by a native speaker of Japanese, then piloted with a Japanese high-school English teacher. This person was not one of my informants, but, having previously helped with piloting the questionnaire, was already familiar with the study. Some minor grammatical changes were made to the wording of some questions based on this teacher's comments.

3.7.3 Identifying potential interviewees

The selection of interview candidates continued with the purposive approach to sampling. This section provides more details of the process.

3.7.3.1 Profile for interviewees

As described earlier (in 3.4.2), a participant profile helped me identify teachers who were invited to complete the survey. This profile was amended for the interview stage of data collection. JTEs would be invited to take part in interviews if they:

- i) had completed the questionnaire,*
- ii) had indicated their willingness to be contacted again,*
- iii) were currently teaching English at a junior or senior high school, and*
- iv) appeared to have taken active steps to incorporate an aspect of citizenship education into their English teaching.*

The following elaborates on these criteria:

i) Teachers had completed the questionnaire

No attempt was made to recruit additional informants from outside the initial pool of survey respondents. The 46 teachers who had completed the

questionnaire had already met the basic criteria for inclusion in the study. The survey had itself functioned as a sampling instrument, providing an indication of which participants had taken active steps to address citizenship-related objectives in their teaching; indeed, the main purpose of the interviews was to get teachers to elaborate on their survey responses.

ii) Teachers had indicated their willingness to be contacted again

Of the 46 teachers who completed the questionnaire, 35 teachers provided personal contact details, signalling their willingness to be contacted again in relation to the study.

iii) Teachers were currently teaching English at a junior or senior high school

This ruled out 3 respondents who were not teaching at the high-school level when they completed the survey, one having just moved to an elementary school, the other two having recently retired. These 3 teachers were deemed to be valuable informants in the first stage of data collection. At the interview stage, however, the fact that they were no longer teaching in high schools was viewed as a possible limitation on their ability to provide information about the current situation in those schools. For example, they were less likely than practicing high-school teachers to be familiar with the latest textbooks, or with the relatively new teaching opportunities provided by Integrated Studies.

iv) Teachers appeared to have taken active steps to incorporate aspects of citizenship education into their English teaching

Interviews focused on teachers whose survey responses suggested they were not just “interested” in citizenship education but had taken active steps to include citizenship-related work in their classes. 11 teachers appeared less suitable for interview because although their questionnaires indicated positive views towards the *idea* of combining citizenship with English teaching, their comments in Section IV suggested they had not personally been able to do this. For instance, one public senior high-school teacher wrote:

currently English education in Japan’s schools focuses on preparing students for university entrance examinations, so lessons focus constantly

on grammar and on translation. In such circumstances, it is virtually impossible for teachers to include citizenship education.

(my translation)

On the other hand, some teachers provided specific examples of citizenship-related activities they had used with their students, so were included in a shortlist of potential interviewees. Other teachers were included since they had gone as far as to publish journal articles describing their citizenship-related classroom activities.

Using the above criteria, the pool of 46 survey respondents was narrowed down to a shortlist of 22 teachers who were contacted and invited to participate in the interviews.

3.7.3.2 Teacher types

A review of potential interviewees suggested that teachers could be seen as falling into different groups. Teachers could obviously be categorized according to the kind of school they were teaching at – whether that was a junior high school (JHS) or senior high school (SHS), public or private. The shortlist included six JHS teachers, 13 SHS teachers, and three teachers whose schools covered both levels. Most teachers (18) were working in public schools (i.e. for the local prefecture or municipality), while just four teachers were in private schools.

There are clear differences between junior and senior high schools. With few exceptions, JHS students (aged 12–15) are at a relatively early stage of learning English. SHS students (aged 15–18) are not only older, but have at least three years of English study behind them. A further difference is that – in the public sector, at least – junior high schools do not stream pupils on the basis of their academic record, meaning that JHS teachers work with groups of more mixed ability. At the SHS level, entry to “better” schools is by entrance examination or school recommendation, so students tend to be broadly similar in terms of previous academic achievement. SHS teachers will also tend to have a clearer sense of whether students are aiming for higher education, and therefore have

different perceptions of their need for English than JHS teachers. Finally, there are differences in the degree to which public JHS and public SHS teachers can influence the selection of textbooks. Whereas textbooks for junior high schools are chosen at the prefectural or municipal level, at the senior level textbooks are chosen by schools, and this potentially gives individual SHS teachers more influence over the material they use in class.

I assumed any of these differences between junior and senior high schools might affect teachers' perceptions of the scope for citizenship education. Less clear, perhaps, was the distinction between private and public schools. Like institutions in the public sector, private schools must follow the Course of Study prescribed by MEXT, but they have more autonomy when it comes to interpreting the curriculum guidelines and when choosing textbooks (Aspinall, 2005).

The survey data also suggested teachers could be categorized according to their areas of interest within the broad field of citizenship education. I identified the following groups:

- ① JTEs with an interest in teaching about specific *content* areas, which included
 - (a) teaching about *global issues*, including *human rights* and the *environment*, and/or
 - (b) teaching about *peace*, which eight teachers mentioned as a particular goal.
- ② JTEs with an interest in encouraging *discussion* or *critical thinking*.
- ③ JTEs with an interest in teaching about other cultures and promoting *intercultural competence*.

I wondered whether differences I observed among survey participants might amount to different “teacher types” and whether these types might offer different perspectives on the research questions. Table 3.1 shows the teachers who were identified as potential interview candidates. (The “Area of Interest” column makes use of the numbers/letters above.)

Table 3.1
Shortlist of potential interview participants
 (Teachers who were eventually interviewed are shaded in grey.)

No.	M/F	School type	Area of interest	Other information
1	M	Private SHS	① a)	Described using newspapers to teach current issues.
2	F	Public SHS	① a)	Came to English teaching late after a career in “international relations”; sees English as having an important role in getting students to reflect on issues.
4	F	Public SHS	① a)	Teaches special English courses on “intercultural understanding”.
5	M	Private JHS/SHS	① a) b)	Wrote an MA thesis on teaching “global citizenship” through English.
8	M	Public SHS	① a) b)	Wrote an article in <i>New English Teacher</i> that describes collaborating with university students to teach human rights issues.
9	F	Public JHS/SHS	① a) b) ② ③	Has published articles on global education. GILE member.
10	F	Public JHS	②	Wrote an article in <i>New English Teacher</i> that describes activities to help students express opinions.
12	F	Public SHS	① b) ② ③	Wrote an article in <i>New English Teacher</i> about peace education. Presented at <i>Shin-Eiken</i> conference, Aug 2012.
13	F	Public SHS	②	Referred to importance of teaching critical thinking; concerned about the lack of “models” for teaching citizenship through English.
14	F	Public SHS	① b)	Helped develop a high-school textbook which includes a section on peace education; active in <i>Shin-Eiken</i> .
16	M	Public SHS	① a) ③	Wrote an article in <i>New English Teacher</i> about collaborating with Red Cross to organize international exchange activities in English.
19	F	Public SHS	① a) ②	Completed an MA in global education. GILE member.
21	F	Private JHS/SHS	② ③	On editorial board of textbook publisher; presented at JALT conference on critical discourse analysis of textbook content.
22	F	Public SHS	① a)	Section IV comments enthusiastic about scope for global education through Integrated Studies. GILE member.
23	M	Private SHS	②	Interested in promoting media literacy.
30	F	Public SHS	① a) ③	Working on doctorate on global citizenship education in Japan. Designed a course on global citizenship.
31	M	Public JHS	① a) ②	Wrote an article in <i>New English Teacher</i> about teaching a class using Severn Suzuki’s speech to UN conference on environment. Has published 2 teachers’ resource books.
33	F	Public JHS	① a) ②	Wrote articles in <i>New English Teacher</i> about teaching discussion skills, and teaching about Nepal.
40	M	Public JHS	① a) b) ②	Wrote an article in <i>New English Teacher</i> dealing with environmental education.
42	M	Public JHS	① a) b)	Described how a lesson on Martin Luther King was expanded to include discussion of discrimination in Japan.
43	M	Public JHS	③	Described using Integrated Studies to teach about indigenous peoples.
46	F	Public SHS	① a) b)	Described using Integrated Studies for student projects on the issue of landmines.

3.7.3.3 Requesting interviews

I contacted all 22 shortlisted teachers by email asking if I could interview them in relation to the study. To help establish a rapport with teachers, and hopefully increase the chances of a good response rate, each message was carefully tailored to the teacher concerned, referring specifically to their school, things they had written in the survey, and points I wanted to clarify with them (see the example message in Appendix F). Teachers were told that interviews were expected to

last between 45 minutes and an hour and could be held at a time and place to suit them, and that they could speak in either Japanese or English. Finally, they were once again assured that I would respect their privacy and maintain their anonymity.

11 teachers replied to the first request agreeing to be interviewed. Bryman (2008) emphasizes the need for persistence in sampling, and follow-up messages were sent to those teachers who had not responded. This resulted in positive replies from a further three teachers.

3.7.4 Conducting the interviews

Between August 2012 and October 2013, I interviewed 14 teachers. In all but two cases, I travelled to where the teacher was and interviewed them face to face. As they were scattered widely across Japan, in 11 different prefectures, this involved a considerable amount of travelling – more than 5,000 miles altogether – and required overnight stays in several distant locations.

Teachers chose where to be interviewed. Half asked me to come to their school; others preferred to meet off-campus – in local coffee shops, hotel lounges, or even, in one teacher's case, in her own home. For two teachers, it proved difficult to schedule a time to meet face to face, but they agreed to be interviewed from their homes via Skype.

Online video-based applications like Skype offer many advantages for qualitative interviews, eliminating the travel time and often-considerable financial costs involved in a face-to-face meeting. Some researchers question whether Skype allows good rapport to be established with interviewees, particularly if there are problems with Internet connectivity, or sound or video quality (Seitz, 2016). Others suggest that the opportunity to be interviewed via Skype from home helps put interviewees at ease, which makes them more forthcoming (Lo Iacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016). My experience of using Skype in this study was very positive. There were no obvious technical problems. The video enabled me to see teachers' facial expressions, and, I believe, establish a good rapport. Audio was clear enough to enable full transcripts to be made, and, when analysing data, I noticed no difference in quality between the Skype transcripts and those from other interviews.

Face-to-face meetings had one clear advantage over Skype, however, in allowing me to spend more time with teachers, including periods before and after the interview itself. In several cases, we went for coffee, or the teacher drove me back to the station after our interview. The informal conversations we had during those periods provided a considerable amount of information useful to the study. Occasionally, a teacher would remember to tell me something they had forgotten to say in the interview. In contrast, although the Skype interviews lasted 60–90 minutes each, once the call was ended, there was not the same opportunity to talk informally with teachers. This made direct meetings the preferred option for interviews, but where this was not possible, Skype proved a very good alternative. To be sure, without the option of Skype, two of the interviews I conducted would not have happened.

Whether face-to-face or via Skype, I prepared for each interview in a similar way, adapting the interview guide to incorporate specific information about the teacher concerned. I reviewed their questionnaire responses and highlighted points that needed clarification or elaboration. I also found out what I could about the teacher's school. All Japanese schools maintain websites that typically provide information about the school's history and ethos, the curriculum, special events in the school calendar, club activities students can get involved with, and so on. Having access to this kind of information allowed me to tailor the interviews more closely to each teacher, and this helped in establishing rapport.

Before starting each interview, I asked again whether I could make an audio recording. All 14 teachers consented to this (the two teachers interviewed by Skype agreed to the calls being recorded). Teachers were assured that the recordings and my interview notes would be kept securely, and also guaranteed anonymity. Recordings were made using an Olympus DS-800 digital stereo voice recorder that was placed on a table between me and the interviewee. Soon after each interview, I made a back-up copy of the recording on my laptop.

During each interview, after about 45 minutes, I suggested that it might be time to bring our conversation to a close. All but one teacher indicated that they wished to continue talking. Interviews ranged in length from 1–2¹/₂ hours, the average being about 90 minutes.

Teachers were invited to speak either English or Japanese, or to move between the two languages as they wished. Two teachers spoke mainly in Japanese, but other teachers combined English and Japanese throughout our conversation.

3.7.5 Transcribing the interviews

The 14 interviews produced more than 25 hours' worth of audio data. I transcribed the interviews myself, which, although extremely time-consuming, allowed me to become very familiar with the data (Bryman, 2008). The interview recordings were imported as MP3 audio files into the Olympus Sonority audio management software. This allows playback control via the computer keyboard, and files can be paused and navigated easily while typing. This proved to be an efficient alternative to the foot pedal traditionally used for transcribing.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) emphasize that all transcriptions are selective, decontextualized, "interpretations of social situations" (p. 126); they can never be completely reliable, but what is important, they argue, is that they are created in a way that is useful to the researcher. Since my research questions were concerned with *what* teachers said rather than *how* they said it, I decided that transcripts did not need to reflect such detailed aspects of speech as pronunciation or the length of every pause. I followed the notation system described by Richards (2003), which captures basic aspects of delivery and turn-taking, including pauses, emphasis, and some aspects of intonation, as well as fillers (... *um*, ...*err* etc.), non-verbal features (e.g. [*laughs*]) and occasional overlaps between speakers.

Japanese sections of the interviews were transcribed as spoken rather than translated into English. Temple and Young (2004) argue that in cross-language studies, "the early 'domestication' of research into written English may mean that the ties between language and identity/culture are cut to the disadvantage of non-English speakers" (p. 174). Where teachers spoke Japanese, then, this was reflected in the transcript and retained in all subsequent stages of analysis. It is only in reporting the study here that data collected in Japanese have been translated into English.

Transcribing some of the Japanese was challenging, and considerably more time-consuming than transcribing English. The two teachers who used Japanese for most of the interview tended to speak more quickly than teachers who spoke in a mixture of Japanese and English. They were also more likely to use regional dialect and go off on unrelated tangents. I decided against transcribing a few parts of these interviews that clearly had no relevance to the study – for example, where one teacher began talking at length about her tennis activities. These sections amounted to less than 10 minutes in all, and were clearly marked as omissions from the transcripts.

Using the Sonority software, I could isolate and listen repeatedly to Japanese sections that were initially difficult to understand. It was not practical to have all the Japanese transcripts checked for accuracy by a native speaker, and, since I was confident that I understood most of what teachers said, such a thorough check would have been unnecessary. I did make a point of highlighting any sections I was unsure of. These parts were then checked against the audio with a native speaker of Japanese. Some minor editing was necessary as a result of these native-speaker checks, but none that had a significant effect on meaning.

Interviews were conducted over a period of 14 months between August 2012 and October 2013. Transcripts were made as soon as possible after each interview, and, apart from the two “all-Japanese” interviews, which took longer, completed within a few days. This was to facilitate the inclusion of non-verbal information not captured in the audio recordings but remembered from the interviews – for example, what I recalled about teachers’ facial expressions at certain points (where they appeared surprised or annoyed, say), or when a teacher had been pointing to a worksheet or part of a textbook.

After transcribing five interviews, I began initial coding of the transcripts (see 3.7.6.1). This meant I was often working concurrently on interview preparation, transcriptions and initial coding. This overlap in data collection and data processing allowed me to reflect on my role in the interviews. Reviewing one early transcript, I realized that at some points in the interview I had come close to asking the kind of leading questions that Piazzoli (2015) cautions against. While participants generally had a good command of English, there were times when they did appear to be searching for words to express themselves in English, rather than switching to Japanese. In some of the early interview

transcripts, I noticed I tended to try and fill in gaps for teachers. For example, in this excerpt a teacher is explaining how he had welcomed an opportunity to move from a large private school in the city to a smaller, public school in a rural area:

T: So, ... I thought teaching a lower-level junior high school, and public high school, I can teach more ... my ... [*pause*] I can teach more that is near to my ... [*pause*]

IH: More the way that you want to teach?

T: Yeah.

IH: ... rather than following other people's directions?

T: Yeah.

Reviewing this transcript, I realized that in my eagerness to help the teacher with what appeared to be a loss for words, I was in danger of answering questions on his behalf. It is not at all clear in this case that the teacher would have completed his first sentence in the way I suggested. In subsequent interviews, where teachers appeared to struggle to express themselves in English, I tried to prompt them in a more neutral, non-leading way, or politely encouraged them to switch to Japanese.

3.7.6 Qualitative analysis of the interviews

This section explains the process of analysing the interview data, which included development of a coding table, and external checks of its reliability.

3.7.6.1 Coding by hand

Although transcribing the interviews allowed me to become very familiar with the material, Richards (2009) stresses the importance of “coming to the data ‘fresh’ and allowing categories to emerge naturally” (p. 192). Following his recommendation, I began by taking one completed transcript, reading through it very quickly, and noting topics in the margin as I noticed them (Figure 3.3 provides an example). I repeated the process with two more transcripts, then

compiled a list of all the topics from across the three interviews. This became a working list of tentative codes that I added to and revised as I read further transcripts.

<p>I also, you know, do the very traditional, typical ... teaching in my English class, ... except for the writing class, where I adapted peer feedback ... um ... we just use the textbook, and follow the ... teacher's manual of some sort, and do questions and answers, and explanations, and that kind of repetition.</p>	<p><i><u>Beliefs re. teaching</u></i> <i>(Contrasts global issues work with "traditional" teaching)</i> <i><u>Innovation</u> – peer feedback, adapting</i></p> <p><i><u>Normal practice?</u></i> <i>(textbook, explanation etc.)</i></p>
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Figure 3.3 An example of marginal notes

Dörnyei (2007) sees this kind of cumulative list as a step towards “second-level coding” (p. 252), which involves grouping specific codes under more general categories that can then be used to analyse patterns across the whole data set. To assist in this process, I transferred the codes in my working list to notecards. I arranged these cards into different stacks, grouping similar topics together. By assigning labels to these groups, I produced a hierarchy of codes, which eventually comprised three levels – primary, secondary and tertiary. This became the coding table I referred to when coding the remaining transcripts. Figure 3.4 provides an example of the three levels of coding (see Appendix G for the full coding table).

<i>Primary code</i>	<i>Secondary code</i>	<i>Tertiary code</i>
<p><u>Beliefs</u> (BEL) (what teachers say they believe)</p>	<p><u>Beliefs about English teaching in Japan</u> (BEL/ETJ)</p>	<p><u>Beliefs about the role of textbooks in English teaching in Japan</u> (BEL/ETJ/TXT)</p>

Figure 3.4 Three levels of coding (example)

This approach to coding interviews is described here in a fairly linear manner, but the actual process was highly iterative. Transcripts were read and re-read multiple times; regular changes were made to the coding table as I reflected on the data and formed new ideas; and as new codes were added to the table, I went back and used them to re-code data.

3.7.6.2 Coding and analysis with NVivo

To facilitate management of the data, interview transcripts were imported into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo for Mac (Version 10.2.2). Before I settled on the process of coding by hand, I tried using NVivo to code interviews directly, by identifying topics in the transcripts and setting them up as thematic nodes. This helped me identify patterns across interview transcripts imported to the NVivo database. However, I found that viewing interview excerpts on screen as NVivo nodes, it was easy to lose sight of the larger context in which teachers' comments occurred. This encouraged me to go back to working with hard copies of the transcripts, which helped me to see teachers' words in the context of the interview as a whole.

Once I had the three-level coding table described above, I went back to NVivo and created a new set of nodes based on the table. The software proved useful in identifying common themes across the interviews. NVivo's search function allowed me to search for key words and quickly locate other interviews in the database where teachers had referred to the same thing. Since the software keeps a tally of any references that are coded, I was able to get a sense of how important a particular topic was to teachers in my sample.

Many scholars (e.g. Dörnyei, 2007; K. Richards, 2003) recommend the writing of analytical memos to record ideas or queries as they occur. Bryman (2008) believes such memos are important for researchers "not to lose track of their thinking" (p. 537). As I reviewed the interview data, I made regular use of NVivo's memo function to record observations, and highlight possible links between the data and my research questions. Figure 3.5 provides an example of a memo created to suggest the relevance of interview data to RQ1 ii).

Though teachers seem to agree re. the potential for JTEs to address CE in some way – there are big contrasts in how teachers see the implications of this for their role in the classroom. Some teachers (esp. T30) argue that JTEs need clear CE teaching objectives, addressing skills and attitudes, as well as knowledge. For T30, this is generally lacking in Japanese schools, so there's a need for clarification of aims and training For other JTEs (e.g. T5), beliefs in the importance of addressing CE seem to require much less of the teacher. Teachers can contribute to CE simply by covering certain kinds of content in their lessons. It may be that the support these JTEs express for CE through English is simply an endorsement of the trend among textbook publishers to include more "global" content.

Figure 3.5 An example memo from NVivo

3.7.6.3 External checks of the coding

Denscombe (2007) emphasizes the importance of verifying the credibility and dependability of qualitative research. Where data are being coded, Lynch (as cited in Dörnyei, 2007) recommends that coding tables be reviewed by external checkers. I sought the help of two professional acquaintances with this. One person (Checker 1) has conducted his own cross-language research and is well acquainted with the process of coding with NVivo, while the other (Checker 2) is a global-education specialist with a keen interest in the themes of the study.

The external checks had two, related purposes. First, I asked the checkers to evaluate my coding table in terms of its clarity and applicability to the data. I envisaged introducing new codes or making other changes to the table as a result of their feedback. Secondly, I wanted to compare how the checkers coded certain interview excerpts with my own coding of the same data; this would enable me to report a measure of intercoder reliability. According to Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken (2002), the simplest, most widely used index is percent agreement, which is “the percentage of all coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree” (p. 590). Although they warn that percent agreement fails to account for agreement that occurs between coders by chance, this only appears to be significant when there are few categories in the coding scheme (the example that Lombard et al. provide includes just two categories). With more than 30 categories in my own coding table, I felt chance would be unlikely to have much effect on the percent agreement between myself and the code checkers.

I gave the checkers excerpts from two interview transcripts, each approximately 3,000 words long, and asked them to work independently of one another to code the excerpts using my coding table. Both checkers understand Japanese, but to allow them to focus on coding and not be distracted by translation issues, the excerpts I gave them were in English. I also provided each checker with notes outlining the aims of my study and my research questions, and an example of how I had coded a short excerpt from a different interview (see Appendix H).

Both checkers reported finding the coding table easy to use. However, they were unsure how to code several sections where teachers described how they believed students responded to class activities: for example, where one teacher said an activity “didn’t work well” because students “didn’t want to write”. Based on this feedback, I added a new, secondary code to the coding table: BEL/SR: “Teachers’ beliefs about how students respond to their teaching”.

Comparing how the two checkers had coded the excerpts, I found that Checker 1 had coded some sections more densely than Checker 2, possibly reflecting his experience of coding qualitative data in his own research. Whereas Checker 1 sometimes used several different codes for a single utterance, Checker 2 had coded more sparingly, often using just one code to summarize the gist of what was said. Both checkers coded a few sentences that I had not coded at all, but those were sections of the interview where I was speaking, whereas my own coding concentrated on what teachers said.

To discover the percent agreement between my coding and that of each checker, I focused on the sections of transcripts that both of us had coded, then calculated the number of times we agreed as a percentage of the total. Percent agreement is expressed as a value between .00 (no agreement) and 1.00 (perfect agreement). Reviewing the methodological literature, Neuendorf (cited in Lombard et al., 2002) found that in most cases, values of .80 and above are an acceptable level of reliability. The percent agreement between my coding of the two interview excerpts and Checker 1’s was .82 and .84, respectively. The percent agreement with Checker 2’s coding was .81 and .80. These values indicate an acceptable level of reliability, and offer some external corroboration for the way I analysed the interview data.

3.8 Follow-up interviews informed by classroom observations

I believed an opportunity to see lessons taught by participants would enhance my understanding of the context for the study, and yield insights that would help me in interpreting the survey and interview data. Being able to speak with teachers after seeing them teach would allow me to further explore their thoughts about teaching for citizenship with reference to what I had observed.

3.8.1 Approaching teachers with requests to observe classes

It was important that any classes I observed had the potential to be relevant to my research questions. I did not want to see just *any* English teaching, but rather lessons where the JTE's objectives were in some way citizenship-related. For this reason, when considering which teachers to approach about observing classes, I focused on those who, based on the survey and interview data, seemed to have the most opportunities to address citizenship-related aims. Teachers who appeared to have few such opportunities were less likely to be teaching the kinds of classes I wanted to see.

Table 3.2 lists all 14 teachers who participated in both stages of data collection; it indicates those I approached with requests for classroom observations (seven teachers), and those who accepted my request and invited me to their schools (two teachers). It proved harder than I imagined to find classes I could observe. Two teachers I contacted were no longer working in high schools, so were unable to help. Three others were reluctant to open their classes to me, one citing discipline problems at his school, and another heavy work commitments. One said she did not envisage having any further citizenship teaching opportunities that semester. In the end, just two teachers agreed to let me observe classes, and conduct a short follow-up interview afterwards.

Table 3.2
Teachers approached about class observations

No.	School type	Opportunities for citizenship teaching; other comments	(observation/ interview requested?)	Accepted/Declined request
1	Private SHS	few opportunities	No	
2	Public SHS	few opportunities	No	
4	Public SHS	many opportunities; highly committed	Yes	Declined request, citing heavy work commitments.
5	Private JHS/SHS	very few opportunities	No	
9	Public JHS/SHS	many opportunities; highly committed	Yes	Accepted request. Observations/interview conducted Sept 8, 2015.
12	Public SHS	recently moved schools; had hinted that a visit might be difficult	No	
14	Public SHS	reported discipline problems at current school	No	
19	Public SHS	some opportunities, including Integrated Studies	Yes	No longer teaching in high school. Now a college teacher.
21	Private JHS/SHS	few opportunities but expected more with new international programme	Yes	No longer teaching in high school. Studying for a PhD overseas.
30	Public SHS	many opportunities; highly committed	Yes	Declined request. Current classes “not suitable for observation”.
33	Public JHS	some opportunities; switched to part-time status, making a visit difficult	No	
40	Public JHS	some opportunities including Integrated Studies; highly committed	Yes	Declined request, citing problems with classroom discipline.
42	Public JHS	some opportunities but reported discipline problems at current school	No	
46	Public SHS	some opportunities, including Integrated Studies; highly committed	Yes	Accepted request. Observations/interview conducted Sept 2, 2015.

3.8.2 Ethical matters connected with school visits

In addition to renewing my assurance that I would preserve teachers’ personal anonymity, to respect the privacy of students and other staff at the school, I undertook not to use any electronic recording equipment during my visit; no photographs or video were taken, and no audio recordings made of the interviews. Teachers gave me permission to make handwritten notes during lessons. I requested a seat at the back of the classroom, behind the students, to intrude as little as possible.

The two schools I visited were both public institutions, but quite different types of school. The first was a large senior high school with a highly vocational curriculum, located in an agricultural region in southern Japan. The school has a strict policy on screening visitors, and I needed to apply to the school board for permission to observe lessons there. This involved a certain amount of paperwork for the teacher concerned; her willingness to deal with this is an

indication of her keen interest in my study. To reassure the board that my visit would not impact negatively on students, and might actually be beneficial for some, I offered to meet informally with students during the lunch break, giving them an authentic opportunity for communication in English. The school board welcomed this offer, and it seems to have increased their readiness to approve my visit.

The second school I visited is a relatively prestigious institution in a suburban area in central Japan, which combines junior and senior sections. It is well known for its innovative curriculum, and regularly hosts visits by educational researchers and trainee teachers. I did not need to obtain formal permission from the administration for my visit; an invitation from the teacher was sufficient. Class observations appear to be a regular occurrence at this school, and indeed, on the day I visited, several student teachers joined me at the back of the classroom to watch lessons.

3.8.3 Choosing lessons to observe

Both teachers who invited me into their classrooms offered me a choice of lessons to observe, and we discussed these options via email. Having been involved in the earlier stages of data collection, the teachers were familiar with my study and were able to suggest classes that might be relevant. In both cases, the observations and follow-up interviews were scheduled for the same day, so as to minimize any disruption my visit might cause, and also in view of the travelling involved to reach the schools (one took three hours to get to, while the other was a full day's travel away, and involved an overnight stay).

Table 3.3 lists the five classes I observed. I was able to see examples of teaching at both SHS and JHS levels. I observed a “typical” class using a government-authorized textbook, an Integrated Studies class based on the teacher's own materials, and an example of team teaching with an ALT.

Table 3.3***Class observation schedule***

School 1 (3 classes, all SHS)	
<i>Communication English II</i>	A “typical”, textbook-based English class focusing on reading comprehension and grammar instruction. Topic: “Working elephants in Asia”
<i>Integrated Studies #1</i>	An elective, content-based English class on the topic, “Landmines in South East Asia”
<i>Integrated Studies #2</i>	A continuation of the previous class, but team-taught with an American ALT
<hr/>	
School 2 (2 classes)	
<i>Topic Studies</i> (SHS)	A content-based class on the topic, “Food waste and hunger”.
<i>Introductory English</i> (JHS)	A 4-skills class with a focus on speaking. Topic: “Hobbies and vacation activities”

3.8.4 Approach to the observations

Cowie (2009) recommends spending time before a class visit thinking about what aspects of the lesson to observe. My purpose was not to analyse the lessons as such, but to identify features that would inform my interview with the teacher afterwards. The focus was on my second research question: “How do JTEs believe they are combining citizenship-teaching objectives with language teaching?” I was particularly interested in learning more about teachers’ objectives, the resources they use, and their pedagogical practices. Prior to the school visits, I re-read the transcripts of our previous interviews to help me recall what teachers had said about these areas.

As a general guide to what to look for in lessons, Cowie recommends the dimensions listed by Spradley (as cited in Cowie, 2009), which include space, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, time, goals and feelings, and I bore these dimensions in mind as I observed classes. At the same time, Cowie stresses the importance of “having as few pre-conceived ideas as possible so that what you observe is seen with fresh eyes,” (p. 169). A balance needs to be struck between planning what to look for, and remaining open to new insights. To this end, rather than creating a detailed observation schedule, I adopted Cowie’s simple, three-column approach to note taking: on the left was a timeline where I noted the duration of each phase of the lesson, the middle column was for notes on

what occurred, and the right-hand column was for reflections and questions to follow up afterwards with the teacher.

Since observations are prone to making teachers feel self-conscious, the notes I took during lessons were made as inconspicuously as possible (I purchased a small, handheld notebook for this purpose). Within an hour of leaving each school, I wrote up my handwritten classroom notes as “full field notes” (Bryman, 2008).

3.8.5 Follow-up interviews

I interviewed each teacher soon after observing their lessons. We had agreed that out of respect for the privacy of students and other staff, I would not record our conversations, and in both cases this seemed appropriate as other members of staff were in the vicinity. With the teacher’s permission, I took notes during our conversation. Interviews focused on lesson activities I had observed that appeared relevant to the citizenship-related teaching objectives listed in Section II of the survey, and the materials teachers had used. Within an hour of speaking with each teacher, I wrote a detailed summary of our interview. These summaries were later added to the data set from previous interviews, and coded in the same way as the other interview transcripts (see 3.7.6).

3.9 Representing the participants: A note about quotations used in the thesis

In presenting my research findings (Chapter 4), and in the ensuing discussion (Chapters 5–7), I have included direct quotations from the data, both to illustrate points and reflect participants’ voices in the study (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006). Qualitative researchers will always need to exercise judgement when extracting segments of interview data and integrating them into research reports in a form that is accessible to the reader. It is part of the researcher’s task to organize material generated by the study and, as Sandelowski (1994) observes, this is likely to involve some editing of quotations:

To make a point, researchers often have to impose some order on participants’ talk. Accordingly, quoting may often involve taking the

narrative licence to arrange words or sentences together that were not necessarily spoken together or in the same sequence as in the original transcribed text. Yet, researchers simultaneously try to ensure that research participants' meaning has not been distorted or misrepresented. They typically convey having taken some licence with the data by using notation devices such as ellipses or parenthetical inserts. (p. 481)

Below I outline the main situations where I judged it appropriate to edit quotations in the way Sandelowski describes.

Deletions to preserve anonymity

I have deleted the names of any people, schools, cities or other locations that might have compromised participants' anonymity. For example, I sometimes substitute a named city, such as Tokyo, with *[this city]*, using square brackets to indicate the change.

Deletions to improve readability

Exercising some of the narrative licence Sandelowski mentions, in the interests of readability I have sometimes deleted parts of the transcript that were not required to convey the teacher's point. For example, I have removed some of the fillers used by teachers – their *ums* and *ahs*. I have also deleted many of my own contributions from the transcript – where these amounted to no more than a confirmatory, “mmm-hmm” or “I see”, for instance, and appeared to have no bearing on what the teacher went on to say. These sorts of deletions are indicated by ellipses.

Insertions for clarification

In some quotations, teachers refer back to topics that were established earlier in our conversation. For clarity's sake, I have inserted these referents into the quotation using square brackets.

Translation

Many of the quotations are my English translations of participants' Japanese. By definition, all translation involves a transformation of the data. I am confident

that my English translations accurately reflect the views that JTEs expressed. Undoubtedly, however, there are times where there is no simple, one-to-one equivalence between the languages, or where a direct translation would be awkward. While striving to preserve teachers' intended meaning, I have also tried to render their contributions in natural English. In some places, I include the original Japanese in parentheses as a way of preserving the speaker's authentic voice, and of providing an additional point of reference for readers of Japanese.

Minor editing of teachers' English

More controversial than the examples of editing given so far are some minor but, in my opinion, significant changes I have made to teachers' English. I was conscious here of treading a path between a preservationist approach – reporting teachers verbatim as far as possible – and a standardized approach, where certain elements such as grammatical errors are removed or corrected (Sandelowski, 1994). I did very little editing of this kind and, indeed, many small grammatical errors have been preserved, particularly where I judged these to be the kinds of errors even native speakers make in spoken discourse. As well as trying to preserve teachers' voices, however, I also wanted to avoid retaining errors of speech that could feasibly convey a negative impression of the teacher. Mortensen reports faithfully reproducing everything one of her participants said in an interview, including all the *ums* and *ahs*, only to be accused by a colleague of making the woman “look like an idiot” (as cited in Pickering & Kara, 2017, p. 5). Other researchers have reported participants being embarrassed to see their words in print because, where a regional dialect had been preserved, for example, they felt it made them appear inarticulate, especially in comparison with the researcher's prose (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006).

Though my participants are teachers of English, English remains a foreign language for them, and some errors were to be expected. To give an example, in what was obviously a slip of the tongue, one teacher referred to having learned a lot from “universal professors”. From the context of our conversation, he clearly meant to say “university professors”, and I had no hesitation in correcting that when I quoted from this part of the transcript. Another participant described difficulties she experienced during her first years as a teacher. Although she began in the past tense (“I couldn't do the class

properly”), she occasionally used present-tense verbs to talk about the same period in her career (e.g. “the students never remember the words or vocabulary”). Where I quote this teacher, I have ironed out these errors and rendered everything in past tense. In such cases, I was not only concerned with clarifying teachers’ meaning for the reader, but also with representing them in a respectful way as fellow language-teaching professionals.

3.10 Chapter summary

Scholarly work introduced in the review of literature (e.g. Byram, 2008a; K. Cates, 2005; Starkey, 2005) suggests that FLTs have a distinct contribution to make to education for citizenship. My study aimed to provide insights into how high-school JTEs may be able to address aspects of citizenship education as part of teaching English. It sought to do this by gathering information from a purposively selected group of JTEs, identified as having interests and experience relevant to the study.

The research comprised two main rounds of data collection: a questionnaire survey which employed both quantitative and qualitative elements to gain a sense of teachers’ perceptions across the sample as a whole; and semi-structured, qualitative interviews conducted with a smaller group of JTEs who, based on their survey responses, appeared to be particularly engaged in aspects of citizenship education. The interviews explored in more detail the citizenship-related aims that teachers have, the ways they go about pursuing those aims, and aspects of their teaching environment they believe affect their ability to do so. Classroom observations were conducted to enhance my understanding of the high-school teaching context and inform my interpretation of the data.

This chapter has provided a detailed account of the methods employed and the reasons for adopting them, and highlighted some of the issues of translation involved in this kind of cross-language research. Limitations of the study are addressed later in Chapter 8. Chapter 4, which follows, presents the main findings.

Chapter 4 Findings

This chapter presents findings from the data analysis, and links them to the research questions guiding the study.

4.1 Quantitative findings

This section begins with a brief analysis of the biographical data provided by survey participants, describing the age profile and other characteristics of the sample. It goes on to present the main findings from the quantitative data generated by Sections I–III of the questionnaire.

4.1.1 The sample

As described in 3.4.3, various purposive sampling methods were used to recruit participants matching the following profile: they needed to i) be Japanese, ii) be currently teaching English at junior or senior high school, and iii) display some interest in teaching citizenship through English.

53 teachers responded to the survey; 40 teachers completed the questionnaire online, and 13 submitted theirs by post. Owing to the nature of the sampling procedure – in particular the inclusion of an open appeal for participants – it was not possible to calculate a response rate for the survey.

Completed questionnaires were screened to ensure teachers met the sampling criteria. Five people who responded to the general appeal for participants were found not to fit the profile, and their questionnaires excluded from the analysis: four Japanese teachers – two at universities, and two at elementary schools – were excluded since they did not appear to have high-school teaching experience; an American teacher was excluded since the study focuses on Japanese teachers specifically. Two more respondents were excluded because large parts of their questionnaires were left incomplete.

This initial screening of survey respondents led to a minor adjustment of the sampling criteria. Three respondents indicated they had retired within the past year, but they were judged to have had sufficient, recent experience of high-school teaching to justify retaining their responses in the data.

After exclusions, the survey data included responses from a total of 46 teachers – 23 were male and 22 female. One teacher did not answer the question about gender.

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show that overall the sample group was a very experienced one. 85% of respondents fell in the upper-two age brackets, and three-quarters had at least 16 years' teaching experience.

Table 4.1 *Participant profile 1: Age groups*

Under 29 yrs	30-39 yrs	40-49 yrs	50+ yrs
1 (2%)	6 (13%)	20 (44%)	19 (41%)

Table 4.2 *Participant profile 2: Length of teaching experience*

1-5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-15 yrs	16-20 yrs	21+ yrs
3 (7%)	5 (11%)	4 (9%)	9 (20%)	25 (54%)

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 indicate the composition of the sample by school type. SHS teachers outnumbered those teaching at junior high, but teachers at both levels were well represented in the sample. About two-thirds of respondents were teaching at public schools, which included schools administered by prefectural and municipal boards of education, and a school attached to a national university. About a quarter were working at private, fee-paying schools.

Table 4.3 *Participant profile 3: School level*

Junior High (JHS)	Senior High (SHS)	Combined JHS/SHS	Unspecified
13 (28%)	25 (54%)	5 (11%)	3 (7%)

Table 4.4 *Participant profile 4: School administration*

Private	Public	Unspecified
12 (26%)	30 (65%)	4 (9%)

As described below, the survey data suggest the possibility of some school-type effects in accounting for differences in how teachers assess the possibilities for teaching citizenship through English. It should be remembered, however, that

this study focuses on the work of individual teachers, who, in the course of their careers, will work at numerous different schools, perhaps moving between junior and senior high, and between public and private sectors.

4.1.2 Section I: The attributes of good citizenship

Section I of the questionnaire addressed RQ1 (i): “What do participants understand by ‘good citizenship’?” It presented teachers with a list of 30 attributes – knowledge, attitudes and skills – and asked them to rate how important each was to Japanese citizens.

Table 4.5 shows the mean score and standard deviation for each attribute across the 46 respondents (see 3.6.5.2 for a brief discussion of issues concerning the analysis of Likert-type items). All but three attributes attained a mean score of at least 3.0, suggesting that the majority of teachers judged them to be at least quite important. Nevertheless, the data do suggest certain tendencies in the way teachers prioritize the requirements of Japanese citizenship. I argue that they tend towards a cosmopolitan view that stresses the need to recognize a global dimension of citizenship based on a commitment to universal human rights and democratic values.

Teachers are unanimous on the importance of respecting human rights (item 14), recognizing democratic values (item 17), and respecting people from other cultures (item 15). They also agree on the importance of voting in elections (item 4), and respecting gender equality (item 28). The high levels of consensus are reflected in relatively low SD scores for these attributes.

Table 4.5
Survey results 1: What teachers understand by “good citizenship”
How teachers rated the importance of 30 citizen attributes
Attributes ranked by mean score on a Likert-type scale, where
5=Essential 4=Very important 3=Quite important 2=Not very important 1=Completely unnecessary

	Citizen attribute	Mean (n=46)	SD
14.	Respecting human rights	4.63	.61
17.	Recognizing the importance of democratic values	4.50	.66
15.	Showing respect & tolerance towards people from other cultures	4.46	.59
4.	Voting in elections	4.46	.62
28.	Having an awareness of gender equality	4.43	.65
9.	Viewing things critically	4.39	.68
23.	Understanding the need to live in harmony with the environment	4.35	.64
1.	Understanding one’s rights and how to exercise them	4.35	.71
18.	Being aware of & respecting ethnic and racial diversity in Japan	4.35	.74
19.	Having a knowledge of global issues	4.28	.72
6.	Being willing to cooperate & resolve problems through discussion	4.22	.70
30.	Behaving morally and ethically	4.22	.70
22.	Being able to communicate with people from other cultures	4.20	.69
27.	Being able to form & express opinions on social issues	4.20	.65
16.	Feeling a responsibility as a member of a global society	4.15	.87
25.	Being able to gather & analyse information from different media	4.11	.71
7.	Fulfilling one’s responsibility to support one’s family	4.09	.86
29.	Having an interest in current affairs	4.09	.70
26.	Being willing to take on assigned responsibilities	4.07	.74
8.	Considering the welfare of others in the community	4.02	.71
24.	Being willing to critically evaluate Japan’s government	4.00	.83
21.	Knowing how Japan’s activities affect other countries	3.96	.73
12.	Wishing to preserve Japanese culture	3.86	.75
10.	Participating in activities to benefit the local community	3.61	.61
20.	Having a sense of being “Asian”	3.61	.93
2.	Putting the public interest before one’s own private interest	3.43	.78
5.	Taking part in political activities other than voting	3.24	.82
13.	Wishing to promote Japan’s national interests in the world	2.98	.83
11.	Being patriotic	2.98	.98
3.	Being willing to obey people in authority	2.53	.92

The data suggest a majority of JTEs view citizenship as having a global dimension. There was strong support for the idea that citizens must be aware of responsibilities to the global community (item 16); 78% thought this was either very important or essential. And although a third of teachers felt it was not important for citizens to want to promote Japan’s national interests abroad (item 13), all but one thought they should know how Japan’s activities affect other countries (item 21), which also suggests a belief that responsibilities extend beyond the nation. Interestingly, there was less agreement on the importance of Japanese feeling part of a regional, Asian community (item 20).

Perhaps the most striking detail of Table 4.5 is the relatively low priority placed on national loyalties (items 11 and 13). The relatively high SD scores for

these items suggest they are controversial, however. While about a third of teachers ranked patriotism and promoting the national interest as not very important or completely unnecessary, more than a quarter felt they were either very important or essential.

The lowest-ranked attribute in the table is a readiness to obey authority figures (item 3), another value that under the influence of Confucian ethics has traditionally been important to citizenship in Japan (see 2.5.1). 53% of participants said that such deference to authority was either not very important or completely unnecessary. There was more agreement among teachers on the importance of preserving Japanese culture (item 12, mean 3.9): only one teacher considered this to be unimportant.

Most teachers seem to place a high priority on intercultural values and skills, believing that Japanese need to respect people from other cultures (item 15) and be able to communicate with them (item 22). They must also recognize the multi-ethnic nature of Japan (item 18).

Teachers appear to see an element of criticality as important to citizenship. They were unanimous that citizens must be able to view situations from multiple perspectives (item 9), form and express their own opinions on social issues (item 27), and be able to gather and analyse information from different media (item 25). All but one teacher thought citizens should be “willing to critically evaluate Japan’s government” (item 24).

Teachers do not seem to place a high priority on *active* citizenship. 90% believe voting is either very important or essential, but only a third of teachers rated other kinds of political activity as highly; 17.4% felt that apart from voting, it was not very important for citizens to be politically active. Involvement in activities to benefit the local community (item 10) attracted more support than political activity, but even here participation was deemed less important than citizens having the right *attitudes* towards others: for example, considering other people’s welfare (item 8).

To sum up, teachers’ responses to Section I suggest a common view that good citizenship entails some recognition of global responsibilities, and a commitment to democratic values and universal human rights. It requires respect for and an ability to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds, and an ability to make critical assessments of social issues based on information

sought through a variety of media. For some teachers, none of these attributes are inconsistent with patriotism and promoting Japan's interests abroad, and indeed a quarter of respondents judged these "national" priorities to be either very important or essential for good citizenship. A larger group of teachers, however, dismiss them as unimportant and place greater importance on global citizenship.

4.1.3 Section II: Teaching citizenship through English

Section II of the questionnaire addressed RQ1 (ii): "What links do participants see between English language teaching and citizenship education?" Teachers were asked to indicate how far they believed each of 25 citizenship-related teaching objectives could be furthered through English teaching in Japanese high schools.

A note of caution is needed here, concerning the possibility that some teachers may have responded according to what they believe ideally *should* be possible in English classes, rather than what they think actually *is* possible. This became apparent when, during the interviews, two teachers seemed to contradict their highly optimistic survey responses. In the survey, both teachers had suggested that *all* the listed objectives could be furthered to a great or very great extent, but in our interviews, they focused more on the attendant difficulties. When I drew attention to the more positive answers given in the survey, both teachers explained that their responses to Section II reflected their *hopes* for English teaching in Japan.

In the light of these teachers' comments, I reviewed the wording of the questionnaire. Section II asked teachers to "choose the number that corresponds to your opinion regarding the degree to which each [objective] can be furthered as part of English education" (それぞれの内容が英語教育の中でどの程度まで推進できるのかあなたの意見にあてはまるものを次の1-5から選んでください). Although this did not *invite* a hypothetical response, it did perhaps leave room for teachers to interpret the question in this way. Only two of the teachers I interviewed acknowledged that they had done this, but it is possible that other respondents also used the questionnaire to express their hopes for what *might* be rather than their beliefs about what *is* actually feasible. If so, then the

findings may suggest participants are more optimistic concerning JTEs' ability to teach for citizenship than they really are.

In fact, questionnaire wording aside, Borg (2006) suggests that by their very nature, self-report research instruments are more likely to elicit "ideal-oriented cognitions" than data collection methods involving classroom observation.

Self-report instruments and verbal commentaries not grounded in concrete examples of real practice may generate data which reflect teachers' ideals; data based on and elicited in relation to observed classroom events may better capture teachers' cognitions in relation to actual practice. (pp. 279-280)

Although my lesson observations provided contextual insights that were helpful in interpreting data from the survey and interviews, there was no attempt to gather data on classroom practice in the manner suggested by Borg. This remains, then, a study about what teachers *say* they believe and what teachers *say* they do. Borg acknowledges the potential for this kind of research to advance our understanding of how teachers think, but stresses the limitations that must be borne in mind when interpreting the data:

[A]s researchers we must ensure that cognitions expressed theoretically and in relation to ideals are not used as evidence of the practically-oriented cognitions which inform actual instructional practices. (p. 280)

Data from the questionnaire were, of course, supplemented by data gathered through interviews, providing a degree of methodological triangulation (Cohen et al., 2000), which should increase confidence in the findings of the study. It is important to keep Borg's caveat in mind, however, and not assume that teachers' beliefs necessarily reflect actual classroom practice.

4.1.3.1 Objectives teachers believe can be addressed in English classes

Table 4.6 shows the mean score and standard deviation for each teaching objective. In view of the purposive sampling methods employed, it was expected that most, if not all, participants would see the potential for incorporating many of the given citizenship objectives into high-school English classrooms, and indeed, apart from the lowest-scoring item – “developing patriotic feelings towards Japan” – most teachers felt all the objectives could be furthered to some extent.

Table 4.6

Survey results 2: Citizenship teaching objectives

The extent to which teachers see 25 teaching objectives being furthered in English classes.

Objectives ranked by mean score on a Likert-type scale, where

5=To a very great extent 4=To a great extent 3=To some extent 2=Not much 1=Not at all

Teaching objective	Mean (n=46)	SD
17. Developing the ability to communicate with people from other cultures	3.72	.93
8. Developing respect for & tolerance towards people from other cultures	3.65	.85
7. Developing increased respect for human rights	3.63	1.00
1. Learning about the society & culture of English-speaking countries	3.50	.81
4. Learning about global issues	3.50	.84
18. Developing the habit of thinking about the environment	3.43	.83
5. Developing the ability to view things critically, from multiple perspectives	3.41	.98
6. Developing the ability to express one's opinions in front of others	3.37	1.04
14. Learning about democratic values	3.35	.90
13. Developing a sense of being a “global citizen”	3.35	.92
11. Learning about current affairs	3.33	1.06
2. Learning about the society & culture of non-English-speaking countries	3.31	.79
22. Developing an awareness of gender equality	3.28	1.07
9. Learning to think critically about Japanese society and culture	3.26	1.02
20. Gaining a deeper understanding of and appreciation for Japanese culture	3.22	.84
10. Developing the ability to take part in debate and discussion	3.17	1.12
23. Learning to live ethically and morally	3.07	1.00
3. Learning about racial and cultural diversity in Japan	3.00	.97
12. Learning how to gather and analyse information about a topic	3.00	1.03
19. Developing a sense of being Asian	2.93	.95
25. Developing a greater awareness of citizens' rights	2.91	.96
21. Developing greater awareness of Japan's international activities	2.87	1.02
24. Learning to put the public interest before private interest	2.78	.81
15. Developing an increased willingness to participate in the local community	2.74	.95
16. Developing patriotic feelings towards Japan	2.60	.86

Rating an objective as being achievable only “to some extent” struck me as a somewhat lukewarm assessment of the possibilities for addressing it. For this reason, the data were analysed again to home in on those objectives that teachers

viewed as being *most* achievable. Table 4.7 lists the eleven objectives that most teachers believed could be furthered to a great or a very great extent. They are the same as the top eleven objectives in Table 4.6, but have been reordered to better reflect the views of teachers who saw the greatest potential for teaching in these areas. As explained in 3.6.5.2, I have also followed Brown's (2011) recommendation in reporting percentages for teachers' responses to these Likert-items, in addition to the means and SD values presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.7
Survey results 3: Top citizenship teaching objectives

Teaching objective	<i>% of teachers who believe objective can be furthered to a great or very great extent (n=46)</i>
8. Developing respect for & tolerance towards people from other cultures	56.5
7. Developing increased respect for human rights	54.3
4. Learning about global issues	45.7
5. Developing the ability to view things critically, from multiple perspectives	45.7
17. Developing the ability to communicate with people from other cultures	43.5
1. Learning about the society & culture of English-speaking countries	43.5
18. Developing the habit of thinking about the environment	41.3
13. Developing a sense of being a "global citizen"	41.3
11. Learning about current affairs	41.3
6. Developing the ability to express one's opinions in front of others	39.1
14. Learning about democratic values	39.1

Teachers appear to see greatest potential for shaping *values*, particularly nurturing respect for human rights and tolerance towards people from other cultures. More than half the sample believe these objectives can be furthered to a great or very great extent. The data suggest many JTEs see a role for themselves in promoting these values while teaching intercultural communication (item 17), and teaching about global issues (item 4) and overseas cultures (items 1 and 2). Many teachers appear to see teaching in these areas as enabling students to gain a sense of global citizenship (item 13). Predictably perhaps, teachers see slightly more scope for teaching about the culture and society of English-speaking countries (mean 3.5) than non-English-speaking countries (mean 3.31).

Teachers see some prospect of fostering skills for dialogue. They believe students can develop their ability to express opinions in front of others (item 6, mean 3.37) and take part in debate and discussion (item 10, mean 3.17), although

the comparatively high SD values for these items suggest teachers disagree on the extent to which this can happen. Many teachers see opportunities for promoting critical thinking (item 5), and this includes, to a slightly lesser extent, critical reflection on Japanese culture and society (item 9, mean 3.26).

Although most teachers (82%) agreed that English classes provide some opportunity for students to deepen their understanding and appreciation of Japanese culture, most do not appear to see this in terms of instilling patriotism. Half the teachers saw little or no possibility of promoting patriotic feelings through English classes.

4.1.3.2 Possible differences related to school type

Although teachers broadly agreed that most objectives listed in Table 4.6 can be addressed to *some* extent, the SD values suggest wider differences of opinion in this part of the questionnaire than were apparent in Section I. There is some evidence to suggest this may be partly explained by factors relating to teaching context.

Not all teachers provided full details of the school they were teaching at, and this revealed a certain lack of clarity in the questionnaire that was not picked up at the piloting stage. Section V included an open-ended question, which asked teachers to give details of their school – for example, whether it was a junior or senior high school, public or private, or had some other special status, such as being attached to a university. I thought this open-ended question format would economize on space and also invite teachers to provide other potentially useful information about their school. However, although all respondents provided *some* information, specific details about the school level (JHS or SHS) or the administration (private or public) were sometimes missing. In retrospect, rather than the open-ended question format, a checklist made up of closed items might have resulted in more complete data concerning teachers' schools.

Notwithstanding the missing data, 13 teachers indicated they were teaching at junior high schools, and 25 at senior high schools; 30 teachers described their schools as public (indicated by any of the prefixes 公

立, 国立, 県立, 府立 or 市立), and 12 teachers as private (私立). The large discrepancies in the sizes of these sub-groups meant it was not possible to use a procedure like the Mann-Whitney test to establish the statistical significance of any differences between them (Robson, 1994), but a simple comparison of mean scores suggests school type *might* have some bearing on what teachers believe can be accomplished in terms of teaching for citizenship.

Figure 4.1 compares the mean scores for JHS and SHS teachers for the eight teaching objectives where differences between the two groups were most noticeable (differences in mean scores of more than 0.25). There are two objectives – learning about current affairs (item 11) and raising awareness of Japan’s international activities (item 21) – that SHS teachers appear to view as more achievable than JHS teachers do. On the other hand, JHS teachers appear to see more scope for addressing a range of citizenship-related objectives, including the development of knowledge and skills for intercultural communication (items 17 and 1), promoting respect for human rights (item 7), and learning about global issues (item 4).

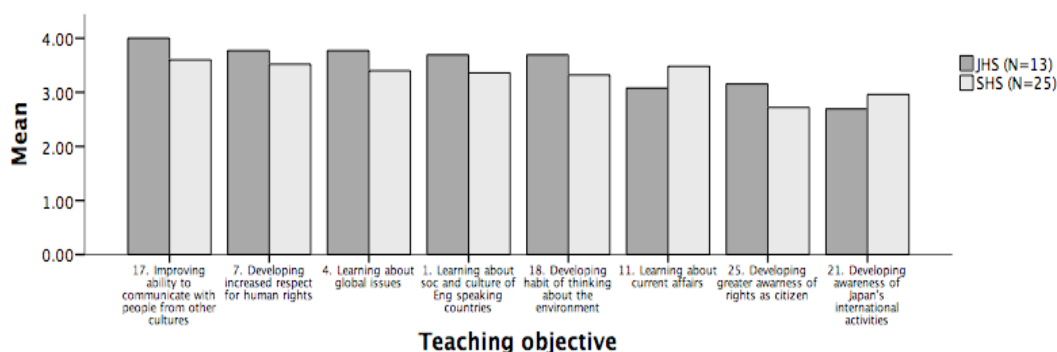


Figure 4.1 Teaching for citizenship: JHS and SHS teachers compared

Figure 4.2 provides a comparison of teachers at public-sector schools and teachers at private schools. In this case, there were just four objectives where there were noticeable differences in the mean scores of the two groups (again, differences in excess of 0.25), with private-school teachers providing the higher score in each case. It is hard to tell whether these data reflect increased opportunities for private-school teachers to address these objectives; that was a possibility I wanted to explore further with teachers in the interviews.

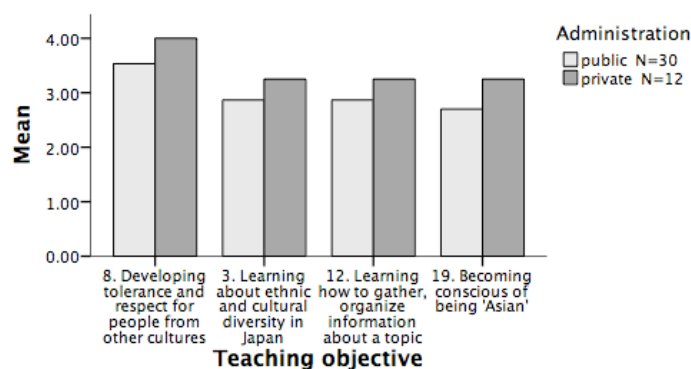


Figure 4.2 Teaching for citizenship: Public- and private-school teachers compared

4.1.4 Section III findings

Section III of the questionnaire invited teachers to reflect more generally on the links between citizenship education and English teaching (RQ1 ii). It also included some items that touched on the question of *how* JTEs might go about teaching for citizenship (RQ2): for example, asking about opportunities provided by authorized textbooks (item 6) and by Integrated Studies (item 7).

Table 4.8 lists the mean scores and SD values for the 10 items in Section III. The data suggest that the purposive approach to sampling was successful in locating English teachers with an interest in citizenship education. 85% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that JTEs have a role to play in citizenship education, and 80% agreed or strongly agreed that they did personally. On the other hand, more than two-thirds of teachers (68%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the first statement, that there is no connection between English-language teaching and education for citizenship. Many teachers seemed less sure about how to respond to item 4, which suggested that social studies is the place for teaching citizenship rather than English classes; but although 28% neither agreed or disagreed with this statement, it was still rejected by 44%.

Table 4.8**Survey results 4: Results for Section III**

Scores reflect the extent of teachers' agreement with 10 statements on a Likert-type scale, where 5=Strongly agree 4= Agree 3=Neither agree or disagree 2=Disagree 1=Strongly disagree

Statement	Mean (n=46)	SD
1. There is no connection between English language teaching and education for citizenship.	1.76	1.12
2. Some skills that students acquire in English language classes are important for good citizenship.	4.28	.89
3. English language teachers have a role to play in education for citizenship.	4.28	1.05
4. Citizenship education belongs in subjects like social studies, not in English language classes.	2.17	1.14
5. English teachers have their hands full trying to cover the existing curriculum; they don't have time to think about citizenship education.	3.11	1.30
6. Ministry-approved English language textbooks are touching more upon citizenship issues these days.	3.61	.95
7. Integrated Studies has provided opportunities for English teachers to address citizenship issues in school.	3.35	1.20
8. Your school would be against the inclusion of citizenship teaching objectives in English language classes.	1.82	1.01
9. As an English teacher, you yourself can play a role in citizenship education.	4.15	.97
10. Parents would support the inclusion of citizenship teaching objectives in English language classes.	3.59	.98

More mixed results were found regarding contextual factors that might affect JTEs' ability to teach for citizenship. Overall, teachers tended to agree that authorized textbooks have recently been addressing more citizenship-related issues (item 6). Opinion on Integrated Studies (item 7) was divided: half the teachers agreed that it has provided JTEs with increased opportunities for citizenship teaching, while 24% disagreed, and a further 26% were undecided. The degree to which JTEs can influence textbook selection and the way Integrated Studies is utilized varies considerably between schools, and the range of different responses may reflect this.

The suggestion that English teachers might be too busy trying to cover the curriculum for them to concern themselves with teaching for citizenship (item 5) elicited more differences of opinion than any other closed-ended item in the questionnaire. 32% of the teachers disagreed with the statement – 15% strongly – but as many as 43% of respondents agreed. This was surprising given the more optimistic responses found elsewhere in this section – for example, the

fact that 80% of teachers felt they personally could play a role in citizenship education. It may be that although many teachers envisage such a role for themselves, the pressure they feel under to cover the *language* curriculum means they believe they have less time and energy for teaching citizenship than they would like.

Differences in teaching context may help to explain some of the diverging opinions observable in this section. For example, private school teachers were more likely to agree with item 5 than teachers in public schools. While eight of the 12 private school teachers (66%) agreed that English teachers *are* too busy with other aspects of the curriculum for them to worry about citizenship teaching, only nine of the 30 public school teachers (30%) agreed.

As described in 3.6.5.2, I combined data from the items in Section III to create a single multi-item scale that indicates how optimistic teachers are concerning the prospects for addressing citizenship-related teaching objectives in high-school English classes in Japan. On a scale ranging from 1 (very pessimistic) to 5 (extremely optimistic), the mean level of optimism for all 46 teachers was 3.84, with a standard deviation of 0.66. This suggests that as a whole, the sample of teachers tends towards optimism, but again, it may be that teachers from certain types of school see more possibilities for combining citizenship teaching and English than others do. The relatively small sample size makes comparisons difficult in this respect, but, as Figure 4.3 illustrates, whereas public JHS and SHS teachers displayed similar levels of optimism (4.33 and 4.18 respectively), the 11 teachers from private high schools (JHS and SHS levels combined) appear noticeably less optimistic (just 3.39). More than half of private-school teachers were unable to agree with statement 9 – “as an English teacher, you yourself have a role to play in citizenship education” – whereas almost 90% of teachers in publicly run high schools agreed they did have such a role.

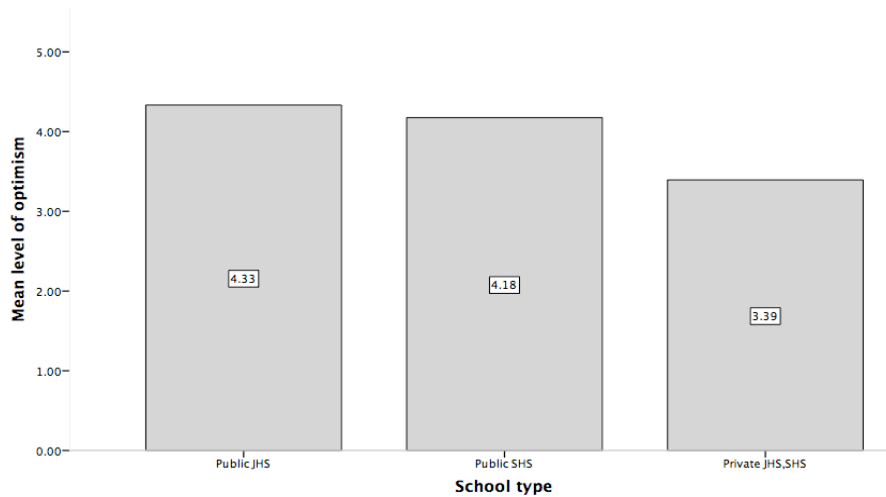


Figure 4.3 Teaching for citizenship: Comparing school types for levels of optimism

Public junior high school teachers N=9
 Public senior high school teachers N=19
 Private high school teachers N=11
 Full details of school type were not available for seven teachers.

4.2 Qualitative findings

This section presents the main findings from the two sources of qualitative data in the study – the open-ended item in Section IV of the questionnaire, and the interviews. What follows is a straightforward summary of the findings. The main commentary is reserved for the discussion in later chapters.

To give the reader an idea of the “weight” of various points to emerge from the data, I include tables based on the NVivo coding (see 3.7.6.2). Where appropriate, the findings are also illustrated with direct quotations from the data. For each quotation, a short note in parentheses provides the following information:

- i) a reference number for each teacher (1–46),
- ii) the type of school the teacher was based at – private or public, Junior High School (JHS) or Senior High School (SHS),
- iii) the source of the data (survey or interview), and
- iv) whether the English is the teacher’s own or my translation of their Japanese.

4.2.1 Specific findings from each stage of data collection

The qualitative data from the survey and the interviews were combined and analysed together to produce the findings presented in 4.2.2. In this section, I focus on findings that emerged from specific stages of data collection. This highlights what each stage contributed to the overall study.

4.2.1.1 Section IV of the survey

Section IV of the survey invited teachers to provide information in two main areas:

- i) their views concerning the links between English teaching and citizenship education, and the ways they believe JTEs can contribute to teaching for citizenship (RQ1 ii), and
- ii) examples of where they think their own teaching may have been related to citizenship (RQ2 i–ii).

34 JTEs wrote responses to this section. 20 of them (58%) were public SHS teachers, eight public JHS teachers (23%), and two were in combined senior and junior high schools in the public sector. Only six teachers (18%) who responded to Section IV were at private schools.

Teachers' written responses ranged from just one or two sentences (13 teachers) to longer answers comprising a paragraph or more (21 teachers). 23 teachers addressed the first topic on how English teachers can teach for citizenship, and 18 teachers provided examples from their own classes (some responses covered both areas).

As well as adding to the pool of qualitative data analysed in 4.2.2, Section IV responses were invaluable in planning the next stage of data collection, helping me identify as potential interview candidates teachers who appeared most engaged in teaching for citizenship (see 3.4 on the purposive funnelling of participants). Moreover, since all but one person responded to Section IV in *Japanese*, teachers' written answers were a helpful source of Japanese vocabulary for the bilingual interview guide (see 3.7.2). They

introduced me to terms such as *ningensei* (人間性) meaning “humanity”, and *jinkaku keisei* (人格形成) meaning “character development”, that appeared more familiar to some teachers than “citizenship”.

4.2.1.2 *Semi-structured interviews*

While the interviews were an opportunity for teachers to clarify or elaborate on their survey responses, the interview guide (see 3.7.2) sought to shift the emphasis away from the more abstract concerns of RQ1, and on to more practical matters regarding how teachers go about addressing citizenship-related aims in their own classrooms (RQ2).

In total, I recorded over 25 hours of interview material, which generated more than 350 pages of transcribed data. This augmented information from the survey in three specific ways.

First, the opportunity to discuss the questionnaire with teachers helped me ascertain reasons for some of their responses. For example, the quantitative data indicated that many teachers accord very low priority to patriotism as an attribute of Japanese citizenship, but it was data from the interviews that related this to their aversion to policies promoting “patriotic education”. At the same time, interview data also underscored the importance some teachers place on Japanese culture. Interviews thus helped me construct a richer, more nuanced picture of teachers’ beliefs concerning Japanese national identity.

Second, the interviews revealed areas where survey data might suggest JTEs are doing more citizenship-related work than they actually are. For instance, from the interviews it appears that relatively few participants do discussion activities with their students. This contrasts with the survey, where more than 70% thought English classes *could* develop students’ ability to take part in discussion, and almost 85% thought students *could* improve their ability to express opinions in front of others.

Third, the interviews provided details of the context in which teachers work. As described earlier, there was some suggestion in the survey data that school type might affect how JTEs perceive their ability to teach for citizenship; the interviews enabled me to explore this further. Later, in 7.3, I draw on

interview data to discuss contextual factors that appear to influence participants' ability to pursue their citizenship-teaching aims.

4.2.1.3 Follow-up interviews informed by class observations

The two days of class observations were intended to enhance my understanding of the context in which JTEs teach, and assist me in interpreting the data. I saw examples of English classes at both JHS and SHS levels, an Integrated Studies class, and a lesson taught with an ALT, all of which helped me to better comprehend what teachers told me.

After observing their classes, I conducted a follow-up interview with each teacher. Since our initial interview, one teacher had moved to a different school. Compared to where she taught previously, she found her new school much stricter in requiring teachers to follow a common teaching schedule. The information she provided in this second interview further highlighted the importance of school context in establishing what JTEs can and cannot do in terms of citizenship education.

4.2.2 Qualitative findings from the survey and interviews

The qualitative data from the survey and interviews were combined and analysed using the coding process described in 3.7.6.2. The findings presented here are organized according to their relevance to the research questions.

4.2.2.1 What do participants understand by “good citizenship”? (RQ1(i))

Table 4.9 summarizes the main ways teachers characterize citizenship in the qualitative data. Whereas Sections I and II of the questionnaire asked them to consider the attributes of good citizenship *separately* from teaching, in the qualitative data from Section IV and the interviews, teachers' beliefs about what counts as good citizenship sometimes need to be inferred from what they say about values or skills they want students to learn. For example, in Section IV, one teacher wrote:

Through team teaching with an ALT, we can think about other cultures and become aware of differences and similarities between [foreigners] and us Japanese; I think it's possible to nurture respectful attitudes towards other cultures.

(43, public JHS, survey, my translation)

Given the context established by the survey, I take this to indicate a belief that citizens *should* respect other cultures.

The data presented in Table 4.9 seem to conform to patterns observed in the quantitative data (see 4.1.2). They suggest a cosmopolitan view of citizenship that emphasizes awareness of global issues (12 teachers), and respect for other cultures (10 teachers) and human rights (10 teachers). Thirteen teachers used the term “global citizenship” or the Japanese, *chikyuu shimin* (地球市民 – literally, “Earth citizen”).

Table 4.9
Qualitative data 1: Attributes teachers see as important to citizenship

Citizenship attributes	No. of JTEs referring to attribute in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
A sense of “global citizenship”	7	13
Awareness of global issues	8	12
Tolerance / respect for other cultures	4	10
Awareness of human rights	6	10
An aversion to nationalism	9	9
“Humanity” (<i>ningensei</i>), “Character” (<i>jinkaku</i>) etc.	4	7
Valuing Japanese culture	6	6
Awareness of cultural diversity in Japan	2	2
Ability to make an informed choice in elections	1	1

Regarding national identity, data from Section I of the survey had suggested the notion of patriotism was controversial among participants: whereas just over a quarter (26%) judged it to be very important or essential, more than a third (35%) thought patriotism was not very important or completely unnecessary.

The interviews cast light on this earlier finding. Nine of the 14 teachers I spoke to are opposed to government efforts to promote patriotism in schools by obliging them to display the national flag and play the national anthem at school ceremonies. For many teachers, these policies hark back to the nationalistic education conducted in pre-war Japan. As one teacher explained,

because of how the government is pushing ‘patriotic education’, that word, ‘patriotism’ [*aikokushin* 愛国心], has a negative image, I think.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

On the other hand, six teachers referred to the importance of valuing Japanese culture, appearing to confirm the survey finding that this is an important aspect of citizenship for many teachers (70% believe so). Taken together, the data suggest that while teachers believe citizens should have a sense of national identity, they believe this should be based on emotional attachments to Japanese culture rather than a nationalistic desire for the country to assert its power in the world.

Only two teachers mentioned a need for Japanese citizens to be aware of the culturally diverse nature of Japan. This was surprising given that in the survey virtually all teachers (98%) judged this aspect of citizenship to be important, and also in light of the general emphasis teachers place on respect for cultural differences.

As mentioned in 4.2.1.1, in Section IV of the survey some teachers used Japanese terms, such as *ningensei* (人間性, “humanity”) or *jinkaku* (人格, “character”), to refer to personality traits they wish to nurture in students. In our interview, one teacher described *ningensei* in terms of personal qualities such as honesty. In the survey, other teachers included attitudes, such as “respect for human rights” or “commitment to peace”, under the category of *ningensei*.

Throughout the data, where teachers refer to citizenship, or the attributes they believe students should develop as citizens, it is almost always in terms of *values*, *attitudes* or *awareness*, as opposed to *behaviour*. This seems to conform to the pattern seen in the quantitative data where teachers placed less importance on active participation than on citizens having the “right” values. There was almost no mention of citizens needing to exercise political rights or be active participants in the community. The survey data show universal agreement on the importance of voting, but only one teacher referred to it in the interviews, saying she hoped students would be able to make an informed choice as voters.

4.2.2.2 What links do participants see between English language teaching and citizenship education? (RQ1(ii))

Table 4.10 summarizes what teachers say about the links between English language teaching and citizenship education. Five teachers expressed the view that teaching for citizenship should be infused throughout the entire school curriculum, and that all subject teachers have a contribution to make. Other teachers stressed the distinctive role they believe JTEs can play.

Table 4.10
Qualitative data 2: Links teachers see between English teaching and citizenship education

Link with citizenship education	No. of JTEs referring to this in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
Ability to address content related to citizenship	14	22
Opportunities to teach about other cultures	5	13
Opportunities to team-teach with an ALT	8	10
Opportunities to develop skills for dialogue (expressing opinions, discussion etc.)	8	8
All school subjects must address citizenship education	2	5
English provides a direct connection with the world	4	4
Learning English is a direct experience of “difference”	2	3

Chapter 2 reviewed literature that sets out a role for FLT in three main areas of citizenship education: addressing relevant content, developing skills for dialogue, and nurturing intercultural competence. The qualitative data confirm that participants see possibilities for JTEs to contribute in all three areas.

Table 4.10 shows that when asked *how* JTEs can teach for citizenship, many teachers (22 altogether) pointed to opportunities they have for dealing with relevant content. More than half those who responded to Section IV of the survey specified topics they had covered with their students; the topics mentioned most frequently are listed in Table 4.11. The heavy focus on global issues connected with peace (*heiwa* 平和), environment (*kankyō* 環境) and human rights (*jinken* 人權) again appears to reflect teachers’ interest in raising awareness of the global dimension of citizenship.

Table 4.11
Qualitative data 3: Topics mentioned most frequently in Section IV of the survey

Topic area	No. of JTEs referring to this (n=34)
Peace & conflict (esp. Hiroshima; Okinawa; landmines in S.E. Asia)	12
Environment (esp. climate change; deforestation; pollution)	9
US civil rights movement (esp. Martin Luther King)	5
Human rights (esp. discrimination against minorities)	5
Developing countries (esp. education; fair trade)	5
Volunteering	3
Indigenous peoples / minority languages	3
Gender issues	2

The primary source of this lesson content is authorized English textbooks, which the vast majority of teachers are required to use. Fourteen teachers referred to the tendency for publishers to include topics related to citizenship education. As one teacher said:

Editors have begun to include very interesting topics nowadays, so almost in any textbook human rights issues have been dealt with, and environment and international education, and also Japanese culture.

(1, private SHS, interview, teacher's English)

More than 60% of survey respondents agreed that textbooks are making it easier for JTEs to address these kinds of topics.

Four teachers emphasized the value of learning about contemporary topics *in English* rather than Japanese. As the predominant international language, English is perceived as a medium that offers direct access to the world outside Japan. Particularly where teachers supplement the textbook with other English language materials, English classes are seen as an opportunity for raising awareness of world events.

Regarding the potential for intercultural learning, many teachers see teaching about culture and cultural diversity as an integral part of their work as FLTs. Three teachers expressed the view that studying English itself gives students direct experience of another culture. For most participants, however, teaching about other cultures is a matter either of textbook content (13 teachers),

or team teaching with an ALT (10 teachers). ALTs are seen as a source of cultural input, as well as providing opportunities for authentic intercultural communication. Relatively few teachers referred to work to develop intercultural communication *skills* in English classes, as opposed to teaching cultural *content*, but when they did so it was in the context of activities conducted with an ALT.

Compared to teaching about citizenship-related content and other cultures, there are fewer references in the data to skills for dialogue. In the survey, 70–85% of teachers thought English classes could develop an ability to “express opinions in front of others” and “take part in discussions and debates”, but these skills are mentioned by far fewer teachers in the qualitative data. Nevertheless, eight teachers referred to opportunities English classes offer for group discussions or debates, and appear to see this as an essential aspect of JTEs’ contribution to citizenship education, developing critical thinking in students along with communication skills.

4.2.2.3 What citizenship-teaching aims do participants have? (RQ2(i))

Table 4.12 summarizes how teachers refer to their own citizenship-related teaching aims. Broadly, they aim to promote those attributes they see as most important for citizenship (see Table 4.9) – an awareness of human rights (13 teachers), respect for other cultures (12 teachers), and a sense of global citizenship (10 teachers).

Table 4.12
Qualitative data 4: Citizenship-teaching aims described by teachers

Teaching aim	No. of JTEs referring to this in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
Raise awareness of human rights issues	5	13
Encourage tolerance / respect for other cultures	8	12
Encourage a sense of “global citizenship”	6	10
Raise awareness of peace issues	4	8
Stimulate students’ interest in the outside world	2	8
Encourage students to express themselves in discussion	7	7
Encourage critical thinking	7	7
Raise awareness of environmental issues	2	7
Raise awareness of gender issues	-	2

Another, related objective mentioned by eight teachers is stimulating students' interest in the wider world. Teachers see English classes as an ideal site for presenting information about other countries and cultures, thereby challenging parochial views.

As described in the previous section, when asked for examples of how they try to teach for citizenship, many teachers refer to specific topics, and these tend to be in the global issues category. Two areas in which teachers expressed a particular interest were peace (eight teachers) and the environment (seven teachers). Peace education is an area of special concern for members of *Shin-Eiken*, a teachers' association that aims to nurture a commitment to the principles of Japan's constitution, including Article 9 – the so-called “peace clause”. *Shin-Eiken* members who participated in my study say they have taken opportunities provided by textbooks to focus on aspects of Japan's wartime experience, such as the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the war in Okinawa (see 7.1.3).

Teachers who mentioned the environment as a particular interest seem to be thinking mainly of issues such as climate change and threats to biodiversity, which are typical of the global issues addressed by textbooks, although two teachers also described having done projects on environmental pollution in Japan.

Only two teachers said they aim to raise awareness of gender issues, and this is consistent with the relatively low rating given to this area in the survey. Only 39% of teachers thought there was much scope for promoting gender equality in English classes, compared with 57% for encouraging respect for other cultures, and 54% for encouraging respect for human rights. Several teachers commented that although they would like to address issues of gender, this is not a topic that textbooks often deal with – a good example of how participants say they are sometimes constrained by textbook content (see 4.2.2.5).

The aims teachers describe tend to target the *knowledge* and *values* dimensions of citizenship more than they do *skills*, and this is reflected in Table 4.12, where most items refer to raising awareness of a topic, or encouraging certain attitudes. The only skills some teachers said they aim to develop are what I have been referring to as “skills for dialogue” – in particular, students' ability to express opinions publicly and participate in discussion. These teachers also aim to encourage critical thinking through classroom discussion activities. Only

seven teachers said they use discussions regularly, however, and many more cited reasons why they feel unable to, such as lack of time or low English proficiency among students (see 4.2.2.5).

4.2.2.4 How are participants trying to achieve their citizenship-teaching aims? (RQ2(ii))

The tables in this section summarize what teachers say about *how* they try to teach for citizenship, both in terms of their classroom practices (Table 4.13) and the strategies they adopt in order to “make space” (Table 4.14).

Table 4.13
Qualitative data 5: How teachers pursue their citizenship-related teaching aims

Teaching activity	No. of JTEs referring to this in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
Developing topics with supplementary materials	10	11
Group speaking activities (discussion, debate etc.)	6	7
Student research & presentation projects	6	7
Special projects (letter writing; speech contests etc.)	4	6
Connecting textbook topics with current events	4	5
Encouraging reflection / a critical response	3	4
Inviting guest speakers	3	4

Table 4.13 indicates that the most common practice mentioned by teachers was the use of supplementary material. As reported above, it is by addressing important social and cultural topics that most teachers see themselves as contributing to citizenship education. Virtually everyone is required to use English textbooks authorized by MEXT, and for most teachers these books are the main source of lesson content. Although the textbooks are organized around a grammar- rather than theme-based syllabus, many teachers – around 61% according to the survey – think they are increasingly relevant to citizenship education because of the topics they include. Although, in principle, they are free to supplement texts as they wish, many teachers see no need to do so. As one teacher put it:

Of course, we can talk about anything [i.e. introduce any material], apart from the ... textbooks, but usually we don't because ... the textbooks contain ... topics like ... gender, or global issues, or, you know, some

great person who did great things in world history, or very moving stories.
So we don't need to ... provide topics ourselves.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Nevertheless, 11 teachers do report using supplementary materials, such as newspaper articles and DVDs, in order to develop topics introduced in textbooks. Three teachers said the textbooks only treat topics in a superficial (*hyoumentekina* 表面的な) way, so they try to supplement when they believe a topic is important. Even among these teachers, however, the use of supplementary material appears infrequent, owing to the pressure they feel under to keep up with the teaching schedule. One participant, who in the survey referred to teaching with English newspapers, explained:

Because we are required to teach ... the *Monkashou* [Education Ministry] textbook, or grammar-based textbook, ... I'm afraid we cannot use an English newspaper in our regular lesson. There's no time, OK?

(1, private SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Five teachers described making connections between textbook material and current events. One said that around the time she was teaching a chapter on Martin Luther King's *I Have a Dream* speech, Barrack Obama had been elected as America's first black president. She brought in a transcript of his inauguration speech and asked students to consider how far King's dream had been realized. A teacher in a different school said that when he used the same textbook chapter, he drew students' attention to similar issues of ethnic discrimination in Japan.

Table 4.13 includes three examples of classroom practice intended to engage students with topics and develop their ability to express opinions and participate in discussion. Relatively few teachers referred to using group speaking, or research and presentation activities – just seven in each case – and again, as mentioned in 4.2.2.3, it was far more common for teachers to give reasons why they do *not* have time for such activities.

It is interesting that even teachers who described their students as having very low English proficiency stressed the importance of getting them to reflect

on and respond to issues in some way. One JTE said she asks students to indicate their reaction to a reading with a show of hands, while several others said they allow students who could not express their opinions in English to do so in Japanese. This is an example of how participants sometimes appear to prioritize their citizenship-related aims – in this case, having students reflect on an issue and respond with their own ideas – over more narrowly conceived language-teaching aims.

Six teachers described what appear to be special, one-off, projects. One teacher's students exchanged letters with children at a school in Ghana, while another's wrote and performed skits about discrimination, inspired by a chapter on Martin Luther King. At another school, students wrote "peace messages" which the teacher delivered to members of the public in the US (she made a video of people reading and responding to the messages, then showed this to her students back in Japan). It appears to be teachers' ability to find slots in the schedule outside of normal lesson time that enables them to undertake this kind of project work. The four teachers who invited guest speakers – for instance, an American academic who talked about global citizenship – were making use of Integrated Studies or school assemblies for this.

Most participants described factors that constrain their practice. More details of these constraints are given below in 4.2.2.5, but it is important to stress here that most teachers who took part in the study feel there is usually little, if any, space in their English classes for anything other than textbook-focused language teaching. If teachers wish to pursue other, citizenship-related aims – for example, by developing topics with supplementary materials or organizing group discussions – it appears they must employ conscious strategies to find space for such activities.

Table 4.14
Qualitative data 6: Strategies teachers use to make space for citizenship teaching

Strategies	No. of JTEs referring to this in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
Using Integrated Studies classes	8	11
Using classes that are taught with an ALT	8	10
Employing strategies to “make space” in regular classes (varying pace, giving take-home assignments etc.)	5	5
Using other opportunities in the curriculum (“International Course”, “Global Studies” etc.)	3	4

As shown in Table 4.14, 11 teachers describe using Integrated Studies for citizenship-related work. In some schools, teachers of any subject can reserve the Integrated Studies period, and are free to use it as they wish. As one JTE said,

[in the] Integrated Studies class – we can do anything [*laughs*]. ...
 Whatever I do, that’s Integrated Studies. So, ... I teach with an ALT and ... I asked her to give a speech about ... environmental problems. That needs one or two classes, and I can use the Integrated Studies classes for that.

(40, public JHS, interview, teacher’s English)

Not all schools provide JTEs with this opportunity, however. Several teachers described how in their schools Integrated Studies is taught exclusively by homeroom teachers, or set aside for other subjects.

Lessons that are team-taught with an ALT appear to provide other opportunities for JTEs to prioritize citizenship-related teaching aims (see also 4.2.2.5). Ten teachers described how team teaching offers a chance to do something “different” from what normally happens in their lessons, and this seems to be especially important in highly academic schools. One teacher who taught in such a school said that lessons with an ALT provided the main opportunity for her to use supplementary materials – something she places great importance on:

IH: Do you often use supplementary materials?

T: Well ... there are schools where you can do that, and schools where you can’t very easily. ... In schools that have a common teaching

schedule [統一進度]– so-called *juken-kou* or “academic schools”, where teachers need to teach at the same speed, with the same tests – it’s very difficult. But, yes, even then I do somehow find ways of using supplementary materials. When I was at one of those academic schools, I used the time with the ALT. We had team teaching once a week, and in those lessons, we were able to use supplementary materials, get the students doing group work, that kind of thing.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

Five other JTEs described strategies they use to “make space” in their English lessons to teach topics they feel get only superficial treatment in the textbook. For one teacher, this means identifying important topics ahead of time, and adjusting the speed at which she covers other chapters so she has extra time to spend on those topics:

12 lessons must be taught throughout the year. And, ... in the textbook, ... out of 12 lessons, at most three ... are related to global issues. ... So, other lessons I do ... very quickly, and I don’t prepare ... supplemental [materials] and so on – just teach as other English teachers do. ... But if I find a very good topic which is in the textbook, and I feel like treating that ... more deeply, and ... giving the students opportunities to think about the issues, ... I try to finish teaching the grammar or sentence structures ... at a faster speed than usual. ... And I spare probably two periods ... for extra activities.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

A JHS teacher who adopts the same strategy said he found time to teach four whole lessons without the textbook, using supplementary materials instead to focus students’ attention on environmental pollution and human rights in Japan. He emphasized, however, that these lessons accounted for only “around 5%” of his annual teaching schedule.

Five teachers said they encourage students to take an interest in global issues by giving them material to look at outside of class. One teacher argued

that this was always an option for teachers who say they do not have time to work with supplementary material during lessons:

It's OK if the teachers will not use that kind of materials in the class, or if they think that it's very difficult, just to print it, and give it to the students. ... It's the first step. [For example, we can say to students] 'I found a ... very interesting speech. Would you like to read it? I would like to listen to your ideas'. ... Starting with these kinds of things, it's not so difficult.

(4, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Also with reference to Table 4.14, a small minority of JTEs (four teachers) described aspects of their school's curriculum that provide extensive opportunities to combine English teaching with teaching for citizenship. These are schools that, for example, offer a dedicated "international course" which includes content-based English courses with names like "Global Studies". This highlights how contextual factors at the school level affect opportunities for JTEs to pursue citizenship-related teaching aims. More details of what teachers say about contextual factors are provided in the next section.

4.2.2.5 What contextual factors do participants believe affect their ability to combine English language teaching with education for citizenship?
(RQ2(iii))

The quantitative survey data suggest the sample as a whole tends to be optimistic regarding the possibility of JTEs teaching for citizenship (the mean optimism score was 3.84 on a scale of 1 to 5. See 4.1.4). Nevertheless, there was considerable variation among teachers, and *some* indication that this might be connected with the type of school teachers were based at – in particular, whether the school was public or private.

Private school teachers accounted for only a small part of the qualitative data. Only six (18%) of the 34 teachers who responded to Section IV, and only three (21%) of the 14 interviewees were in private schools. Since private schools have more autonomy than public schools when it comes to the curriculum (Aspinall, 2013), I assumed that JTEs in those schools would themselves have

more scope for addressing their citizenship-related aims. Data from the study suggest, however, that participants at private schools perceive *less* scope for citizenship education than those in the public sector. As explained further below, this seems to be linked to the greater emphasis private schools place on students' test scores, although given the underrepresentation of private school teachers in the qualitative data, observations about possible school-type factors are necessarily speculative. It also appears that even in the public sector, some senior high schools – so-called *shingakukou* [進学校] – place much greater emphasis on students' test scores than others, and participants from these schools report fewer opportunities to teach for citizenship. Whether a school is private or public may be less significant, then, than the general tenor of the school curriculum, and the emphasis it places on regular testing and exam preparation.

Where the quantitative survey data give a general sense of what participants believe JTEs can and cannot do in terms of teaching for citizenship, the qualitative data provide clearer insights into the contextual factors they perceive as affecting that work. Some of these factors have already been touched upon in previous sections. What follows is a summary of those factors that teachers believe *constrain* them from pursuing aims related to citizenship, and those factors they believe *facilitate* that.

Table 4.15 lists the main factors that participants say constrain them from teaching for citizenship – either entirely, or at least, as much as they would like.

Table 4.15
Qualitative data 7: Factors identified by teachers as constraining their ability to teach for citizenship

Constraints	No. of JTEs referring to this in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
Pressure to follow scheduled curriculum (to keep up with other classes, prepare for tests, finish the textbook etc.)	8	12
Textbook content (too superficial, topics not covered etc.)	7	10
Student factors (low English levels, poorly motivated etc.)	9	9
Perceived expectations (school administration, parents, students etc.)	6	8
Lack of supportive colleagues	6	7
Type of school (private institution, exam-oriented school etc.)	5	5
Unable to use Integrated Studies classes	3	3
Teachers too busy with other tasks (homeroom commitments etc.)	2	3
Direct interference by school administrators	2	2

Above all else, JTEs refer to pressures they feel under to follow a curriculum that is based essentially on teaching grammar, and which, in most schools, requires

them to keep up with a common teaching and testing schedule (*touitsu shindo* 統一進度). As explained in Chapter 2, university entrance examinations continue to have a decisive influence on how English is taught in schools, encouraging teachers to stick to the textbook material they believe students will be tested on.

Under this kind of pressure, some teachers believe it is all but impossible for them to do anything other than teach language. Five teachers referred specifically to their school as restricting their ability to do citizenship-related work: three were private schools, and two public *shingakukou* – schools which specialize in entrance exam preparation. Other teachers report being under similar pressure. According to one public SHS teacher:

Now in Japan we must teach the textbook. Everybody, parents, educational board, cultural ministry, headmasters all expect us to teach for the entrance examination. So, we must teach grammar-centered English and translation. It is very difficult to teach citizenship in everyday classes.

(6, public SHS, survey, teacher's English)

The three private school teachers I interviewed described similar constraints. When asked whether she uses supplementary material to expand on topics in the textbook, one of them explained:

Yeah, I sometimes do that, but as I wrote here [in the survey] ... because of the pressure for us to have our students pass the entrance examination, we have little time to do extra materials, to focus on global education and citizenship education.

(21, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teachers perceive pressure as coming not only from school administrators and colleagues, but also from students. The teacher quoted above acknowledged this was the reason for her not using supplementary materials:

I guess my students want me to do exam-oriented lessons.

(21, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

On the other hand, nine teachers at what appear to be less prestigious schools cited lack of student motivation and low levels of English proficiency as limiting what they are able to do in their classes, particularly in terms of having students work on self-expression or discussion skills.

In most schools, responsibility for teaching a course is shared between several teachers, and each needs to keep up with colleagues teaching other groups. This is so that all students in the year cover the same textbook material and are ready to take the same tests together. In smaller schools, one JTE may take sole charge of a particular year group, but for most teachers some degree of coordination with colleagues is unavoidable. As one teacher commented:

In [my current] school I have to use the same textbook with other teachers and I have to follow the test schedule, so, I'm a little bit frustrated.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

While no teachers referred to outright interference by fellow teachers, many seem to think they lack collegial support that might make it easier for them to incorporate additional, citizenship-related work into the teaching schedule. In the survey, one public SHS teacher complained that when he had wanted to spend more time exploring topics with his students by having them express their ideas in English *haiku*, his colleagues resisted on the grounds that this would impact negatively on their progress through the textbook.

Two teachers did refer to direct interference in their work by school administrators who objected to some of the peace-related content they were teaching. A teacher who used Integrated Studies to teach about the issue of landmines in South East Asia was called to a meeting with the school's vice-principal who warned her against potential "bias". Another teacher was approached by a local television journalist who asked to interview her and her students about a project in which they had sent peace messages to people in the US. The school principal intervened to stop these interviews, saying it could

harm students' future employment prospects if their involvement in what might be seen as a politically motivated project were publicized. While there are no other references in the data to this kind of direct interference, these examples highlight the potential sensitivities involved where Japanese teachers wish to address topics that colleagues consider to be too "political".

Given the centrality of MEXT-authorized textbooks in the vast majority of schools, it is not surprising that comments about the feasibility of citizenship-related work focus on textbook content. While teachers welcome the inclusion of global-issues material in these books, at the same time they also feel constrained by the content. Several teachers said they would like to teach about gender, for example, but were unable to since this topic rarely appears in textbooks.

Other factors mentioned as limiting teachers' ability to teach for citizenship include lack of access to Integrated Studies; in some schools, this class is taught exclusively by homeroom teachers, or reserved for different purposes such as careers guidance. Other teachers complained they were simply too busy with administrative work or the responsibilities of being a homeroom teacher to prepare anything but textbook-based, grammar-focused lessons.

The qualitative data also cast light on factors that appear to *facilitate* JTEs' efforts to teach for citizenship. Table 4.16 summarizes the factors participants mentioned most frequently, some of which have been touched on previously.

Table 4.16
Qualitative data 8: Factors identified by teachers as facilitating their ability to teach for citizenship

Facilitating factors	No. of JTEs referring to this in the data	
	interviews (n=14)	interviews & survey (n=34)
English textbooks including more citizenship-related topics	10	14
Participating in professional networks	11	13
Opportunities to use Integrated Studies	9	11
Opportunities to team-teach with an ALT	8	10
Opportunities to teach all classes in same year group	4	4
Sympathetic colleagues	4	4
Opportunities within the school's own curriculum	3	4
Lower expectations of school	2	2
English textbooks providing more discussion activities	2	2

Since most JTEs are obliged to teach with MEXT-approved textbooks, their ability to address aspects of citizenship essentially *depends* on textbook content.

As one teacher wrote in the survey:

If the material in the textbook we're using is not related to citizenship education, then it's difficult to do anything.

(24, private JHS/SHS, survey, my translation)

Even those teachers who believe textbooks present important issues in only a superficial way recognize that the book can provide a “way in” (*iriguchi* 入り口) to a topic, and an opportunity to develop it with supplementary material.

Interestingly, only two teachers remarked on the recent trend for publishers to include more *discussion* exercises in textbooks – far fewer than those who focused on the *topics*. For one teacher, it is the way textbooks now combine global issues content with discussion exercises that makes it possible for JTEs to contribute to citizenship education, even where the school curriculum obliges them to teach predominantly with the textbook.

As mentioned above, some participants pointed to a lack of collegial support as restricting their ability to pursue citizenship-related teaching aims. This was not the case with all teachers, however, and four JTEs in particular mentioned help they had received from colleagues, in locating supplementary material, for example. But what often appears more important than assistance from fellow teachers at school is the support teachers receive from like-minded colleagues through professional networks. Thirteen teachers referred to their membership of organizations such as *Shin-Eiken*, GILE and The Japan Association of International Education (*Nihon kokusai rikai kyouiku gakkai* 日本国際理解教育学会). Each of these groups provides a network for collaboration by teachers across Japan in such areas as global and peace education. Many participants said they were able to share lesson plans and supplementary materials with teachers they met through these associations; particularly in the absence of supportive colleagues at school, these networks appear to be important in sustaining morale.

If participants have access to Integrated Studies, it appears to give them more time for teaching citizenship-related content and for discussion activities than they say they have in other English lessons. There are no tests associated with Integrated Studies, and no necessity to coordinate the class with colleagues, which removes two of the main factors teachers normally feel constrained by.

Almost all teachers have an opportunity to team teach with a native English-speaking ALT. Ten teachers described these team-taught classes as a chance to do something different from the usual grammar-focused lesson, and an opportunity to pursue aims they believe are related to citizenship. Teachers see ALTs as sources of cultural input, able to talk about their own countries and other countries they have visited. Many teachers also report doing more speaking activities in classes where an ALT is present. Some teachers described intercultural exchange activities where students explained aspects of Japanese culture or the local community to ALTs.

Some teachers have worked with ALTs to focus the lesson on particular topics related to citizenship. Teacher 40 asked an ALT to speak about environmental issues; another teacher said she asked a South African ALT to talk about apartheid. In one Integrated Studies class that I observed, the ALT talked about how rats were being used to locate landmines in Thailand, then led a class discussion in simple English focusing on possible advantages and disadvantages of this method. This appeared to confirm what some JTEs told me, that in classes with an ALT a different pedagogical style can be adopted, focusing more on content and helping students understand it than on teaching points of grammar. Some JTEs report differences in their own teaching when they are with an ALT; for example, their tendency to use more English in team-taught classes:

When there's team teaching, I try to speak English almost 100%, but try to use very easy English [*laughs*]. So, no grammatical explanations. Just try to make them understand the words, or just to grasp the meaning.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

It is important to emphasize that these examples of team teaching appeared to be very much a collaboration between the Japanese teacher and the ALT. While ALTs may share some responsibility for the lesson, it remains the JTE's class,

and up to the Japanese teacher how much theme-based or oral communication work is done. What students do in these team-taught classes, then, seems to be a reflection of the Japanese teacher's aims and priorities. Some JTEs told me that in some schools ALTs are asked to act as in-class translators or to correct students' grammar rather than engage in the kind of communicative or theme-based work described above, which also suggests that team teaching tends to reflect the aims of the JTE.

Some participants mentioned particular features of their school that appear to facilitate their ability to pursue citizenship-related aims. For example, four teachers described how since their schools are relatively small, they often teach all the English classes in a particular year group. This avoids the need for them to coordinate with other teachers, allowing them more control over lesson content. As one teacher explained when I asked about collaboration with colleagues:

T: Ah, I'm lucky because I am teaching alone in my 2nd grade.

IH: ... That's important, right?

T: Yes. If I teach with other teachers, we cannot do different things from one class to the other, so in that situation my English teaching ... becomes limited.

(40, public JHS, interview, original dialogue)

An important aspect of taking sole responsibility for a course is the freedom it allows teachers to create their own tests. Teacher 40 explained that when he prepares a test, although it must focus on the textbook he can also include language from any supplementary material he has used. Other participants said that where they need to coordinate with other teachers, tests can *only* focus on textbook content, and any supplementary material they introduce cannot be included in class tests. Since students know this, they are less likely to take the extra material seriously, and may even complain it is not relevant to them.

Another situation where two teachers reported having more flexibility in what they teach was in relatively low-status senior high schools (see 7.3.5.2 on the ranking of schools). According to Teacher 46, few students at her school plan to go on to higher education, so teachers do not experience the same pressure to

complete the curriculum as those in more academically prestigious schools. She said this allowed her more flexibility to explore topics in greater depth, and to use supplementary materials more often.

As stressed earlier, observations about how differences in school type may affect JTEs' ability to teach for citizenship must be viewed as speculative given the relatively small, unrepresentative nature of the sample. Nevertheless, there is some suggestion in the data that JTEs in schools that Teacher 46 describes as "high level" may have *less* scope for addressing citizenship in their classes, simply because the curriculum is geared towards maximizing students' performance in university entrance exams. The ability of teachers in these schools to do discussion-type work, or to spend time exploring citizenship-related topics, may be less a matter of what they are able to do in everyday English classes, and more about occasional opportunities offered by access to Integrated Studies, or, possibly, lessons taught with an ALT. On the other hand, it may be that JTEs like Teacher 46, working in schools that do not expect many of their students to go to university, have more leeway in addressing citizenship-related aims in the course of everyday English teaching.

There is a third type of school to add to the picture. Four teachers in the study described working in public high schools which allowed them more flexibility. Two teachers were based in schools that offer some students a special programme of study – an English Course (*eigo kousu* 英語コース) or International Course (*kokusai kousu* 国際コース) as opposed to the Regular Course (*futsuu kousu* 普通コース) taken by most students. These courses tend to be relatively prestigious, place more emphasis on English communication and often include an element of overseas study. Within these special programmes, JTEs are sometimes responsible for courses that are predominantly content- rather than language-based and which may offer considerable scope for addressing aspects of citizenship. One teacher described teaching a Global Citizenship course that she herself had created:

T: That's my original school subject. I made it.

IH: What's the difference between your teaching of that Global Citizenship class and your regular English classes?

T: In regular English classes, there is a fixed textbook that the English teachers have to use. But for Global Citizenship ... there is no textbook. So, I collect my original materials, and I make my original worksheets, so the topics are all global issues, throughout the year: ... human rights, sustainable development, biodiversity, multicultural [issues], gender.

(30, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Earlier, she described how she had decided to pursue a career as an English teacher to teach students about global issues. She suggested it was only since moving to her current school that she had been able to do much of this:

Now, I'm in the ... best working environment to conduct global education because there is an English course. That's my first time to work at a school with an English course. So, the environment is better than the other schools I have ever worked at.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Two other teachers described having even greater freedom to pursue their citizenship-related aims. Each of their schools has a special status as an educational research institution, which allows the English department considerable autonomy in designing its curriculum. These two teachers (who are discussed in more detail in 7.3.5.5) are not obliged to use Ministry-approved textbooks, and indeed, for some courses, were not using a textbook at all, basing their lessons on materials they prepared themselves. They also reported using discussion or debate activities in their English classes, something other teachers said they had only been able to do in Integrated Studies.

4.3 Summary of findings

Based on the data collected in the study, the following general points can be made:

- i) Responses to Section I of the survey suggest teachers tend towards a cosmopolitan conception of citizenship, and this appears to be confirmed

by the qualitative data. There is a clear consensus that Japanese need a sense of citizenship that includes a global dimension, a commitment to universal human rights, a duty to respect people from other cultures, and an awareness of issues facing the global community.

- ii) Although Japanese national identity is important to virtually all teachers, the term “patriotism” (*aikokushin*) is highly sensitive. At least a third of the sample are firmly opposed to the government’s policy of promoting patriotism in schools, viewing this as reminiscent of pre-war nationalistic education. Most teachers agree that national identity should be based on a commitment to the values of democracy and human rights enshrined in the constitution, and emotional attachments to Japanese culture.
- iii) The survey data suggest that teachers place a higher priority on the knowledge and values dimensions of citizenship than on the skills required for active participation in the community.
- iv) Regarding JTEs’ contribution to education for citizenship, responses to Section II suggest that teachers see most potential for this in raising students’ awareness of global issues, encouraging respect for cultural diversity and promoting intercultural communication skills. A minority of teachers also place importance on activities aimed at developing skills for dialogue.
- v) Although 80% of participants agreed that they personally have a role to play in teaching for citizenship, the qualitative data highlighted numerous contextual factors that teachers believe constrain them in pursuing such a role. These include the expectation of parents, students and colleagues that JTEs teach predominantly from authorized textbooks, and focus on *language* instruction, which is seen as necessary for students’ success in university entrance examinations. Teachers report feeling time pressures associated with the need to keep pace with the shared teaching schedule, and a regime of regular testing. They also refer to the absence of like-minded colleagues who might collaborate in teaching for citizenship. There are indications that these constraints are felt more keenly by teachers in schools that place a particular emphasis on entrance exam preparation – private schools, and *shingakukou* in the public sector.

- vi) Nevertheless, the data confirm that some teachers believe they *are* finding opportunities within the English curriculum to address aims related to citizenship, and many point to authorized textbook content as facilitating that. Some teachers have developed strategies that create a certain amount of space in their English classes, which allows them to develop some citizenship-related topics using supplementary materials, for instance. The qualitative data highlight other contextual factors that facilitate JTEs' efforts to teach for citizenship, including the degree to which they are able to collaborate with ALTs, and opportunities to use Integrated Studies for bigger, student-led projects. It also appears that participants in certain types of school believe they are better able than other JTEs to incorporate aspects of citizenship into their classes: for example, because they have more freedom to supplement textbooks with other material, or to devote more lesson time to work on discussion skills. Schools that have been designated as educational research institutions, that offer dedicated "international courses", or that have lower academic expectations, appear to offer JTEs more flexibility.

This chapter has provided an essentially descriptive presentation of the main findings of the study. In the chapters that follow, I relate these findings to the literature, and offer a theoretically informed discussion of their significance.

Chapter 5 Discussion 1: What do participants understand by “good citizenship”?

The following discussion chapters review the main findings of the study and consider their relevance to my research questions. This chapter focuses on RQ1(i), What do participants understand by “good citizenship”? Chapter 6 then discusses how participants perceive the contribution of high-school JTEs to citizenship education. In Chapter 7 the discussion focuses on what participants say about their own experiences of trying to teach for citizenship.

The data suggest that teachers in the sample tend towards a cosmopolitan conception of citizenship – a view that in addition to identifying as citizens of Japan, Japanese need to cultivate a sense of being global citizens with responsibilities to the world community based on a commitment to human rights and respect for cultural diversity. While teachers appear to accept the idea of multiple citizenship identities, they do not place much emphasis on *active* citizenship. The following sections develop these general points in several ways.

First, in 5.1, I consider the way teachers tend to place more importance on the knowledge and values they think citizens require than they do on their active engagement in politics and the community. Although this may be a matter of emphasis, the finding was surprising given the importance placed on local community participation in Japan. I suggest the possibility that in playing down the importance of active citizenship locally, teachers may have wanted to emphasize that Japanese should look beyond their local communities and be more aware of the global dimension.

Second, in 5.2, I address teachers’ beliefs about Japanese identity. I argue that although teachers think citizens require a strong national identity, they resist what they perceive to be a resurgence of nationalism in Japan, and are wary of government efforts to promote patriotism in schools. I suggest that teachers’ views here may be a reflection of the age profile of the sample. Teachers believe Japanese identity needs to be based on a benign attachment to Japanese culture, and a strong commitment to the principles of human rights and democracy enshrined in Japan’s constitution. They appear to reject the *nihonjinron* ideology of ethnic homogeneity, and recognize Japanese society as multicultural.

However, recognition of Japan's cultural diversity appears to be a more pressing concern for some teachers than others, possibly because they are based in parts of the country that have seen relatively high levels of immigration.

Third, in 5.3, I discuss how teachers perceive the global dimension of citizenship. Most teachers believe citizenship requires a commitment to cosmopolitan values, including respect for human rights and tolerance of cultural diversity, in addition to an awareness of global issues. They place less emphasis on the *practice* of global citizenship, however. Having a sense of global citizenship is more important to most teachers than Japanese having a regional identity as Asians.

5.1 Prioritizing values and knowledge over active engagement

The data suggest that generally teachers place more importance on the knowledge and values citizens should have than on active engagement in society. To be sure, in the survey there was unanimity on the importance of citizens voting in elections; more than 93% considered voting to be either very important or essential, which may indicate that teachers share concerns about falling levels of electoral participation in Japan.

According to Banks (2008), however, electoral participation is a feature of *minimal* citizenship, whereas *active* citizenship involves “action beyond voting to actualize existing laws and conventions” (p. 136). My participants appear to place relatively little importance on political activities other than voting. Although 40% believe it is either very important or essential for citizens to be politically active in this sense, overall it is ranked just 27th out of 30 attributes. It is not clear why this should be the case, although the eight teachers (17.4%) who said political activity was *not* important do appear to conform to recent trends in Japan. Tsukada (2015) refers to “the widespread indifference toward politics” (p. 1), demonstrated not only by falling electoral turnouts but also low levels of participation in activities such as signing petitions and attending public meetings. According to a survey carried out in 2013 by national broadcaster NHK, 54–71% of Japanese adults are completely uninvolved in these kinds of activities (Tsukada, 2015). Nevertheless, given that teachers in my study placed so much importance on

political engagement through voting, it is unclear why other political activity was not rated more highly.

Another illustration that teachers in the study tend not to emphasize the active nature of citizenship is the comparatively low priority placed on “participating in activities to benefit the local community” (ranked 24th out of 30 attributes; see Table 4.5). This was surprising given that community involvement is often seen as a defining characteristic of Japanese society. Some 90% of Japanese households belong to their local neighbourhood association (Haddad, 2007), so are involved in such activities as tending local parks, monitoring refuse collection, and fire-prevention measures. People are not legally obliged to participate in these activities but, according to Haddad, do so out of a sense of civic responsibility. Of course, it is not the case that teachers view involvement in the local community as *unimportant*, but they do seem to accord more weight to other aspects of citizenship. I suggest two possible reasons for this – a prioritizing of *values*, and an emphasis on the *global*.

First, if teachers believe that citizens’ actions are guided by the values they hold, it follows that values are in a sense more fundamental. It is for this reason, perhaps, that more teachers rate as not just “important” but “essential” values such as respect for human rights (Section I, item 14, mean 4.6), democracy (item 17, mean 4.5), cultural diversity (item 18, mean 4.3) and gender equality (item 28, mean 4.4).

A second possibility is that the lower priority given to *local* community involvement reflects the emphasis teachers place on the need for a *global* outlook. It may be that, compared with other items in the questionnaire that suggest a more global perspective – for instance, “feeling a responsibility as a member of global society” – the reference in item 10 to “activities that benefit the *local* community” struck teachers as too parochial. This might also explain the comparatively low rating given to item 7 – “fulfilling one’s responsibility to support one’s family” – which, despite the centrality of the family to traditional Japanese values (White, 2011), also appears in the lower half of the attributes ranked in Table 4.5. The greater importance accorded to attributes higher up the list may thus reflect teachers’ belief that Japanese citizens need to look beyond the family and the local community and to think more globally. As one high-school teacher put it,

I'd like [students] ... to be interested in places outside of Japan because they live in a very small town, and many of them are not so interested in the world outside.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

5.2 National identity

Participants believe Japanese citizens require a strong sense of national identity, but, crucially, they tend to characterize this in a way that is consistent with a cosmopolitan view of citizenship. This characterization comprises two main elements: first, a rejection of nationalism and what many participants see as the nationalistic intent of “patriotic education”; second, an emphasis on Japan’s cultural heritage as a source of national pride. Based on the quantitative survey data, teachers also appear to reject the *nihonjinron* conception of Japan as a homogeneous nation, and recognize Japan as a multicultural society. There are very few references to this in the qualitative data, however, which suggests that engaging with cultural diversity in Japan may not be a pressing issue for many participants.

5.2.1 Rejection of nationalism; wariness of patriotism

The data suggest that although most teachers believe national identity is an important component of citizenship, many are wary of Japanese government efforts to promote patriotism in schools. In the survey, 39% of teachers said patriotism was quite important for citizenship, but another 35% rated it as either not very important or completely unnecessary. In light of the history of Japanese colonialism in Asia and Japan’s wartime experiences, many of them see rules that mandate the use of the flag and anthem in schools as a dangerous throwback to the policies of Imperial Japan. Cultural identity is certainly important to the vast majority of teachers: 80% said that a desire to preserve Japanese culture was either very important or essential for citizenship. However, they believe pride in Japanese culture needs to be tempered with commitments to universal human rights and respect for other cultures.

The Japanese term for patriotism, *aikokushin* (愛国心 – literally, “the feeling of love for one’s country”), appears to be problematic for many teachers, who see it as being too closely associated with nationalism (*nashonarizumu*). In a study of national attitudes in the US, Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) found patriotism and nationalism to be different kinds of psychological attachment. While they identified patriotism as having “love for and pride in one’s nation”, nationalism, they discovered, was “a perception of *national superiority* and an orientation toward *national dominance*” (p. 271, my emphasis).

Karasawa (2002) carried out similar research in Japan and found evidence of the same distinction between *patriotic* love of one’s country and a *nationalistic* desire for it to prevail over others. He concludes that “Citizens may feel strong affection toward their home country (i.e. patriotism) without holding a belief that the country should exceed other nations (i.e. nationalism)” (p. 647). However, my survey data suggest that for many JTEs the distinction between patriotism and nationalism is not always clear-cut. Item 11 in Section I of the survey asked teachers to rate the importance of *aikokushin*/patriotism to Japanese citizenship. The wording was intentionally vague, avoiding any suggestion of how this “love of country” would manifest itself, yet more than one-third of participants appear to have interpreted *aikokushin* negatively.

Table 5.1

Survey results 5: Citizen attributes related to national identity

(Data from Section I of the survey. Columns refer to the percentage of teachers (n=46) rating the attribute at each level of importance. See Table 4.5 for means and SD values for all Section I items)

Citizen attributes	Essential / Very important	Quite important	Not very important / Completely unnecessary
12. Wishing to preserve Japanese culture	69.6%	28.3%	2.2%
13. Wishing to promote Japan’s national interests in the world	28.3%	39.1%	32.6%
11. Being patriotic (possessing <i>aikokushin</i>)	26.1%	39.1%	34.8%

Table 5.1 compares the responses for items 11, 12 and 13 in Section I of the survey, ranked by the degree of importance teachers attached to them. The citizen attributes addressed by these three items are all connected with the national attitudes researched by Karasawa. The table indicates stark differences of opinion among teachers on the importance of *aikokushin* to Japanese citizenship. While 26% rated *aikokushin* as essential or very important, more than a third saw it as either not very important or completely unnecessary.

As Table 5.1 shows, the distribution of responses for item 11, which refers to patriotism, was almost identical to the distribution for item 13, which, with its focus on promoting Japan's interests abroad, was intended to tap into feelings that were more nationalistic, according to Kosterman and Feshbach's definition. The close similarity of responses for items 11 and 13 suggests that for many teachers (perhaps around one-third), the term *aikokushin* has *nationalistic* connotations. On the other hand, almost 70% of teachers rated the wish to preserve Japanese culture as either essential or very important. Together, these results suggest a consensus among teachers on the importance of a strong cultural identity for Japanese, though many teachers hesitate to call this *aikokushin*.

Although 26.1% of survey respondents (12 teachers) judged patriotism to be very important or essential to Japanese citizenship, the degree of support for item 12 suggests these teachers see patriotism more as a benign attachment to Japanese culture than a nationalistic desire to assert Japan's interests in the world. Of the 12 teachers who considered patriotism to be important, 8 teachers ranked the wish to preserve Japanese culture as *more* important than the desire to promote national interests overseas.

The negative reaction of many teachers to the term *aikokushin* may be a reflection of the age profile of the sample. 41% of teachers who completed the survey were in the 50+ age bracket, so part of a generation for whom issues of national identity are difficult to separate from Japan's wartime experiences. As one teacher put it,

I don't know the true meaning of *aikokushin*, [but] ... for my generation, this word is very heavy.

(5, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Memories of the war are still potent for this generation of Japanese, and continue to condition their views about the relationship between citizens and state. As one teacher emphasized, excessive loyalty to the state can have disastrous results:

If patriotism is strong ... we will defend our country ... in order to make my country stronger, or to make my country in a good position. ... If we

do it too much, it makes trouble with other countries, and, as you know, Japan has experienced a big catastrophe, more than 60 years ago. In those days ... patriotism was too strong and we [caused suffering for] a lot of people in Asia and also in our own country.

(40, public JHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher, also in her fifties, pointed to the politically charged nature of the term *aikokushin* used in the survey:

Aikokushin, ... patriotism, ... is not a good word for me. ... When I hear *aikokushin* it's not to respect the Japanese culture or Japanese people, but to be a kind of right-wing person.

(4, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Her association of *aikokushin* with Japan's "right-wing" could be a reference to the incumbent Abe government, which advocates the nurturing of patriotic feelings in Japan's schools. She could also be thinking of far-right activists – the *uyoku dantai* (右翼団体) – who can often be seen (and heard) on Japan's streets, in black vans bedecked with imperial flags, and loudspeakers blaring military-style music. These groups seek to propagate a radical, nationalist message, calling for the expulsion of foreigners, for instance, or for the government to take a harder line in territorial disputes with Japan's neighbours. While public support for these essentially fringe groups is limited, their highly vocal presence in public spaces serves to perpetuate the association of the national flag and anthem with Japan's military past.

Education has been one of the principal battlegrounds between Japan's conservatives and progressives. As Cave (2009) notes, a series of controversies such as textbook selection and the inclusion of moral education in the curriculum centre on the same core issues concerning "the nature of proper state control over education, and the extent to which schools should develop children's patriotism" (p. 39). The use of the flag and anthem in schools continues to be especially divisive. It was not until 1999 that legislation was passed recognizing the

hinomaru as Japan's national flag and *kimigayo* as its national anthem; as Cave (2009) observes:

For many Japanese, these symbols were repugnant because they were associated with the patriotic fervour that sent millions to their deaths – millions who were not just abstract numbers, but dearly loved family members, killed at the battlefield or in air raids at home. (p. 43)

The policy obliging schools to use the *hinomaru* and *kimigayo* in ceremonies is the most prominent of government initiatives to promote patriotism, and this helps explain the negative reaction many teachers displayed to the notion of *aikokushin* as an aspect of citizenship. Nine of the 14 teachers I interviewed were critical of the emphasis on patriotic education, and three teachers described how they express their opposition by refusing to sing the anthem at school ceremonies.

This form of resistance is not without personal risk; the Japanese media have often reported cases of teachers being reprimanded for not singing the anthem, and some have been threatened with dismissal (“8 Osaka teachers to be punished”, 2012; “Osaka passes ‘Kimigayo’ rule”, 2011). Some of the teachers I interviewed acknowledged the risk they are taking by refusing to sing:

T: Singing *kimigayo*, ... I don't follow. I don't sing ... at the graduation or, anywhere.

IH: Do you stand up?

T: Yeah, I stand up, but I don't sing. I don't utter a word. While others sing very strongly. ... And maybe, someday, someone will notice it, and someone will criticize me. ... But, so far, I've been OK.

(19, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Other teachers reported being in schools where administrators themselves appear reluctant to enforce government policy:

T: Actually, in the graduation ceremony, or entrance ceremony we have the *hinomaru* flag on the stage, ... but, at the beginning of the ceremony,

... one of our vice principals says that it's up to you, to stand up or sing *kimigayo*.

IH: Really? To the students, or to the teachers?

T: To the students, teachers, and also parents. ... I think most of us stand up, ... but very few sing. ... In other schools, like in Osaka, it's terrible.

Many teachers are punished. ... But it doesn't happen here.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

These quotations serve to illustrate how the notion of patriotism, symbolized by the flag and anthem, is acutely contentious in Japan, and among the teachers who participated in my study, and this helps explain the low rating given to patriotism in the survey.

5.2.2 The importance of cultural identity

Although many participants are wary of patriotism, the vast majority do appear to see a wish to preserve Japanese culture as an important aspect of citizenship. Indeed, only one teacher felt this was *unimportant*. Karasawa (2002) identified a commitment to national heritage as the most distinctive feature of Japanese national identity. Although he found patriotism and nationalism to be different sentiments, he also discovered that respect for national heritage correlated with both; that is, valuing Japanese culture could be a marker of patriotism or of nationalism. This finding was confirmed in a later study by Rivers (2011).

According to Rivers,

Showing affection for tradition and culture in the form of shrines, temples, the national flag, the national anthem and competitive sports are psycho-emotional facets embedded in the nation's sociocultural fabric. This means that they can be adopted, used or manipulated for the purpose of either exhibiting a sense of superiority and dominance over others (nationalism), [or] for demonstrating a more benign love for one's home country (patriotism). (p. 119)

Karasawa's and Rivers' findings provide support for my participants' tendency to equate patriotism with nationalism. Teachers oppose the use of the flag and anthem in schools because they recognize that these particular cultural symbols can be utilized by nationalists as well as by patriots. None of the teachers expressed misgivings about any other aspects of Japanese culture being taught in schools; they do not appear to associate the teaching of Japanese culture *per se* with "patriotic education", and indeed, almost all teachers – 97% of survey respondents – see cultural identity as important for Japanese citizenship. In the interview, one teacher was at pains to distinguish between *aikokushin*/patriotism and valuing Japan's cultural heritage:

Japanese culture is important, I think. ... 'Patriotism', from the point of view I told you – the war experience – I don't like this. But Japanese culture is important.

(40, public JHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher spoke at some length about the need for teachers to define *aikokushin* in their own terms – to reclaim it from the nationalists, as it were:

As you know, there is a very political side to *aikokushin*. And, thinking about the kind of patriotism that the current government wants people to have, I'm against *aikokushin* in that sense. But then, in a different sense, I certainly believe it's important to care about one's own country [自分の国を大事に思う]. So, the problem is ... well, the definition of 'aikokushin'. ... Culture itself is important ... so, yes, *aikokushin* is important, but not in the sense that the government uses that term. Rather, it's important to cherish this country called Japan that we live in [人々の暮らす日本という国]. But that's no different from respecting other countries, is it? This is the *real* meaning of loving one's country, not the *aikokushin* being promoted by the government. And this is how we need to teach students to be 'patriotic'.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

I interpret this as support for a benign sort of patriotism within a general commitment to cosmopolitanism. As Teacher 14 says, “culture itself is important” – not *Japanese* culture especially – so for her, loving one’s own country is essentially no different from valuing the cultures of people living elsewhere. Another teacher went further still, to suggest that love of one’s own national culture is a prerequisite for developing respectful attitudes towards the cultures of others. She stressed the importance of Japanese having pride in their culture, and to begin with, her tone appeared almost nationalistic:

I think the Japanese should learn more about Japanese history and Japanese culture, and express ... or be proud of, Japanese things to foreign people. ... We need to learn [about] and love Japan more.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

However, she then went on to explain how she views a strong national identity as a necessary part of *global* citizenship:

To respect our identity and respect our culture is very important. ... Even the global citizen has a [national] identity and if they have their own identity, ... I think the people will be more strong, ... have some confidence, and *think about other cultures more carefully*.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English, my emphasis)

Her viewpoint seems to align with Appiah’s (1997) call for “cosmopolitan patriotism”, which embraces world citizenship based on universal values, but is at the same time “rooted” in a particular cultural community.

5.2.3 Recognizing cultural diversity in Japan

The survey data suggest that participants recognize Japan as a multicultural society. As many as 93.5% of survey respondents believe that it is either essential or very important for Japanese citizens to be aware of and to respect racial and ethnic diversity in Japan (Section I, item 18, mean 4.35). It seems clear, then, that teachers reject the notion of a universally shared ancestry and culture

that is central to *nihonjinron*, and which still tends to underlie official characterizations of Japanese society (Siddle, 2013).

While there appears to be a clear consensus among teachers that Japan is multicultural, however, this receives very little attention in the qualitative data, despite the frequent references to the importance of teaching for intercultural understanding, or *ibunka rikai* (異文化理解). There were no references to Japanese cultural diversity in responses to Section IV of the survey, and only two teachers brought up the topic when interviewed. Interestingly, both of these teachers referred to local conditions. For example, asked which citizen attribute he considered *most* important, Teacher 5 pointed to item 18 in Section II of the survey, “being aware of and respecting ethnic and racial diversity in Japan”. He linked this specifically to the presence of ethnic-minority students at his own school:

‘Diversity’ is the key to the 21st century, I think. Even in our school we have some Chinese students or Korean students or other students ... so, it is natural for students to get together with [people from] any background ... Not only junior high schools, ... some primary schools have half of the students from foreign countries background.

(5, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

He went on to explicitly reject the *nihonjinron* concept of a racially homogeneous Japan:

You know, some Japanese think Japan is only one race, but it is not correct. We have many ... for example, Ainu races or Ryukyu races. ... We sometimes forget this, ... but, we also ... have diversity ... in Japan. It is a most important viewpoint, I think.

(5, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

Teacher 9 also talked about the importance of addressing the issue of Japan’s cultural diversity, and referred to bicultural, “double” students (i.e. students of mixed Japanese and non-Japanese parentage) at her school:

[Japanese society], it's changing. ... [At our school], every year we have some, you know, 'double' students. ... They can contribute to my English class as well. You know, their viewpoint, and they can talk about a lot of things. ... Yes, and in [this] area there are a lot of Korean-origin people.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Such references to Japan's cultural others are rare in the qualitative data, and this might possibly be a reflection of the geographical distribution of teachers within the country. Tsuneyoshi (2004, 2011) points out that the ethnic diversification of Japan has occurred unevenly, concentrated in enclaves or "diversity points" in the Kansai and Kanto regions. Although ethnic diversity may be a part of everyday experience for Japanese living in these areas, elsewhere it can go more or less unnoticed. "Japan may indeed be a multicultural society, but it is a multicultural society where patches of visibly diverse districts ... are scattered amidst a vast sea of seeming homogeneity" (Tsuneyoshi, 2004, p. 57).

Teacher 5 and Teacher 9 are both based in areas where ethnic minorities are relatively visible, and this may have made them especially conscious of cultural diversity as an element of national identity. When questioned directly about ethnic diversity in Japan, as teachers were in the questionnaire, virtually everyone acknowledged the importance of recognizing Japan as multicultural. Again, this is consistent with a cosmopolitan view of citizenship, which, since it is grounded in ethics that apply universally, implies respect for diversity within the nation as well as in the global community (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Nevertheless, the relative absence from the qualitative data of references to cultural diversity in Japan suggests that it may not be a pressing issue for most participants. In the interviews, where teachers referred to the importance of intercultural understanding, it was usually in terms of nurturing positive attitudes towards cultures *outside* of Japan, or students needing to interact with temporary foreign visitors, such as ALTs.

Section 5.2 has argued that with regard to the national dimension of citizenship, my participants tend to advocate a benign attachment to Japan's cultural heritage, but oppose characterizations of national identity that smack of overt nationalism. The next section argues that these teachers also believe

national identity needs to be accompanied by an awareness of the global dimension of citizenship. What they have in mind here are ethical, cosmopolitan commitments – to human rights, and values of tolerance and openness – rather than a desire to pursue Japan’s national interests overseas.

5.3 The global dimension of citizenship

The argument that participants tend towards a cosmopolitan view of citizenship is based not only on their aversion to nationalistic forms of Japanese identity, but also on what the data reveal about their readiness to embrace a global dimension of citizenship. In the survey, 78% of teachers thought it was very important or essential for Japanese citizens to feel a sense of responsibility as members of the global community. The following sections consider what it is that teachers mean by this. I argue that teachers see Japanese citizens as having *ethical* commitments to the global community. In this respect, they align with some of the “Western” advocates of global education discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g. Hanvey, 1982; Oxfam, 2015; G. Pike & Selby, 1988), although the Japanese teachers tend to place far more emphasis on values and knowledge than they do on criticality and skills for active citizenship. Teachers appear to accept the concept of multiple citizenships, although having a distinct Asian identity is seen as less important than global citizenship.

5.3.1 How teachers characterize the global dimension of citizenship

The global dimension seems to figure prominently in teachers’ thinking about citizenship. At least half of the 37 teachers who responded to Section IV of the survey referred in some way to the global context, and eight wrote specifically about the need to nurture “global citizens” (*chikyuu shimin* 地球市民). However, teachers do not always spell out what they mean by such terms. It could be that in such cases “global citizenship” is functioning as a kind of *slogan* in the manner described by Popkewitz (1980). The main purpose of a slogan is emotive, to elicit “certain feelings, hopes, and beliefs” and “arouse interest, possibly incite enthusiasm, or achieve a unity of feeling and spirit” (Popkewitz, 1980, p. 304). When teachers emphasize the importance of being “global

citizens”, having a “global perspective” or “global consciousness”, the precise meanings of these terms may be unclear, but as slogans they require no further elaboration. The phrase “global citizen” acts as a kind of shorthand, then, which could refer to various possibilities in terms of the status, feeling and practice of citizenship. This is not to question the sincerity of teachers’ views regarding the importance of the global dimension, but simply to emphasize that what they mean by this is not always made clear.

To be fair, global citizenship is understood in many different ways, and, as Oxley and Morris (2013) stress, the concept “embodies a complex, shifting and overlapping range of meanings” (p. 305). However, they also observe that among educators, global citizenship is often understood as a series of attributes. Table 5.2 draws on the qualitative data from the survey and interviews, and lists the attributes that teachers mentioned most often in connection with the global dimension of citizenship (using terms such as “global citizen”, “global perspective”, “globalized society”, or simply, “the world”).

Table 5.2
Qualitative data 9: Attributes participants associate with global citizenship
 (including interview and survey data n=34)

Attributes	No. of JTEs referring to attribute
<i>Knowledge</i>	
Knowing about global issues (environmental, human rights issues etc.)	10
Knowing about other cultures (not only English-speaking)	8
<i>Values</i>	
Tolerance/Respecting the human rights of people from other cultures	9
Curiosity/Being interested in the world	4
Empathizing with those less fortunate	2
Willingness to communicate with others	1
Wishing to build a peaceful world	1
<i>Skills</i>	
Ability to express oneself/discuss opinions	2
Ability to assert opinions clearly as a Japanese	2
Ability to make friends/work with others	1
Ability to think critically	1

A number of observations can be made. First, teachers clearly believe that Japanese need to take an interest in events around the world, and in particular, know about global issues and about other cultures. But while *knowledge* of the world is important, teachers also stress the importance of *values* – particularly respect for human rights and other cultures – which suggests they tend to view Japanese citizens’ relationship with the outside world in ethical terms, involving

responsibilities. For example, two teachers believe that growing up in material prosperity has placed a moral imperative on young Japanese to learn about what is going on in the world. As one of them put it:

In a situation where many people can't even get the everyday necessities of life (基本的生活ニーズ), I think it's a *duty* for those children who are fortunate enough to have the chance of education to learn about 'global topics' [グローバル話題].

(8, public SHS, survey, my translation, original emphasis)

The quantitative survey data indicate that teachers see values such as respect for human rights and tolerance as some of the most important attributes of Japanese citizenship; the qualitative data underscore this, and confirm that for many teachers, these ethical principles are essential at a global, not just a national, level.

A second observation about Table 5.2 is that compared with knowledge and values, there were relatively few references in the data to *skills* associated with global citizenship. Moreover, where teachers did talk about skills, they focused on communication skills specifically, perhaps because it is these they feel best able to influence as JTEs.

The relative lack of reference to skills in the data suggests that teachers in the study put less emphasis on active engagement as global citizens than they do on people knowing about the world and having the “right” values. Teachers often referred to the need to be aware of global issues, but there was almost no mention, in the survey or interviews, of how citizens might be expected to *act* on such awareness. For example, no-one suggested that Japanese citizens should feel a responsibility to be ethical consumers or become involved in the work of international NPOs. In the interviews, one teacher talked about how his school encouraged the recycling of plastic drinks bottles, saying that everyone needed to “think globally, act locally”, and another teacher described a project where her students had raised funds for landmine clearance in South East Asia, but these examples were rare. Overall, in characterizing global citizenship, teachers focus on the values and knowledge citizens require, rather than on how they should act.

The lack of qualitative data indicating a more active conception of global citizenship may partly be due to the fact that interviews focused more on participants' experiences *as English teachers*, than on probing their beliefs about the nature of citizenship. At the same time, data from the survey suggest that even in the context of Japanese society, teachers place more importance on the knowledge and values citizens require than they do on skills for active engagement. This finding resonates with a study by Ishimori (2013), who surveyed 113 Japanese high-school teachers about their beliefs concerning the purposes of global education. The fact that 63% of her participants were English teachers makes Ishimori's study particularly relevant here. She found that from a list of 30 possible teaching outcomes, the two rated as *least* important were those aimed at promoting informed and responsible *action* as opposed to targeting knowledge or values.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the notions of global citizenship conveyed by participants with those of prominent advocates of global education introduced in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.3). There are clear areas of alignment between the kinds of knowledge that JTEs in my study referred to – regarding human rights, issues of peace and conflict, and awareness of other cultures – and the knowledge that Hanvey (1982) and Pike and Selby (1988) regard as being essential to a “global perspective”. In addition to promoting learning about global issues, Oxfam's (2015) curriculum for global citizenship also targets such values as respect for human rights and cultural diversity, and again these values are stressed by teachers involved in my study.

Where the Japanese teachers appear to differ from these other advocates of global education, however, is in their tendency to focus on knowledge and values as opposed to skills. Whereas the Oxfam (2015, p. 8) curriculum aims for students to develop the skill of taking “informed and reflective action”, for instance, there are virtually no references to action in my qualitative data (see 5.1). And although the “ability to think critically” was mentioned by one teacher, it is not clear that this means the kind of “perspective consciousness” that is central for Hanvey (1982) and Pike and Selby (1988). In addition to an outward-looking interest in other cultures, perspective consciousness requires a degree of critical reflexivity – a reflecting back on one's own cultural assumptions, and the realization that these assumptions are not universally shared. This is similar to

the “tertiary socialization” discussed by Byram (2008a). These issues will be picked up later in Chapter 7 where attention shifts to how teachers say they are teaching for citizenship. For now, the point I want to make is that whereas many of my participants appear to espouse a view of global citizenship that corresponds with that of global educators mentioned above – at least in terms of stressing the need to know about global issues and cultivate such values as tolerance – an important difference is that the Japanese teachers appear to place far less emphasis on taking action as citizens, and less emphasis on criticality.

5.3.2 Multiple citizenships: Global rather than Asian

Heater (2004) argues that in the context of ongoing globalization, the proposition that people can have multiple civic identities has become increasingly important. None of the teachers in my study used the term “multiple citizenships”, but, by implication, most appear to accept the idea of Japanese having overlapping citizenships at the local, national and global levels – certainly in Osler and Starkey’s (2005) sense of citizenship as feeling.

One teacher, who describes herself as a global educator, seemed to recognize the potential for conflict between the national and global dimensions of citizenship:

T: Those themes, like human rights or environmental problems ... from my point of view, it’s really important as a global citizen [to know about them]. ... But then, before that, as a ... well, *Japanese* citizen ... do we ... understand what is important? ... It’s strange. Um, in my ... mind there is *global* citizenship. There should be some understanding or, you know, ... knowledge or awareness or ... realization, of ... *global* citizenship. Then, ... it seemed as if there is *Japanese* citizenship, and they are not quite the same. [*pause*] It *should* be the same.

IH: Is there a conflict?

T: I’m not sure.

(19, public SHS, interview, original English dialogue)

Where Teacher 19 says she thinks Japanese citizenship and global citizenship “*should* be the same”, I take her to mean that a commitment to universal values such as tolerance, justice and respect for human rights should be the basis for citizenship at all levels. These values are the founding principles of Japan’s post-war constitution (Beer & Maki, 2002), so presumably ought to be cultivated in all Japanese citizens. Teacher 19 appears to believe that global citizenship should simply be an extension of these same, universal values to people of all other nations and cultures. Clearly, though, she is also aware that perceived national priorities – those evident in Japan’s foreign policy, for instance – may sometimes be at odds with those of the global community, and that if so, citizens may experience conflicting national and global loyalties.

Notwithstanding these complexities, most teachers who took part in the study seem to accept some degree of multiple citizenship, at least by implication. The vast majority (95.7%) agree that Japanese should feel a sense of responsibility to the global community; at the same time, with no apparent contradiction, they also agree on the importance of Japanese cultural identity (97.8%). Again, in our interview, Teacher 4 suggested that national identity complements the global dimension of citizenship:

Even the global citizen has a [national] identity and if they have their own identity ... I think the people will be more strong, ... have some confidence, and think about other cultures more carefully.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

While the concept of overlapping or multiple citizenships seems to be accepted by teachers, however, it is interesting that they see it as much less important for Japanese to have a regional, Asian identity than to cultivate feelings of global citizenship. In the survey, only five teachers said a “sense of being Asian” was *unimportant*, and indeed, in the interviews, one teacher, who says she often focuses on issues of peace and conflict in her classes, thought an Asian identity was essential for Japanese:

It’s very important. We have to get along with Asian people.

(46, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

Nevertheless, the survey data indicate a consensus that an Asian identity is less important (Section I, item 20, mean 3.61) for Japanese than identifying as global citizens (item 16, mean 4.15). One teacher suggested that a regional, Asian identity was a potential distraction from the global perspective she feels needs to be given priority:

Of course, it's important [to feel we're part of Asia], but more important [to be] a member of the global community. Sometimes I don't think it's good to ... insist on being a member of Asia, Europe, or America. ... A global perspective is more important than that.

(14, public SHS, interview, part translation)

5.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has focused on what participants believe about the personal attributes required for “good citizenship” in Japan. The data suggest that they embrace the principles of democracy and human rights that are the foundation of Japan’s constitution, and they see these principles as universal, entailing responsibilities at the global level. Their sense of what it means to be “Japanese” is rooted in emotional attachments to Japanese culture, which they believe should be a source of pride; but they are wary of government attempts to strengthen national allegiance by mandating the use of the national flag and anthem in schools. This may partly be a reflection of the age profile of the sample, and the tendency of a post-war generation of teachers to associate these national symbols with Japan’s military past. At the same time, it is also consistent with what I have characterized as the cosmopolitan tendencies of the sample. There is a place for a benign cultural identity in teachers’ evident cosmopolitanism, but not for the kind of assertive nationalism that many of them perceive in government policy.

Along with human rights, teachers emphasize respect for other cultures as a fundamental value of citizenship. Crucially, they appear to reject the ideology of *nihonjinron* and what Siddle (2013) argues is the common-sense view that Japan is essentially homogeneous. The idea that citizens should be aware of and respect the multicultural nature of Japanese society

was not controversial in the survey. The fact that there were almost no references to Japan's cultural diversity in the qualitative data, however, suggests this is not a pressing concern for many teachers. I argued that this could be a reflection of local conditions. Where two teachers did talk about Japanese cultural diversity, it was with direct reference to the presence of non-Japanese students in their schools. It could be that other teachers are based in parts of Japan where immigration is less apparent. In any case, the very strong consensus among participants that citizenship requires tolerance and respect for cultural others appears to be predominantly outward in orientation, concerned with Japanese attitudes towards *foreigners* and interacting with people overseas.

In terms of what citizenship entails, teachers tended to rate having the right knowledge, awareness and values as more important than active involvement in politics and society. Voting is seen as a minimum duty of citizenship, but other forms of political participation and, indeed, community involvement, as less important. This may simply reflect the lower rating of these "active citizen" attributes relative to essential values.

This chapter has focused on what participants say about the requirements of good citizenship. Chapter 6 continues the discussion by considering where teachers identify areas of convergence between citizenship education and English teaching in Japanese high schools.

Chapter 6 Discussion 2: What links do participants see between English language teaching and citizenship education?

The previous chapter argued that participants tend to conceive of citizenship in cosmopolitan terms. In this section, attention turns to *education* for citizenship, and specifically ways in which JTEs perceive opportunities for combining it with English teaching. Although these perceptions are likely to have been shaped by their professional experiences, the discussion here focuses not on what individual teachers say happens in their own classrooms, but rather on the conceptual links they see between citizenship education and teaching English. Chapter 7 provides a more detailed discussion of individual participants' own citizenship-related aims and how they say they go about pursuing them.

The main argument here is that most participants believe JTEs are in a position to teach for a kind of cosmopolitan citizenship. Indeed, there is a strong feeling among them that English teachers have a *unique* contribution to make to the curriculum in this regard – one that can be distinguished from that of teachers of other subjects.

In 6.1, I argue that what participants believe about the contribution JTEs can make to citizenship education is shaped by their perceptions of the English language itself and its value to Japanese students.

Chapter 2 outlined three ways emerging from the literature in which FLTs can contribute to citizenship education – teaching citizenship-related content, nurturing skills for dialogue, and developing intercultural competence. My participants see scope for JTEs to address citizenship-related aims in each of these areas. In 6.2, I argue that they view opportunities for working with relevant content as the most obvious way that JTEs can teach for citizenship, particularly in its global dimension. There is a consensus that the inclusion of global issues and cultural content in authorized textbooks facilitates this, though some teachers believe these opportunities go unexploited by a majority of JTEs. Some participants stress the need to consider issues of pedagogy, in addition to content.

6.3 addresses the skills for dialogue referred to by Starkey (2005). Some teachers believe JTEs are in a position to help students develop these skills, although the majority see less potential in this area. Some teachers appear to associate discussion, debate and critical thinking with English-speaking culture.

Learning English thus involves students learning to think and express themselves in ways that are not traditionally Japanese. In this respect, teaching skills for dialogue can itself be seen as promoting a kind of citizenship that transcends the Japanese national context.

6.4 looks at teachers' views regarding teaching for intercultural competence. Many of them see the potential for addressing *some* aspects of IC through high-school English lessons, and they view collaboration with ALTs as especially important here. With reference to Byram's (1997, 2008a) model, I argue that teachers stress the knowledge and attitudes dimensions of intercultural competence, with less emphasis on skills. There is almost no reference in the data to Byram's dimension of criticality.

6.1 The value of learning English

As described in Chapter 2, in the context of ongoing globalization, the Japanese government views the learning of English as a national priority. Key policy documents such as the *Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* present English as an essential tool for participating in the global economy and promoting Japan's interests abroad (Hashimoto, 2009; Kawai, 2007). Clearly, JTEs are positioned as key players in implementing this policy. Their beliefs about English and its value to Japanese citizens thus merit some attention.

Below I highlight three ways in which teachers characterize English in the data. First, in contrast to the government, teachers rarely refer to the instrumental benefits of an English-speaking citizenry to Japan. Rather than proficiency in English, they tend to place more emphasis on the importance of JTEs nurturing positive attitudes towards other cultures. Second, teachers see English as a means of gaining direct access to information about the outside world, and thus an essential medium for promoting students' awareness of the global dimension of citizenship. Finally, some teachers expressed concerns about English representing a Western, Anglo-American view of the world and believe more attention should be paid to teaching English as an *international* language.

I argue that participants tend towards a cosmopolitan view of citizenship which emphasizes a sense of responsibility to the global community rather than

the pursuit of Japan's national interests overseas. In survey responses, "Wishing to promote Japan's national interests in the world" was ranked very low in the list of important citizen attributes (28th out of 30); 32.6% of teachers judged it to be not very important. These views are reflected in what teachers say about the purposes of learning English.

Teachers do, of course, recognize the instrumental importance of English, to the nation as well as to the individual learner. One teacher acknowledged that the *Action Plan* was essential to the national economy:

Japan is not a country which has lots of natural resources, and so many Japanese will go to other countries in future, or many Japanese should talk with other countries, and of course, the common language should be English. So, ... mastering English, ... it's a 'must'.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

While many teachers recognize the need for English in the context of globalization, however, there were no other direct references to its role in securing Japan's economic interests. Rather than the instrumental benefits of English skills to the nation, teachers tend to emphasize the importance of students developing positive attitudes towards other cultures. One teacher in particular wanted to distance herself from the language used by the government:

IH: There have been some things in Japanese government policy ... which suggest that learning English, it's a very important thing for Japanese citizens: "*eigo ga tsukaeru nihonjin*" ["Japanese with English abilities"] ...

T: Yes, ... I do not like their policy now. ... Teaching English is to make friends, not to beat others. And reading the government policy, it's like, 'we have to be the top of the world, the top of Asia'. ... If the government has that kind of attitude, we really cannot educate students in the right way. ... We have to make students who can make friends anywhere in the world, and they have to work together in the future, right? They do not learn English to compete, or beat others.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Another teacher expressed a similar view, this time contrasting her own, cosmopolitan aims with what she perceives as the more instrumental motives of Japan's business community:

IH: There are some people who think that a big part of learning English is to prepare Japanese students to compete ... in the global market as Japanese, right?

T: Yeah, of course, company executives ... that's what they want, ... that's why English is so emphasized. ... But, for us English teachers, we just ... hope those students become global citizens who understand ... other people without any prejudice and, who respect human rights, of ... people of any race. ... A kind of broad view we want our students to have.

(19, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

As the above two quotations suggest, then, although JTEs recognize the importance of English as a lingua franca, they tend to see their role in teaching it not simply in terms of equipping students with a linguistic tool, but, more importantly, in nurturing positive attitudes towards communicating with foreign others. In this sense, they appear to align with Kubota (2015), who questions the "neoliberal promise of English" (p. 3), particularly in the context of rising nationalism. She points to evidence of growing xenophobia in Japan, which she links to geopolitical tensions with China and Korea, and Japan's waning economic influence in the region. Where there is hostility towards other nations or ethnic groups, she argues, language skills alone will not facilitate constructive intercultural communication.

Kubota (2015) calls for a reassessment of the purposes of English teaching, and, in particular, a shift away from the narrow focus on linguistic knowledge as measured by standardized tests:

it is not sufficient for language professionals to teach linguistic skills only. Rather, they need to also address dispositional competence, such as willingness to communicate, willingness to develop cultural and historical knowledge, mutual accommodation, and non-prejudiced or

anti-racist attitudes, in order to foster more sustainable relationships with Others. (p. 11)

The data suggest that Kubota's sentiments would find broad, if not unanimous, support among my participants. In the survey, not only was "showing respect and tolerance towards people from other cultures" rated as one of the most important attributes for Japanese citizenship (95.7% judged it to be very important or essential), but 56.7% of respondents also felt these values could be furthered in English classes to a great or very great extent. In our interview, Teacher 9 echoed Kubota's emphasis on the "willingness to communicate":

Today, English is ... an international common language, a lingua franca, so we need to use English to speak to anybody in the world, if we want to make friends. ... Teaching English is not only teaching English grammar. ... I want to – what can I say? – nurture their *willingness to communicate with others*.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English, my emphasis)

Teacher 9 does not specify *foreign* others here, but it is noticeable in the data that when teachers talk about the value of learning English it is almost always in terms of understanding the world *outside* Japan, or communicating with people overseas, rather than its relevance within the country. Matsuda (2011) found some evidence of a view among JTEs that English is not really needed in Japan, and comments made by several teachers in my study hint at a similar view. Teacher 46, for example, described English as "something *different from our usual life*", while Teacher 40 explained that most of his students "don't like to study English because usually they *don't need English language in everyday life*".

There is a strong suggestion in the data, then, that teachers associate English with an *outward* orientation. An interesting illustration of this was provided by Teacher 2, who spoke about the potential benefits of English to students who might have limited opportunities within Japan. She described the high-school students she teaches as being "below average" academically, poorly-

motivated and likely to struggle when it comes to finding employment. Compared with more “serious” (*majime*), academically successful students, however, she says her students are more confident in expressing their opinions:

They can speak up. So, I really thought, this kind of Japanese people should study English seriously, ... then they can succeed in foreign countries because they are not ordinary Japanese people.

(2, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

By “ordinary Japanese people”, she is alluding to the somewhat stereotypical view of Japanese being reticent about expressing themselves, something often cited as a reason for their perceived lack of confidence in speaking foreign languages. However, many of her students, while apparently lacking the academic ability to do well in Japan, have more outgoing personalities. If they can learn English, this could make them successful communicators overseas, and perhaps help them to find personal fulfilment more readily than they could in Japan.

This resonates with Seargeant’s (2012) view that English can have different aspirational appeals to Japanese. For those who already have advantages in terms of gender, age and academic achievements, English proficiency is another asset that can help them succeed *within* Japan. On the other hand, for people who may be disadvantaged in Japanese society, learning the language is appealing because of “the potential that English will allow to *transcend* given social structures” (p. 123, original emphasis). For Teacher 2, English is not a means of enhancing citizenship within Japan or furthering the government’s agenda to nurture “Japanese citizens who can live in international society”. Rather, for the students she identifies as under-achieving, English offers emancipation from the limits that Japan’s conventional hierarchies might place upon them, and the potential for personal enrichment overseas.

Teachers see foreign languages, and especially English, as providing a medium through which students can experience a direct connection with the international community. One teacher (5, private SHS) described English as “a door to the world”, and several others made use of the same metaphor. Reflecting on her experiences as a student in Canada, Teacher 2 described

how she had listened first-hand to refugees telling their life stories in English, and realized that

the world is full of things that are unimaginable in Japan. ... When I went overseas, I realized for the first time that learning English is a gateway – a gateway that exists here in Japan [日本の中の入り口], but which leads to the reality outside. So, I often say to my students that through learning English, the world becomes a bigger place.

(2, public SHS, interview, my translation)

Perceiving English in this way, as a medium for Japanese to access the outside world, participants believe they are better placed than teachers of other subjects to explore content related to the global dimension of citizenship. The ability of JTEs to teach with citizenship-related content is discussed in more detail below (see 6.2). My point here is that participants appear to see the fact that they are working in *English* specifically as somehow legitimizing their role as teachers of “foreign” topics. As one teacher put it,

I think the topics we teachers of English choose are in a sense [taken] directly from any foreign affairs ... *directly*. I can't express this well, but, what's distinctive about English teachers' role [英語の教員の一つ持ち味] is that we can introduce a topic from abroad, *in English*, as the 'way of thinking' in the English-speaking world. Social studies teachers can talk about these ideas *in Japanese*, but in English classes we can present them *in English*, whatever the topic.

(42, public JHS, interview, part translation, original emphasis)

A final point to be made in this section concerns the way some teachers harbour reservations about what they perceive as the inherent Western bias of English. Some scholars have argued that the way English is taught in Japanese schools tends to promote an Anglo-American view of the world. Investigating Japanese high-school students' attitudes towards English,

Matsuda (2002a, 2003) found a general acceptance of American and British English as standard, and very little awareness of other varieties. She also found that if students expressed an interest in foreign countries, it tended to be confined to North America and Western Europe. She suggests these attitudes reflect the heavy emphasis of authorized English textbooks on American English, and characters from native English-speaking, Inner Circle countries (Kachru & Nelson, 1996). She notes the corresponding lack of attention given to other cultures and the use of English by non-native speakers. While Matsuda (2002a) believes that English *can* be used in Japan to enhance international understanding, she argues that it needs to be presented in a way that reflects the reality of English as a lingua franca, and gives due consideration to other varieties of English.

Such use of English should be represented in the textbooks and in the EFL curriculum in order to help students understand the world they can access with English is not limited only to the Inner Circle countries and also that their future interlocutors may be non-native speakers just like themselves. (p. 439)

There is some evidence in the qualitative data that my participants are aware of these issues – some of them acutely so. In Section IV of the survey, four teachers referred to the need to encourage students’ interest in non-English-speaking countries and languages other than English. One teacher drew attention to the Western bias that Matsuda warns against:

I think English ... education [in Japan] needs to raise students’ awareness of being global citizens. It does tend to glorify the West (ややもすれば、欧米崇拜になりがちですが), however, whereas I’d like to put my energies into teaching for global citizenship.

(15, public, SHS, survey, my translation)

Matsuda (2003) also found that although the Japanese students she interviewed clearly recognized English as an international language, they tended to see it as

belonging to native speakers – American and British speakers specifically. Some of my participants seem aware of the need to challenge this native-speakerist assumption. In our interview, Teacher 9 even felt the need to apologize for stressing that native speakers do not have ownership of the language:

Today English is not only for American or English people – sorry about that, but it’s an international common language, a lingua franca, so we need to use English to speak to anybody in the world.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

Another teacher talked about how the status of English as a global lingua franca means that in learning the language students gain membership of a worldwide English-speaking community. He believes that this in turn facilitates a sense of global citizenship. The status of English as a global language thus gives JTEs a distinct role in education for citizenship:

IH: What can English teachers do that *shakaika* [social studies] teachers cannot do?

T: Maybe in English [classes] students can understand in English about global issues. ... In *shakaika* ... it is difficult for them to understand they are ... global citizens, but in English [it isn’t]. ... We also use English in Japan, ... [so] they can realize [that they are] ... global citizens, I think.

(5, private, JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Matsuda (2011) recommends that JTEs spend time discussing the role of English as an international language with their students, including issues of ownership. Although it emerged from the interviews that Teacher 5 believes he has very little time to digress from grammar-centred “examination English”, he does appear to have found time to emphasize the point that English belongs to all those who use it as a lingua franca.

And we Japanese, or Koreans, we learn English as a foreign language. ... There are *nijuu-oku* [two billion] people – one third of the world population who could speak English. ... So, I teach students English is

now a global language ... not only to speak for native speakers. Maybe, ... if you use English, you can communicate with Korean people and so on.

(5, private, JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

What I have argued in this section is that teachers' views about the links between English teaching and citizenship education are inevitably shaped by their perceptions of English itself. Teachers agree with the Japanese government that as a global language, English has a vital place in the school curriculum. What they emphasize, however, is not so much the instrumental benefits of English communication skills, but more the value of learning English in terms of raising awareness of the global dimension of citizenship and developing cosmopolitan values.

6.2 The opportunity for English teachers to address citizenship-related content

The survey data suggest teachers view the thematic content, as opposed to linguistic content, of English classes as establishing a clear link with citizenship education, particularly in its global and intercultural dimensions. Almost half (46%) thought there was *great* potential for students to learn about global issues, and there was similar agreement on learning about English-speaking cultures (44%), and current affairs (41%). When, in Section IV, teachers were invited to suggest how their own classes were relevant to citizenship, a large majority (70%) referred to specific topics they had covered. Broadly, these related to human rights, the environment, peace and other global issues (see Table 4.11), coinciding with the cosmopolitan view of citizenship many teachers appear to hold.

One of the most frequent observations in Section IV was that authorized textbooks are dealing increasingly with “global” topics, and because of that English teachers may have opportunities to contribute to citizenship education. This reflects the fact that most teachers, in both public and private schools, are obliged to teach with textbooks that have been approved by MEXT. The implications of this are explored further in Chapter 7, but for the moment two

important observations are in order. First, the vast majority of participants said they are obliged to teach with authorized textbooks. Formally, they are free to supplement them with other material, but in practice, most teachers believe there is little scope for this. Second, publishers produce textbooks based on MEXT's Course of Study [*gakushuu shidou youryou* 学習指導要領], and this ensures a high degree of standardization. Even at the SHS level where English departments choose books from an approved list, the textbooks used in schools are essentially very similar and, crucially, are organized around a grammar-based syllabus.

This last point helps explain why some teachers appear to believe that relatively *little* teaching for citizenship is being done in high-school English classes in Japan. Although they see topics related to citizenship being included in textbooks used by JTEs across the country, they believe most of their colleagues focus on teaching the grammar syllabus, with the topics being more or less incidental. According to one high-school teacher, who describes herself as a global educator,

English textbooks published in Japan cover various kinds of issues ... and definitely there are some topics which can be connected with global citizenship education, ... such as human rights, ... social injustice, or environmental issues, or peace or wars, or volunteering abroad, ... many kinds of issues. But, ... simply because English teachers are not so interested in social issues or global issues, they just treat such kind of good materials for global education as simply ... information to introduce new words, new phrases, new English sentence structures, and they don't pay attention to the content itself.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

According to this teacher, then, although global issues feature increasingly in English textbooks, the opportunity this offers for teaching citizenship goes unexploited by most JTEs, who tend to view this material simply as a resource for teaching grammar; they approach the language itself as the main object of study, rather than as a "medium for learning" about content (Mohan, 1986, chap. 1).

The tendency for teachers to refer to specific topics in Section IV of the survey is in line with literature reviewed in Chapter 2, which identified content-selection as one of the main ways in which FLTs can incorporate citizenship work into their lessons. It is important to stress, however, that advocates of teaching with global issues (e.g. K. Cates, 2005; Maley, 1992; Peaty, 2004) envisage language education that is learner-centred, communicative and primarily theme-based rather than teacher-fronted and grammar-focused. Starkey (1999, 2005) too advocates teaching language through cultural and political topics, but emphasizes the importance of communicative, dialogic pedagogies to encourage reflection and criticality among learners.

Although communicative methods have made some inroads into high-school English classrooms in Japan, the norm continues to be lessons that are teacher-fronted and based on the *yakudoku*, grammar-translation approach (Gorsuch, 1998; Humphries & Burns, 2015). In this light, it is interesting to consider how my participants conceive the link between textbook content and education for citizenship. Do they believe that the inclusion of, say, a chapter on climate change in itself comprises a link with citizenship, perhaps on the view that as students read about the topic, even during a grammar-focused lesson, they become more aware of the issue, and that this might contribute to a sense of global citizenship? Or do participants tend to align with what seems to be the view of Teacher 30 quoted above, that the appearance of these sorts of topics provides an *opportunity* for JTEs to pursue citizenship-related teaching aims, but that textbook material needs to be combined with particular pedagogies in order for those aims to be realized?

There is once more the possibility that in listing such topics as “global issues” or “human rights”, teachers are making use of slogans (Popkewitz, 1980). Their intention may be to somehow link what JTEs do in the classroom with cosmopolitan purposes, but without implying anything in terms of pedagogy. Again, this is not to cast doubt on the sincerity of teachers’ beliefs about the importance of teaching for global citizenship. Equally, however, it cannot be inferred from the reference to global topics alone that JTEs are approaching these topics with the kinds of communicative or dialogic pedagogies suggested in the literature by Starkey (2005) and others.

My view is that many of my participants are acutely aware of pedagogical issues in linking English teaching and citizenship education, particularly in the context of the predominantly grammar-centred curriculum found in Japanese schools. One teacher suggested that the appearance of certain topics in authorized textbooks was not in itself sufficient to link English teaching and citizenship education:

In textbooks published these days we can find English passages that deal with global topics or which present alternative ways of life or ways of thinking. But when using these, rather than just focusing mechanically (無機的に) on reading comprehension, I think English teachers must teach in a way that may lead to some kind of change in students' ideas or behaviour.

(8, public SHS, survey, my translation)

The implication here seems similar to the point made by Teacher 30 above, that typically JTEs *do* teach content “mechanically”, treating it only as a vehicle for teaching language. Many of my participants expressed their frustration with this situation, and were keen to stress how *they* want to adopt a different approach. Chapter 7 looks more closely at the pedagogical techniques teachers say they use to engage students with citizenship-related content in a more reflective way.

6.3 The role of English teachers in developing skills for dialogue

Chapter 2 introduced Starkey's (2005) view that communication skills developed in foreign language classrooms are directly relevant to citizenship, preparing students to engage in public dialogue. My data suggest that while some teachers agree strongly with him on this, the majority appear to see relatively little scope for JTEs to further these dialogic skills in the context of Japan's high schools. Table 6.1 summarizes the results for those items in Section II of the survey that relate directly to the skills for dialogue discussed by Starkey.

Table 6.1
Survey results 6: Skills for dialogue

Showing the percentage of respondents giving each rating (n=46)

Learner outcome	To what extent can this outcome be achieved in English classes?		
	a (very) great extent	some extent	little or no extent
6. the ability to express one's opinions in front of others	39.1	45.7	15.2
10. the ability to take part in debate and discussion	39.1	32.6	28.2

While more than a third of teachers (39.1%) agreed that English classes could help students to express their opinions publicly and participate in debate or discussion, the proportion of teachers who see only some possibility, or even little or no possibility, is striking, given that these skills are targeted explicitly in Ministry of Education guidelines. In setting out teaching objectives for junior high school, for example, the Course of Study stipulates that students should develop a “practical command of English” including the ability “to speak accurately ... about [their] thoughts and feelings”, and “to carry on a dialogue or exchange views regarding what [they] have listened to or read” (MEXT, 2008b, p. 2). At the SHS level, the Course of Study calls for students to be engaged in increasingly sophisticated kinds of talk, with examples that clearly address the teaching for discussion described by Parker and Hess (2001), and the procedural aspects of dialogue that Starkey (2005) highlights. For instance, students should learn “how to take a position on a controversial issue and persuade someone of their opinion”. They should have opportunities to participate in “discussions aimed at resolving issues, in which speakers respect one another’s opinions and carefully consider what each person says, while developing their own views in the process” (MEXT, 2008c, pp. 89-90, my translation).

The stark differences in participants’ views concerning the prospect of teaching skills for dialogue outlined in the Course of Study is likely to reflect differences in their individual teaching situations, and, specifically, whether they believe conditions at their school are conducive to communicative language teaching. Contextual matters are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7; for the moment, it is important to bear in mind that while some participants appear to see considerable scope for developing dialogic

skills through English, as Table 6.1 illustrates, they constitute a minority of teachers involved in the study, albeit a large minority.

Participants who do see links between English teaching and the kinds of dialogic skills discussed by Starkey described how they use pair and group work to engage their students in discussion (see 7.2.2). Interestingly, some teachers also expressed the view that English is itself a language of logical discourse that can facilitate critical thinking and participation in dialogue, a notion that is not uncommon in Japan (McKenzie, 2008). For some teachers, there is a sense that in learning to express themselves in English, students must engage in a mode of communication, and even a way of thinking, that is culturally *un*-Japanese. In the interviews, questions dealing with discussion, debate and critical thinking elicited similar kinds of response from teachers. For example:

So, when we read, or listen, or see or whatever, we need to be kind of critical: it's good, or bad? ... That kind of way of thinking is really important. Generally speaking, Japanese people are perhaps weak in that field, compared with English speakers.

(1, private JHS & SHS, interview, teacher's English)

In attributing stronger critical thinking skills to “English speakers” (as opposed to, say, Westerners), this teacher appears to see such skills as an inherent feature of the English language, implying the possibility that JTEs can help to nurture this “way of thinking” among Japanese.

Another teacher made a direct link between the development of critical thinking and participation in English debate. She began by explaining how, in encouraging her students to reflect critically on global issues, she feels she may be asking them to do something that does not come naturally to them as Japanese:

My basic approach to ... encourage students to think more is ... asking questions: ‘Why? Why? Why?’ And Japanese people, from my experience, ... do not think of ‘why?’ [*laughs*] ... We just accept the situation. If we are told to do something, before thinking ... of the reason,

we just follow. ... And I was like that, you know. I didn't think of 'why?' But, ... I may have told you that I belonged to ESS [English Speaking Society], and I belonged to the debating section ... in my college days. And, ... for the first time, I began to think, 'why?' ... [from doing] debate or discussion or, you know, English studies.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

She sees “logical”, “critical” thinking as a cultural skill that her students can acquire through learning English:

When I think of critical thinking in English classes, then it's ... how should I say? ... It's a kind of English way of viewing things, based on logic. ... But, it's more of a culture difference to me, so, for example, when we ... train our students debating, then it should be scientific, and logical. ... I teach my students to ... become like an English speaker. [laughs] ... That's my point.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another, junior high-school teacher said she does not use debate activities, but organizes discussions in small groups or *han* (班). She hopes these group speaking activities will encourage students to communicate,

not in a Japanese way, for example, by sensing the mood [空気を読む *kuuki wo yomu* – literally, “reading the air”], but by each individual student expressing his or her own opinion clearly [to the group].

(33, public JHS, interview, my translation)

These teachers' comments resonate with a cross-cultural study of dialogue conducted by Carbaugh et al. (2011). Their research focuses on a common type of dialogue in Japan, *hanashiai* (話し合い), which they describe as “the exchange of ideas in an interactive and open way” (p. 90). While this can certainly involve the airing of different points of view, the authors argue that participants in *hanashiai* are expected to maintain a distinction between their

“emotional self” (*honne* 本音), which connects with feelings of self-interest, and their “social self” (*tatemae* 建前), which “reflects needs for social harmony and enacting socially appropriate personhood” (p. 93). Successful *hanashiai* involves a delicate balancing of these two selves, and demands such qualities as the ability to listen without interrupting the speaker or asking for elaboration, and *kyouchousei* (協調性) – the willingness to collaborate and avoid being argumentative. *Hanashiai* is only one form of dialogue practised in Japan, but as Carbaugh and his colleagues note, it is both common and “distinctively Japanese” (p. 93). Though only a brief account of their study is provided here, their findings help to illustrate how the terms “critical thinking” and “debate” can strike some JTEs as “foreign”.

Of course, to claim that these cultural aspects of dialogue are not typically Japanese is not to say they are unwelcome as far as JTEs are concerned, and indeed, where teachers are doing what they can to promote critical thinking and debate, perhaps it reflects a wish to promote a form of citizenship that is not constrained by traditional Japanese culture. One high-school teacher was highly critical of the kind of “harmony” that Carbaugh’s group identified as a goal of *hanashiai*:

One aspect of Japanese culture is the value placed upon ‘harmony’.
... But for Japanese, so-called ‘harmony’ (なんか、日本人のハーモニー) has nothing to do with one’s own, personal opinion. People don’t have a ‘self’; rather, they are swept along by others. ... It’s too bad, but [for Japanese], harmony is not built on people having a clear sense of self, engaging directly with one another and expressing clearly what they want to say.

(2, public SHS, interview, my translation)

Later in the interview, she suggested that learning a foreign language and experiencing intercultural encounters overseas could encourage Japanese people to be more assertive in expressing their own opinions, and that this could even improve the way they communicate with one another:

What's good about intercultural exchange [異文化交流] is that it can help to improve relationships between Japanese. When I went to Canada, I realized that because Japanese come from the same background and have been educated in the same way, they can understand one another without articulating every word. [They understand that] 'in this situation, we do this, and in that situation, we do that': between Japanese there is 'communication without words', right? But when I went to Canada, I realized that wasn't going to work, and that I had to express everything clearly, word for word. And that's a cultural difference, I think.

(2, public SHS, interview, my translation)

The data displayed earlier in Table 6.1 suggest that more than one-third of participants (39.1%) see considerable potential for English classes to develop the capacity for self-expression that Teacher 2 seems to be referring to above. But teachers' ability to work on these productive language skills appears to depend on many contextual factors (explored further in Chapter 7). Clearly, students will need to have attained a certain level of ability and confidence in spoken English before teachers deem English discussion activities appropriate. Interestingly, however, several teachers wanted to stress that lack of fluency in the language can, paradoxically, facilitate self-expression. Teacher 9, who says she makes frequent use of both discussion and debate in her classes, argued that students might actually find it easier to discuss controversial issues in English than in Japanese.

In discussion, sometimes ... for my students English is easier, to speak up, speak something directly, ... to express their feelings. ... Maybe because their vocabulary is limited. [*laughs*] ... In Japanese, they know a lot of expressions to, you know, make it *vague*. ... Maybe that's the reason. ... And, ... using other languages, I think it's easier to, ... I don't know, ... *reveal* themselves?

(9, public JHS & SHS, interview, teacher's English and emphasis)

Writing about the meaning of dialogue from a cross-linguistic, cross-cultural perspective, Wierzbicka (2006) comments that,

When we try to engage in dialogue, we need, first of all, to try to explain our own position. To do this effectively, we may need to strip ourselves of the complex language to which we are accustomed and which we normally take for granted. (p. 700)

This stripping away of complex language is what I think Teacher 9 has in mind when she describes how her students strive to express themselves in English. They are obliged to work with fewer linguistic resources than are available to them in their native Japanese, but paradoxically this can help them focus on the substance of their message, and communicate more directly. For Teacher 9, the process also appears to be somewhat liberating for students, freeing them from the need to “make it vague”, and allowing them to “speak up”.

6.4 The role of English teachers in nurturing intercultural competence

According to the survey data, teachers see the opportunity for students to be exposed to other cultures as forming the clearest link between English language teaching and citizenship education (see Table 4.6). Their views converge to some extent with Byram’s (2008a) model for teaching intercultural competences or *savoirs* (summarized in Table 2.1). My data suggest teachers believe JTEs can make at least *some* contribution to the development of all of Byram’s *savoirs*, but that they place most emphasis on two aspects of his model – the teaching of cultural *knowledge* (*savoir*), and the nurturing of positive *attitudes* towards other cultures (*savoir être*). There is less attention given to other aspects, in particular the development of *criticality* (*savoir s’engager*), which Byram (2008a) argues is the most important element of IC, particularly in the context of citizenship education.

Most participants believe there is scope for teaching *about* foreign cultures (*savoir*) through English. In the survey, the vast majority (93.5%) felt students could learn about the culture of English-speaking countries, and

the figure was only slightly lower for non-English-speaking countries (89%). As with the global issues discussed earlier (in 6.2), teachers point to authorized textbooks as the main source of cultural content. Some teachers welcome what they say is an increased tendency for publishers to look beyond the native-English-speaking countries of Kachru and Nelson's (1996) Inner Circle, and to include cultural content from other areas:

In the textbooks of 20 years ago or so, when we wanted to learn a foreign language, then English-speaking countries were shown, ... [for example,] America, England, Canada. But nowadays, some people [from countries] we don't know are shown. So, that's a better kind of global education.

(1, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teachers also say that team teaching with native English-speaking ALTs provides valuable intercultural learning opportunities for students. The role of ALTs is discussed further in 7.2.3, but it is important to mention them here since they appear key to how many JTEs conceive a connection between citizenship education and English teaching in Japanese schools. As one teacher wrote in the survey:

From the point of [teaching] intercultural understanding (異文化理解), the ALT is extremely important.

(12, public SHS, survey, my translation)

Where teachers talk about ALTs, it is most often as providers of cultural knowledge (*savoir*), and their first-hand accounts of other countries are seen as especially motivating for students. For example,

they will talk about their own countries, or the countries they have travelled. That's very interesting for the students, I think. Of course, on TV, students can watch many travel programmes, but [hearing about where ALTs] ... actually ... went, or saw, is different.

(14, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

It is interesting that in the relatively few cases where teachers talk about *skills* development, rather than the *knowledge* dimension of IC, it is also in the context of team teaching. In the following survey response, for instance, the teacher appears to be referring to the skills of interaction included in Byram's model (*savoir apprendre/faire*):

The students are also really interested in what the ALT thinks about Japan. In an activity where they had to introduce the local area to the ALT using English, students experienced both the joy of having communicated successfully in English, and the joy of having another person understand something about them.

(12, public SHS, survey, my translation)

While few teachers mentioned this kind of intercultural *skills* development, however, there was broad agreement that English classes can contribute to the *attitudes* dimension of IC (*savoir être*). The survey revealed a strong consensus around the possibility of students forming positive attitudes towards cultural others. 95.5% of teachers believe “respect and tolerance towards other cultures” can be promoted through English, and more than half (56.5%) think this can be done to a great, or very great, extent. The interviews revealed that teachers see ALTs playing an important role in the development of these positive attitudes. According to one teacher,

Through English education, I think students can deepen their knowledge of English-speaking societies and cultures, and get the opportunity to increase their awareness of the differences between Japan and other countries. Also, through team teaching with ALTs, we can reflect on different cultures, learn about the differences and similarities between [people from those cultures] and us Japanese, and nurture respectful attitudes.

(43, public JHS, survey, my translation)

As Teacher 43 has done here, teachers often bracket together the learning of cultural knowledge (*savoir*) with the development of positive attitudes towards cultural difference (*savoir être*), suggesting that the former necessarily leads to the latter. As a number of scholars have pointed out (e.g. Díaz, 2013; S. Houghton, 2013), however, Byram's model of IC does not provide a systematic account of how the different competences are related to one another, or how they can be taught.

Díaz (2013) argues that language teachers tend to focus on the knowledge component of IC because it is relatively easy to provide cultural content and to conduct assessment of this kind of learning. However, simply providing learners with cultural knowledge does not guarantee that the other competences will follow. Byram has himself stressed that there are no agreed pedagogies for teaching *savoir être*:

You can't think of specific teaching methods to change people's attitudes, but you try to use your teaching methods to teach other objectives and hope that that will happen at the same time, rather than saying: 'In this lesson we're going to develop your attitudes.' That's not possible.

Byram interviewed in Porto (2013, p. 147)

My point here is that where my participants see the promotion of attitudes like respect and tolerance as constituting a role for JTEs in citizenship education, they do not appear to be thinking in terms of specific pedagogies focused on attitudes formation. What they seem to have in mind is what Díaz (2013, p. 10) refers to as the "knowledge dimension" – the cultural *content* that students are exposed to – and, to echo Byram's comment above, they hope the attitudinal changes will happen at the same time.

Interestingly, several teachers did try to connect the formation of positive attitudes towards other cultures with the experience of trying to comprehend a foreign language. The two teachers quoted below see the process of learning English as a direct encounter with difference. They believe that the way students respond to this often-challenging process has implications not only for their continued motivation to learn the language, but also for their attitudes towards difference in general.

English language itself is a very, very difficult thing, and very *different* for my high-school students. ... And then, many students have ... a very negative attitude towards English learning. But that means that they will not accept ... different things. ... If they have a positive attitude towards English, then that means that they can maybe have a positive attitude towards other different things, or ... things, which seem to them, very ... different or difficult, or hard to overcome.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English and emphasis)

English itself is something different from our usual life. ... It's different, and ... first, it's [a thing] we can't understand. So, we're forced to accept something new, or something we cannot understand. I believe that's the first step towards coexistence ... *kyousei* (共生). *Kyousei* means everybody with different backgrounds, we live together, in harmony. ... It's a pleasure to understand something different. ... First, we couldn't understand it, but by learning, little by little, we begin to understand it. I think it's a great pleasure for students. So, I think English is a first step for the students to 'co-live' with others from different backgrounds, in harmony.

(46, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

The way these teachers describe the learning of English as a potentially transformative encounter with difference has some resonance with what Byram (2008a) calls "tertiary socialisation" – "a concept invented to emphasise the ways in which learning a foreign language can take learners beyond a focus on their own society, into *experience of otherness*, or other cultural beliefs, values or behaviours" (p. 29, my emphasis). For the two teachers quoted above, the "experience of otherness" students get in their encounter with English can contribute to the formation of positive attitudes towards cultural difference.

Byram's notion of tertiary socialization is an aspect of the criticality he considers to be one of the main goals of foreign language teaching. For

Byram (2008a), criticality means adopting “a questioning attitude to whatever there is around you” (p. 69), and, in particular, a readiness to question the often taken-for-granted ideas of one’s own society and culture.

The purpose of tertiary socialization

is not to replace the familiar with the new, nor to encourage identification with another culture, but to de-familiarise and de-centre, so that questions can be raised about one’s own culturally-determined assumptions and about the society in which one lives. (Byram, 2008a, p. 31)

The ability to view one’s own, national culture from the perspective of an outsider (to “de-centre”) can be acquired through foreign language learning and exposure to other cultures, and for Byram, this is a distinct contribution that FLTs can make to education for citizenship (Porto & Byram, 2015b). It also appears in Byram’s model of IC as “critical cultural awareness” or *savoir s’engager*, and is, according to Byram (2008a), “the most educationally significant of the *savoirs*” (p. 236).

The survey data suggested some, rather lukewarm, support for the idea that English classes can help students “learn to think critically about Japanese culture and society” (Section II, item 9, mean 3.26), but there is not much evidence in the qualitative data that this is a priority for teachers. Byram (2008a) suggests that, “juxtaposition and comparison can lead to a questioning and critical attitude towards what hitherto was accepted without question” (p. 31); but while some teachers talked about making cross-cultural comparisons, these tended to be in the context of encouraging pride in Japan’s culture, rather than promoting criticality. For example, one teacher who spoke about the benefits of studying overseas said:

When you once get out of Japan you will suddenly realize a lot of similarities and differences. That will help you to become very tolerant, OK? You can be very patient with people with different opinions or different characters. And also, when you go out of Japan, *then you will really know how great your native country is.*

(1, private SHS, interview, teacher’s English, my emphasis)

Here he stresses the tolerant attitudes that can be acquired through exposure to other cultures, but the suggestion is that this outsider perspective can only result in a positive assessment of Japan. Once again, my impression is that for many teachers, intercultural education is something that is focused outwards, relevant to the way their students think about other cultures rather than an opportunity for them to reflect critically on their own. Based on their investigation of language and culture teaching by EFL instructors in Spain, Castro, Sercu and Méndez Garcia (2004) report a similar finding: “teachers perceived the objectives of foreign language education more in terms of enhancing familiarity with what is foreign, and less in terms of promoting reflection on one’s own culture and identity or on intercultural relationships” (p. 98).

In my own study, where JTEs refer to learning outcomes addressed by Byram’s model of IC, it is almost always in the context of the *global* dimension of citizenship. They appear to view teaching for intercultural competence primarily as a matter of preparing Japanese for interactions with *foreigners* – either on their journeys overseas, or when meeting foreign visitors to Japan. As discussed in Chapter 2, although Byram and his colleagues see foreign language teachers playing a role in nurturing a sense of belonging to an international community, they also emphasize the relevance of intercultural competence to ethnically diverse communities at the national and sub-national level. My survey data suggest participants place great importance on Japanese citizens being aware of and respecting ethnic diversity within the country (Section I, item 18, mean 4.35). At the same time, fewer teachers appear to see much scope for JTEs to contribute to this aspect of citizenship education. Whereas teachers were almost unanimous in believing English classes can encourage tolerance and respect for other cultures, 32.6% saw little or no possibility for students to learn about racial and cultural diversity *in Japan* (Section II, item 3, mean 3.0). In the qualitative data, only two teachers made any reference to cultural diversity *within* the country. In 5.2.3 I pointed out that these two teachers are based in areas that have seen relatively high degrees of inward migration. For other teachers, it may simply be that engaging students with cultural diversity is not a matter of pressing *local* concern.

This section has argued that teachers do see intercultural competence as one of the principal areas linking English teaching and citizenship education. Most teachers seem to understand this in two main ways: the teaching of *knowledge* about other cultures, and the cultivation of positive *attitudes* towards cultural difference – Byram’s *savoir* and *savoir être*. In the interviews, teachers placed less emphasis on the development of intercultural *skills*, and perhaps this is a reflection of the constraints teachers feel under in terms of the pedagogies they can employ (these perceived constraints are explored in 7.3).

6.5 Chapter summary

This chapter focused on how participants perceive links between English teaching and citizenship education in Japan’s high schools. Overall, they were optimistic about the possibility of JTEs addressing aspects of citizenship, although, as noted in Chapter 4, some teachers may have been *overoptimistic* in the survey, responding according to how they think English *should* be taught rather than what they actually consider possible.

In Chapter 5, I argued participants tend to view citizenship in cosmopolitan terms, as needing to combine a Japanese cultural identity with a commitment to human rights, tolerance of cultural diversity, and a sense of global citizenship. In this chapter, I argued that teachers perceive a role for JTEs in fostering such a cosmopolitan outlook among students. This is based partly on their views of English itself. As a global lingua franca, English has been given a prominent place in the curriculum, which positions JTEs as intermediaries who can, through the medium of English, introduce students to the world outside Japan. But whereas government policy charges JTEs with teaching practical communication skills needed by “Japanese with English-speaking abilities” (MEXT, 2003), my participants tend to play down the instrumental value of English to Japan and focus on its potential for nurturing cosmopolitan values.

Participants tend to conceive of JTEs’ contribution to citizenship education primarily in terms of the topics they can address. Indeed, it is likely that much of the optimism displayed by participants can be explained

by the tendency for authorized textbooks to include readings dealing with human rights, the environment and so on. Some teachers believe that this content provides only an opportunity for citizenship teaching, and that this opportunity is often missed because JTEs tend to approach textbook material as a vehicle for language instruction, with little or no attention to the topics themselves. These issues are picked up in Chapter 7, where attention turns to how individual teachers say they go about teaching for citizenship. The point here is that participants tend to perceive the links between English and citizenship education principally as a matter of *content*.

This last point is also true when it comes to how teachers see the possibilities for nurturing intercultural competence. Again, cultural information provided in textbooks figures prominently. ALTs also appear key to how teachers view the prospects for addressing intercultural competence, but even here, teachers tend to emphasize the *knowledge* (*savoir*) component of IC rather than opportunities for working on the interactive, skills dimension (*savoir apprendre/faire*). Teachers appear to hope that students will develop positive attitudes towards other cultures (*savoir être*) based primarily on what they learn in the knowledge dimension. Byram's notion of criticality is almost absent from the data.

Roughly 39% of teachers appear to see the possibility of developing students' ability to participate in discussion, although the qualitative data suggest fewer teachers employ discussion activities in practice. I have also argued that where teachers refer to discussion work they stress its value in getting students to reflect on contemporary social issues. This is much closer, then, to what Parker and Hess (2001) call "teaching *with* discussion" than "teaching *for* discussion".

Chapter 7 Discussion 3: How do participants believe they are combining education for citizenship with English language teaching?

The previous chapter focused on how participants perceive the relationship between English teaching and citizenship education. In this chapter, attention turns to the more practical matters raised by RQ2. How do teachers believe they are incorporating aspects of citizenship education into their own English classes? The discussion is organized around three sub-questions, which deal in turn with participants' citizenship-related teaching aims, the ways they say they pursue those aims in the classroom, and the ways they believe contextual factors affect their ability to do so. While frequent reference is made to the quantitative survey findings, the discussion in this chapter is based mainly on the qualitative data.

7.1 What citizenship-teaching aims do participants have?

Chapter 6 considered the links participants see between English teaching and citizenship education, and in the sense that these links amount to opportunities for JTEs to address citizenship-related objectives, the discussion has already considered participants' aims in a general way. This section provides additional commentary on what the data tell us about individual teachers' aims, and to some extent this overlaps with the general points made earlier.

In both the survey and the interviews, participants described aims that go beyond the teaching of English to include broader educational goals. As shown in Table 4.12, the aims teachers referred to most frequently in the qualitative data were: raising awareness of human rights (13 teachers), encouraging respect for other cultures (12 teachers), and nurturing a sense of global citizenship (10 teachers). Teachers aim, then, to promote a cosmopolitan outlook where people identify as citizens at multiple levels. At the national level, they see the value of a strong Japanese identity based on emotional attachments to Japan's cultural heritage and a commitment to the democratic principles enshrined in the constitution. They believe these same principles of human rights and democracy should also form the basis of a global citizenship identity.

Teachers do not always spell out what they mean by the global dimension of citizenship, and this was especially true in Section IV of the survey, where the data include frequent references to “global citizens” but no elaboration as to what that might entail. In the interviews, teachers talked in more detail about their aims, and this served to clarify what teaching for global citizenship means to them. In the sections that follow (7.1.1–7.1.3), I argue that what they mean comprises three main, interrelated elements: encouraging students to take an interest in the world outside Japan, nurturing respectful attitudes towards other cultures, and raising awareness of global issues connected with such areas as human rights and the environment. As mentioned in Chapter 6, some participants are keen to distinguish their own, more cosmopolitan aims from what they see as the more exclusively national priorities of the Japanese government.

In 7.1.4, the focus is on aims relating to discussion. Whereas in the survey 39.1% of teachers saw the possibility of JTEs helping students develop skills for dialogue, the interview data suggest that relatively few teachers actually employ class discussion activities. Teachers who say they *do* do this tend to see it as a way of encouraging students to reflect on topics: the emphasis appears to be on teaching *with* discussion rather than *for* discussion (Parker & Hess, 2001). Some teachers see the potential for English speaking activities to encourage positive interpersonal relationships among students, something that they view as a valuable contribution to tackling problems of bullying.

Finally, in 7.1.5, I argue that some teachers’ aims appear to focus more on individual character development than on the larger benefits to society of teaching for citizenship.

7.1.1 Raising awareness of the global dimension

National media commentary often berates young Japanese for their “inward-looking” (*uchimuki* 内向き) attitudes (Hashimoto, 2013b), highlighting the dwindling number of Japanese students studying abroad, for example. Some of my participants described their own students as having little interest in the world outside Japan. The following excerpts illustrate how many participants see it as part of their role as English teachers to challenge these parochial views:

Whenever I have a chance to raise students' awareness to something beyond their ordinary lives, I try to grab it and raise a question to make them realize that the world is a big place.

(2, public SHS, personal communication, teacher's English)

I'd like them to be interested in [the world] outside Japan ... because they live in a very small town and many of them are not so interested in the world outside.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher described how she had chosen English teaching as a career specifically because of the opportunities she saw for teaching about "the world outside":

Once, I wanted to be a journalist ... to tell what was happening in the world – something like that – but finally I made a decision to be a teacher because I wanted to teach international affairs, and I wanted to share my ideas with my students.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

As discussed in 6.1, my participants see themselves as teachers of an international lingua franca that offers a "gateway" to the global community, and, as Teacher 42 put it, direct access to "the way of thinking of the English-speaking world".

To some extent, teachers' wish to stimulate students' interest in the world echoes the Course of Study, with its emphasis on "heightening students' awareness of being Japanese citizens living in a global community" (MEXT, 2008b, p. 8). But whereas the government emphasizes the need for citizens to relate to the outside world *as Japanese*, my participants tend towards a more expansive view of citizenship that also embraces a post-national, global identity. 78% of teachers who completed the survey, and all of those I interviewed, said it was either essential or very important for Japanese to have a sense of responsibility as members of the global community.

7.1.2 Nurturing respect for other cultures

According to the survey data, participants see nurturing respect for other cultures as perhaps the main contribution JTEs can make to teaching for citizenship: 95% believe English classes can develop not only students' ability to communicate with people from other cultures, but also respectful attitudes towards them, and more than half (56.5%) believe this can happen to a great or very great extent. In the qualitative data too, these intercultural values were among the most frequently cited by teachers as aims they have for their own teaching, and these aims align with the general discussion presented in 6.4

The Course of Study calls explicitly on JTEs to utilize materials that will help deepen students' understanding of "the ways of life and cultures of foreign countries and Japan", and nurture "respectful attitudes" towards language and culture (MEXT, 2008b). To repeat the point made in 6.4, however, where some participants appear to differ from official policy is in emphasizing intercultural competence as a component of *global* citizenship. Four of the 14 teachers I interviewed wanted to distinguish their own aims, which I characterize as cosmopolitan, from what they see as the commercially motivated goals of the government, aimed at promoting Japan's economic interests overseas. To quote Teacher 19 again:

We just ... hope ... students become global citizens who understand other people without any prejudice, and who respect human rights of ... people of any race. ... The ability to compete ... [*laughs*] ... with people from other countries ... maybe that's what the enterprise [i.e. business] people think, but it's different from ... English teachers.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Eleven other participants were with Teacher 19 in saying they aimed to promote values of openness and tolerance towards other cultures. Some were keen to distinguish their role in nurturing *values* from teaching practical language *skills* – often intuitively understood to be the main concern of FLTs (Porto & Byram, 2015b). According to Teacher 12:

As an English teacher, I aim for my lessons to do more than simply teach skills; I want to help students develop as human beings [人間的成長を促す]. For example, through English, I want them to ... learn how to enjoy difference [違うことを楽しむことを学ぶ], and, through the teaching materials we're using, learn about the many different ways of life people have around the world.

(12, public SHS, survey, my translation)

As with Teacher 12 here, participants appear to see students acquiring these positive attitudes through being exposed to material about other cultures. In Byram's terms, they hope tolerant *attitudes* (*savoir être*) develop in the process of broadening students' *knowledge* (*savoir*) about other cultures. And again, teachers see authorized textbooks as providing this kind of cultural input. I asked Teacher 19 what she tends to focus on in her teaching:

As an English teacher, of course cultural values ... came to my mind first because that's the easiest thing for us to talk about. ... And, as I told you, ... because we have so many ... topics in our textbooks it's easy for us to think of those things.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Although one teacher was critical of the superficial treatment of culture she sees in textbooks (see 7.2.1), like Teacher 19, most teachers were positive about the opportunities textbooks provide for drawing students' attention to ways of life in other cultures. There are few examples, however, of teachers saying they supplement textbooks with extra material to focus on teaching cultural points or encouraging students to compare Japanese culture with others. This may be because most teachers I interviewed have the chance to work with an ALT, and they look to this foreign teacher to provide cultural input to supplement what appears in the textbooks (collaboration with ALTs is discussed in more detail in 7.2.3).

7.1.3 Teaching citizenship-related content

As discussed in 6.2, participants see JTEs' ability to address certain content as central to their contribution to citizenship education. 17 of the teachers who took part in the survey specified topics they aim to teach about, all of which can be broadly categorized as global issues (see Table 4.11). They believe that where these sorts of topics become the focus, English lessons are relevant to the knowledge and values dimensions of citizenship. Students learn about human rights issues and other cultures, for instance, and in the process, they may also acquire values of respect and tolerance. Teacher 4 made an explicit link between the topics she aims to cover in class, and the development of global citizenship:

And I would like to teach, for example, peace, or human rights, or many kinds of social issues or international issues. So, if we give this kind of issue, students have more chances to think about our world, and also ... to broaden their knowledge, and ... have more chances to think from different points of view.

(4, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Thirteen teachers said they try to raise students' awareness of human rights, and in virtually all cases this was related to topics appearing in textbooks. For example, while Teacher 40 said he often feels restricted by having to use textbooks, he welcomes opportunities they sometimes offer to address human rights issues. He described how he tries to devote more class time to chapters that have a human rights connection, often employing supplementary materials:

We have to use the textbook, ... but ... if I feel this [chapter] is important because it is based on ... human rights or environmental problems, then I use a lot of energy to broaden the material.

(40, public JHS, interview, teacher's English)

My study did not include an analysis of authorized textbooks, and relied on JTEs' accounts of textbook content. Based on what teachers described,

certain topics appear to be common; for example, issues such as discrimination and poverty are broached indirectly in chapters describing the work of Nobel prize-winners such as Martin Luther King, Mother Teresa and Malala Yousafzai. It was noticeable that where teachers referred to topics covered by textbooks, in almost every case these concerned human rights issues overseas, suggesting, perhaps, a degree of caution among publishers regarding the inclusion of material that deals overtly with such issues in Japan. As Crick (2000) observes, it can be “easier, less contentious, to teach about problems in the big wide world than those closer to home” (p. 137). Although authorized textbooks appear to offer a “way in” to human rights and other global issues, which is broadly welcomed by teachers, it appears to be up to individual JTEs to make links to the national context that might encourage a critical awareness of Japanese society. Examples of teachers making such a link are rare in the data, but some do appear to have encouraged reflection on Japan. Teacher 40, for example, used supplementary materials to alert his students to the human rights implications of industrial pollution in the Japanese city of Minamata.

In the survey, eight teachers indicated that they have a special interest in teaching about peace and conflict. When interviewed, four said they aimed to nurture a commitment to peace among students. There is clear resonance here with some of the aims of global education introduced in Chapter 2. Teaching about the causes of conflict and the importance of seeking resolutions by peaceful means is a key element in Hanvey’s (1982) “state of the planet awareness”, and Pike and Selby’s (1988) “health of the planet awareness”. Peace and conflict is one aspect of the knowledge and understanding targeted by Oxfam’s (2015) curriculum for global citizenship.

While my participants appear to have aims that align with global education, however, the importance many of them place on teaching about peace also needs to be seen in the context of a perceived nationalist revival in Japan’s politics. The discussion in Chapter 5 highlighted the aversion that many teachers have to the Abe government’s attempts to instil patriotism by mandating the use of the national flag and anthem in schools. Many teachers view this as part of a nationalist resurgence that has also seen increasingly belligerent rhetoric in ongoing territorial disputes with China and South Korea, and a recent

“reinterpretation” of the constitution, championed by Abe himself, to allow a more active overseas role for Japan’s military (*jieitai* 自衛隊 or Self-Defence Forces).

The four teachers who put most emphasis on peace as a topic are all active members of *Shin-Eiken*, The New English Teachers’ Association, founded in 1959 and “inspired by the ideals of the Japanese Constitution – peace, democracy, freedom, justice, and the pursuit of happiness” (M. Ikeda & Kikuchi, 2004, p. 49). Other, non-*Shin-Eiken* members also mentioned teaching about topics related to peace and conflict (one teacher described teaching about the Rwandan genocide, for example), but what is interesting about the *Shin-Eiken* members is the emphasis they place on teaching about peace from the perspective of Japanese history. One teacher said she wanted to address what she sees as omissions from the history curriculum:

Society today is inevitably tied up with the past. In the case of Japan especially, matters of history are always coming up, so I want [students] to learn the truth [about what happened]. But then, in schools today, there are so many things in history that aren’t taught, or that there isn’t time to teach. For example, ... things like the atomic bomb. These are extremely important, but increasingly they are not being taught.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

I asked her to what extent she felt she had been able to address these issues in her English lessons.

I always make sure I do the atom bomb, and now ... I also do the Bikini hydrogen bomb tests. ... And when I cover those topics, other points about history also come up; for example, the fact that even today, America is always ready to use that kind of bomb again, and we don’t know when even Japan might produce one. I can’t cover everything, but if I choose the right materials, I think I’m able to teach about those topics to some extent.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

Two other *Shin-Eiken* teachers also said they use supplementary materials to teach aspects of Japan's history, and make explicit connections with issues facing the country today. Teacher 40 taught a lesson focusing on the suffering of the Okinawan people during the Pacific War, and explained to students how this means that Okinawa now witnesses some of the most vocal opposition to the use of the national flag and anthem in schools. Teacher 12 described a lesson she had taught about the *Lucky Dragon*, a Japanese fishing vessel whose crew suffered radiation sickness following the 1954 Bikini Atoll hydrogen bomb tests. Expanding on the topic, she asked students to discuss their feelings about Japan's energy policy after the crisis at the Fukushima nuclear plant. Again, the approach adopted by these teachers resonates with that of global educators like Pike and Selby (1988) who argue that teaching for global citizenship should incorporate a temporal dimension. These teachers also seem to be encouraging a degree of criticality in students. Although in the qualitative data seven teachers refer to the importance of critical thinking, specific examples of teachers encouraging students to adopt a critical standpoint vis-à-vis Japan are rare. Certainly, in teaching about issues of war and peace, teachers are conscious of straying into controversial territory. In the context of recent debates about the status of Japan's military and increasingly tense territorial disputes, teachers who are vocal about the importance of "preserving peace" risk being branded as troublemakers. Indeed, as mentioned earlier (in 4.2.2.5), one teacher who used Integrated Studies to teach about landmines encountered resistance from school administrators who accused her of being politically "biased".

It is interesting to consider how participants see peace, human rights, and other global issues as being suitable content for them to address as *language* teachers. Some elements of citizenship education, such as teaching for intercultural awareness or developing discussion skills, can be viewed as a necessary part of teaching a foreign language. But when teachers say they want to engage students with topics such as the environment or peace-related issues, it is not because they see these areas as falling naturally within their remit as English teachers. Cates (2005) notes that many teachers feel morally compelled to teach about world issues, and there is no doubt that JTEs in my study are motivated by ethical concerns. Nevertheless, there appears to be no particular

reason why *as English teachers* they are in a better position to teach this kind of content than, say, teachers of social studies.

As mentioned in the review of literature, proponents of content-based language instruction point to the motivational benefits of teachers addressing topics that learners perceive as relevant to their lives (Brinton et al., 2003). Some teachers I interviewed justify the attention paid to citizenship-related topics on these motivational grounds. For instance, one teacher explained how,

to make the English lesson more meaningful and interesting, and to let the students motivate, ... I would like to teach, for example, peace, or human rights, or many kinds of social or international issues. [...]
It's not *interesting* if I just teach English skills, ... English, as a translation method. If there is no such content [concerning peace, human rights etc.] to tell the students, I think ... it's a *rudeness* of the teachers. We use a lot of time, and so the teachers should ... make great use of the time – not only teach English but also teach other things ... [so] that the students will be global citizens.

(4, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English and emphasis)

For Teacher 40, using citizenship-related content is important not just in terms of motivating students; he believes that learning about such topics *in English* is potentially more meaningful for students than learning about them in Japanese. He described how in his own classes he has supplemented the textbook with material about environmental pollution, in particular the plight of victims of Minamata disease, a severe neurological condition linked to an infamous case of industrial pollution in southern Japan. He also teaches about the suffering endured by the Okinawan people during the Pacific War. Since he also takes a homeroom class where he could teach about these topics in Japanese, I asked why he preferred to do it in English, given that this would make it harder for students to comprehend the material. He explained,

I want to let them all feel, 'Oh! Through English I can feel the sadness of Minamata's victims, and I can feel the sadness of the war, through English!' ... Yeah, I can do that [in Japanese], *but* through a foreign

language they can do the same kind of thing, and that is one important thing of language teaching, I think. ... Peace problems or environment problems or human rights – those are very important things. ... So, through learning English, if I can give them the feeling of understanding and expressing something [important], that becomes a very good, very meaningful way for them to study language.

(40, public JHS, interview, teacher's English and emphasis)

These comments resonate with the view of some other teachers introduced earlier (in 6.4) that the often-difficult process of coming to understand a foreign language is inherently valuable in the development of citizenship, as it gives students direct experience of the other, which can, teachers hope, help to foster openness and tolerance. In the above quotation, Teacher 40 appears to be referring to a related benefit of the same language-learning experience – the idea that since students need to work harder to comprehend something in English, they will be more conscious of what they are learning, and, as he puts it, experience “the feeling of understanding”.

Another teacher made a similar point in the survey. Criticizing schools' tendency to promote “cramming” for university entrance exams (*tsumekomu kyōiku* 詰め込み教育), she suggests English classes offer a unique opportunity for students to be more mindful about what they are studying.

If we teach the same things in Japanese, since Japanese is their first language (母国語), students don't need to think carefully about what they are reading, and they're left with only a very superficial understanding of the content. But in the case of English, to even begin to understand, they need to interpret the meaning of each and every word, and reading even one sentence takes time. And it's for that reason that when students read in English there is time for them to become conscious of the important meaning of the passage.

(2, public SHS, survey, my translation)

The last two quotations offer an intriguing rationale for JTEs to address citizenship-related content in English – one I had not come across previously in the literature. While advocates of CBI (e.g. Brinton et al., 2003; Mohan, 1986) stress the motivational benefits of working with content that students find relevant and interesting, those benefits are conceived in terms of facilitating language acquisition. What some of my participants appear to believe, however, is that by teaching topics through the medium of English, students' awareness and understanding of those topics are themselves enhanced.

7.1.4 Promoting discussion and interpersonal communication

Although most teachers appear to view thematic *content* as comprising the main link between English teaching and citizenship education (see 4.2.2.2), some of them also see language-teaching pedagogies – in particular, Communicative Language Teaching – as providing opportunities to further citizenship-related aims. CLT is considered in more detail in 7.2.2, where the discussion turns to *how* teachers say they are putting their aims into practice, but this section highlights what those aims are.

While some participants said they wanted to help students develop the ability to express opinions and engage in discussion – the kinds of skills for dialogue that Starkey (2005) argues can be developed in communicative language classrooms – a few said that in employing learner-centred communication activities they aim to foster positive, interpersonal relationships between students, which they believe can help avoid such problems as bullying.

7.1.4.1 Teaching with and for discussion

According to the survey data, 39.1% of the sample (18 teachers) believe there is much JTEs can do to develop students' ability to participate in discussion or debate, and to express opinions in public. In the qualitative data, however, far fewer teachers said they aimed to address these sorts of skills in their classes. Only four teachers made any reference to discussion work in response to the open-ended survey question.

The growing emphasis on discussion skills in the Course of Study (see 6.3) has prompted a corresponding increase in oral communication exercises in textbooks. As mentioned previously, Teacher 19 strongly welcomed the extra attention to discussion practice, which she sees as expanding JTEs' ability to teach for citizenship:

in recent years, ... in addition to ... readings [on various global issues], and the grammar practice exercises, there are always pages that aim to cultivate attitudes [態度を育成する] by setting up discussions or debates, or an exchange of views between students.

(19, public SHS, survey, my translation)

In suggesting that the purpose of these activities is to “cultivate attitudes” rather than train students in *how* to engage in dialogue, she appears to recognize the value of discussion as a way of enhancing comprehension and encouraging reflection on topics (Parker & Hess, 2001). Participants who say they use discussion activities with their students tend to stress teaching *with* rather than teaching *for* discussion, although the two aspects are obviously interrelated. Teacher 40, who believes that as an English teacher he can contribute to the development of students' characters (*jinkaku no keisei* 人格の形成), sees discussion as an important stage in their learning:

Even in my junior high-level English classes, using the textbook I make a conscious effort to deal with such topics as peace, human rights and environmental pollution. And I believe it's important to get students to exchange their ideas about these topics in English. So, for example, ... when students finish reading about Okinawa's wartime experience or Mother Teresa's work, I have them exchange their opinions.

(40, public JHS, survey, my translation)

While not mentioning discussion work specifically, two other survey respondents stressed that JTEs need to avoid treating textbook material as “lifeless” (無機的な) or “superficial” (表面的な) exercises in reading comprehension. Teachers

should “seize the opportunity to engage students’ interest, and encourage them to think carefully about the topics” (Teacher 10, public JHS), and employ pedagogies that “aim in some way to change students’ ideas or behaviour concerning the issues” (Teacher 8, public SHS). This is what Teacher 19 and Teacher 40 believe they are doing with pair or group speaking activities, focusing on topics in their textbooks.

Two teachers at academically low-ranking senior high schools (see 7.3.5.4) also stressed the importance of students reflecting on topics and exchanging opinions, but, since they say students have only low levels of English, they encourage discussions in Japanese. For these teachers, the English classroom is a site where they aim to teach students about peace and human rights-related issues, and they want to promote discussion about those topics, even if students are unable to do that in English. For example, as Teacher 14 explained:

Whether it’s in Japanese or in English, it’s really important that students are able to express their own ideas in their own words [自分で自分の考えをちゃんと言う]. As far as possible, I always try to leave time for that.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

Another teacher described a class project that built on a textbook chapter about environmental pollution. Students researched aspects of pollution in Japan and presented their findings, in *Japanese*.

The above examples suggest again that for many participants it is in addressing important topic areas that they believe they are contributing to citizenship education. There is some evidence of JTEs teaching these topics *with* discussion, whether this is conducted in English or in Japanese; the overall impression from the data, however, is that teaching *for* discussion is comparatively rare among teachers. Even those whose survey responses suggest they see discussion skills as something that JTEs can work on, in the interviews tended to focus more on why they do *not* actually do much discussion work with

students. They cited various reasons for this, including time pressures, practical limitations of large classes, students' English ability, and motivational problems:

Unfortunately, I must say that I'm very weak in organizing discussion kind of thing, discussion and debate. It's kind of time-consuming ... that's one reason, ... and some students are not ready for doing discussion.

(1, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

There are 40 students in my own class, so maybe I think it's difficult to do debate, because of their low ... English level, or because of their attitude problem.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

It is for these sorts of reasons, perhaps, that although she says authorized textbooks increasingly provide speaking exercises designed to encourage students to exchange ideas, Teacher 19 believes this may not lead to much discussion work being done in classrooms:

I myself am one of those teachers who are interested [in promoting discussion], so as far as possible, I use them. But more teachers skip these sections, I think.

(19, public SHS, survey, my translation)

The data suggest that contextual factors related to school type can affect JTEs' readiness to incorporate discussion activities in their teaching. These factors are explored further in 7.3.

7.1.4.2 Encouraging interpersonal communication

In the interviews, two teachers said they believed communicative language activities can help improve relationships among students in the class. Both teachers referred to recent media reports of bullying (*ijime*) in Japanese schools, and said they thought English-speaking activities might have a positive

contribution to make in fostering good relationships between students. According to one teacher:

In my own English class, I put much value on team working or group activities; you know, ... the cooperative things. So, maybe through those activities, ... I would like them to [learn] how to understand ... each other, or how to have a peaceful, good relationship with each other. ... I would like them to learn ... how to get along with others.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher explained how she felt the English language classroom offered unique opportunities to nurture positive relationships among students, even in the early years of junior high school. She argued that English communication activities encourage students to share personal information in a way they are unlikely to do in Japanese:

For example, there may be students in the class whose names they still don't know. But although they wouldn't [speak to each other] in Japanese, they *will* do that as part of a self-introduction game in their English class: 'Are you Taro?' 'No, I'm not. I'm Ichiro' – We can repeat that kind of activity throughout the year. ... 'When's your birthday?' ... 'Where do you live?' ... Through these kinds of questions, students can rediscover various things about their classmates. ... There's no way they would speak about these things in Japanese, but they *will* communicate if it's in English.

(33, public JHS, interview, my translation)

We can view these efforts to encourage interpersonal communication as an example of the kind of peacebuilding activities described by Bickmore (2012) as "nurturing healthy social relationships to address ... underlying sources of violence" (p. 117).

7.1.5 Contributing to personal development

When teachers spoke about the values and skills they want to promote through English, they sometimes referred to the potential benefits to *society*. Learning about different cultures, for example, was, for one teacher,

the first step to coexistence ... *kyousei* [which] ... means everybody from different backgrounds ... [can] live together, in harmony.

(46, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Such reference to social objectives was rare, however, and teachers were more likely to explain their goals in terms of the perceived benefits to students *as individuals*. For example, one teacher who said her main aim was to encourage students to communicate with different kinds of people and “enjoy difference” explained this in terms of how students themselves might benefit:

If I can teach them ... maybe to think flexibly, or, you know, whenever they face difficult things, or whenever they face different things from their own thoughts or their own life, if they can think flexibly, or share the problem with someone ... they can overcome their own problems, or they can adapt well with the present society, ... [and that might] stop them quitting a job or quitting school so easily. And maybe that flexible attitude is good for them to ... live in their future.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Here this teacher focuses on personal qualities such as adaptability and perseverance that she hopes students will develop through wrestling with a foreign language. Such qualities can be seen as falling within the bounds of character education rather than teaching for citizenship, with its emphasis on political activities in the public realm. But as Pike (2012) points out, such individual qualities are important when playing a role in the life of the community, and it “makes little sense to separate the *civic* virtues of the citizen from his or her *personal* virtue or character” (p. 184, original emphasis). Indeed,

elsewhere in the interview, Teacher 12 also emphasized the collective benefits of nurturing intercultural understanding and helping to build a “peaceful society”.

7.2 How are participants trying to achieve their citizenship teaching aims?

In this section, the discussion turns to how participants believe they can further their citizenship-related aims as part of teaching English. Attention here is on the materials and pedagogies teachers refer to.

In 7.2.1, the focus is on the materials teachers employ, and in particular the central role played by MEXT-authorized textbooks. The tendency for these books to address global issues is seen by many participants as expanding their opportunities for citizenship teaching, although some are critical of the superficial nature of textbook content. Some teachers use the textbook as a way in to teaching about a topic with supplementary materials.

As outlined in Chapter 2, for many scholars it is the use of CLT pedagogies that makes the foreign language classroom an ideal site for encouraging critical reflection on issues of citizenship, as well as developing skills for dialogue. 7.2.2 looks at how, although some participants say they employ communicative activities to further citizenship teaching aims, they appear to be in a minority.

The third main area discussed in this section is teachers’ collaboration with ALTs. Many participants see ALTs as making a valuable contribution to the intercultural aspect of citizenship education. As I argue in 7.2.3, however, the JTEs I interviewed tend to view ALTs as providers of cultural *content* rather than as partners in intercultural exchange activities that might develop the *skills* dimension of Byram’s model. Moreover, for some teachers, collaboration with ALTs seems to focus as much on the teaching of global-issues content as it does on cultural topics.

7.2.1 Teaching citizenship-related content

The survey data suggest the main way participants believe they can contribute to citizenship education is by engaging students with relevant content. This section looks more closely at *how* JTEs try to teach about

citizenship-related topics. For almost all teachers, government-approved textbooks are decisive in determining the content areas they can address in class. Textbooks provide opportunities for JTEs to teach certain topics, but they also impose constraints, both because of the somewhat superficial nature of the material, and the way some topics are neglected altogether. JTEs' ability to teach citizenship-related content in what they consider to be sufficient depth seems to depend on their using supplementary materials, but this appears to be something only a minority of particularly committed teachers do.

7.2.1.1 Addressing citizenship issues with authorized English textbooks

Almost all participants see textbook content as essential to their ability to teach for citizenship. This aligns with research suggesting that textbooks are the single-biggest factor shaping what JTEs do in the classroom (Browne & Wada, 1998). The vast majority of English teachers in both public and private schools are legally required to teach with textbooks approved by MEXT. In order to get them through the authorization process, publishers tailor their books to the Course of Study, resulting in a high degree of uniformity across textbooks in both structure and content (Mori & Davies, 2015). According to many teachers, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of “global” topics covered by textbooks, apparently in response to MEXT’s guidelines, which call for material helpful in “heightening students’ awareness of being Japanese citizens living in a global community” (MEXT, 2008b, p. 8).

The central role played by textbooks in Japanese schools is reflected in numerous studies; scholars have analysed the content of English textbooks from different standpoints, including the representation of users and uses of English (Matsuda, 2002b), the range of cultures represented (e.g. Tajima, 2011; M. Yamada, 2010; Yamanaka, 2006), the types of cultural information provided (Ashikaga, Fujita & Ikuta, 2001), and the treatment of gender (J. F. K. Lee, 2016). The authors of all these studies concur that over and above what students might acquire from books in terms of linguistic knowledge, textbook content can shape knowledge and attitudes in areas connected with citizenship.

Many of these textbook studies suggest there have been positive developments in terms of content. Lee (2016), for instance, finds improvements in the removal of gender stereotyping. In another study, focusing on the way English is presented as a tool for intercultural communication, Yamada (2010) surveyed English textbooks over three decades and found they “increasingly expressed broader views of the world over time, featuring non-English-speaking as well as English-speaking countries” (p. 501). In a third study, focusing on global citizenship content, Hasegawa (2011) examined 36 English textbooks approved for use in senior high schools and found that 86% included material related to intercultural understanding, human rights, the environment, and issues of war and peace.

In my survey (Section III, item 6), 61% of teachers agreed that authorized English textbooks increasingly deal with citizenship-related themes. In the qualitative data, teachers who were optimistic about their ability to teach for citizenship often began by citing textbook content.

While many teachers point to opportunities provided by textbooks, some acknowledge that they can also *restrict* the topics they can deal with. Explaining why she thought there was little chance of furthering more than a third of the citizenship teaching objectives listed in Section II of the survey, one teacher explained:

Those topics don't really come up [in textbooks]. For example, 'developing a commitment to gender equality'. ... I think anyone would want to teach that topic, but there's not enough about gender in the textbooks for us to be able to deal with it. ... If a topic doesn't appear in the textbook, I don't think there's much we can do. ... That's why I completed the survey the way I did. 'Developing a greater awareness of one's rights as a citizen'? ... Again, that doesn't really come up in our textbooks.

(33, public JHS, interview, my translation)

Given the centrality of textbooks in determining what is taught, it is not surprising that some teachers have sought to influence the selection process in favour of books they consider stronger on global content. At the JHS level, books

are assigned to schools by the local board of education, and teachers are not directly involved in choosing them. In the case of senior high schools, however, the school's English department selects books from a list of MEXT-approved titles, and this allows individual teachers some input in the process. However, as described earlier (in 6.2), although English textbooks may address topics that teachers consider useful in teaching for citizenship, these topics appear in the context of a predominantly grammar-oriented syllabus. According to the JTEs I interviewed, it is this grammar syllabus that their colleagues tend to prioritize when selecting textbooks. For example, as one teacher explained,

Sometimes I say, 'I prefer ... Textbook A' [because of the topics it includes], and I insist that next year we must take this textbook. ... But the decision is made in the English teachers' meetings, so the focus is grammar or structure. ... When they choose the textbook their main criteria ... is vocabulary. For example, when they compare several kinds of textbook, they always see the words or grammar, and ... when [i.e. at what stage in the book] ... English sentence structures are introduced. ... Their priority is the English language standard.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Nevertheless, there does appear to be a consensus that across *all* publishers there has been a general trend towards including more global issues and cultural topics, and this is corroborated by Hasegawa's (2011) finding that 86% of SHS textbooks contained such material. As another, private school teacher told me,

almost in *any* textbook, human rights issues have been dealt with, and environment is another, and international education is another topic, and also Japanese culture.

(1, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

But while teachers broadly welcome this trend, some point out that the topics included in textbooks are given only superficial treatment. As one teacher put it,

I think there *has* been a bit of an increase [in topics related to citizenship], but ... they don't go into things very deeply [掘り下げはあまりできていない]. ... They only present things in a superficial way, so unless you prepare your own supplementary materials to develop the topic, there's not much you can do [with the textbook alone].

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

Another teacher described how textbooks typically present foreign cultures in a way that is

very superficial. For example, what kind of school life, or what they eat, or what kind of festivals, and so on.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

This observation aligns with some of the textbook studies mentioned earlier. Hasegawa (2011) notes that much cultural content found in textbooks, particularly at the JHS level, is of the “3F” variety: “Food, Festivals, Fashion” (p. 20). Similarly, Ashikaga, Fujita and Ikuta (2001) found that textbooks relied heavily on references to “concrete culture”, which they define as “tangible manifestations of a culture” including “school systems, school events, holidays, tourism and the like”. They found a corresponding dearth of “abstract culture” – the “intangible manifestations of a culture” (p. 3) that relate to values and behavioural norms. They argue that it is awareness of this abstract culture, rather than an accumulation of concrete cultural knowledge, that is most important for successful intercultural communication.

This distinction between concrete and abstract culture resonates with the knowledge framework proposed by Mohan (1986) in his seminal work on the integration of language and content teaching. Mohan recognizes the challenge FLTs face in planning a lesson based on a topic rather than a grammar point. He argues that an essential first step is “finding the main structures of knowledge in a topic” (p. 28), and in particular, distinguishing between *specific* (concrete) details of a particular case, and *general* background information which includes

the conceptual knowledge that enables students “to transfer their learning beyond the immediate lesson” (p. 39).

Teacher 30, quoted above, makes the same distinction between concrete and conceptual knowledge. While she welcomes the inclusion of global issues and cultural content, she argues that textbooks are still “weak” from the perspective of citizenship education. I asked her what she thought was missing from the textbooks she uses:

What’s missing? For example, justice or politics or responsibility as a citizen or how you live in the future. ... And especially, social justice or social *in*justice – such areas are very weak. ... So, the issues are just at the knowing, or understanding level. The topics are not aimed at raising [students’ critical] thinking skills ... or raising their global awareness. For example, [by encouraging them to] ... reflect on their values, reflect on their lifestyles.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

These comments concerning the superficial nature of textbook content, allied with the research findings mentioned above (e.g. Ashikaga et al., 2001; Hasegawa, 2011) suggest that if JTEs are serious about teaching topics they think are important for citizenship, they will need to build upon teaching opportunities presented by the textbook and use supplementary materials to explore topics with their students in greater depth, perhaps drawing on the knowledge structures identified by Mohan (1986).

7.2.1.2 Developing topics with supplementary materials

Although most teachers must use textbooks, they are, at least in theory, free to use whatever supplementary materials they like. The Course of Study (MEXT, 2008b) explicitly encourages teachers to draw on materials that are

useful in ... deepening the understanding of ways of life and cultures of foreign countries and Japan, ... [and] in deepening the international understanding from a broad perspective, heightening students’ awareness

of being Japanese citizens living in a global community and cultivating a spirit of international cooperation. (p. 8)

This would appear to be a licence for JTEs to use supplementary materials to teach *any* of the global or cultural topics participants referred to.

Islam and Mares (2003) distinguish between supplementary materials that *extend* a textbook activity by providing more of the same kind of learning opportunity, and those that *expand* on the textbook by adding something qualitatively different to the lesson. My data suggest that although it is commonplace for teachers to *extend* textbooks – for example, by distributing supplementary grammar worksheets – it is much less common for teachers to use extra material to *expand* the treatment of topics.

When teachers say they *do* expand on textbook content, however, it appears to be a conscious effort to promote learning for citizenship rather than provide extra language practice. One teacher who said he aims to raise students' awareness of human rights described how certain chapters in the textbook offer a "way in" to human rights-related topics, and how he uses supplementary material and discussion activities to encourage students to reflect on them:

IH: How do you think that students can gain that respect for human rights through [your] English classes?

T: Hmmm ... for example, there is a story of Mother Teresa ... in the textbook. If I teach just the surface [i.e. using the textbook only], students don't feel much. ... But, if I put in other, extra materials, and let them think more deeply, and I have them exchange some of their opinions in that class ... through those activities I can have them feel that ... everybody's life is important; there is no difference between people, the importance of lives. Those things I can teach.

(40, public JHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teacher 30, who complained about the superficial nature of textbook content, says she compensates with supplementary material:

I always prepare supplemental materials, for students to understand the issues ... more and more deeply. ... Not just at a superficial level like their lifestyles, what time they get up, what time they go to school, for example. ... Even though the topic is some country's culture, I prepare other materials which introduce social issues happening in ... the country introduced in the textbook.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

In line with Mohan's (1986) knowledge framework, the two teachers quoted here appear to be using supplementary materials to help them address general, theoretical aspects of a topic (the "importance of lives", the "social issues") as well as the specific aspects introduced in the textbook. Teacher 30 seems especially conscious of the distinction between these different levels of knowledge, and believes that to foster a sense of global citizenship, it is important to focus students' attention on *concepts*. She described how she expanded upon an example of discrimination raised in one chapter by teaching a lesson on the Rwandan genocide, something not mentioned in the book:

I took up the issue of genocide which happened in Rwanda in 1984. And I gave the worksheet as a supplemental topic. [Students] were ... so interested, and they had a very active discussion and they asked me a lot of questions. ... So, I feel it really worked.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

This is one of only a few examples in the data of teachers introducing supplementary material about a topic that is not specifically mentioned in the textbook. In this case, Teacher 30 focused on human rights to make a *conceptual* link between the Rwandan genocide and the example of discrimination given in the textbook. Another example of a teacher making this kind of conceptual connection was provided by Teacher 46, who described supplementing a chapter on Martin Luther King and the US Civil Rights movement with the inaugural speech of recently elected president Barack Obama, focusing on the issue of racial equality.

Although they are formally free to supplement textbooks as they wish, teachers say they are ultimately constrained by textbook content. Even Teacher 30 acknowledges she would find it difficult to introduce materials that did not have a clear connection to the textbook:

I don't suddenly bring in another country which is not in the textbook ... because the students may feel it's kind of sudden ... if it's not related to the textbook.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher who said she had little opportunity to use supplementary material emphasized the importance of sticking mainly to the textbook since that is all students can be tested on:

The content [of any supplementary work we do] should be related to the textbook itself. ... No matter what we talk about [apart from] ... the body sentences in the textbook, we can't include it [in tests].

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another disincentive is that, since publishers frequently revise books and replace certain sections, teachers can find that supplementary materials prepared previously no longer have a connection to the textbook. Teacher 33, a JHS teacher, described how she expanded upon a chapter in the *New Horizon* textbook entitled "Our Sister in Nepal". She contacted an NGO involved in development work in Nepal and they provided her with a box of Nepalese artefacts, which she says helped students feel a "closer connection" to the children featured in the textbook. Representatives from another NGO provided information about the literacy work they are doing in Nepal, and an experiential activity aimed at raising students' awareness of the problem of illiteracy. While this teacher considered the supplementary Nepal-related work to have been highly successful, the following year "Our Sister in Nepal" was omitted from the new edition of the textbook. The teacher said this prevented her from recycling the materials she had prepared for that chapter.

Supplementing textbooks to expand the treatment of topics is something that all 14 interviewees said they would like to do, but almost half (six teachers) said that in practice they supplemented only rarely, if at all. For example, in the survey, one private school teacher wrote:

I strongly agree with the idea of “education through newspapers” (教育に新聞を), but unfortunately, because of my school’s current curriculum, using English newspapers isn’t something I can do regularly.

(1, private JHS/SHS, survey, my translation)

He elaborated on this in the interview:

Because we’re required to teach ... the *Monkashou* [Education Ministry] textbook, or grammar-based textbook ... I’m afraid we cannot use an English newspaper in our regular lesson. There’s no time, OK? ... On a very special occasion, I make a copy of some interesting article in the newspaper, I pass it out ... then I read it out to the students and give some explanations, things like that. But it can’t happen so often.

(1, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

It is interesting to note that all three private school teachers I interviewed reported the same inability to deviate far from the grammar-focused syllabus in the textbook, and this seems to corroborate the survey finding that JTEs in the private sector are less optimistic about the potential for citizenship teaching than those working in public institutions. Section 7.3 develops the discussion of these contextual factors.

7.2.1.3 *Encouraging reflection on topics*

It is interesting to consider *how* teachers believe the appearance of cultural topics and global issues in textbooks can help them in teaching for citizenship. For some, it appears that the fact students are reading about these topics in itself constitutes a link with citizenship education. One private school teacher I

interviewed said he aims to nurture a sense of global citizenship in students. I asked whether he had adopted any particular teaching methods to this end:

T: If the students can learn the English textbook, they can make [i.e. develop] citizenship automatically, I think.

IH: Because of the topics?

T: Yes, because of the topics.

(5, private JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

For this teacher, reading about global issues and other cultures in their English textbooks can stimulate students' "intellectual curiosity" (知的好奇心), raise their "awareness" (気付き) of important issues, and help them to "acquire different perspectives" (別の観点をもつこと). However, he does not link these perceived learning outcomes to classroom practices designed to encourage student *reflection* on these topics.

Earlier I referred to how advocates of teaching with global issues stress the importance of having students reflect critically on content (e.g. Cates, 2005; Maley, 1992). Calder (2000) cites research suggesting that simply giving students information *about* global issues is unlikely to affect their values or behaviour, and argues that such learner-centred activities as independent research tasks or classroom discussions are more effective in nurturing a global perspective.

My data suggest that many participants are with Teacher 5 in seeing the link between teaching English and citizenship education as resting principally on the topics JTEs can work with. Where there appear to be differences among teachers is on the question of whether the topics themselves are sufficient (as Teacher 5 appears to believe), or whether teaching for citizenship also implies certain pedagogies to promote reflection on them.

It could be that the emphasis participants place on *topics* reflects something about the Japanese approach to education – what Jin and Cortazzi (1998) refer to as the "culture of learning". Numerous scholars have remarked that teaching in Japan's schools places considerably more emphasis on the transmission of *knowledge* than on more participatory, learner-centred

pedagogies (e.g. Miller, 1995; Rohlen, 1983). Otsu (2002) argues that social studies education in Japan consists mainly of memorizing facts, while Takaya (2017) observes a tendency to teach vocabulary, but not associated concepts. Mori and Davies (2014) found some evidence of participatory approaches in Japanese civics textbooks, but also noted a persistent emphasis on knowledge transmission. In foreign language education, too, there has tended to be an overwhelming focus on teaching grammatical knowledge, and this is often cited as an explanation for the relative weakness of English communication skills in Japan (e.g. Aspinall, 2013).

On the other hand, as I argued in 6.2, many participants *do* seem very aware of pedagogical issues in the way citizenship-related content is presented. My sense is that when Teacher 5 says that if students read about global topics in English textbooks they can develop a sense of global citizenship “automatically”, this simply reflects what he considers feasible in his particular teaching context. Given the rigorous test-oriented teaching schedule of the private school where he teaches, he explained that his lessons focus almost exclusively on grammar instruction, with little, if any, discussion, and few opportunities to explore topics beyond what is in the textbook. From his perspective, there is no room in the schedule for such activities; the global topics in the textbook thus assume greater importance as, in effect, constituting the *only* link with citizenship education that is possible within his teaching environment.

For other teachers, it is essential that JTEs *do* encourage students to reflect on the topics they read about. As one teacher wrote in the survey:

Our English textbooks feature various kinds of topic. I think that how the teacher deals with those topics in class is very important. Students are interested in many kinds of things and in my case I want to teach in a way that pushes them to think carefully about the topics that appear in the textbook, not just so they understand the ‘surface meaning’ of the English (表面的に英文の意味を理解する).

(10, public JHS, survey, my translation)

The implication here is that JTEs often *do* tend to focus on “surface meaning”, confining themselves to teaching grammatical features of the text rather than engaging students more directly with the thematic content. As Teacher 30 put it,

they just treat such kind of good materials for global education as simply ... information to introduce new words, new phrases, new English sentence structures, and they don't pay attention to the content itself.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Pulverness (2003) notes the tendency of language-teaching materials to treat content as a vehicle for linguistic teaching points. Such an approach not only ignores the possibility of encouraging reflection on contemporary issues, but may also risk *devaluing* global and cultural topics by treating them merely as language-teaching opportunities rather than topics worthy of attention in their own right. Pulverness suggests that where a textbook is organized around a grammar syllabus, it is up to teachers to highlight content they want students to reflect critically upon.

While they may not always have time to use supplementary material, some teachers described other ways they encourage students to reflect on topics they read about. One teacher said she and her colleagues tried to do this by supplementing the “true-or-false” questions typically found in textbooks with what she calls “thought questions”:

We [introduced] ... topics ... such as the landmine problems, or discrimination, or disabled people – these kinds of things – and much more focused on not just comprehending what the article says, or what the textbook says, but let the students think about “what do you feel?”, or are there any other ideas to improve our society? ... So, we gave that kind of ‘thought question’ ... not only ... ‘true-or-false’ questions.

(4, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

She also described having students read a speech by the Mayor of Hiroshima on the importance of peace, then asking them to “choose the line that you like, and write down why you like it”. Sampedro and Hillyard (2004, p. 8) argue that

asking these sorts of open-ended questions, and giving students a period of “think time” in which to respond in writing, is an effective way of promoting reflective learning about global issues in the language classroom.

Other teachers explained how they feel unable to elicit opinions from students about topics they are studying because of students’ low levels of English. One JTE described how she once tried unsuccessfully to get students to express their views on a topic:

They really can’t do it. Their English level is *so* low. If their level were higher there’s a lot more I could do, I think.

(2, public SHS, interview, my translation)

As mentioned earlier, however (in 4.2.2.4), other teachers have adopted classroom practices to encourage even students with low English proficiency to reflect on and respond to lesson content. One teacher described getting students to signal their views with a show of hands. She also allows them to express opinions in Japanese:

Whether it’s in Japanese or English, it’s really important that students can express their own ideas in their own words (自分で自分の考えをちゃんと言う). If possible, I always try to leave time for that.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation)

This is an example of how teachers sometimes appear to prioritize their citizenship-related aims – in this case, encouraging students to reflect on an issue and respond with their own ideas – over more narrowly conceived language-teaching aims. Some might argue that a lesson where Japanese students discuss their views about a topic *in Japanese* – at least for any length of time – has ceased to be an English language class at all. Indeed, several JTEs described how, following such lessons, some students commented that it was “more like social studies than English”.

This sub-section has discussed how some teachers say they seek to encourage reflection on topics introduced in the textbook. There are clear

overlaps here with the next section, which looks more closely at how teachers employ communicative activities to encourage self-expression and skills for dialogue.

7.2.2 Communicative language teaching

Chapter 2 highlighted the role CLT can play in nurturing students' ability to engage in dialogue, something that the Crick Report recognized as a key requirement for democratic citizenship (QCA, 1998). To quote Starkey (2005) again, "In many respects, communicative methodology is in itself democratic. The skills developed in language classes are thus directly transferable to citizenship education" (p. 32).

As discussed in Chapter 6, although they form a sizable group (39.1%), only a minority of participants believe it is possible for JTEs to nurture students' ability to "express opinions in front of others" or "take part in debate and discussion" – at least to any great extent. This is despite the fact that for the past 30 years, in successive amendments to the Course of Study, MEXT has been steadily promoting the teaching of "practical" English skills in Japanese schools (Aspinall, 2013; Taguchi, 2005; Tahira, 2012).

These attempts by the Ministry have prompted publishers to expand the number of speaking activities in textbooks. As mentioned previously, this was remarked upon by Teacher 19, who sees changes in textbook content – both in terms of topics covered, and the inclusion of more speaking exercises – as having enhanced JTEs' ability to teach for citizenship:

I think global citizenship education is found in English language education to some extent. That's because in recent years, English textbooks include material dealing with environmental issues, gender rights, and human rights issues (poverty, developing countries etc.). Also, in addition to those readings, and the grammar practice exercises, *there are always pages that aim to cultivate [students'] attitudes by setting up discussions or debates, or an exchange of views among students.*

(19, public SHS, survey, my translation/emphasis)

Interestingly, this teacher was one of only two participants to refer to increased opportunities for classroom *discussion*; where other teachers describe how textbooks facilitate teaching for citizenship, it is always in terms of the *topics* they cover (see 6.2). In fact, Teacher 19 suggests that many teachers do little, if any, communicative work in their classrooms, and tend to avoid the new speaking exercises:

Even though textbooks now include these valuable sections, it's up to the teacher to decide how far to actually use them, so there's a high possibility that citizenship education won't actually occur. I myself am one of those teachers who are interested [in promoting discussion], so as far as possible, I use them. But more teachers skip these sections, I think.

(19, public SHS, survey, my translation)

These comments align with numerous studies that suggest that notwithstanding MEXT's attempts to promote practical communication in schools, many JTEs continue to employ teacher-centred, grammar-translation pedagogies. In her study of how JTEs understand and apply CLT, Sakui (2004) found that in classes she observed, "Teachers spent most of the class time involved in teacher-fronted grammar explanations, chorus reading, and vocabulary presentations. ... [I]f any time at all was spent on CLT it was a maximum of five minutes out of 50" (p. 157). She reports that where she *did* see evidence of CLT, it tended to be in classes shared with a native English-speaking instructor (presumably an ALT). In another study, Nishino (2011) found that although many teachers said they wanted to make their lessons more communicative, few did this in practice.

As Tahira (2012) observes, then, "There remains a big gap between the stated policies and what is actually done in the classroom" (p. 3). Scholars have attributed this gap to various factors, in particular the persistent and powerful washback effect of university entrance exams (e.g. Aspinall, 2013; J. D. Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Gorsuch, 2000; Sakui, 2004), but also lack of training for teachers in communicative methodologies (Lamie, 1998), practical constraints such as large classes (Nishino, 2011), the heavy burden of non-teaching tasks,

and the expectation of parents and colleagues that JTEs prioritize exam preparation (O'Donnell, 2005).

An array of factors thus appears to militate against the application of CLT. As reported above, only about 39% of participants saw much scope for nurturing skills for dialogue in high-school English classes. Moreover, Nishino's (2011) finding that few teachers who expressed positive attitudes towards CLT *actually* employed it in practice suggests this figure of 39% should be treated with some caution.

My qualitative data suggest that few participants regularly include the kinds of communicative activities that Starkey (2005) sees as promoting democratic citizenship – that is, activities that not only encourage students to exchange ideas in pairs or groups, but also focus on issues related to the public sphere (see 2.4.1). Of the seven teachers who described using speaking activities with students, two appeared to see them as a way of improving interpersonal relationships (see 7.1.4.2). To quote Teacher 12 again,

maybe through those activities ... I would like them to [learn] how to understand ... each other, or how to be [in] a peaceful, good relationship with each other. ... I would like them to learn ... how to get along with others.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

In the activities this teacher described, students talked about such topics as their dreams for the future:

I usually write pattern conversations, like ... "*what dream do you have?*" And then they have a pattern sentence, "*I have a dream to do ~*", ... and "*to make my dream come true I want to do ~*". ... I write the conversation pattern on the blackboard, and students just fill out the blanks, ... you know, with their own ideas ... and then talk with each other.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher described activities where students exchanged information about birthdays, hobbies and favourite foods. She believes this promotes positive relationships among students, and helps avoid such problems as bullying. To be sure, these teachers describe educational objectives that go beyond language teaching, and, as I argued earlier, in light of their references to bullying, they could be seen as engaged in the sort of peacebuilding activity described by Bickmore (2012). The focus on purely personal topics and lack of attention to public-sphere issues, however, suggests these activities may have little relevance to the skills for dialogue that Starkey has in mind.

Only five participants report using communicative activities to encourage students to share opinions on public-sphere issues. All of them seem to be exploiting aspects of their teaching environment that allow greater flexibility than what appears from the literature to be the norm in Japanese schools. Teacher 19, for example, described how she organized a cycle of work in which students researched and debated the death penalty. She stressed, however, that she had to use Integrated Studies for this, and that it would have been difficult to spend time on debate activities in her other English classes.

Only two of the five teachers who said they regularly use discussion activities described these as being done with an ALT. This is interesting in light of Sakui's (2004) finding that CLT tends to occur in lessons taught with a native English speaker. My data suggests that although participants see team teaching as presenting increased opportunities for CLT, some are finding other ways of engaging students in English discussion, and do not rely on ALT assistance in this respect.

Two teachers who said they conducted student-centred research and presentation activities were based in schools they described as "low-level" academically. O'Donnell (2005) suggests that teachers in such schools are likely to have more freedom to implement CLT than those in higher-ranking schools where the curriculum is more geared to entrance exam preparation; my qualitative data appear to confirm this finding (see 7.3.5.4). Both teachers reported making time in their English classes for "investigative learning" (*shirabe gakushuu* 調べ学習), where students carried out independent research on such topics as nuclear weapons proliferation and the problem of landmines in

South East Asia, then presented their findings in class. While these teachers appeared to have the flexibility to include these activities, however, they both explained how students' low levels of English proficiency meant much of the work was done in Japanese.

The person who appears able to do most of the kind of issues-focused communicative work described by Starkey is Teacher 9 – one of two JTEs based in schools designated as special educational research institutions (see 7.3.5.5). Teachers in these schools are not obliged to use MEXT-approved textbooks, and the English departments have considerable autonomy in designing their curricula. Teacher 9 described how students in the senior-high section of her school follow a content-based English syllabus in which reading, writing, listening and speaking activities are all integrated around a topic:

For example, when I had a class on health, they had brainstorming at the beginning ... [on the question] ‘what kind of health problems do you have?’ They talked a lot, and after that I chose those topics and started teaching [about health issues] like HIV... anorexia, obesity. ... I sometimes give them discussion time; for example, ‘what is the most serious health problem today?’ They write for their homework, they have discussion, ... and after that they can write their essay, and so on.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

One of the classes I observed was a “Topic Studies” lesson taught by this teacher, which involved students in pair and group discussions on the topic of food waste, and the question “What can we do about world hunger?” While the special status of the school suggests that this highly communicative, theme-based lesson is unlikely to be typical of high-school English classes in Japan, some aspects did appear to have broader relevance to my study. For example, the class was large, with as many as 40 students – the size some studies cite as constraining JTEs' ability to adopt CLT (Nishino, 2008; O'Donnell, 2005). There was little room for students to move around, and they remained seated for the whole lesson; but conversely, the fact that students were sitting so close together appeared to *facilitate* group conversations. The teacher seemed confident in managing the communicative phases of lesson activity, while

students appeared well motivated and relatively proficient in English. These factors were perhaps more important for the successful application of CLT methodology than class size.

Another aspect worth mentioning is that supplementary materials distributed by Teacher 9 were not related to the topic of the lesson, and were in fact grammar exercises for students to complete at home. When I asked her about the purpose of these worksheets, she explained that although her students enjoyed theme-based classes, they were also conscious of needing to prepare for grammar-oriented entrance exams, and expected to receive instruction in this area. As described in 4.2.2.5, student expectations are a factor many teachers cite as a reason for *not* being able to spend much time exploring topics. By providing supplementary grammar practice for students to complete at home, Teacher 9 can devote more lesson time to the kind of communicative, theme-based work that she sees as contributing to education for global citizenship. As she put it:

Students can do this [grammar review] by themselves. In class, I want to do things they cannot do at home.

(9, public JHS/SHS, follow-up interview, paraphrase)

The view that students must take responsibility for their own learning, particularly in terms of entrance-exam preparation, has important implications for the extent to which JTEs are able to devote classroom time to aspects of citizenship education, and is discussed in more detail in 7.3.

7.2.3 Collaborating with ALTs

The qualitative data suggest that for some participants, working with an ALT provides opportunities to address citizenship-related teaching aims. Previous sections have already highlighted ways in which teachers believe ALTs can help nurture aspects of intercultural competence – particularly *knowledge* of other cultures – and how team teaching may facilitate communicative language activities. This section provides examples from the data that indicate some collaboration between JTEs and ALTs in these areas, but suggests that, for some

teachers at least, ALTs are most supportive of their citizenship-related aims when they assist in teaching content related to contemporary social issues.

7.2.3.1 Team teaching with ALTs

Chapter 2 pointed out how team teaching varies greatly between schools depending on such factors as the type, size and academic standing of the school, the degree of enthusiasm shown by the JTE, and the personality of the ALT. Teachers I interviewed confirm this general picture. Two of the three private school teachers said they have no opportunities for team teaching since foreign instructors teach classes separately from JTEs. A third private school teacher said she does team teach, but only in a supporting role.

Nine of the public school JTEs said they teach regularly with an ALT, either once a week or once every two weeks. While all seemed to agree on the motivational value of team teaching for students, some displayed a degree of ambivalence about working with ALTs, apparently due to past experiences.

One teacher, who described very clear citizenship-related goals, does not appear to have sought help from ALTs in pursuing them. The debate and discussion activities she says she did in Integrated Studies, as well as in her other English classes, all appear to have been done without ALT involvement. This not only reflects the confidence she has in her own abilities to manage English-speaking activities, but may also stem from problems experienced with some ALTs in the past:

We still have culture shock ... you know, miscommunication. ... This year we have an American ALT – very knowledgeable, very diligent, but, you know, depending on the year ... [*laughs*]. Before, at one time, we had a Canadian girl. She ... well, that's her personality, I think ... but she was like a child, and very assertive. ... She was a really good teacher, but she didn't consider many things at that time so ... sometimes it was very hard to deal with her.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher, who said she values the cultural input ALTs bring to classes, also alluded to problems of “miscommunication”. When I asked whether she felt ALTs helped her pursue her citizenship-related aims, she responded:

Hmmm ... yes, on the whole, although sometimes there are people I don't like (嫌な人) ... times we don't like *each other* (お互い) ...
[laughs].

(33, public JHS, interview, my translation)

Machida and Walsh (2015) report that JTEs often complain about a lack of professionalism among ALTs, and this may have been what coloured the above teacher's view. In a separate comment, she appeared to question the commitment of the ALT assigned to her school:

She's supposed to stay for the whole day, but goes home straight after the lesson has finished. ... I don't know why.

(33, public JHS, interview, my translation)

There was broad agreement among teachers that the success of team teaching depends on the ALT's personality as much as on his or her qualifications or teaching experience.

While several participants said they sometimes had difficulties establishing good working relationships with ALTs, others were overwhelmingly positive. Some described what appear to be very successful relationships with highly professional ALTs. Teacher 46 explained how in her writing class, students were producing a picture book of English stories that they planned to present to a local nursery school, and attributed the project to an ALT:

The ALT helps us a lot. ... He was a journalist before, and he had a lot of really good ideas. It was his idea to make picture books.

(46, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Another teacher recalled collaborating with an American ALT (and, indeed, the ALT's family) on a project where students wrote peace messages that were recorded on video, then shown to members of the public in New York.

The above examples illustrate the range of teachers' experiences with team teaching. While some do not teach with ALTs at all, and some referred to communication problems, others seem to have enjoyed highly productive working relationships with ALTs. In the following sections I focus on areas where teachers believe they have worked successfully with ALTs to provide lessons that not only promote language learning, but also further aims connected with citizenship.

7.2.3.2 Teaching for intercultural competence with ALTs

Many participants see ALTs as playing an important role in the teaching of culture, an area where they think English teachers can make a unique contribution to citizenship education. When asked how she thought JTEs, as opposed to social studies teachers, could teach for citizenship, one participant explained:

Well, of course, [English teachers] can introduce students to foreign countries ... *especially the ALT's home country, or the countries he or she has travelled to*. And that kind of information doesn't normally appear in social studies or geography textbooks. For students to come into contact with that kind of [cultural information] is extremely important, I think.

(14, public SHS, interview, my translation/emphasis)

As described in 6.4, when teachers talk about opportunities for intercultural learning in their classes, it is primarily in terms of students learning *about* other cultures (Byram's *savoir*). ALTs are able to speak first-hand about their home countries, providing students with cultural information that, teachers believe, will encourage attitudes of openness and tolerance. As one teacher put it:

We learn things from those people [ALTs] – that we shouldn't, you know, have prejudice, or stereotypes.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Giving short talks about their own culture is normal practice for ALTs. But while all participants said they valued this kind of cultural input, it is not always clear how far they themselves were involved, either in the planning or delivery of these lesson segments. For the purposes of this study, I was interested in teaching activities that JTEs had themselves initiated.

Several teachers did refer to activities they had proposed in which students interacted with ALTs in English, and were encouraged to reflect on their lives in Japan by making comparisons with other countries. For example, one teacher described how her students had exchanged information with a Canadian ALT about education in their respective countries:

Once I asked students to write about Japan's school system, ... and each group wrote an essay about their school life. ... [The ALT] was new to them, so they read their essays for her. And she talked about her own school life to the students.

(46, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

This appears to have moved beyond a simple transmission of cultural knowledge and given students the chance to develop *skills* of “discovery and interaction” that correspond to *savoir apprendre/faire* in Byram's (2008a) model of IC. Other teachers also alluded to the possibility of students having this kind of interactive encounter with ALTs; it is perhaps what Teacher 43 had in mind with his response to Section IV of the questionnaire, which suggests not just transmission of cultural knowledge but also opportunities for comparison and reflection:

Through team teaching with ALTs, we can reflect on different cultures, learn about differences and similarities between [people from those cultures] and us Japanese, and nurture respectful attitudes towards other cultures.

(43, public JHS, survey, my translation)

Nevertheless, while the comparative-education activity described by Teacher 46 appears to confirm the *potential* for JTEs to collaborate with ALTs in this kind of intercultural communication, very few examples of this appear in the data. When it comes to teaching intercultural aspects of citizenship, it appears most participants value ALTs mainly as sources of cultural knowledge rather than as partners in intercultural communication activities.

7.2.3.3 Developing skills for dialogue with ALTs

In 7.2.2, I argued that some participants seem to be making more use of communicative language activities than what appears from the literature to be typical in Japanese schools; indeed, I suggested that this is to pursue aims they associate with citizenship education – encouraging reflection on contemporary issues, promoting positive attitudes towards interpersonal communication, and helping students develop skills needed to engage in dialogue.

There is some evidence in the data that the opportunity to teach with ALTs is facilitating this communicative language work, but not necessarily in terms of the discussion of public issues advocated by Starkey (2005). Only five teachers said they regularly included opportunities for students to discuss public-sphere issues in English. Two of those cases involved collaboration with ALTs, but the other three teachers described discussion activities they had conducted with students independently, without an ALT.

Team teaching is intended to provide an opportunity for JTEs to focus on English speaking skills. According to CLAIR (2013), the agency that oversees the JET Programme,

The goal of team teaching is to create a foreign language classroom in which the students, the Japanese teacher of the foreign language (JTE) and the native speaker (ALT) engage in communicative activities. (p. 42)

However, the amount of time actually spent on communication in team-taught classes appears to vary greatly between schools. Even in the context of team teaching, JTEs in schools that emphasize entrance exam preparation are often

reluctant to allocate much time to activities they see as having little relevance to those tests. The pressure on teachers to prioritize grammar teaching over communication appears to be stronger at the senior high- than the junior high-school level (Mahoney, 2004). In an investigation of team teaching at two senior high schools, Hiratsuka (2013) found that JTEs perceived a trade-off between communication and testing: “There was a general feeling that one will necessarily come at the expense of the other” (p. 12). In the team-taught lessons he observed, the focus was often on explaining grammar points from the textbook, and at one school, “team-teaching classes began, without exception, with quiz sheets for university entrance examinations” (p. 12).

The apparent link between a school’s academic standing and the amount of time teachers at those schools feel they can allow for communicative English practice may help to explain why of the five JTEs who report doing discussion activities with their students, only two said that ALTs had helped with this. Both those teachers described their schools as academically “low-level”, with less pressure on teachers to focus on the grammar syllabus, and it appears this meant they were able to do more communication work with ALTs. On the other hand, another teacher, based at a school she described as “highly academic”, said she could only find time for debate activities by using Integrated Studies. Lessons she team-taught with an ALT appeared to offer no opportunities in this regard.

One of the teachers based at a “low-level” school described using team-taught lessons to promote “investigative learning” (*shirabe gakushuu*), which involved students doing independent research on topics connected with peace and conflict, then presenting – and, to some extent, discussing – their findings in class. Although she described her students as having very low levels of English, she encourages them to express personal opinions on topics they research. She sees the ALT as playing an important part in this.

The students can write first, in Japanese, or of course they can write in English directly – and then I ask the ALT to check the English. And after that, the students learn to read and memorize them, and present in front of other students.

(14, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

While she says her students are unable to engage in spontaneous English discussion, she believes giving them time to compose their ideas in writing before exchanging them orally encourages them to reflect carefully on topics. But the element of writing in this process seems to have caused her to pay closer attention to grammatical accuracy than might have been the case with a speaking-only activity. Later in the interview, she acknowledged that she might find it difficult to check writing herself.

The ALT can help us correct the students' writing. Correcting English is very hard for Japanese teachers, so they are helpful.

(14, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

The opportunity to work with an ALT appears to have facilitated an activity where this teacher particularly welcomes input from a native speaker, and it is not clear whether she would have gone ahead with it had an ALT not been there. Some studies have drawn attention to JTEs' feelings of inadequacy in English, and suggested this can make team teaching stressful for them (e.g. McConnell, 2000; Suzuki & Roger, 2014). But while my participants sometimes commented on their "poor" English skills, and while they appear to welcome ALTs' help in correcting students' writing, there is no evidence in the data that any anxiety teachers feel about their English skills has constrained their ability to collaborate with ALTs or pursue their citizenship-teaching aims.

One high-school teacher seemed keen to reject Phillipson's (1992) Native Speaker Fallacy – the mistaken belief that native speakers automatically make the best language teachers. Although her school is in the public sector, its special status as a research institution means it must hire its own ALTs. She explained that the task of recruitment usually falls to her. She was frustrated by the time this took, and questioned the need to hire foreign assistants at all. She believes JTEs can teach English communication skills by themselves:

T: I always say ... in my English faculty meetings, "Do we really need native speakers?"

IH: Well it sounds like it's creating problems for you.

T: *I know! ... And we can do it!*

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

This teacher said her students regularly participate in discussions or debates on global issues, all of which she organizes without ALT assistance.

7.2.3.4 Addressing citizenship-related topics with ALTs

As discussed above, one of the main ways participants believe they can contribute to citizenship education is by addressing contemporary topics such as peace, the environment and other global issues, knowledge of which they believe is essential for global citizenship. In 7.2.1.2, I argued that although most teachers think authorized textbooks allow them to deal with these sorts of topics, some believe the books provide only a superficial treatment, and therefore look for opportunities to expand on topics with supplementary materials.

Several teachers I interviewed described asking ALTs to help in preparing theme-based lessons designed to raise students' awareness of global issues. In some schools, team teaching offers a degree of flexibility that allows for this kind of work. This appears to be the case for Teacher 12, who described her school as "low-level":

In team teaching, I think we can do anything, ... related to the textbook, or something original. So, ... I asked [the ALT] to talk about ... human rights because she is from South Africa, and apartheid is a very serious issue ... about discrimination. ... Of course, sometimes I helped her, ... translating. And she used slides or pictures with a PowerPoint presentation, so it's easier for students to understand.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

The data suggest that JTEs in some of the more academically prestigious schools would feel unable to devote a whole lesson to exploring a topic with an ALT, but that they might find other opportunities in the timetable. Two teachers said that by working with ALTs and making use of Integrated Studies, they could devote

considerably more time to expanding on textbook content than would be possible in other English lessons.

Teacher 40 has a special interest in teaching about environmental issues. A chapter in the textbook entitled *Clean Energy* included such vocabulary as “solar panel” and “solar energy” (Kairyudo, 2007, p. 65), but all in the context of a grammar lesson focusing on possessive pronouns. In his view, this gave insufficient weight to the issues. To expand upon the book and teach students more about the topic, he asked an American ALT to prepare a talk that explained the concepts of renewable and non-renewable energy, made connections between energy use and climate change, and provided data showing different countries’ use of renewable energy. Students were asked to reflect on how they consumed energy in their own lives, and whether this energy was from renewable sources or not.

Teacher 46 described how at two different schools she had taught at, ALTs had contributed to her course on landmines, which also made use of Integrated Studies. In a class that I observed, the ALT gave a short talk on how trained rats were being used for landmine clearance in Thailand. Teacher 46 explained how at her previous school an ALT had conducted speaking activities during the lesson, and helped with related projects outside the classroom:

T: We sometimes had students take an interview test with an ALT.

IH: An interview test?

T: An ALT asked them questions like ‘What can you do to clear landmines?’ And they answered with their own ideas.

IH: Mainly, what? Raising money for the landmine-clearance NGOs?

T: Hmmm, like that. ... Then we asked them, ... ‘What do you want to appeal to society after learning all of this?’ Each student decided their own theme, and they made a poster.

(46, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

The teacher explained how students organized a fundraising activity for an NGO that supports landmine clearance, and how posters they designed to publicize this were put up in the local community. This provides a rare example in the data of a

teacher seeking to encourage action by students outside the classroom, in this case with help from an ALT.

McConnell (2000) reports cases of ALTs seeking to use team teaching to promote global education, and address such topics as free trade, discrimination and human rights. In my study, however, it seems clear that the ALTs who collaborated in the clean energy and landmines classes were following the JTEs' lead. Again, there are precedents in McConnell's study. Based on observations at four schools, he found that the JTEs who were most enthusiastic about team teaching were those he labels "teachers turned social critics",

who, as a result of their political views and more confrontational interpersonal styles, are already somewhat marginalised within the school. ... [For these teachers], the team-taught class becomes a fertile ground for developing not only oral communication skills but also a critical quality of mind about all manner of injustices in the contemporary world. (McConnell, 2000, p. 188)

While McConnell's tone here hints at disapproval, my findings suggest that lessons with an ALT can indeed offer "fertile ground" for JTEs to explore issues they believe students should reflect upon as citizens.

For JTEs who want to incorporate teaching for citizenship, ALTs offer the prospect of a potentially fruitful collaboration. However, multiple contextual factors affect how team teaching is implemented. My qualitative data suggest participants believe ALTs contribute to teaching for intercultural competence, but that they see this mainly in terms of transmitting cultural knowledge. Very few teachers referred to team teaching as an opportunity to nurture *skills* of intercultural exchange, and no one referred to how interaction with ALTs might encourage a *critical* perspective on Japanese culture. Similarly, although most participants believe ALTs can motivate students to speak English, which aligns with Miyazato's (2012) findings, they gave very few examples of team teaching activities that engaged students in proper discussion.

What emerges from this section is that the main way my participants seek help from ALTs is in expanding upon textbook content to promote learning about citizenship-related topics. In this, teachers have sometimes drawn on

aspects of the ALT's own background or interests – as in the case of the South African ALT asked to speak about apartheid. What is perhaps more important than the knowledge and experience of the ALT, however, is the space that team teaching opens up in the teaching schedule, and the opportunity that can provide for JTEs to plan something different from what happens in other classes. In this respect, teaching with an ALT appears to facilitate some teachers' efforts to make space for citizenship education.

7.3 What contextual factors do participants believe affect their ability to combine English language teaching with education for citizenship?

This section takes a closer look at how participants believe their ability to pursue citizenship-related aims is affected by contextual factors. As reported in Chapter 4, teachers referenced such things as the school curriculum, textbooks, the expectations of colleagues and students, and practical concerns such as class size, as either *constraining* or *facilitating* their efforts to teach for citizenship (see Tables 4.15 & 4.16).

The survey data suggested that participants I went on to interview were relatively optimistic about their ability to teach for citizenship. This is evident in data from Section III, which were used to calculate the degree of optimism teachers displayed (see 3.6.5.2). On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean optimism score for the 14 interviewees was 4.5 – very optimistic indeed – compared with a mean score of 3.84 for all 46 survey respondents. Nevertheless, all but two of the teachers I interviewed expressed some frustration about what they can achieve in practice, pointing to contextual factors they perceive as limiting their ability to teach for citizenship.

According to Borg (2006), “The social, institutional, instructional and physical settings in which teachers work have a major impact on their cognitions and practices” (p. 275). He argues that contextual factors can cause teachers to revise their cognitions – Borg's preferred term for beliefs – or to change their teaching practices *without* revising their beliefs. “This latter scenario”, he continues, “can lead to a lack of congruence between teachers' stated beliefs and actual practices” (p. 276). My qualitative data suggest that owing to contextual factors, the incongruence that Borg says can arise between beliefs and practices may be the norm among JTEs who profess to have citizenship-teaching aims.

The following discussion focuses on factors that my participants say *facilitate* or *constrain* their efforts to teach for citizenship.

7.3.1 Curricular opportunities and constraints

In a study of JTEs' attitudes towards CLT, Gorsuch (2000) categorizes the influences on teachers' practice as either *formal* or *informal instructional guidance*. Formal instructional guidance comprises policies and regulations that originate with government and other administrative bodies at the national or prefectural levels, and include the Course of Study, textbook authorization system, and college entrance examinations. Informal instructional guidance includes other factors affecting teachers' practice, including broader cultural influences and factors operating at the school level.

My data strongly suggest that JTEs see pressure to follow the curriculum and finish the textbook as the main constraint on their ability to teach for citizenship. In Section III of the survey, 43% agreed with item 5, "English teachers have their hands full trying to cover the existing curriculum; they don't have time to think about citizenship education". Less than a third of teachers disagreed with this. Even teachers whose responses to other items in Section III were optimistic agreed that pressure to cover the curriculum was likely to hinder JTEs from teaching for citizenship.

When teachers cite these pressures, it seems clear from the data that they are not referring to formal instructional guidance emanating from MEXT. Indeed, there are aspects of the Course of Study that would appear to facilitate citizenship-related work, including the increased emphasis on communication skills, and the recommendation that teachers supplement textbooks with materials relating to other cultures and "the global community" (MEXT, 2008b, p. 8). The introduction of Integrated Studies to the curriculum also provided a "remarkable opportunity" for teachers to explore such themes as global citizenship (Motani, 2005, p. 312). Where teachers report being constrained by the curriculum, they are referring to the pressure they feel under to concentrate on preparing students for university entrance examinations, and this seems to be more a matter of *informal* than formal instructional guidance. The pressure is felt locally in the perceived expectations of colleagues, students and their parents, but

also reflects the widely held assumption in Japan that schools should be judged on how their students fare in university entrance exams (see 7.3.5.2 on the *hensachi* system of ranking schools). As Brown and Yamashita (1995) put it more than two decades ago, “Most Japanese believe that their success and the success of their children hinge on passing these examinations” (p.8). Aspinall (2013) describes how for hundreds of high schools, entrance exams constitute a shadow curriculum; these schools may profess to follow the Course of Study but often ignore parts that are not deemed relevant to exam preparation.

Numerous studies have pointed to the disjuncture between MEXT’s Course of Study for Foreign Languages, which ostensibly creates an English curriculum focusing on practical communication skills, and the “contextual realities” (Glasgow, 2017) that confront teachers in schools. These realities are dictated primarily by the content of university entrance exams, which have traditionally tested discrete-point knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, and prioritized reading comprehension and translation (J. D. Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Gorsuch, 2000; Nishino, 2008). According to Sato (2011), these exams are a characteristic feature of the East Asian model of education. Under the entrance examination system, “educational freedom has ... been recognized as freedom of competition, and educational equality as equal opportunities for competition” (p. 233).

My participants appear very conscious of the onus on them to prepare students for success in this competition. The following survey responses illustrate the extent to which they believe this inhibits the inclusion of other, citizenship-related aims: for example, by instilling an expectation among students that lessons will focus on test preparation, and by discouraging the use of supplementary materials and activities not directly related to that.

Recently my whole school has begun concentrating its efforts on getting students into university (大学進学に力を入れ始めて), so I feel my students and I have become very narrow in our outlook, and our English lessons have become limited in focus (広がりがなくなっている).

(21, private JHS/SHS, survey, my translation)

The constraints imposed by university entrance exams (大学受験のしがらみ), school tests and the common teaching schedule (統一進度) are a major obstacle. If it weren't for that we would be much freer to teach [aspects of citizenship]. There haven't been many of my colleagues who have been willing to try.

(14, public SHS, survey, my translation)

Although it must reflect the Course of Study, each school writes its own English curriculum. As the above comment from Teacher 14 suggests, teachers are likely to perceive this mainly in terms of the common teaching schedule, which is designed to ensure that all students complete the grammar syllabus in the textbook. This aligns with Bouchard's (2017) recent study, which found that JTEs look to the textbook, rather than the Course of Study, for guidance on what they need to cover.

7.3.2 Textbooks

As discussed in 7.2.1.1, my participants have a somewhat ambivalent view of the textbooks they must use. On the one hand, they are the factor most often cited as *facilitating* JTEs' efforts to teach for citizenship (see Table 4.16), reflecting the belief among more than 60% of teachers that textbooks include citizenship-related material. On the other hand, textbooks are also one of the factors most often mentioned as *constraints* (see Table 4.15). Although they welcome the introduction to contemporary topics that some chapters provide, three teachers complained about the superficial nature of the material. Teachers also refer to the limits textbooks place on topics they can address. While in theory they are free to use *any* supplementary material they consider appropriate, in reality most teachers appear to avoid topics that are not directly connected with the textbook. Moreover, the fact that publishers regularly revise books is likely to discourage many teachers from investing much time in looking for supplementary material to explore topics in more depth.

Although some schools are granted more leeway in choosing materials (see 7.3.5), in principle all JTEs are required by law to teach with MEXT-

approved textbooks, so these constitute part of the formal instructional guidance discussed by Gorsuch (2000). However, the strongest pressure on JTEs to base their teaching mainly, if not solely, on textbooks seems to emanate locally, from the school's common teaching and testing schedule, and from the expectation of both colleagues and students that everyone sticks to it. Particularly in academic schools, teachers believe students' expectations for the class are tied directly to the textbook. Students know they will be tested on the grammar and vocabulary presented in it, so make two assumptions: first, that the teacher will cover everything in the book, and, second, that anything teachers do that is not related to the textbook is of secondary importance.

7.3.3 The expectations of students and their parents

What JTEs do in their lessons appears to be strongly influenced by how they perceive the expectations of others, including colleagues, parents, and students. In virtually all cases, these perceived expectations emerge from the data as a *constraining* factor. This echoes findings reported by Underwood (2012) who researched JTEs' intentions regarding the implementation of the new Course of Study, and focused his analysis partly on whether teachers believed others would approve or disapprove of their adopting more CLT methodology. While he found some "minimal reference" to those who might approve, "namely, novice teachers and parents favouring development of their child's communicative skills", his participants focused overwhelmingly on those who would *disapprove* – "students, senior teachers, and parents favoring preparations for UEEs [university entrance exams]" (p. 917).

According to my survey data (Section III, item 10), 50% of respondents agreed that parents would *approve* of JTEs addressing aspects of citizenship. However, the wording of this item gave no indication of *how* JTEs would go about this, or how much lesson time it would account for. Certainly, there was no suggestion of any trade-off between teaching for citizenship and covering the existing, grammar-focused curriculum. It is possible, then, that 50% of JTEs agreed with item 10 because they believed parents would endorse the *aims* of citizenship education, not because they believed parents would support major changes in the way JTEs teach their subject. It is more noteworthy perhaps that

15% of respondents thought parents would *not* support the inclusion of citizenship education in English lessons, and that 37% were non-committal. Indeed, the qualitative data clearly suggest that teachers perceive parental expectations as being preoccupied with test scores and entrance exam preparation. As one teacher put it,

English education is conducted only with the purpose of getting students into good universities. Parents, schools and the students themselves think the only object is to ‘pass’ [entrance exams], and that really must change. ... It’s a difficult situation (困ったものです).

(13, public SHS, survey, my translation)

Teachers in private schools appear especially conscious of what parents expect. In an investigation of how far JTEs were implementing MEXT’s 2013 directive that classes be taught *in English*, Glasgow (2014) chose to conduct his research in private rather than public schools, believing that private school teachers would enjoy greater flexibility to combine CLT with other curricular requirements. Contrary to his expectations, he discovered that the teachers felt bound by parental demands to teach “entrance examination English” even to the extent of ignoring MEXT’s directive. My study also suggests that JTEs in private schools feel strongly constrained by parents’ expectations (see 7.3.5.3). One private school teacher referred to the keen interest parents took in textbooks used at her school, and how the school had, in her opinion, chosen a book that was too challenging for students, simply to impress parents.

My participants also reported feeling constrained by student expectations. The qualitative data suggest most teachers – and certainly those in more academically prestigious schools (see 7.3.5.3) – hesitate to deviate from the textbook or introduce supplementary material because they believe students would react negatively to anything not obviously related to their test scores. Seven of the 14 teachers I interviewed reported feeling constrained by student expectations in this way. When asked why she felt unable to teach with supplementary materials, one private school teacher explained:

T: I'm very curious about what my students expect of me. ... I guess my students want me to do exam-oriented lessons.

IH: Have the students ever complained, if you go off and do something slightly different?

T: Uh, ... I guess nobody will complain, but ... I'm always aware of being careful [about] how they react to my teaching, ... so, I may protect myself. ... I always want to realize their desire ... or what they want.

(21, private JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

While the teacher acknowledged this was only her impression of what students wanted, and that she might have misjudged them, others said they sometimes receive verbal complaints from students when they try to teach without the textbook. In her response to Section IV of the survey, Teacher 33 wrote that she occasionally introduces supplementary material to encourage students to “think about what it means to live as a global citizen”. She described mixed reactions:

some students get on board and are really interested. ... But, I'm also under a lot of pressure from [students] who say things like, ‘what you're doing now is unnecessary’ (いらぬ事をしてる), and ‘this has nothing to do with the entrance exams, so we don't want you to do it’ (受験には関係ないからやめてほしい).

(33, public JHS, survey, my translation)

This kind of negative feedback can discourage teachers from experimenting with new material (Lamie, 2004). It may also reinforce existing perceptions about what students expect.

Even JTEs who appear to be more successful in addressing citizenship-related topics are mindful of student expectations. I asked one teacher who said she regularly teaches about global issues with supplementary material whether this leaves enough time to cover everything in the textbook:

Yeah, ... that's why students don't complain. ... If I don't cover the textbook, and treat global issues only, or spend more time on global

issues which are not in the textbook, ... some students may complain. It would be big trouble for me. So, I cover the textbook, then I give them tests as other teachers do.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

As this excerpt demonstrates, teachers' perception that students are preoccupied with test scores does not necessarily preclude them from using supplementary material related to citizenship, but in principle, anything they bring to class must have a connection to the textbook. And although they may vary the pace of their teaching to make room for more supplementary work, teachers nevertheless feel bound to cover everything in the textbook, as another teacher explained:

T: In order to make extra time, I have to shorten some parts of the textbook. ... That's OK, I think, and I go fast [through grammar explanations].

IH: But you don't skip anything.

T: Ah, I don't skip. If I skip ... students are worried about that. 'Oh, *sensei* [teacher], I didn't study this page!' So, that is not good.

(40, public JHS, interview, original dialogue)

As mentioned previously, Teacher 9, who teaches content-based English lessons with opportunities for students to engage in discussion, was nevertheless able to meet students' wish for more test-oriented work by distributing grammar practice worksheets which they completed for homework. This point is picked up in 7.3.5.5 below.

7.3.4 Colleagues

According to Fullan (2007), "Teacher isolation and its opposite – collegiality – provide the best starting point for considering what works for the teacher" (p. 138). My qualitative data suggest that teachers I interviewed tend to perceive themselves as quite unlike their colleagues at school – at least in terms of what they want to achieve through teaching English – and in this respect their experience often appears to be one of isolation rather than collegiality. Many

teachers describe their colleagues as being indifferent to the citizenship work they are doing. There are virtually no references in the data to participants working with colleagues at their school to deliver citizenship-related lessons. The clear exception to this are the two teachers based at special-status, educational research schools, who both describe extensive collaboration with colleagues. Those teachers are considered in more detail in 7.3.5.5; the discussion in this section relates to information supplied by other teachers.

7.3.4.1 *In-school colleagues*

Some participants suggested that their colleagues might not consider it a language teacher's job to focus on citizenship-related content. Teacher 14 described how she looks for opportunities to address issues of peace and conflict in her lessons, and regularly supplements the textbook with DVDs and other materials (the fact that she teaches at a vocational school gives her flexibility to do this – see 7.3.5.4). I asked whether any of her colleagues were interested in the peace-related work she described.

T: Uh, no, not many, ... [*laughs*] unfortunately!

IH: Do you tell them about it?

T: Yes, sometimes. Yeah.

IH: Why are they not interested, do you think? I mean, you mentioned about the *juken* [entrance exam-preparation] focus, ... is that why?

T: Uhhh, yeah ... and [*switches to Japanese*], ... I wonder. ... Perhaps it's because they don't really have any interest in peace issues, in things like war and peace, or social issues. Maybe it's because they don't see them as things we need to teach about in our lessons.

(14, public SHS, interview, part translation)

She also implied that her colleagues might view her as overly political in her teaching. As mentioned earlier, in 4.2.2.5, both she and Teacher 46, who also has a special interest in peace education, encountered disapproval from school administrators, and were accused of being “biased” (*katayotteiru* 偏っている). I

expressed surprise at this in my interview with Teacher 46, noting that the landmines topic, which she developed into a full year's Integrated Studies course, was in fact included in a MEXT-authorized textbook, so should not have been controversial. She agreed:

Yeah. ... What I did here is not bad at all! So somebody told something to them.

(46, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

What I took her to mean here was that she believed the school administrators were following up on a complaint received from a colleague. Whether her suspicions were justified or not, their intervention, and the *perception* that some colleagues did not approve of her teaching activities, reinforced her feeling of isolation within the school.

Only two teachers suggested colleagues might disapprove of teaching about certain topics because of their political nature. Much more important appears to be the perception that fellow instructors expect everyone to keep up with the common teaching schedule and focus on improving students' test scores. This resonates with what Sato and Kleinsasser (2004) found in a year-long study of a Japanese high-school English department. They discovered that any collaboration between JTEs focused on monitoring progression through the textbook:

In other words, ... teachers did not collaborate in solving instructional challenges/problems or developing the curriculum. Keeping pace with others as a group seemed to be a priority. ... The majority of teachers followed a pattern of teaching unquestioningly according to the textbook, even though they were not satisfied with and did not query their own practices. (p. 807)

The authors found a small minority of teachers who occasionally tried activities that differed from the dominant grammar-translation method, but these innovations were not shared with colleagues. They discovered that although individual JTEs tended to have their own, personal beliefs about language

teaching – favouring a more communicative approach, for example – these beliefs rarely figured in daily interactions with colleagues, and teachers tended to accommodate the prevailing culture of the department.

Similarly, it appears common for my participants to adjust their teaching in accordance with colleagues' expectations. Eight of the fourteen teachers I interviewed said they felt under pressure to keep up with what other teachers were doing. This became especially apparent when I met Teacher 46 for the second time, two years after our first interview. In the meantime, she had moved to a more academically demanding school, and said she enjoyed teaching “more motivated” students. What she was finding difficult, however, was settling in to an English department where there was more pressure to follow the common teaching schedule. She described how one senior colleague had been urging her and another, younger teacher to work harder to catch up with his class:

His students have already finished Chapter 7, while we are only on Chapter 4.

(46, public SHS, follow-up interview, paraphrase)

She went on to describe how this colleague had presented her with test scores showing his students doing better than hers, and how he regularly gave her grammar worksheets he had created for his own classes saying, “*kore wo yatte kudasai!*” – “Please do this!” Although she said she had complained to another, senior teacher about this interference, she seemed to accept that she had no choice but to try and keep up with her colleagues in pushing students through the textbook, even though this meant having to give up some of the peace and environmental issues-related work she had done at her former school. Her experiences appear similar to that of teachers in the Sato and Kleinsasser study, but also resonate with an observation made by Johnson (cited by Lamie, 2004, p. 130), that JTEs who attempt to introduce innovative methods can find themselves “bullied” by colleagues.

Even where the culture of a department appears to favour a grammar-translation approach, other contextual factors may facilitate individual JTEs in teaching according to their own beliefs. Teacher 40, for example, said he regularly uses supplementary material to teach about environmental issues and

human rights. I asked whether his colleagues had expressed an interest in sharing these materials:

T: Some teachers are interested in this kind of thing, but, ... [*laughs*]
most of them are *not*!

IH: Why is that, do you think?

T: [They think] just doing the textbook is enough. And to do this kind of thing [i.e. teach with supplementary materials] we need a lot of extra energy, and time. ... And I feel most of the English teachers think just teaching grammatical things and ... reading ability for the entrance exam – that is the important thing, most teachers think, I feel.

(40, public JHS, interview, original dialogue)

While this teacher says his own priorities differ from those of his colleagues, this does not appear to have prevented him from supplementing the textbook. As explained earlier, his school is small enough for him to teach all the English classes in a given year group, which means he does not need to coordinate his progress through the textbook with other teachers. This has served to mitigate constraints that colleagues might have placed on him if circumstances had required them to work together more closely.

7.3.4.2 Out-of-school colleagues/professional networks

My qualitative data suggest that in terms of their ability to pursue citizenship-related aims, most participants see their immediate colleagues as indifferent at best, but more likely as a constraining factor. In this respect, JTEs' participation in teachers' associations outside of school appears to be a valuable source of moral support, providing access to a network of like-minded peers who can also exchange practical teaching advice. These networks may serve to overcome the sense of isolation that many teachers feel, and provide a degree of collegiality that often seems lacking at the school level.

As part of my purposive approach to sampling, I made use of professional networks to identify likely participants (see 3.4.3). Unsurprisingly, then, all but one of the 14 JTEs I interviewed said they belonged to one or more national

teachers' associations. These associations are of two main types – those that promote professional development and research on language teaching in general, and those that are concerned specifically with education related to citizenship. The former include such groups as JALT (Japan Association for Language Teaching – five teachers) and JASELE (Japan Society of English Language Education – one teacher). The specialist organizations include the Japan Association for International Education (JAIE – three teachers), Global Issues in Language Education (GILE – three teachers), a special interest group within JALT, and *Shin-Eiken* (five teachers), which aims to promote international citizenship and “English education that is properly rooted in democracy” (New English Teachers' Association, 2010). Most JTEs I interviewed described themselves as active members of associations they belong to, regularly attending branch meetings and national conferences (10 teachers), giving conference presentations (five teachers), or contributing articles to publications (11 teachers).

The five teachers who belong to *Shin-Eiken* pointed to the importance of the network as a source of supplementary materials. For example, Teacher 12 wanted students to learn more about the 1954 *Lucky Dragon* incident in which the crew of a Japanese fishing vessel were contaminated by radioactive fallout from the US nuclear weapon test at Bikini Atoll:

IH: You used an NHK documentary as well, I think.

T: Yeah, to show students. ... The DVD is also taught by one of the *Shin-Eiken* members of this prefecture. ... And when I asked her ... “are there any good materials to teach the *Lucky Dragon*?” she sent the DVD to me. ... We have the ... network, so whenever I want to look for any materials then I send [a message to] the mailing list and, you know, many people [throughout Japan] will make a reply ... introducing useful materials for me.

(12, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Another teacher talked about the importance to her of monthly, face-to-face meetings:

T: Every month we have a small meeting, with ... other *Shin-Eiken* members in [this prefecture].

IH: ... And how many teachers gather altogether?

T: About five. Not many! [*laughs*]

IH: And, normally at your meetings, do you have a topic that you're going to talk about?

T: No, ... we bring what we did in class, or the books we read, ... some other things. ... I got many ideas from *Shin-Eiken*.

(14, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

The importance of out-of-school networks in supporting teachers who might otherwise feel isolated was demonstrated by Schweisfurth (2006). Her study focused on social science teachers in Ontario who wanted to infuse teaching for *global citizenship* into a civics curriculum that had a highly national, Canadian emphasis. She found that while these teachers received some cooperation from colleagues at their base school, their main source of support was an outside network of like-minded teachers, who offered practical assistance as well as inspiration and moral support. Schweisfurth notes that her participants felt a sense of accountability to other teachers in the network, and were motivated to press on with teaching for global citizenship in order not to let the others down. None of my participants described feeling responsible to *Shin-Eiken* or other networks in this way, but the regular meetings referred to by Teacher 14 do appear to provide a sense of shared purpose and a degree of momentum.

One of the private school teachers I interviewed has a strong interest in teaching for global citizenship, but admits he has almost no time for this in his own lessons, which remain overwhelmingly focused on grammar-translation work. Nevertheless, global citizenship remains an important research interest for him. He has given several presentations to the Japan Association for International Education, analysing the links JTEs can make between MEXT-approved textbooks and various global issues. Like other teachers who took part in the study, he emphasizes how he feels different from his school colleagues, and how he therefore values his membership of JAIE:

T: I can connect with other high-school teachers or university professors.
... In my school, maybe, even if I am interested in these things [i.e. teaching global issues], uh, ... maybe I think, I'm a little strange. [laughs]

IH: Really? You mean, compared to your colleagues?

T: Yes. ... So, if we attend this *gakkai* [association], ... most teachers are interested in the same things and getting other information, and it is ... very important for me.

(5, private JHS/SHS, interview, original dialogue)

7.3.5 School type

The above discussion has considered a range of factors that teachers perceive as influencing their practice. In line with the overall thrust of the data, the emphasis has been on how teachers believe they are constrained in their ability to teach for citizenship; it has also highlighted ways some teachers have tried to negotiate perceived constraints. As mentioned at various points in the discussion, the degree to which different contextual factors impinge upon teachers' practice appears to depend on the character of school they are based in. Sections 4.1.3.2 and 4.1.4 reported possible school-type effects observable in the survey data, although the small size of the sample meant it was not possible to ascertain their statistical significance. The interview data cast light on these earlier findings, however.

7.3.5.1 Junior high schools

Based on my own experience of teaching in Japanese schools as an ALT, I expected to find some differences between JHS and SHS teachers in terms of how far they think they can contribute to citizenship education. Students at the SHS level have been studying English for longer, so have typically attained higher levels of proficiency. I imagined SHS teachers might see this as opening up more possibilities for addressing citizenship-related content, and for developing skills for dialogue through class discussion. On the other hand, since their students are nearer to taking university entrance examinations, I thought SHS teachers might feel more constrained by the demands of test preparation

than teachers at the JHS level. My data suggest *some* differences between junior high and senior high contexts, but these appear less stark than I expected.

The survey data suggest some differences between JHS and SHS teachers regarding the aspects of citizenship they believe JTEs can address. As shown earlier in Figure 4.1, SHS teachers appeared to see slightly more potential for teaching about current affairs (item 11), and raising awareness of Japan's international activities (item 21). In contrast, JHS teachers saw more scope for teaching in six areas: learning about global issues (item 4), and raising environmental awareness (item 18); learning about English-speaking countries (item 1), and improving the ability to communicate with people from other cultures (item 17); developing respect for human rights (item 7) and awareness of the rights of citizens (item 25).

Perhaps SHS teachers saw greater potential for teaching about current affairs and Japan's international activities because they judged these areas to be more relevant at the senior level. Although JHS students follow an integrated social studies programme, SHS students take separate courses in geography, history, and civics (*koumin*); the civics course is itself subdivided into contemporary society, ethics and politics/economics (MEXT, 2008c). It may be that SHS teachers considered items 11 and 21 to be more closely aligned with these elements of the curriculum.

The survey suggested that JHS teachers see more scope for teaching in areas such as intercultural communication, global issues, human rights and the environment, but it is difficult to see these as being more relevant to JHS students than those at senior high. Indeed, in the qualitative data both JHS and SHS teachers referred to teaching these topics. A possible explanation for the apparent school-related differences here is that JHS teachers believe they have more *time* to explore these topics, given that they need to devote less time to exam preparation.

The interviews were an opportunity to probe these issues further, although due to the small numbers of teachers from each type of school, findings are necessarily speculative. Of the JTEs interviewed, only three – Teachers 33, 40 and 42 – were based in junior high schools. (I do not include teachers whose schools combined JHS and SHS levels.) All three believed they had been able to focus some of their lessons on topics relevant to citizenship. As mentioned

previously, Teacher 33 sought the help of local NGOs in locating materials to teach students about a literacy project in Nepal. Teacher 40 used the song *We Can Stand* to teach his students the auxiliary verb *can*. The song deals with Minamata disease and allowed him to talk about the rights of victims of industrial pollution while teaching the grammar point. Teacher 42 also focused on environmental concerns, getting students to research different kinds of pollution in Japan, create posters to illustrate what they had learned, and make short presentations to the class (in Japanese). It is important to stress that all these activities took place in teachers' own English lessons, not as part of Integrated Studies or team teaching with an ALT. Three of the SHS teachers I interviewed (those in private schools) said it would be difficult for them to take time out of English classes to develop topics with supplementary materials in this way. Based on what the three JHS teachers told me, then, it would appear that they do have greater flexibility than SHS teachers when it comes to supplementing textbooks with other, theme-based material.

Nevertheless, JHS teachers also appear to be under pressure to stick closely to the textbook, and prioritize teaching for tests. As quoted previously, Teacher 33 acknowledged she was

under a lot of pressure from [students], who say things like ... 'this has nothing to do with the entrance exams, so we don't want you to do it'.

(33, public JHS, survey, my translation)

The examinations students are referring to here are for entrance to senior high school. Students aiming to get into prestigious universities know that success may hinge on their first entering a "good" high school, which itself will have a competitive entrance examination. Teacher 42, whose students researched and presented on environmental pollution, explained that not all students welcomed that activity.

IH: So, as an English teacher you're trying to get students to research aspects of pollution, and also they're learning presentation skills. But, do any students complain that this isn't an *English* class? Does that happen?

T: Yes, yes! [*laughs*] *Arimasu yo!* [That *does* happen!]

IH: So, what kinds of students say that?

T: Hmmmm ... mid-level students. Uh, 'this is not directly connected to the exam scores' – that's what they say.

(42, public JHS, interview, part translation)

One important characteristic of public junior high schools is that classes are of mixed ability, which reflects the strong egalitarian principle in Japanese education (Aspinall, 2013). At the non-compulsory, SHS level, however, competitive entrance examinations mean students are effectively streamed. Teacher 42 suggests that his “mid-level” JHS students are more likely to complain if he spends time on activities that are not obviously connected to teaching English grammar, and which they consider unrelated to their test scores. Presumably, more capable students in the class are already confident of doing well in the tests, and perhaps the lower-level students tend to be less concerned about scores.

Teacher 42 sees the mixed-ability JHS classes as limiting the amount of discussion work he can do with his students:

students with every level of ... common sense, knowledge and interest, cleverness, come together into the one classroom, so many different levels are there. ... Even in easy English some of them cannot understand what another classmate is talking about. But with high schools ... in a sense, [the students are] equal levels. ... At some high schools, almost all students don't like studying, ... but they can do debate or a kind of discussion in very easy English because they are almost the same level.

(42, public JHS, interview, teacher's English)

This comment highlights the diversity found in Japan's high schools, particularly at the SHS level, which makes it difficult to generalize about the extent to which JTEs appear able to teach for citizenship. JHS teachers may have more flexibility to supplement textbooks and explore topics, but, in the public sector at least, they must accommodate students of mixed ability. Teacher 42's comments suggest that although there may be significant differences between senior high schools,

the work of JTEs at the SHS level may be facilitated by greater uniformity among students.

7.3.5.2 Categorizing high schools

Qualitative data from my study clearly suggest that school type does affect JTEs' perceptions of their ability to teach for citizenship. As the interviews progressed, however, I realized that the categories I had been using – junior vs. senior high, public vs. private – were unable to capture the diversity that exists within Japan's education system, particularly at the senior level. Notwithstanding the strong element of centralization represented by MEXT's Courses of Study and its textbook authorization system, scholars have cautioned against assuming a high degree of uniformity in Japan's schools. For instance, based on fieldwork done in senior high schools in Nagoya, Tsukada (2010) concludes that "there is no typical Japanese high school, but rather a diversity of high schools occupying different relative academic positions in the hierarchy" (p. 84). This echoes Rohlen (1983), who conducted ground-breaking ethnographic research in five schools in the Kobe area, and discovered a very clear hierarchical structure:

A spectrum of school subcultures apparently exists that correlates academic achievement, orderly behavior, high morale, and a preoccupation with university entrance exams, on the one hand, and, on the other, academic difficulties, delinquent tendencies, and low morale. Each of the five schools has its own balance of these two sets of qualities. (p. 43)

Aiming to isolate some of the factors that contribute to the unique character of each school, Tsukada (2010) produced a typology which locates schools in two dimensions. The first dimension indicates the dominant curriculum orientation, and, specifically, "whether the school systematically prepares its students for the college entrance examination or emphasizes self-discipline for its students" (p. 71). The other dimension categorizes schools "according to whether the school emphasizes its control over students or allows students the freedom to do anything" (p. 70). By "control" here, Tsukada is referring to the extent to which

students' lives are regulated, both by the academic curriculum, and any rules the school imposes concerning uniform, behaviour and so on.

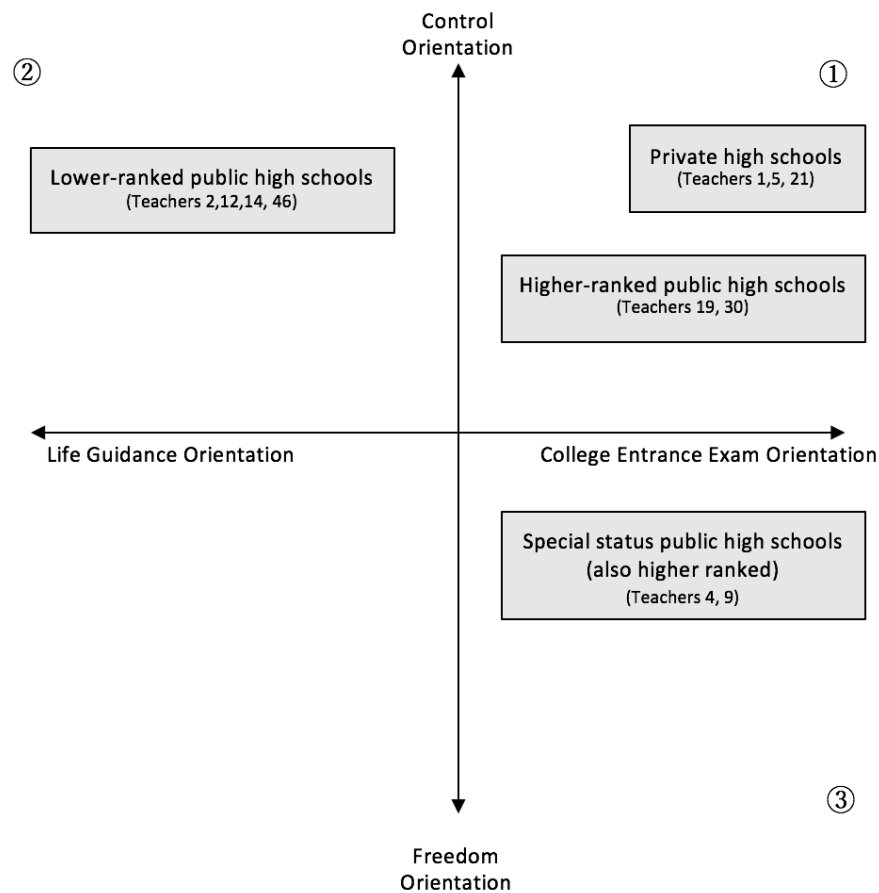


Figure 6.1 Typology of senior high schools (based on Tsukada, 2010, p. 71)

Figure 6.1 is based on Tsukada's typology and positions each of the 11 SHS teachers I interviewed (but not the three JHS teachers) in one of three quadrants. Before I go on to discuss the implications for JTEs wishing to teach for citizenship, some further explanation is required concerning how I identified schools as being "higher-" or "lower-ranked".

Academic reputation is key to the hierarchy of schools described by Rohlen (1983) and Tsukada (2010), and this reputation hinges ultimately on schools' record in getting students into top universities. In constructing Figure 6.1, I relied partly on teachers' accounts of whether their school was academically "above" or "below average", but also looked for corroboration in the school's *hensachi* (偏差値), or "standardized rank score". *Hensachi* scores

are compiled by companies in the *juku* or “coaching school” industry based on students’ performance in standardized tests. The *hensachi* is an indication of how difficult a school is to enter, which is, in turn, linked to its record in getting students into good universities (Nakamuro, Oshio, & Inui, 2013).

It is difficult to overstate the importance of *hensachi* in shaping Japanese perceptions of not only educational institutions, but also the students who attend them. *Hensachi* first appeared in the 1960s, and, according to one account,

Within a short span of time, ... infiltrated many secondary and tertiary educational settings to become a *de facto* measure of scholastic attainment and some even maintain, personal worth. In the Japanese context, *hensachi* signifies far more than a statistical formula – it also represents a pervasive social myth that personal ability can be summed up through a single equation which sets school admission decisions (Saitoh & Newfields, 2010, p. 2).

The reliance on *hensachi* has been widely criticized, particularly by MEXT (McVeigh, 2002), but rankings derived from them are commonly consulted by school administrators and teachers, as well as by prospective students and their parents. Researchers have also used *hensachi* as a measure of schools’ academic standing (e.g. Goto Butler & Iino, 2017; Oshio, Sano & Suetomi, 2010; Underwood, 2012). For my purposes, I referred to the popular school ranking website *koukouhensachi.net* (2017), which lists the latest *hensachi* scores for all high schools in the country. A *hensachi* of 50 is considered average. The JTEs I interviewed were based in schools with scores that range from 44 (quite low) to 70 (very high). I categorized any school whose *hensachi* was below 50 as “lower ranked”, and those with scores above 50 as “higher ranked”. In all cases, these categories appeared to confirm teachers’ own descriptions of schools. (Because of the possibility of schools being identified from *hensachi*, I have avoided reporting specific scores here).

7.3.5.3 *Shingakukou: Higher-ranked, exam-oriented high schools*

Schools in the top right-hand corner of Figure 6.1 (quadrant ①) are commonly referred to as *shingakukou* (進学校) – schools that put a heavy emphasis on preparing students for university entrance exams. To this end, they tend towards Tsukada’s control orientation, providing a highly systemized programme of study, and regular testing that allows students to monitor their own personal *hensachi* scores. The *shingakukou* are of two main types – private schools and academic public high schools. The following discussion considers each of these in turn.

All three of the private school teachers I interviewed described their schools’ curricula as focused on preparation for university entrance exams, and this appears to largely determine what happens in their classrooms. Teacher 5, whose school appears high in the *hensachi* rankings, explained how his students are tested in all subjects and classes restreamed four times a year, which means test scores are a constant preoccupation for students and teachers:

Maybe students always realize that they have to study because if they go down [to a lower] class, their parents will scold them. So ... they tend to study longer or better than [students at] another school.

(5, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

At Teacher 21’s school, students choose between two courses – one that targets entry to “national universities and elite private universities”, or a less demanding course aiming at “famous private universities”. She explained that her school tended to attract mid-level students who were unable to enter more prestigious public high schools. Her students were “not good at studying” and “not so good at English”, and for that reason wanted plenty of drill-type grammar exercises and practice with past exam papers. Talking about her aims as an English teacher, Teacher 21 said she hoped to nurture positive attitudes towards other cultures, particularly non-English-speaking cultures:

In terms of English education, I think the most important thing is how to accept other countries' cultures, minorities, and the awareness that there are a lot of languages other than English, and cultures other than English-speaking cultures ... something like that. So I think it's our role to teach our students such kind of thing.

(21, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

When I asked her to talk about anything she had done in class to help raise such awareness, however, she admitted that this seldom amounted to more than a spontaneous, *ad hoc* comment. She had never felt able to include supplementary materials or to plan classroom activities that would focus the lesson on issues of cultural diversity rather than on language-teaching points:

Because of the pressure for us to have our students pass the entrance examination, we have little time to do extra materials, to focus on global education and citizenship education.

(21, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teacher 1 made similar comments about the lack of time for anything other than textbook-focused language work. He teaches on his school's *tokushin* ("special advanced") course:

It's a heavily academic course, so ... there's very little room for global education. ... I think it's a pity. I think it's very unlucky for the students not to be taught, not to be given a chance to think, about world issues or things like that.

(1, private JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Of the 14 teachers I interviewed, the three JTEs based in private schools seemed to have the least amount of flexibility in what they teach. They also lacked some of the facilitating factors that allow teachers in other, public-sector schools to find space for citizenship-related work. None of the private school JTEs had access to a general-purpose Integrated Studies slot in the timetable. Teachers 1 and 5 also said they had no opportunity to teach with an ALT. Teacher 21

sometimes does, but did not see team-taught classes as an opportunity to pursue any of her own aims. As she put it, “actually, the main teachers are ALTs, so we are just assistants”.

I turn now to the public sector *shingakukou* in quadrant ① of Figure 6.1. Teachers 19 and 30 both teach in “academic” public high schools that are positioned relatively high in the *hensachi* rankings. Tsukada (2010) considers such schools to be control-oriented because they employ a rigorous curriculum to train students rather than leaving them to prepare for exams independently. He suggests that schools established from the late 1960s tended to become particularly control-oriented so they could compete with older high schools that had already secured their place in the hierarchy. Teacher 19’s school, which was founded in the mid-1970s, appears to fit this description:

My school has a much shorter history [than my previous schools] and strongly ... regulates ... students and things. ... And, what shall I say? ... The school regulations are very tight, strong.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

Teacher 19 must coordinate her lessons with other teachers so that her students are ready to take the mid- and end-of-term tests along with theirs. She says that whereas in her previous schools she sometimes taught global issues with supplementary materials, this is rare in her current position. She described a typical lesson as follows:

I also ... do the very traditional, typical, teaching in my English classes. ... We just use the textbook and follow the ... teacher’s manual ... and do questions and answers, and explanations, and that kind of repetition.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

She believes the textbooks do present opportunities to raise students’ awareness of global issues, both because of the topics they contain and because they provide pair and group discussion activities. She also believes she is unusual among JTEs in using these activities in class. I asked whether allowing time for discussion created problems in keeping up with the teaching schedule.

If you can keep up with the pace, to ... finish the lessons before the term exams, ... [laughs] *that's* the point. ... So, for the mid-term exams, and term exams, if we cover all the content ... that should be covered, then we have the freedom to do anything, ... optional things.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teacher 30 describes teaching in a similar way. She does use supplementary resources to teach global issues, but she is conscious that her main priority is to finish the textbook material in time for the regular tests students must take.

I cover the textbook, ... that's why students don't complain. If I don't cover it, and treat global issues only, or spend more time on global issues which are not in the textbook, ... some students may complain. It would be big trouble for me. So I cover the textbook, then I give them tests as other teachers do.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Both Teacher 19 and Teacher 30 adopt a strategic approach to the school term, making sure to keep up with the teaching schedule, but varying the pace to create space for citizenship-related work – in Teacher 19's case to allow time for discussion-skills practice, and in Teacher 30's case to teach with supplementary materials. Teacher 30 described her strategy in this way:

12 lessons must be taught throughout the year. And, ... in the textbook, ... out of 12 lessons, at most three ... are related to global issues. ... So, other lessons I do ... very quickly, and I don't prepare ... supplemental [materials] – just teach as other English teachers do. ... But if I find a very good topic which is in the textbook, and I feel like treating that ... more deeply, and ... giving the students opportunities to think about the issues, ... I try to finish teaching the grammar or sentence structures ... at a faster speed than usual. ... And I spare probably two periods ... for extra activities.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Both teachers describe themselves as “global educators” as well as teachers of English, and although they must work within the constraints of a tight teaching schedule, each exploits opportunities in the school timetable to pursue citizenship-related aims. For example, Teacher 19 invited an American academic to the school assembly to give a lecture about global citizenship. She has also used Integrated Studies to teach content-based English classes on global issues. In his research, Bjork (2011) found that some schools ignored MEXT’s directives about using Integrated Studies for student-centred projects and were instead giving extra classes in other academic subjects. According to Teacher 19, at her previous school, “whose academic focus is very strong”, Integrated Studies was used for supplementary lessons in Japanese, Maths and English, so was unavailable to her for global citizenship-related English activities. Her current school, however, was

very serious about the instructions ... given by the Board of Education, so we do *exactly* what the Board of Education tells us to do [*laughs*]. ... We follow it. ... So, what we are doing is what we *should* be doing.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English/emphasis)

This enabled her to use Integrated Studies for the kinds of student-centred projects that were intended in the *yutori kyouiku* policy (see Chapter 2), making these sessions quite different from her other, textbook-focused English classes.

[In Integrated Studies] we are not allowed to use a regular textbook. ... So, that’s where we can ... talk about whatever we want to, like gender issues, or ... development or environment, or ... anything.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher’s English)

Teacher 30 has exploited different opportunities to teach for global citizenship. She described how when she first joined her school, she discovered there was an after-school club for students who wanted to improve their English-speaking skills, but that it was a “dead club” with “no activity”. With the principal’s permission, she took over supervision of the club and transformed it into a global

issues study group. Subsequently, she was asked to create a new, content-based English class for students enrolled in the school's English Course (*eigoka*), and took the opportunity to formally introduce Global Citizenship to the curriculum.

In regular English classes, there is a fixed textbook that the English teachers have to use. But for the ... Global Citizenship class, there is no textbook. So, I collect my original materials, and I make my original worksheets, so the topics are all global issues, throughout the year. ... Human rights, sustainable development, biodiversity, multicultural [issues].

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Having had the opportunity to develop this special class, Teacher 30 considers herself to be in "the best environment" for global education.

This subsection has discussed the context provided by schools located in the top-right corner of Figure 6.1 – so-called *shingakukou* that exhibit Tsukada's (2010) control-orientation and a curriculum firmly directed towards entrance exam preparation. Two types of school fall into this category: private schools, and higher-ranked "academic" schools in the public sector. Before embarking on this study, I assumed JTEs in private schools would see more scope for citizenship-related work, given the greater autonomy allowed to private schools with respect to curriculum design and materials selection (Aspinall, 2005; Glasgow, 2014). I was surprised by survey data that suggested private school teachers are *less* optimistic about the possibility of teaching for citizenship than those in public schools, but the qualitative data bear out this earlier finding. Private school teachers appear to have few opportunities to deviate from teaching the textbook and preparing for tests, so the possibilities for pursuing citizenship-related aims appear limited. On the other hand, the two public high-school teachers discussed here, though working within similar test-oriented curricular constraints, have adopted strategies to create space for citizenship-related work, and exploited other opportunities at school to pursue their interest in global education.

7.3.5.4 Lower-ranked high schools

As shown in Figure 6.1, four interview participants are teaching in public high schools that are below average in the *hensachi* rankings (quadrant ②). While not at the bottom of the hierarchy, these schools tend to cater for academically less able students who did not have the grades to get in to more prestigious public high schools, and whose families could not afford the next-best option of a private school. Some students still hope to go to university – Teacher 46 described how teachers at her school offered extra, after-school classes for such students – but the majority do not expect to. JTEs at these lower-ranked schools must often deal with low motivation and bad behaviour among students. According to Tsukada (2010), like the academic schools in quadrant ①, the lower-ranked schools in quadrant ② have a control orientation, but rather than entrance exams the curriculum emphasizes “life guidance” or instilling self-discipline in students: “In such a school, instruction for the college entrance exam does not function as a method to keep students in order; the school needs to have strict school rules to discipline the students” (p. 80).

The four JTEs from lower-ranked schools were some of the most enthusiastic about the possibility of combining English teaching and citizenship education, but they also reported facing numerous practical limitations. Participants from all types of school complained about time constraints; in the survey, 43.5% agreed that JTEs were too busy with other teaching commitments to concern themselves with citizenship education. But whereas teachers in the higher-ranking schools focused on time needed to cover the academic syllabus, those in lower-ranked schools referred more to the burden of non-teaching responsibilities. Teacher 12 estimated that more than 50% of her time is taken up by her duties as a homeroom teacher, a role she performs every year. This limits the time she has for class preparation:

I find it very difficult to look for materials within my work time ... you know, study about what to teach, make a teaching plan, because ... I have to deal with the problems about students, like their studying problems or

behaviour problems or ... interviewing students, or counselling students.
... We have ... a lot of extra work [other than] subject teaching in school.
(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teacher 46 described similar demands on her time:

Usually I leave school around 9 o'clock [at night]. ... Students do bad things one thing after another. ... Now, 4 students are suspended, ... so we go to school around 7:20 a.m. to take care of those suspended students. ... We sometimes have to go to visit them at home, even on Saturdays and Sundays. ... We are very busy. That's one problem.
(46, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

JTEs at lower-ranked schools also talked about facing constraints in their classrooms. Teacher 46 described how in the previous term she had discipline problems with one class, which meant having to abandon some of the peace-related material she had prepared:

T: [It was] tough, ... so hard for me to teach them in a quiet place. They sometimes yelled, threw things, or disappeared from the classroom. ... They were so bad. I couldn't discipline them.
IH: So at the moment you are just teaching the textbook [i.e. not using any of your citizenship-related supplementary material]?
T: Yes.

(46, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

While no other teachers reported having discipline problems on this scale, all four of the JTEs at lower-ranked schools said their ability to address citizenship-related aims was constrained by students' lack of motivation and low English proficiency. Teacher 2 expressed her frustration with students:

They really hate English. They don't understand English at all, ... so I can't do so many things. ... Sometimes I just feel it's meaningless to use

a textbook. No matter how many times I tell them the grammar rules they never learn. It's meaningless.

(2, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Notwithstanding the constraints these teachers describe, however, the context provided by lower-ranked high schools in some ways appears more conducive to the infusion of citizenship than that of the academic schools discussed earlier. The JTEs may sometimes struggle to teach grammar to students who lack the extrinsic motivation that university entrance exams provide for those in higher-ranked schools; however, like Teacher 2 quoted above, they also appear ready to question the purposes of language teaching, and more open to exploring pedagogical alternatives to grammar translation. Explaining how she first became interested in teaching citizenship through English, Teacher 12 described her frustration with trying to teach the textbook to students at this level:

my first high school was very small, and there were so many students with difficult situations, or attitude problems. ... It was *so* hard to manage the class properly in those days, so I think it was impossible to teach English to the students. ... I decided to find what motivates them, or what interests them. ... I almost gave up teaching my textbook because they were not interested [*laughs*]. So, I collected materials, like easy poems, or songs they would be interested in, or ... excerpts from movies. ... [My students would] never learn English language. They never, [*laughs*] ... remembered the words or vocabulary, so I gradually began to think that maybe I have to teach something *through* English classes, not English language. ... I gave up making them remember or memorize vocabulary or knowledge about English language itself.

(12, public SHS, interview, teacher's English/emphasis)

Teachers 14 and 46 – also at lower-ranked schools – displayed this same willingness to move away from the textbook, and to employ a range of supplementary materials. Research by Browne and Wada (1998) suggests that JTEs in lower-ranked Japanese high schools tend to be more flexible regarding teaching methods than those in academic schools. They surveyed teachers in

vocational schools (lower ranked) and academic schools (higher ranked), and found the former group were more likely to attend in-service training workshops. They suggest this is partly because teachers in lower-ranked schools need to deal more often with discipline problems and poorly motivated students, but that it also reflects their need for training in pedagogical alternatives to the *yakudoku*/grammar-translation method that predominates in academic schools. Indeed, Browne and Wada suggest that *yakudoku* is actually easier to teach, so teachers in academic schools are less likely to require in-service training. They conclude that teachers in lower-ranked schools are “unfettered by entrance exam pressures, [and] are more likely to experiment with communicative teaching techniques and methodologies” (p. 103). Similarly, O’Donnell (2005) found that while JTEs working in higher-ranked schools were under extreme pressure to stick to conventional, grammar-translation pedagogy, it was a teacher working “at the lowest level of the academic hierarchy” (p. 313) who had the freedom to employ communicative methods.

There is some evidence in my data of JTEs in lower-ranked schools employing CLT methodology. Teacher 12 said she regularly uses pair and group speaking activities with her students, albeit in the form of highly structured pattern practice, and she hopes these will instil positive attitudes towards communicating with others. Teachers 14 and 46 both said they provide regular opportunities for students to react to topics with personal opinions – sometimes giving them time to compose them in writing first, or allowing them to speak in Japanese. The generally low level of English proficiency among students does not appear to allow much in the way of *discussion* in English, however.

Perhaps the more important way that the less competitive environment in lower-ranked schools appears to facilitate JTEs in teaching for citizenship is in allowing more time to focus on the thematic content of textbooks, and greater flexibility in using supplementary materials. Teacher 46 used a copy of President Obama’s inauguration speech to expand on a chapter about the US Civil Rights movement, and focus on the issue of discrimination. I asked whether this kind of supplementary work created problems in finishing the textbook:

T: No, not at all, because we didn’t finish the textbook. ... We *never* finish the textbook!

IH: Some teachers would worry about that. You know, ‘we have to finish the textbook by the end of the year’...

T: It’s OK for us. ... Our school is flexible. ... Our school’s academic level is low. ... Teachers at most academic high-level schools have to compete with each other to send their students to good universities. But, most of our students don’t go to college ... so, I want them to learn not only English but also these kinds of social things.

(46, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Like Teacher 12, then, Teacher 46 clearly sees her role as teaching “not only English”. While the same can be said of teachers working higher up the school hierarchy – for example, Teachers 19 and 30 described themselves as not only English teachers but also “global educators” – there is a sense in which the citizenship work done by teachers in the lower-ranked schools appears to take on more significance relative to language teaching. As Teacher 46 said, “most of our students don’t go to college” so teaching about “these kinds of social things” becomes more important – even to the extent that she will not even try to finish the language syllabus in the textbook.

The discussion of schools located in quadrants ① and ② of Figure 6.1 echoes observations by Lincicome (1993). In a study of international education in Japan conducted more than two decades ago, he discovered that academically high-achieving schools were reluctant to introduce curricular innovations that were not directly relevant to preparing students for university entrance exams, which was ultimately what their reputations rested on. Conversely, he found that teachers at less prestigious schools, many of whose students were unlikely to get into university, displayed greater willingness to experiment with international education. My own study reveals a similar phenomenon with regard to teaching for citizenship, but with added nuance. JTEs at lower-ranking schools *did* say they had more freedom to incorporate supplementary materials and experiment with different pedagogies, and they appeared more willing to do so, certainly compared to teachers in private-sector *shingakukou*. What my study suggests, however, is that even in some prestigious schools – particularly in the public sector – some JTEs do believe they are finding citizenship-teaching opportunities, principally by utilizing such opportunities as Integrated Studies and team

teaching. Moreover, as the next section demonstrates, *some* prestigious schools, located high in the *hensachi* rankings, appear to offer very considerable scope for the infusion of citizenship education into English classes on account of having greater autonomy to develop their own curricula.

7.3.5.5 *Special-status high schools*

In the bottom-right corner of Figure 6.1 (quadrant ③) are two public high schools whose special status marks them out from other schools discussed here, and further illustrates the diversity that characterizes secondary education in Japan.

Teacher 4 is based at a school run by a large prefectural authority. The school is well known for its English programme, and for its International Course (*kokusai kousu*), entry to which is by competitive entrance exam. The year after I interviewed Teacher 4, the school successfully applied to become one of MEXT's Super Global High Schools (SGHs) (see Goto Butler & Iino, 2017; Zhou & Singer, 2016), on the strength of a curriculum that emphasizes human rights, the environment and the economy, and strong communication and debate skills. The English department played a pivotal role in the development of this curriculum. Between 2002 and 2007 the school received special funding as a Super English High School (SELHi), which enabled it to develop its International Course. Some of the English teachers have been allowed to remain at the school for many years, apparently because of the expertise they have acquired in CBI; at the time of our interview, Teacher 4 was in her twenty-fifth year at the school. The school is also unusual in having as many as six full-time ALTs, who, in addition to team teaching with Japanese teachers, sometimes teach classes independently – even though, as Teacher 4 acknowledged, this is not strictly allowed.

Teacher 9's school is also well known for its English programme. Since the school is attached to a national university, and is closely involved with both teacher training and educational research, it is not subject to the same level of instructional guidance as typical public-sector schools. The school has developed its own six-year curriculum which combines both junior and senior levels, and teachers are not obliged to use Ministry-approved textbooks. Because the school

employs its teaching staff directly, teachers are not subject to regular transfers between schools. Teacher 9 has been at the school for more than eighteen years and played a leading role in the development of its English curriculum. For the first two years, students learn English grammar, but in subsequent years the emphasis is on integrated skills and CBI.

Each of the schools outlined above has its own unique programme, but they share important similarities in terms of allowing JTEs to teach for citizenship. Here I focus on two interrelated contextual factors that appear to facilitate the work of Teachers 4 and 9 in this respect. First, there is the assumption at both schools that students are largely capable of preparing for university entrance exams by themselves. This means the English curriculum is not structured primarily around grammar instruction, and teachers are free to employ pedagogies that are more conducive to teaching for citizenship. Second, there appears to be a strong consensus within both English departments that JTEs' role is not only to teach language, but also to nurture intercultural communication skills and global citizenship.

Each of these special-status schools is relatively prestigious, and regularly places students in some of Japan's top universities. This is reflected by the comparatively high positions they occupy in the *hensachi* rankings. Students tend to be highly motivated and academically capable, and discipline problems are correspondingly rare. What makes these schools different from the *shingakukou* located in quadrant ① of Figure 6.1, however, is the fact that although most students intend to apply to good universities, the school curricula are not dominated by entrance exam preparation. In this sense, they are similar to the "urban liberal elite high schools" that Tsukada (2010, p. 71) locates in the same quadrant of his graph. He reports that teachers in those schools emphasize the importance of learner autonomy, considering it students' own responsibility to prepare for entrance examinations, and this gives the schools a freedom- rather than control-orientation.

In our interview, Teacher 4 acknowledged that she sometimes gives exam-related grammar exercises to weaker students in her writing classes, but generally she believes students are capable of doing this kind of test preparation independently:

Once they know ... how to practise, ... they can do it by themselves.
That's because my students are very good students, not ordinary students,
and also, they are very motivated, so they can do it by themselves.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

At its website, the school where Teacher 9 works emphasizes that its curriculum encourages students to take responsibility for their own learning. As described in 7.2.2, I observed a Topic Studies lesson taught by Teacher 9, and at the end of the session she distributed grammar-practice worksheets for her students to complete at home. She does check these for students, but outside of class time, so exam-related grammar work is not allowed to interfere with the lesson's focus on content. Teacher 9 believes her students not only enjoy the chance to take content-based classes but are also reassured by the school's record in university placement:

They want to go to good universities too, but ... not only me but all the English faculty teachers are teaching ... theme-based instruction. It doesn't bother our students because they can learn a lot, and then many students pass the entrance exam.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

The fact that these schools exhibit Tsukada's (2010) freedom orientation with regard to entrance exam preparation, encouraging students to take responsibility for this themselves, allows JTEs much greater flexibility in their classrooms than the highly control-oriented curricula that characterize the *shingakukou* schools in quadrant ①. The schools' special status, moreover, means teachers are not restricted to teaching with authorized textbooks, and can base their classes on materials they choose or create themselves. Authorized textbooks do not need to be used on the International Course at Teacher 4's school, and even for students enrolled in the Ordinary Course (*futsuu kousu*), teachers can adjust the amount of attention they give to these books.

T: We should buy [the textbooks], but we don't need to do them from cover to cover.

IH: And you can use other things as well?

T: Yes. And also, we can skip some boring parts! [*laughs*]

(4, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

At Teacher 9's school, students are not even required to buy the MEXT-approved textbooks. She said she does most of her own teaching using photocopied handouts. During our interview, she showed me worksheets she had created using the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and newspaper articles about human trafficking.

Finding suitable teaching materials can take a considerable amount of time and energy, and as discussed in 7.3.4, one factor that can discourage JTEs from expanding on textbook topics with extra materials is the absence of like-minded colleagues to collaborate with. The situation seems to be quite different for Teachers 4 and 9, both of whom described working in English departments with high levels of collegiality. Crucially, it appears there is a consensus in both departments that teachers should be utilizing up-to-date, supplementary material that focuses on global issues. According to Teacher 9:

We all agree on the school policy, and teaching students as global citizens, so I think we all work ... in that way. ... So we do not really need to be bound, ... teaching the textbooks.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

She described weekly meetings to discuss the English programme, and to share teaching materials:

I put everything in the same folder of our English faculty, so we can see the teaching materials, which other teachers made ... on the computer. ... And we have an English faculty meeting once a week, so we can discuss a lot about our teaching, the syllabus, and if we have some trouble we can talk about it. ... It's a very small group, only seven of us, working together.

(9, public JHS/SHS, interview, teacher's English)

Teacher 4 described how at her school, too, there are regular departmental meetings to discuss materials.

T: We work in a team, so the teachers who teach the same subject have a meeting very often, and then we will decide how to proceed the lessons and what kind of reading materials we will use.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

I asked her whether all of her colleagues agreed that English classes needed to deal with global content.

T: It's not [a case of] agree or disagree ... it's ... *atarimae* ["obvious"]. It's common sense!

IH: Because of this school?

T: Yes. ... We are very lucky because of the history of this school.

(4, public SHS, interview, original dialogue)

Both Teacher 4 and Teacher 9 describe a departmental consensus in their schools that English classes should contribute to education for global citizenship, and this seems to result in close collaboration between colleagues. Both teachers came across as having a strong personal commitment to addressing aspects of citizenship in their classes, but their ability to do this appears greatly facilitated by the freedom-orientation each school has adopted, and the high degree of collegiality among fellow teachers.

7.3.6 Context and teacher agency

The discussion in 7.3 has focused on the main contextual factors participants perceive as affecting their efforts to infuse citizenship education into English teaching. Apart from the two teachers based in the special-status schools, most participants tended to emphasize constraints rather than facilitating factors, and expressed some degree of frustration about their inability to pursue citizenship-related aims.

While frustration appeared commonplace, however, the study also suggests that some participants may find ways to negotiate constraints and exploit opportunities to teach for citizenship. All 14 interviewees referred to the importance of teacher interest and enthusiasm in this respect. Given the perceived constraints, teachers believe that whether opportunities for citizenship education are acted upon is a matter of individual teacher initiative. The following interview excerpts illustrate this view.

Concerning the complaint that the curriculum leaves insufficient time for citizenship education, one teacher said she thought JTEs had a responsibility to *find* time:

It's really up to the teacher's interest and technique. ... If the teachers are very skilful, ... and have very strong passion in doing ... global citizenship education, they don't say time is the reason, or curriculum is the reason [that they can't do that]. They can somehow, *anyhow*, ... manage to teach both – textbook *and* global issues.

(30, public SHS, interview, teacher's English/emphasis)

Similarly, when I mentioned to another teacher that some JTEs felt it was “difficult” to supplement the textbook with extra, citizenship-related material, she interjected:

It's *not* difficult! I would like to tell the Japanese teacher who would like to say such kind of things, that even if ... you must use the authorized textbook, ... if the teacher has the mind to improve the students to be global citizens, you can put some *essence* ... some *small things* to add to the textbook.

(4, public SHS, interview, teacher's English/emphasis)

Another teacher emphasized individual teacher initiative in determining whether Integrated Studies is used for citizenship-related work:

it depends on the teacher's level of ... understanding or responsibility, awareness of some sort. ... Even if we say *sougoutekina gakushuu*

[Integrated Studies], where teachers have a lot of freedom to choose what kind of materials ... or what kind of style we choose, everything just depends on our choice. ... So, there's an opportunity, but not every teacher takes that opportunity.

(19, public SHS, interview, teacher's English)

This highlighting by participants of individual teacher initiative resonates with the discourse on teacher agency. Campbell (2012) defines agency as a person's capacity "to make free or independent choices, to engage in autonomous actions, and to exercise judgment"; in the context of education, it refers to "the capacity of teachers to use professional discretion in their pedagogical and curricular practices" (p. 183). Priestley, Biesta and Robinson (2015) caution against seeing teacher agency as simply a reflection of individual capacities, however. Rather, their "ecological approach" conceives agency as something that teachers *achieve* through their interaction with a given environment:

Agency is therefore to be understood as resulting from the *interplay* of individuals' capacities and environment conditions. This makes it important not just to look at individuals and what they are able or not able to do but also at the cultures, structures and relationships that shape the particular 'ecologies' within which teachers work. It is the *interaction* between capacities and conditions that counts in making sense of teacher agency. (p. 3, original emphasis)

A thorough investigation of teaching environments including the "cultures, structures and relationships" that shape what teachers can do is beyond the aims of this study and its focus on JTEs' perceptions. Nevertheless, the discussion in this chapter has highlighted numerous examples in the data where what JTEs say about whether they are able to teach for citizenship and how appears to reflect the interplay of personal and contextual factors described by Priestley et al. This was evident in each of the school types discussed above.

The two JTEs teaching in the prestigious special-status schools expressed a firm personal commitment to teaching global citizenship through English. At the same time, their ability to teach with citizenship-related material and adopt

theme-based, communicative pedagogies seems to reflect the positive collegial atmosphere and schools' freedom orientation (M. Tsukada, 2010). This environment appears to help teachers achieve a high degree of agency, both in incorporating citizenship-related work in their own classes, and in contributing to a school English curriculum that has teaching for global citizenship as one of its core educational goals.

Teachers in most other school types seem to achieve varying degrees of agency in teaching for citizenship. The four teachers in lower-ranked senior high schools say they are constrained by poorly motivated students and discipline problems, but conversely, lower academic expectations of students seem to facilitate more experimentation by teachers, and the achievement of some agency in focusing on educational objectives other than language instruction. Teachers in higher-ranked senior high schools apparently achieve more limited agency, constrained as they are by departmental and student expectations that they focus on exam preparation and observe the common teaching schedule. These teachers typically see themselves as having different educational goals from colleagues, but appear to gain moral support from membership of outside networks. These help them achieve a degree of agency by providing a source of practical ideas which they can draw on when they find occasional opportunities such as Integrated Studies to teach for citizenship. The three teachers in private high schools appear to achieve very little agency in terms of incorporating teaching for citizenship in their English classes, and it was these teachers who tended to express most frustration with their teaching situation.

Teacher agency is a convenient way of conceptualizing the potential for individual teachers to pursue their educational aims within a complex environment that combines both facilitating and constraining factors. This study focused on individual teachers' perceptions, which limits what can be learned from the data about the environments teachers are operating in. Nevertheless, it does perhaps offer some corroboration for Biesta, Priestley and Robinson's (2015) contention that teachers' beliefs themselves have an important role to play in the achievement of teacher agency. They argue that what teachers believe – for example, about the purposes of education – can have “a particular ‘driving’ or ‘motivating’ role in the achievement of agency” (p. 628). While many of my participants expressed frustration with constraints they say they encounter in

their work, some appear to find opportunities to give some attention to content and include a more communicative element in their classes, motivated by the belief that their role as an educator goes beyond language instruction to include the teaching of the knowledge, values, and (to some extent) skills they believe their students need as citizens.

7.4 Chapter summary

Drawing on the interview data, this chapter sought to extend the general discussion of participants' perceptions in Chapters 5 and 6 by highlighting some of the practical issues reported by teachers who believe aspects of their own teaching are relevant to citizenship education. Those teachers' aims appear to conform broadly to the cosmopolitan orientation discussed earlier, with a particular emphasis on teaching topics related to peace, human rights and the environment.

Textbooks emerge as central to participants' ability to address their citizenship-related aims. Almost all teachers are legally required to use them, but the fact that they increasingly include material connected with global issues and other cultures presents opportunities for addressing issues of citizenship. Some teachers drew attention to concerns about pedagogy, emphasizing the need for activities that encourage students to reflect on the thematic content of textbooks rather than linguistic matters. Some teachers appear to be using supplementary materials to expand upon textbooks, but more teachers referred to factors they believe constrain them from doing this.

ALTs are seen as providing input that contributes to students' knowledge of other cultures, and, teachers hope, encourages positive attitudes to cultural difference. A few teachers referred to interactive activities with ALTs which could be seen as helping the development of intercultural skills. Overall, however, as discussed in Chapter 6, teachers' view of teaching for intercultural competence, including the role of ALTs, appears weighted towards the knowledge and values dimensions of Byram's model.

Although the literature suggests relatively little CLT is found in high-school English classrooms, some participants appear to be using communicative activities with their students, motivated by aims they connect to citizenship.

Some teachers believe that communicating about personal topics in English can improve relationships among students, helping to avoid problems like bullying. 39% of survey respondents thought JTEs could help nurture discussion and debate skills, but the interviews suggest that, in practice, fewer teachers use activities that engage students in discussion. Those JTEs who do discussion activities stress their value in encouraging student reflection on topics: that is, teaching *with* discussion. Two teachers appear to have taught some skills *for* debate, but these were rare examples.

This chapter highlighted contextual factors that participants see as affecting their ability to pursue citizenship-related aims. Rather than the Course of Study, participants tend to focus on informal aspects of instructional guidance, particularly the expectations of colleagues, students and parents, as having the strongest effect on what they can and cannot do. I argued that school type emerges as the key factor, specifically the extent to which the curriculum emphasizes entrance exam preparation. JTEs in junior high schools seem to have some flexibility here, but must contend with mixed-ability classes, and the expectation that they prepare students for high-school entrance exams. At the senior high-school level, there is considerable diversity. In the *shingakukou*, which specialize in getting students into good universities, expectations that JTEs focus on entrance exam preparation appear to severely limit their ability to explore citizenship related topics or work on discussion skills, especially in the private sector. In public *shingakukou*, teachers appear to find some opportunities for citizenship-related work, for example by using Integrated Studies and ALT visits. In lower-ranking high schools, JTEs may have more freedom to innovate, which appears to permit a variety of citizenship-related work, but they report facing other constraints, including poor student motivation and behaviour problems. The participants who appear to have most scope for teaching citizenship are in high-ranking, special-status high schools. The freedom-orientation adopted by these schools shifts much of the onus for exam preparation on to students, which appears to facilitate more content-focused, communicative work in class. The English departments in these schools appear to display high levels of collegiality, and a consensus that the English programme should embrace teaching for global citizenship.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to contribute to our understanding of how Japanese high-school English teachers may play a part in citizenship education. This warrants investigation because of previous research suggesting that foreign language teachers have a distinct role to play in teaching knowledge, values and skills relevant to citizenship in the context of globalization and increasing cultural diversity. Research has indicated that by employing student-centred, communicative pedagogies and teaching with citizenship-related content, FLTs can raise awareness of contemporary issues (e.g. K. Cates, 2005), help develop skills for democratic dialogue (Starkey, 2005), and nurture intercultural competence (Byram, 2008a; Risager, 2007). This aspect of English language education in Japanese high schools has been under-researched. At the time of writing, I am aware of no other studies that squarely address the question of how JTEs in high schools may incorporate aspects of citizenship into their language classes.

Addressing this gap in the literature, my study explored how JTEs may teach for citizenship through the perceptions of a purposively chosen group of teachers whose interest and involvement in citizenship education appeared to qualify them to provide information relevant to the study. The research questions guiding the inquiry were:

RQ1: Do participants believe Japanese English teachers have a role to play in citizenship education?

- (i) What do participants understand by “good citizenship”?
- (ii) What links do they see between English language teaching and citizenship education?

RQ2: How do participants believe they are combining education for citizenship with English language teaching?

- (i) What citizenship-teaching aims do participants have?
- (ii) How are they trying to achieve those aims?
- (iii) What contextual factors do they believe affect their ability to combine English language teaching with education for citizenship?

To explore these questions, a questionnaire survey gathered quantitative data from 46 teachers, and qualitative data, in the form of freely composed responses, from 34 teachers. Semi-structured interviews with 14 teachers delved further into areas highlighted by the survey, focusing on issues they reported in their own efforts to include a citizenship element in their teaching. Additional interviews were conducted with two teachers following opportunities to observe their classes.

8.1 Summary of findings

This section summarizes the main findings of the study with reference to literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

First, some brief comments are in order concerning the status of these findings. In Chapter 3, I emphasized that my use of purposive sampling severely limits the extent to which general conclusions can be drawn from the study. The investigation targeted a very particular group of JTEs – those who appeared interested or involved in teaching aspects of citizenship – so the sample was intentionally unrepresentative, and provides no statistical basis for generalizing results. Nevertheless, tentative general conclusions may be drawn from the study based on what Wiersma (2000) calls assertoric argumentation: “Such argumentation is based on the reasonableness of its claim given that its assumptions and evidence are acceptable” (p. 262). While we need to be mindful of the diversity scholars have identified in Japanese education (e.g. Rohlen, 1983; M. Tsukada, 2010), there are many factors that ensure a high degree of standardization (Cave, 2016). For example, the Courses of Study and textbook authorization system, the pervasive influence of entrance exams and *hensachi* rankings, and the involvement of ALTs through the JET Programme, all constitute a common framework within which the vast majority of JTEs must work. As the discussion in Chapter 7 illustrated, each school environment is shaped by numerous local factors, but given the commonalities that exist across the system as a whole, the study’s findings do provide a picture – albeit a tentative one – of the constraints and facilitating factors that *any* JTEs wanting to teach for citizenship are likely to face. To cite Wiersma (2000) again, “the

argument is that the results represent a reasonable possibility of being applicable in other situations” (p. 263).

The first two subsections, 8.1.1 and 8.1.2, address RQ1, summarizing the findings regarding participants’ views of citizenship, and how they perceive the potential for furthering citizenship-related aims through high-school English classes. 8.1.3 addresses RQ2, and summarizes what the study tells us about how participants believe they are teaching for citizenship, and how contextual factors may affect them.

8.1.1 What do participants understand by “good citizenship”?

Both quantitative and qualitative data suggest teachers place more importance on citizens having certain knowledge and values, and comparatively less weight on active participation in politics and society. Voting was seen as a minimum requirement of citizenship, but other forms of political participation and even involvement in the local community were rated as less important.

The main finding is that participants tend towards a cosmopolitan view of citizenship, believing that people should identify as citizens at multiple levels, including the global, regional, national and local (Osler & Starkey, 2005). The survey revealed a strong commitment to the principles of peace, democracy and human rights enshrined in Japan’s constitution, and a belief that these universal values also entail responsibilities for Japanese as global citizens.

That citizenship has a global dimension was not controversial among teachers, but the survey suggested some differences concerning the nature of national identity. The interviews revealed acute sensitivities to the word for “patriotism” used in the survey – *aikokushin*. This elicited negative reactions from many respondents, possibly reflecting the age profile of the sample. 41% of respondents were over 50, and part of a post-war generation who tend to associate *aikokushin* with excessive nationalism. These teachers tend to oppose government efforts to promote patriotism in schools, and some see a role for themselves in countering those efforts by promoting a global outlook among students.

Although they reject more assertive forms of nationalism, all teachers believe citizens should value the national culture, which aligns with Karasawa’s

(2002) finding that cultural heritage is the core component of Japanese identity. Participants appear to accept that Japan is multicultural. This received very little attention in the qualitative data, and I suggested that although participants consider intercultural competence to be a key requirement of citizenship, they tend to perceive this as being more relevant to Japanese in their interactions with foreigners than with cultural others inside Japan. Nevertheless, the survey showed a clear consensus on the need to respect Japan's ethnic diversity, which suggests teachers reject the nationalist ideology of *nihonjinron*. Participants see Japanese identity, based on a benign attachment to culture, as consistent with global citizenship, and it is this implied acceptance of multiple citizenships (Heater, 1999) that I identify as cosmopolitan.

As I acknowledge in 8.2.1, there may be an element of circularity in the finding that participants view citizenship in cosmopolitan terms, since many were contacted through networks with avowedly cosmopolitan aims. On the other hand, it is perhaps no surprise that people drawn to a career in foreign language teaching exhibit such values. According to Osler (2005), "Good language teachers must *necessarily* be cosmopolitan citizens" (p. 20, my emphasis). Porto and Byram (2015a) argue that an outward-looking, international orientation is precisely what FLTs bring to citizenship education.

8.1.2 What links do participants see between English language teaching and citizenship education?

The study suggests participants perceive a distinct role for JTEs in nurturing the cosmopolitan outlook they believe Japanese citizenship requires. The status English has as an international language is seen as making JTEs specially qualified to teach about the outside world and other cultures. A strong consensus emerges from the survey that high-school English teachers can contribute to the knowledge and values dimensions of citizenship education. Participants believe that through teaching *about* other cultures and global issues, JTEs can encourage positive attitudes towards cultural difference, respect for human rights, and a sense of global citizenship. The survey also indicated broad agreement that JTEs can nurture skills relevant to citizenship, including critical thinking and the ability to participate in dialogue, though participants appear to see less scope for

teaching these skills than for developing the knowledge and values dimensions of citizenship.

The survey data suggest participants do tend to perceive conceptual links between foreign language teaching and citizenship education, and to be optimistic about the potential for JTEs to contribute to teaching for citizenship. These survey findings may tend towards an ideal view of this contribution, however. For instance, while 39.1% of respondents saw great potential for developing debate and discussion skills, the interviews suggested relatively few participants employ discussion activities in class. This seems to bear out Borg's (2006) methodological observation that self-report survey instruments are prone to eliciting ideal cognitions. While the study did not include the observational data Borg recommends, the interview data may constitute a somewhat truer reflection of participants' perceptions, since in the interviews teachers appeared to give more weight to contextual factors they see impinging on JTEs' work.

The review of literature in Chapter 2 suggested a theoretical framework for considering FLT's role in citizenship based on contributions they can make in three main areas: by teaching with citizenship-related content, by teaching skills for dialogue, and by nurturing intercultural competence. Participants in my study believe JTEs can address all three areas, but they emphasize certain aspects of the framework. Generally speaking, they place more emphasis on *knowledge* and *values* than they do on *skills*. This was also true of how participants appear to think about citizenship; apart from voting, having the "right" knowledge and values was seen as more important to Japanese citizenship than active participation in politics and society. But rather than being based on how they conceive citizenship, participants' views about how JTEs can contribute to citizenship education may be more a reflection of their close acquaintance with the teacher-fronted, textbook-focused pedagogies typically found in high-school English classrooms, and the general emphasis on knowledge transmission within Japanese education (Takaya, 2017).

Whether it be global-issues content or material about other cultures, participants perceive the topics JTEs address in their classrooms as forming the most obvious link with citizenship education. In the survey, more than 60% agreed that Ministry-approved textbooks increasingly include topics relevant to citizenship, and this in itself may account for much of the optimism expressed in

the survey. However, the frequent citing of topics in the data does not necessarily indicate a perception among participants that there is a significant content-based element in high-school English teaching. The common view is, rather, that the first priority of most JTEs is covering the grammar syllabus, so that textbook material tends to be seen as a vehicle for teaching grammar points rather than an opportunity to raise awareness of any citizenship issues. Nevertheless, participants do also stress the opportunities that textbooks provide to focus lessons on content, and some teachers appear to be doing this by making topics the focus of discussion and by exploring topics in greater depth with the help of supplementary materials.

Participants' views on how JTEs can promote intercultural competence are heavily weighted towards the knowledge (*savoir*) dimension of Byram's IC model, which was introduced in Chapter 2. Participants see nurturing respect for other cultures, Byram's *savoir être*, as one of the main ways JTEs contribute to citizenship education, but they appear to see students developing positive attitudes towards other cultures mainly in the course of acquiring knowledge *about* other cultures. Some participants referred to the value of intercultural communication activities with ALTs, which acknowledges the possibility of students learning interactive skills (*savoir apprendre/faire*), but overall ALTs appear to be viewed principally as sources of cultural knowledge. Some participants think that studying English itself constitutes an "encounter with otherness" that can raise students' awareness of cultural differences in a manner similar to the tertiary socialization Byram describes. However, there was no real suggestion from teachers that either this experience, or acquiring knowledge of other cultures, or interacting with ALTs would encourage a *critical* perspective on Japan, which Byram considers to be the most important aspect of his model (*savoir s'engager*).

The survey data suggest that a sizeable minority of participants do see potential for JTEs to work on the skills for dialogue discussed by Starkey (2005), although, again, the interviews suggest that fewer teachers do this in practice. Interestingly, some teachers expressed the view that discussion and debate involve a way of communication that they see as characteristic of English-speaking cultures; in teaching students to express themselves in English, then, they are inducting them into a "logical" mode of expression which they view as

not typically Japanese. The fact that relatively few participants appear to teach either *with* or *for* discussion seems mainly due to the perceived lack of time for communicative activities, given the pressures to keep up with the common teaching schedule. It could also be another reflection of the general emphasis on the knowledge dimension: teachers tend to see teaching for citizenship in terms of the topics that can be addressed in class rather than skills that can be taught.

8.1.3 How do participants believe they are combining education for citizenship with English language teaching?

The survey data provided a general sense of how participants perceive the possibilities of JTEs contributing to citizenship education; the interviews were an opportunity to explore these perceptions with individual teachers, who, based on their survey responses, appeared especially committed to addressing aspects of citizenship in their teaching. Reflecting this purposive funnelling of participants (see Chapter 3), the survey data indicate high levels of optimism among these teachers. Interviewees had a mean optimism score of 4.5, compared with an average of 3.84 for all survey respondents.

The qualitative data provide valuable insights into how JTEs may pursue citizenship-related aims in their classes, but perhaps the most substantial finding to emerge from the interviews was the identification of strong school-type effects that appear to structure their ability to do so. Despite registering apparently high levels of optimism in the survey, in the interviews teachers tended to emphasize factors they perceive as preventing them from doing as much citizenship-related work as they say they would like, and again, this suggests the survey data may be weighted towards ideal perceptions. Numerous perceived constraints emerge from the interview data, including the requirement that teachers teach with authorized textbooks, poor student motivation, and low English proficiency, but the most important factor appears to be the extent to which the school curriculum emphasizes preparation for high school or university entrance exams, and the expectations this gives rise to among colleagues, students and their parents.

Previous studies (e.g. Browne & Wada, 1998; Lincicome, 1993; O'Donnell, 2005) have concluded that JTEs in academically more prestigious schools tend to have less freedom to employ CLT or to deviate from a teacher-

fronted, *yakudoku* approach, and that conversely, teachers in low-ranking schools have more freedom to adopt other pedagogies. To some extent, my study confirms this general pattern. Participants teaching in private schools in particular say they have little scope for focusing on citizenship-related content or organizing class discussions owing to the strong expectations that they stick to the textbook and teach exam-oriented English. Participants at lower-ranking schools also appear to have more freedom to pursue their citizenship-related goals, owing to the lack of entrance-exam emphasis. For these teachers, including class activities that stimulate students' interest in the outside world, that encourage positive attitudes to cultural difference or which may develop aspects of character such as perseverance, flexibility and willingness to collaborate with others appear to be more important than teaching the language itself.

However, participants in junior high schools, and in relatively higher-ranking public senior high schools (*shingakukou*) also say they are finding opportunities within the curriculum to develop topics they consider important from a citizenship perspective, by using supplementary materials and communicative activities that encourage students to reflect on topics. To integrate these aspects into their teaching while complying with expectations that they keep up with the common teaching schedule, participants say they employ various strategies including varying the pace of their teaching to make space for citizenship work, and using opportunities provided by Integrated Studies and lessons taught with ALTs. These teachers tend to see themselves as different from their colleagues at school, and refer to a lack of opportunities to collaborate, for example on materials development. For these teachers, membership of outside networks like GILE and *Shin-Eiken* appears a welcome source of moral support as well as practical advice on materials and activities that help them address aspects of citizenship.

The two participants who appear most able to combine citizenship teaching with language teaching are based in schools that are academically prestigious but which display Tsukada's (2010) freedom-orientation rather than control-orientation when it comes to entrance exam preparation, considering this something students should work on independently. One of these schools is attached to a national university and the other has been designated as a Super

Global High School; both statuses confer a high degree of autonomy when it comes to curriculum design and choice of teaching materials. Participants teaching in these schools report placing more emphasis on content and appear to devote a considerable amount of energy to developing content-based language teaching materials. In both schools, the English departments appear to be characterized by a high level of collegiality, and a consensus that teaching for global citizenship is an integral part of the JTE's role.

8.2 Limitations of the study

Although the research has provided valid insights into a hitherto under-researched area, it is important to acknowledge its limitations. Some of these have already been referred to.

8.2.1 Sampling issues

I adopted a purposive approach to sampling because I was interested in the perceptions of JTEs who approach language teaching in a particular way. It is likely that a randomized sample would have included few, if any, teachers with either interest in or first-hand experience of teaching for citizenship. A purposive sample has obvious limitations, however. Since participants were selected to fit a *particular* profile, by definition they comprise an unrepresentative group, and this severely limits the degree to which findings can be generalized. Notwithstanding the possibility of ascertainment bias described by Wiersma (2000), nothing in the data can be taken *by itself* to reflect what JTEs *typically* believe, about citizenship or about ways in which JTEs can teach for citizenship.

Lack of representativeness is an inherent feature of purposive sampling, but there were further limitations in methods used for this study. Many participants were contacted through *Shin-Eiken* and GILE, organizations that promote teaching about global issues, human rights and peace. This does not undermine the validity of teachers' perceptions of *how* JTEs can pursue citizenship-related aims, but the cosmopolitan outlook evident among participants may be a product of my sampling methods.

The relatively small size of the sample can be viewed as another limitation. While survey participants exceeded the recommended minimum for statistical analysis (Cohen et al., 2000), the sample did not include a balanced representation of different school types. School type emerged from the study as likely to impact on teachers' perceptions of JTEs' ability to teach for citizenship. The survey data suggested differences between public and private schools, and junior high and senior high schools, but the number of participants based in these different school types was not large enough to allow a statistical test of their significance. For the qualitative data, too, although interviewees included both JHS and SHS teachers, teachers from public and private sectors, and higher- and lower-ranked schools, larger samples from each group would have allowed observations to be made with greater confidence.

8.2.2 Focus of inquiry

The very broad way citizenship and citizenship education were conceptualized can be seen as another limitation. The questionnaire covered an array of categories for characterizing citizenship, including identity, rights and responsibilities, participation, attitudes, awareness, morals and skills. Similarly, citizenship education was taken to include a wide range of knowledge, values and skills. I felt these broad interpretations were justified by the exploratory nature of the study. The review of literature suggested there were multiple ways in which JTEs *could* teach for citizenship, and the study aimed to cast light on *what* JTEs were doing, as well as *how*. But the danger in interpreting citizenship so broadly is that the inquiry loses focus. As Davies (2000) warns:

If the citizenship net is cast very wide there is a possibility that the knowledge, skills and dispositions aimed at by citizenship education could be extended *ad infinitum* ... [and] the key terms are so ambiguous and contested that meaning is lost. (pp. 99-100)

A broad interpretation meant the study could take into account the very diverse ways JTEs said they were pursuing citizenship-related aims. It could be argued, however, that some examples participants gave constitute different things.

Teaching a song that focuses students' attention on environmental pollution; having students interview an ALT about education in her home country; organizing a class debate on the death penalty: all these activities were identified by participants as being concerned with citizenship, though each may be viewed differently in terms of learner outcomes and the pedagogies involved. Further inquiry into JTEs' role in citizenship education would benefit from defining teaching objectives more narrowly, to focus on nurturing respect for human rights, say, or teaching skills for dialogue.

8.2.3 Lack of systematic observation

A third limitation concerns my reliance on a questionnaire and interviews for data. Both methods are well established in research of teachers' perceptions, and combining them in this study provided an element of triangulation that may enhance confidence in the findings. But essentially the study remains confined to what teachers say they believe, and what they say they do. Further empirical work is needed to ascertain whether views expressed by participants are a reliable guide to actual classroom practice.

As noted earlier, Borg (2006) warns that self-report instruments are liable to produce ideal-oriented cognitions, and indeed, it became apparent in the interviews that at least two teachers had completed the questionnaire based on what they thought *should* ideally happen, rather than what they thought was actually possible. They later acknowledged that these survey responses were over-optimistic. The wording of the questionnaire could have been clearer perhaps, although Borg's point suggests that the "ideal" nature of survey responses is not simply a matter of how items are constructed, and may be an inherent feature of self-report questionnaires.

Both Borg (2006) and Pajares (1992) stress the desirability of classroom observation to enable more accurate inferences as to how teachers' perceptions inform their practice. As explained in Chapter 2, it proved harder than expected to arrange classroom observations, and in the end I saw just five lessons taught by two teachers. This contributed to my understanding of the context in which JTEs work, and informed my interpretation of the data, but most of the information supplied by participants remains unsupported by observation, which

limits what the study can tell us about practice. There is good reason for caution when interpreting self-reported data. In a study that combined interviews with teachers of citizenship and classroom observations, Evans (2006) discovered discrepancies between what teachers said citizenship education required and what they did in the classroom, which seemed determined largely by what could most easily be assessed.

8.2.4 Reliance on English-language sources

As discussed in Chapter 3, my Japanese skills were an asset to this cross-language study. For example, I did not have to rely solely on third-party translators in producing the questionnaire, and conducting the survey in Japanese rather than English probably ensured a better response rate. My Japanese speaking ability helped me establish a rapport with teachers, and facilitated the collection of much interview data in Japanese.

Language proved more of a limitation in my investigation of the literature, in that I needed to rely mainly on English-language sources. My Japanese reading ability is intermediate at best, and it was simply not possible for me to read very widely in Japanese. I made an effort to read some Japanese language-sources – for example, Mizuyama’s (2010) review of citizenship teaching initiatives, and Karaki’s (2007) discussion of Japanese citizenship terminology. Where possible, I also referred to government documents in the original Japanese. Although many of these are available in English translation, including the Courses of Study and the *Action Plan*, there are often important differences between Japanese and English versions, as Hashimoto (2013a) demonstrates.

In fact, non-readers of Japanese are well served by the many eminent Japanese academics who are themselves immersed in the Japanese literature but publish in English (e.g. Hashimoto, 2009; Ikeno, 2011; Kubota, 2015; Tsuneyoshi, 2011). The work of these scholars was invaluable in providing a “Japanese” perspective for this study.

8.2.5 Recent developments

Any piece of empirical social research is necessarily of its time, and its findings may need to be reinterpreted in light of changing circumstances. Most of the data for this study were collected over a two-year period, from November 2011 to October 2013. Potentially important developments that occurred during or shortly after this time are not reflected in the study, which can be considered a limitation.

The current Course of Study for Foreign Languages was implemented in 2013. It retained the emphasis on practical communication skills evident in Ministry guidelines since 1989, but also stipulated that “in principle” classes be conducted in English (MEXT, 2011). This new requirement was not addressed in the survey, nor raised in the interviews. The implications are unclear regarding the infusion of citizenship education. It could conceivably prompt pedagogical shifts towards more communicative styles of teaching, although work by Glasgow (2014, 2017), suggests the new medium of instruction policy may be having little effect on classroom practice.

A more recent change that could have wider implications occurred in 2015 when the Japanese parliament approved a bill lowering the legal age for voting from 20 to 18. For the first time, students in the final year of senior high school became eligible to vote, and this reignited interest in education for political literacy. Recently the government announced proposals for a new compulsory subject, *koukyou* (公共) or “public affairs”, that will replace the current *koumin* (“civics”) component of social studies (“New compulsory subjects”, 2018). The course is planned to include not only teaching about the political and legal system, but also participatory learning, including debates, mock elections and trials, and activities in the community (MEXT, 2016). Although it is social studies teachers who will be directly involved in implementing this new form of citizenship education, the change in legal status of 18-year-olds may also impact upon other subjects, perhaps by opening up more possibilities for all teachers to address content of a political nature.

8.3 Recommendations for further research

This exploratory study was intended to provide insights into a hitherto under-researched area of English teaching in Japan's high schools, and to highlight possible areas for further investigation. Below I suggest several areas that would merit additional inquiry.

8.3.1 Research of the wider JTE population

8.2.1 acknowledged the limitations that a relatively small, purposive sample placed on the study in terms of its generalizability. I have suggested that the cosmopolitan inclinations of my participants may be a product of the sampling methods used, but there are also suggestions in the literature that FLTs tend generally to be oriented towards a cosmopolitan outlook. These possibilities merit empirical investigation with a larger sample of teachers who could be taken as representative of the JTE population. Surveying a randomized selection of JTEs, perhaps using the instrument developed for this study, would provide a better understanding of how JTEs' views on citizenship might be informing their approach to language teaching. To better understand the effects of school type suggested by this study, the randomized sample should be stratified to include representatives from the various school types – JHS and SHS, private and public, higher and lower ranked.

8.3.2 Observational studies to focus on classroom practice

It would be useful to have some observational studies that investigate how JTEs actually go about including citizenship-related activities in their classes. Classroom observations combined with interviews conducted with teachers both before and after lessons would help to relate teachers' self-reported aims, which, as Borg has suggested, may often be ideal oriented, and the pedagogical practices that they adopt in class.

As noted in 8.2.2, my study adopted a very broad interpretation of citizenship education, and further, more focused investigations are needed to explore specific aspects of JTEs' contribution in more depth. The following

suggestions would all benefit from including observational data to help establish their relevance to teacher practice.

8.3.3 Research focusing on the teaching of textbook content

My participants focused on thematic content as forming the most obvious connection between English teaching and citizenship education, and pointed to topics addressed in textbooks as especially important in this regard. Existing studies have confirmed that authorized textbooks now include diverse cultures, global issues and other topics relevant to citizenship (e.g. Hasegawa, 2011; M. Yamada, 2010), but further research is needed to ascertain how this textbook content is being used in classrooms.

Among my participants, the use of supplementary material to expand on textbook topics appeared to be comparatively rare, even by teachers who spoke enthusiastically about the value of doing this. It might be interesting to investigate the use of supplementary material more closely to address such questions as *when*, *why* and *how* supplementary resources are used. But given that most teachers appear to rely on textbooks, studies that focus on textbook usage and, specifically, how JTEs address the thematic as opposed to linguistic content might have wider relevance. My participants described various approaches, including the use of questions to focus attention on topics, and discussion activities to encourage reflection. An observation guide might usefully draw on Mohan's (1986) knowledge framework to investigate the degree to which teachers address *concepts* as well as specific details.

It might not be helpful simply to apply models of CBI/CLIL developed in the North American or European contexts to Japanese high-school classrooms. As Yamada and Hsieh (2017) argue, at lower proficiency levels it can be difficult to distinguish between language teaching and content-based teaching, and common approaches to CBI may be simply unrealistic for beginner or lower level students. They suggest teachers consider a mixed-language approach – allowing a degree of code-switching between L1 & L2 – to allow students to respond more meaningfully to content. Some of my participants reported encouraging such language mixing in their own classes to encourage student reflection on citizenship-related issues. Further research into how JTEs manage

the content-language balance should include attention to how this is done with lower level students.

8.3.4 Research focusing on how JTEs are using discussion exercises

Further studies could also be made of the ways in which JTEs utilize speaking exercises provided in authorized textbooks. One of the teachers in my study believes that, particularly where they are combined with global issues content, these have facilitated teaching for global citizenship, but also expressed the view that few teachers actually use these exercises in class. In view of the fact that teachers tend to see the textbook as the main guide to the curriculum (Bouchard, 2017), any activities they provide that could stimulate discussion are worthy of more attention.

Some recent research suggests that these activities may not always be well designed from the standpoint of Second Language Acquisition theory. Fukuta et al. (2017) analysed oral-communication activities provided in the three most popular JHS English textbooks, and found that in most cases they failed to meet established criteria for communicative tasks. Older research by Ogura (2008) found that at the SHS level too, speaking activities included in English textbooks tended to be at the pre-communicative level of practicing structures with little meaningful exchange of new information. The authors of both studies argue that without modification by the teacher, most tasks would not promote meaningful interaction between students, and this would seriously undermine their value in terms of encouraging reflection on lesson content or development of dialogic skills. Empirical studies should look at how teachers may be adapting textbook exercises with citizenship-related aims in mind.

8.3.5 Research focusing on the teaching of intercultural competence

Further empirical studies could also focus on how JTEs approach teaching for intercultural competence, perhaps in collaboration with ALTs. Participants in my study viewed the nurturing of positive attitudes towards other cultures as one of the main contributions JTEs can make to citizenship education, but the way they see this being achieved appeared heavily weighted towards the knowledge

dimension of Byram's IC model, even in terms of how they view the contribution of ALTs. A few teachers did refer to interactive activities with ALTs in which students made comparisons between Japan and other countries, and these seemed to address other dimensions of Byram's model including skills for interaction, and even critical cultural awareness. Further empirical investigation of team teaching from the perspective of how it addresses different dimensions of Byram's model could improve our understanding of how JTEs may contribute to the intercultural aspects of citizenship.

Further developments in this area could be encouraged by the increasing attention being given to Can-Do lists in structuring school English programmes. MEXT has been promoting the application of CEFR Can-Do statements in schools, although as adapted for Japan these tend to focus on linguistic rather than sociocultural elements of communicative competence (Kurihara & Hisamura, 2017). But the recent expansion of CEFR descriptors for pluricultural competences that emphasize the interactive skills dimension of Byram's model could, given MEXT's current interest in CEFR, encourage more attention to these areas of intercultural competence in Japanese schools.

8.4 Concluding remarks

I hope insights provided by this study make a worthwhile, if small, contribution to our understanding of the role of foreign language teachers in citizenship education. This role has often been neglected in the past, and not only in Japan. In educational institutions around the world, FLT's have tended to be seen primarily as language instructors, rather than as educators who can contribute to the formation of citizens (Porto & Byram, 2015b). Of course, as well as teaching English, all the Japanese teachers who participated in my study play various other roles within their schools, as supervisors of sports teams or other extra-curricular clubs, and most obviously as homeroom teachers who are responsible for moral education classes (*doutoku*) and the pastoral care of students. It could be argued then, that even if in their English teaching JTEs are restricted to being language instructors, other roles will still provide them with opportunities to fulfil their calling or work as *educators*. Nevertheless, one of the underlying

rationales for this research has been the need to explore whether JTEs may make a distinct contribution to citizenship education *as foreign language teachers*.

The participants in my study were purposively selected because they appeared to be engaged in this wider role as teachers of citizenship. Through exploring these teachers' perceptions, the study has cast some light on the aims they say they have for their classes, and the pedagogies they say they employ. A key theme to emerge has been the centrality of school context in determining the extent to which participants believe they can incorporate their citizenship-related aims (although, of course, I cannot be sure that *any* individual teacher *would* pursue their aims, whatever the circumstances). Some teaching contexts (e.g. the special-status schools) appear to allow JTEs to teach citizenship in many of the ways covered by the framework introduced in Chapter 2, including teaching with and for discussion, and providing opportunities for critical thinking. For most participants however, the way they conceive English teaching as contributing to citizenship seems heavily weighted towards the *knowledge* dimension, both in terms of the importance they place on textbook content for raising awareness of global issues, and the way they approach the teaching of culture.

It would be too simplistic to see this as a characteristically "Japanese" approach; this would risk according too much weight to cultural factors such as the influence of Confucianism (Butler, 2011). Díaz (2013) suggests that around the world foreign language curricula frequently display a bias towards what is perceived as objectively assessable linguistic knowledge; it is not a peculiar trait of Japanese education. Similarly, the frustration that many of my participants expressed at feeling unable to adequately address their citizenship-related aims because of the expectation that they teach entrance-exam English, resonates with the experiences of teachers in Europe (Hennebry, 2012) and North America (Vaughn, 2013) who report being constrained from playing the educational role they aspire to by the priority given to high-stakes testing. With some caution, then, I wonder if the experiences my participants describe, while rooted in the context of Japanese high schools, may be relevant to FLT's working in other national settings, who aim to give some attention to the knowledge, values and skills of citizenship, in addition to teaching language.

In the context of globalization and increasing cultural diversity, Japan is undergoing fundamental changes, which are bringing issues of identity and

citizenship to the fore. Government policy has sought to consolidate national identity with measures to strengthen patriotic education and a language policy aimed at producing “Japanese with English abilities” (MEXT, 2003) who can secure the nation’s interests overseas. In a situation where learning English is being prioritized as a tool of national policy, the way in which JTEs perceive the purposes of English and their own role in teaching the language has implications for the overall direction of citizenship education in Japanese schools. If JTEs tend towards the cosmopolitan views espoused by my participants, and which appear from the literature to be not unusual among foreign language teachers, they could, perhaps, act as a countervailing influence to mediate more “national”, “inward-looking” elements of the curriculum.

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Appendix A

Paper version of the Japanese questionnaire

シティズンシップ教育と英語教育の関連についてのアンケート（教員用）

英語教師の主な仕事は一般に生徒の英語の理解度を高め、コミュニケーション能力を伸ばすために英語の文法、語彙、表現や効果的なコミュニケーションストラテジーなどを指導することと 考えられています。それに加えて、生徒のレベルと年齢、学校のカリキュラムなどの状況により「英語スキル」以外の教育の狙いについて英語教師として対応する機会もあることでしょう。例えば、生徒に外国の文化と社会について教え、グローバル社会に関わる時事問題についての関心を高めることもできるでしょう。

最近、日本の教育関係者の間で、「シティズンシップ教育」（市民教育）が話題になっています。私は「英語教育」と「シティズンシップ教育」との関連を研究テーマとして取り上げています。そこで、このアンケートでは日本の学校における英語教育が「シティズンシップ教育」に貢献する可能性について、日本人の英語教師としてのご意見を伺いたいと思います。ご多忙中とは存じますが、このアンケート調査にご協力頂ければ幸いです。ご回答いただいた内容は、この調査の目的以外には使用いたしません。

このアンケート調査に関する問い合わせは次のアドレスまで電子メールでお願い致します。

hosack@ss.ritsumei.ac.jp

尚、このアンケート調査はインターネット上でも記入、送信することもできます。インターネットで回答を希望される方は、
<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/citizenshipandlanguage-teaching>
にアクセスをお願い致します。

Ian Hosack

ホザック イアン

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I. 基本的に「シティズンシップ教育」というのは社会の一員として生きるために必要な意識、知識、能力を育てるための教育です。現在の日本人が市民として必要になると思われる意識、知識、能力が以下に書いてあります。それぞれの内容に対して、市民としての重要性についてあなたの意見にあてはまるものを次の1-5から選んでください。

1 完全に不必要 2 あまり大切ではない 3 やや大切 4 非常に大切 5 不可欠

1. 自分の権利とその権利の行使方法を理解する	1	2	3	4	5
2. 個人的な利益より公益を優先しようとする意識	1	2	3	4	5
3. 責任者の権威に従う意識	1	2	3	4	5
4. 投票権を行使する	1	2	3	4	5
5. 投票以外の政治的な活動に参画する	1	2	3	4	5
6. 社会課題に対して他の市民と共同し、問題について話し合いを通して解決する意識	1	2	3	4	5
7. 家族扶養の責任を守る	1	2	3	4	5
8. コミュニティにいる他の人の福利について考慮する	1	2	3	4	5
9. ものごとを批判的に、そして多角的にとらえる	1	2	3	4	5
10. 生活の質を向上するために地域社会の活動に参画する	1	2	3	4	5
11. 愛国心を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
12. 日本の文化を保存する意欲を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
13. 世界の中での日本の国益を促進する意欲を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
14. 普遍的な人権を尊重する意識	1	2	3	4	5
15. 異文化の人に対して敬意を払い、寛容する意識を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
16. グローバル社会の一員として責任感を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
17. 平等、公正等の民主主義的価値観の重要性を認識する	1	2	3	4	5
18. 日本における民族・人種の多様性に対する認識を持ち、尊重する	1	2	3	4	5
19. 地球温暖化、南北問題、難民問題などのグローバル問題の知識を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
20. アジアの一員であることを意識する	1	2	3	4	5

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21. 日本の経済的な活動や外交的な活動などが他国にどのような影響を与えるかについて知識を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
22. 異文化間コミュニケーション能力を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
23. 環境保護、環境との共生などを考える意識	1	2	3	4	5
24. 日本政府の政策・活動を批判的な目で評価する意識	1	2	3	4	5
25. 様々なメディアを使って大量の情報の中から必要なものを収集し、効果的な分析を行う力を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
26. 割り当てられた責任を負う意識を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
27. 社会における様々な課題に対して自分の意見をまとめ、明確に表明する能力を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
28. 男女平等意識を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
29. 時事問題について関心を持つ	1	2	3	4	5
30. 倫理的・道徳的に行動する	1	2	3	4	5

[ページ 4 へ]

II. 次に、日本の中学校・高等学校における英語教育についてお聞きします。教育の狙いとして以下の内容はシティズンシップ教育と関連していると考えられます。それぞれの内容が英語教育の中でどの程度まで推進できるのかあなたの意見にあてはまるものを次の1-5から選んでください。

1 全く推進できない 2 あまり推進できない 3 ある程度まで推進できる 4 よく推進できる 5 非常によく推進できる

1. アメリカ、イギリス等英語圏の社会と文化について学ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
2. 英語圏以外の国々の社会と文化について学ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
3. 日本における人種的な多様性または文化的な多様性について学ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
4. 環境問題、南北問題、難民問題などのグローバルイシューについて学ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
5. ものごとを批判的に、そして多角的にとらえる力を養う	1	2	3	4	5
6. 自分の考えと意見を人前で表明する力を養う	1	2	3	4	5
7. 人権を尊重する意識を高める	1	2	3	4	5
8. 異文化の人に対して敬意を払い、寛容する意識を高める	1	2	3	4	5
9. 日本の社会と文化に対して批判的に考える意識を培う	1	2	3	4	5
10. ディベート、話し合いに参加する能力を向上する	1	2	3	4	5
11. 時事問題について学ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
12. 課題について必要な情報を収集し、分析する力を身につける	1	2	3	4	5
13. 地球市民としての自覚を形成する	1	2	3	4	5
14. 平等、公正などの民主主義の価値を学ぶ	1	2	3	4	5
15. 地域社会の活動へ参加しようとする意識を高める	1	2	3	4	5
16. 日本に対して愛国心を抱くようになる	1	2	3	4	5
17. 異文化間コミュニケーション能力を高める	1	2	3	4	5
18. 環境保護、環境との共生などについて考える習慣を身につける	1	2	3	4	5
19. アジアの一員であるという意識を育てる	1	2	3	4	5
20. 日本の文化をより深く理解し、大切に思う気持ちを育てる	1	2	3	4	5
21. 世界における日本の経済的な活動や外交的な活動などについての意識を高める	1	2	3	4	5
22. 男女平等意識を育てる	1	2	3	4	5
23. 倫理的・道徳的に行動する意識を培う	1	2	3	4	5
24. 個人的な利益より公益を優先しようとする意識を養う	1	2	3	4	5
25. 自分の市民権利についての知識を高める	1	2	3	4	5

[ページ5へ]

III. シティズンシップ教育と英語教育の関連についてあなたの意見にあてはまるものを次の 1-5 から選んでください。

1 そう思わない 2 ややそう思わない 3 どちらとも言えない 4 ややそう思う 5 そう思う

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. 英語教育とシティズンシップ教育は関連性を持たない | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. 教科としての英語で身につける意識とスキルは、シティズンシップに重要なものもある | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. 英語教師もシティズンシップ教育への重要な役割を果たすべき | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. シティズンシップ教育は英語の授業ではなく社会科などの科目で行うべき | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. 英語教師はカリキュラムをこなすのに手一杯の状況なので、シティズンシップ教育に関心をもつ余裕がない | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. 最近、英語検定教科書はシティズンシップと関連しているテーマを取り上げるようになった | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. 総合的な学習時間には英語の先生がシティズンシップ教育への貢献する機会がある | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. 英語の授業にシティズンシップ教育の狙いを込めることは、現在あなたが努めている学校のポリシーに反する | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. あなた自身は英語教師としてシティズンシップ教育に貢献できる | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. 保護者はシティズンシップ教育の狙いを英語の授業に導入することに賛成する | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

[ページ 6 へ]

IV. 英語教育とシティズンシップ教育の関係、あるいは英語教師としてのシティズンシップ教育への貢献もしくはその可能性についてあなたの意見を述べてください。また、あなたがこれまで担当された授業の中で、シティズンシップと関連していると思われる内容についても述べてください。

VI. あなたご自身についてお聞きします。これは、皆様からのご回答を統計的に分析するために使用するもので、個人を特定するものではありません。該当する番号に○をつけてください。

- a) 性別 1. 男性 2. 女性
- b) 年齢 1. 29歳以下 2. 30~39歳 3. 40~49歳 4. 50歳以上
- c) 英語教師としてのキャリア年数
1. 1~5年 2. 6~10年 3. 11~15年 4. 16~20年 5. 21年以上
- d) 現在の勤務校の在職年数
1. 1年以下 2. 2年 3. 3年 4. 4年 5. 5年以上
- e) 学校名の記載は不要ですが、勤務校について簡単に述べてください。
[e.g. 中学校/高校；市立/県立/私立；大学付属/SELHi など]

f) あなたの担当する科目

g) もし、本研究の担当者からご連絡を差し上げてもよろしければ、氏名とメールアドレスを記載してください。上記理由以外のご連絡はこちらからは差し上げる事はございませんので、御入力いただければ幸いです。

氏名 メールアドレス

この度はアンケートにご協力いただき、
誠にありがとうございました。

Appendix B

English translation of the questionnaire

Citizenship & English Language Education Survey (for Teachers)

It could be said that the principal task of an English language teacher is to improve students' ability to understand English, and develop their ability to communicate in the language by teaching vocabulary and grammar, by providing them with effective communication strategies and so on. Nevertheless, depending on such factors as the students' age and proficiency level, and the school curriculum, it may be that in addition to teaching language skills, English teachers also have opportunities to address other educational objectives in their classes. For example, they may be in a position to teach something about the culture and society of foreign countries or to raise students' awareness of current issues facing the global community.

Recently, educators in Japan have shown increasing interest in "citizenship education" (*shimin kyouiku*). My own current research examines the links between citizenship education and English language teaching. This questionnaire asks for your opinions as a Japanese teacher of English about whether English language education in Japanese schools can contribute to education for citizenship. Thank you for your cooperation in completing the survey.

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[go to page 2]

I. Basically speaking, citizenship education aims to develop the values, knowledge and skills that a person requires to live as a full member of society. Below is a list of values, knowledge and skills which a Japanese person today might need as a citizen. Using columns 1~5 on the right-hand side, please indicate how important you consider each characteristic to be.

1 completely unnecessary 2 not very important 3 quite important 4 very important 5 Essential

1.	Understanding one's own rights and how to exercise them	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Being willing to put the public interest ahead of one's own private interest	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Being willing to obey people in authority	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Exercising one's right to vote in elections	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Taking part in political activities other than voting	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Being willing to cooperate with other citizens concerning issues facing society and to resolve problems through discussion	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Fulfilling one's responsibility to support one's family	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Considering the welfare of other people in the community	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Viewing things critically, and seeing things from multiple perspectives	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Participating in activities aimed at improving the quality of life in the local community	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Being patriotic	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Wishing to preserve Japanese culture	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Wishing to promote Japan's national interests in the world	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Having respect for universal human rights	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Showing respect and tolerance towards people from other cultures	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Feeling a sense of responsibility as a member of a global society	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Recognizing the importance of democratic values such as equality and justice	1	2	3	4	5
18.	Being aware of and respecting racial and ethnic diversity in Japan	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Knowing about global issues such as global warming, the North-South problem and refugee issues	1	2	3	4	5
20.	Having a sense of being 'Asian'	1	2	3	4	5
21.	Knowing about how Japan's activities in such areas as economics and diplomacy affect other countries	1	2	3	4	5
22.	Being able to communicate with people from other cultures	1	2	3	4	5
23.	Being aware of the need to preserve/live in harmony with the environment	1	2	3	4	5
24.	Being willing to critically evaluate the policies and activities of Japan's government	1	2	3	4	5
25.	Being able to gather and analyse information using various kinds of media	1	2	3	4	5
26.	Being willing to take on responsibilities that one is assigned	1	2	3	4	5
27.	Being able to form one's own opinions on various social issues and express them clearly	1	2	3	4	5
28.	Being aware of gender equality	1	2	3	4	5
29.	Having an interest in current affairs	1	2	3	4	5
30.	Behaving in a moral and ethical way	1	2	3	4	5

II. The next section asks about English language education in Japanese junior and senior high schools. The educational objectives listed below might all be seen as being related to education for citizenship. Using columns 1-5 on the right-hand side, indicate the extent to which you think each objective could be furthered as part of English language education.

1 Not at all 2 Not much 3 To some extent 4 To a large extent 5 To a very great extent

1. learning about the society and culture of English-speaking countries such as the US and UK	1	2	3	4	5
2. learning about the society and culture of non-English speaking countries	1	2	3	4	5
3. learning about ethnic diversity and cultural diversity within Japan	1	2	3	4	5
4. learning about global issues such as environmental problems, the North-South problem and refugee issues	1	2	3	4	5
5. developing an ability to view things critically and see things from multiple perspectives	1	2	3	4	5
6. developing an ability to express one's ideas and opinions in front of others	1	2	3	4	5
7. developing increased respect for human rights	1	2	3	4	5
8. developing tolerance and respect for people from other cultures	1	2	3	4	5
9. developing a disposition to think critically about Japanese culture and society	1	2	3	4	5
10. developing an ability to take part in debate and discussion	1	2	3	4	5
11. learning about current affairs	1	2	3	4	5
12. learning how to gather and analyse information about a topic	1	2	3	4	5
13. becoming conscious of being a "global citizen"	1	2	3	4	5
14. learning about democratic values such as equality and justice	1	2	3	4	5
15. developing an increasing willingness to take part in activities in the local community	1	2	3	4	5
16. developing patriotic feelings towards Japan	1	2	3	4	5
17. improving one's ability to communicate with people from other cultures	1	2	3	4	5
18. developing the habit of thinking about environmental protection, coexistence with the environment etc.	1	2	3	4	5
19. becoming conscious of being Asian	1	2	3	4	5
20. gaining a deeper understanding/appreciation of Japanese culture	1	2	3	4	5
21. developing an increased awareness of Japan's international activities in such areas as economics and diplomacy	1	2	3	4	5
22. developing a commitment to gender equality	1	2	3	4	5
23. developing a greater willingness to live ethically and morally	1	2	3	4	5
24. developing a willingness to put the public interest before one's own private interest	1	2	3	4	5
25. developing a greater awareness of one's rights as a citizen	1	2	3	4	5

III. Using columns 1-5, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding English language teaching and education for citizenship.

	1	2	3	4	5
	1 strongly disagree	2 disagree	3 Neither agree or disagree	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
1. There is no connection between English language teaching and education for citizenship.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Some skills that students acquire in English language classes are important for good citizenship.	1	2	3	4	5
3. English language teachers have a role to play in education for citizenship.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Citizenship education belongs in subjects like social studies, not in English language classes.	1	2	3	4	5
5. English teachers have their hands full trying to cover the existing curriculum; they don't have time for citizenship education.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Ministry-approved English language textbooks are touching more upon citizenship issues these days.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Integrated Studies has provided opportunities for English teachers to address citizenship issues in school.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Your school would be against the inclusion of citizenship teaching objectives in English language classes.	1	2	3	4	5
9. As an English teacher, you yourself can play a role in citizenship education.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Parents would support the inclusion of citizenship teaching objectives in English language classes.	1	2	3	4	5

IV. Please use the space below to write more freely about your opinions concerning the relationship between English language teaching and citizenship education, or the contribution Japanese English teachers could make to education for citizenship. Please describe anything you have done in your own lessons that might be connected to education for citizenship.

VI. Finally, please provide a few details about yourself and the school you teach at. These details are required for the purpose of data analysis. All information you provide will be treated in confidence.

a) Are you 1. Male or
2. Female

b) Please indicate which age group you belong to
1. Under 29 2. 30 – 39 3. 40 – 49 4. 50 and above

c) How many years' experience do you have as an English teacher?
1. 1 – 5 yrs 2. 6 – 10 yrs 3. 11 – 15 yrs 4. 16 – 20 yrs 5. 21+ yrs

d) How many years have you been teaching at your current school?
1. less than 1 year 2. 2 years 3. 3 years 4. 4 years 5. 5 years or more

e) Please provide a few details about the school you teach at (e.g. is it junior or senior high? Public or private?). There is no need to provide the name of your school.

f) What are the names of the courses you teach?

g) If you are willing for the researcher to contact you in connection with this survey, please provide an email address in the space below.

Name: _____

Email address: _____

Thank you for your cooperation in completing this survey

Appendix C

Example letter inviting a teacher to participate in the survey



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Department Office: Tel. +81-75-465-8184 Fax. +81-75-465-8196

Monday 16th January, 2012

Dear -sensei,

As part of some research I'm doing on English teaching in Japan's high schools, I recently read your article in *Shin Eigo Kyouiku* in which you described how you used Pete Seeger's song *Where Have All The Flowers Gone?* with your students. It was an inspiring article, and I thought the lessons you described were a very effective way of teaching English while at the same time encouraging students to think about issues of peace.

I hope my current research will be of interest to you. I'm exploring ways in which Japanese junior and senior high school English teachers may be able to include "citizenship education" objectives in their teaching. By "citizenship education" I'm referring very broadly to such topics as human rights education, intercultural communication, environmental education, peace education etc. I think the activities you describe in your *Shin Eigo Kyouiku* article could certainly be viewed as contributing to "education for citizenship".

Today I am writing to ask for your help. I would very much like to have your opinions on the topics I am researching, and if you have time, I wonder if you would mind completing my questionnaire. It's all in Japanese and available to complete and submit online. I think you might find it interesting to do. If you're willing, please access the questionnaire at the following link:

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/citizenshipandlanguageteaching>

If possible I'd like to collect all the survey data by the end of January. If you would prefer a hard, paper copy of the questionnaire to complete instead, please let me know, and I can send you one.

Finally, I am very keen to make contact with other Japanese English teachers who, like yourself, are teaching at junior or senior high schools and who are interested in dealing with issues of peace, diversity, human rights, the environment etc. If you have any friends or colleagues who fit that description, and who you think might be willing to complete my questionnaire, please pass on the link to the survey, or ask them to contact me directly.

With very best wishes

Ian Hosack
立命館大学産業社会学部 准教授
hosack@ss.ritsumeikan.ac.jp

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Appendix D

Japanese and English appeals for survey participants, placed in the GILE newsletter and on the *Shin-Eiken* Facebook page.

中等教育に於ける英語教育とシティズンシップ教育の関連性についてのアンケート調査のお願い

あなたは日本人の英語教師でいらっしゃいますか？
日本の中学あるいは高校で教えておられますか？
平和、人権、環境、異文化理解、多文化共生、グローバル問題などを取り上げる教育に少しでも関心をお持ちですか？
私は日本の中学校と高校に於ける英語教育と「シティズンシップ教育」の関連性について研究しています。通常、英語教師は中等教育機関に於いて授業で文法、語彙、表現などを指導する際、それに加えて生徒がグローバル市民として必要になる意識と能力を養うことができるかどうかについて検討しています。そこで、グローバル問題、国際理解、異文化コミュニケーション等について少しでも関心を持っておられる日本人の英語教師の方々からアンケート調査でご意見を聞かせていただきたいと思います。アンケートは次のリンクを使ってインターネット上で回答できます。

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/citizenshipandlanguageteaching>

なお、私の研究についてのお問い合わせ、またはアンケートに紙のハードコピーで回答をご希望される先生は次のアドレスに電子メールでお願い致します。

ホザック イアン (Ian Hosack) 立命館大学

English Language Teaching and Citizenship Education: Seeking input from Japanese high-school English teachers

Are you a Japanese teacher of English currently teaching in junior high school or senior high school and do you have an interest in any of the following areas?

- raising students' awareness of global issues
- teaching about human rights
- teaching about the environment
- encouraging tolerance and respect for other cultures
- developing students' ability to engage in dialogue/debate
- developing "critical thinking" and media literacy skills

I am currently researching the contribution that high-school English teachers can make to "citizenship education", which could include any of the areas listed above. If you are a Japanese teacher with an interest in these aspects of education, please consider completing my online questionnaire. The questionnaire is in Japanese and can be accessed at:

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/citizenshipandlanguageteaching>

If you have any questions about my research, or if you would prefer to receive a hard, paper copy of the questionnaire please contact me at the email address below.

Ian Hosack Ritsumeikan University hosack@ss.ritsumei.ac.jp

Appendix E

Bilingual interview guide

A. Introductory/ice-breaker questions

1. この学校には何年間お勤めになっっていますでしょうか。
How long have you been working at your current school?
2. 先生は教職につかれてこれまで何校で教えてこられましたか。
How many other schools have you worked at? All JHS/SHS?
3. 現在どの科目を担当されていますか。何年生を教えておられますか。
What classes/grades do you teach?
4. 現在担当している科目についてお聞かせください。
Could you tell me about those classes? What do they involve?
5. 学校の英語教師として最も多くの時間を要するのは何でしょうか。
What occupies most of your time as a high-school English teacher?
6. 先生は何故英語教師になろうと思われましたか。
Why did you decide to pursue a career in English teaching?

B. Views on citizenship

1. アンケートに記入していただき誠にありがとうございました。アンケートの最初のセクションでは日本の市民性（いわゆるシティズンシップ）についてお尋ねしました。日本人は社会人として／市民としてどのような意識、知識と能力が最も重要であると思われるかについてお聞きしました。
Thank you for taking part in my survey and completing my questionnaire. Section I of the questionnaire asked which values/skills you considered to be most important for Japanese citizenship.
2. ～先生は、「普遍的な人権を尊重する意識」と「グローバル社会の一員として責任感を持つ」ということは日本の市民として不可欠／最も重要だと答えていただきました。それは何故でしょうか。／その理由について述べてください。
You answered that ____, ____, and ____ are most important. Could you tell me why you think so?
3. 日本の市民にとって「愛国心を持つ」というのは「完全に不必要」／「あまり大切ではない」と答えになりました。それは何故でしょうか。
You indicated that you consider ____ to be unimportant. Is that right?

C. Links between English teaching & citizenship education

1. アンケートでは～先生ご自身は英語教師としてシティズンシップ教育に貢献できると答えていただきました。今後英語教師として生徒が良き市民になるための意識または能力を育てることについてどのように貢献できると思われますか。
In the survey you said you think that as an English teacher you personally have some role to play in helping students become “good citizens” – what do you think are some of the ways you could do that?
2. ～先生のクラスで特に生徒の意識または能力について推進させたい

と思う点がありますか。

Are there any particular values/skills that you want to promote in your English classes?

3. もしよろしければ、その能力／意識／「人権を尊重する意識」に取り組むレッスンの例を一つあげてください。

Can you give me an example of a lesson where you felt you were addressing that skill/those values?

4. アンケートでは～先生が（...）を書いていただきました。それについてお聞かせください。

*In your answers to the questionnaire, you described how you try to ~
Could you tell me more about that?*

D. Teaching context

1. レッソンの準備、教材の作成などを同僚の先生と共同で作業にあたられることもありますか。その場合、その共同作業の例をあげてください。どのように作業しますか。

Do you plan courses/lessons by yourself, or do you collaborate with other teachers at your school? How do you determine a schedule for teaching – what you will teach, when?

2. 同僚の英語の先生は～先生と同じような教育の狙いを持っておられると思われませんか。～先生がご自分のクラスでグローバルイシュー、人権などについての教材／アクティビティを取り入れていることについて同僚の先生にお話されますか。その先生の反応はいかがですか。

Do you think your colleagues have similar aims to you? Do you talk about the sorts of things you are trying to do in your English classes? If so, what is their reaction?

3. 現在、お勤めの学校では教育内容に関して生徒に学ばせる価値観や能力に重点をおいていると思われませんか。英語の先生方々もご自分のクラスでその価値観などを取り上げることが期待されていますか。

Does your school emphasize the promotion of particular values/qualities in the curriculum? Are English teachers expected to address those values in any way?

E. Textbooks

1. 現在どのようなテキストを使われていますか。～学校での教科書の選択はどのようにされていますか。～先生はご自分でテキストの選択をすることができますか。もし、そうならどのような理由で現在使っているテキストを選択されましたか。

Can you tell me what textbooks you are using? How are textbooks chosen at your school? Do you personally have a choice? (if so, why did you choose the books you are currently using?)

2. 現在使われているテキストはいかがですか。そのテキストの良い点または弱点は何ですか。

What do you think of the textbook(s) you're using? What do like/not like?

3. 現在使っているテキストの中で、先ほど述べた価値観または能力

(人権を尊重する意識／異文化間コミュニケーション能力) 特に関係のあるセクションがありますか。

Are there any units that you think are particularly relevant to the skills/values we were talking about earlier?

F. Supplementary materials

1. 授業ではテキスト以外の補充教材／自主教材とか他の資料を使う時もありますか。どのような資料をどのような時に使っていますか。そして、補充教材をどのような方法で選択されますか。

Have you supplemented the textbook at all? How did you go about looking for/choosing materials?

2. 補充教材の準備に同僚の英語の先生と共同作業をされる時もありますか。それとも、～先生が用意した資料を同僚の先生とシェアしたことがありますか。

Have you collaborated with colleagues when preparing supplementary materials, or shared materials with them?

3. もしお差し支えなければ、～先生が使われた資料を見せていただいてもよろしいでしょうか。そして、コピーをいただいてもよろしいでしょうか。

Would it be possible for me to see/have copies of some of the supplementary material you've been using?

G. Pedagogies

1. ～先生の指導法について関心を持っています。レッスンの時、この内容をどのように教えていますか。それについて述べてください。

I'm interested to know how you go about teaching this material. What sorts of activities do you like to use in class? Can you tell me more about that?

2. もしよろしければ、～先生のレッスンを見学したいと思いますが、可能でしょうか。

I think it would be very helpful for me to observe one of your classes. Would that be possible?

H. Other opportunities in the curriculum: Integrated Studies

1. お勤めの学校での総合的な学習時間について述べてください。～先生は総合的な学習時間を教えられたことがあるのでしょうか。その場合、どのような授業をされましたか。

Could you tell me something about Integrated Studies at your school? Have you been involved in teaching/organizing Integrated Studies periods at your school? If so, what kinds of things have you done?

2. ～先生はお一人で担当されましたか、それとも他の先生と共に担当されましたか。

Was this on your own initiative, or were you working with other teachers?

3. 総合的な学習時間についてご意見を伺いたいと思います。カリキュラムに総合的な学習時間を導入されたことが成功したと思われませんか。

What's your view of Integrated Studies? Do you think it's been successful?

4. 普通の英語のレッスンではできないが、総合的な学習時間で可能となったことがありますか。

Is there anything you're able to achieve in IS that you don't think you're able to do in your regular classes?

I: Other opportunities in the curriculum: ALTs

1. ~先生は ALT と共に教える時もありますか。ALT の先生と一緒に教えた授業について述べていただけますか。

Do you work (Have you ever worked) with an ALT? If so, can you tell me more about the lessons you have taught with ALTs?

2. ALT が参加する授業にたいして~先生の狙い/目的は何でしょうか。

What were your aims for those lessons?

3. ALT と先生の役割はどのようなものでしたか。

What was the ALT's role/your role?

4. ALT とのレッスンは~先生がお一人で教える授業と比べて、どのような違いがありますか。

Do lessons with the ALT differ from your usual classes where you teach by yourself?

J: Other opportunities in the curriculum: Extracurricular activities

1. ~先生は、英語の先生として、課外活動とか学校行事において何か担当したことがありますか。例えば、クラブ活動、フィールドトリップ、文化祭などについて、英語の先生として働かれたことがありますか。

Have you been involved as an English teacher in any extracurricular activities – club activities, special events, school trips etc.? Have any of those activities provided further opportunities for you to teach the kinds of skills and values we discussed earlier?

K: Outside connections

1. ~先生は教育と関係のあるネットワーク、研究会などに所属されていますか。また、どのような形で参加されていますか。

Do you belong to any teachers' groups/networks? What is your involvement?

2. 会員としてのメリットは何だと思われませんか。

What do you think you get personally from being a member?

L: Finally

1. 最後に、今日話したテーマについて他にご意見またはコメントがありましたら教えてください。

Finally, are there any other points/comments you'd like to make about the topics we've discussed today?

Appendix F

Example email inviting a teacher to participate in the interviews

January 31, 2013

Dear []-sensei,

I hope this message finds you well and that you have had a good start to the new year.

Thank you once again for taking time to complete my online survey in which you shared your opinions regarding the potential links between English language teaching and 'citizenship education' in Japanese schools. I was especially interested to see the broad range of topics you've been able to cover in your classes.

In all, 46 teachers completed my questionnaire, and I was very happy with that response. Last May I traveled to the UK and gave a presentation about the results of the survey at the "Creating Citizenship Communities" conference in York. I wrote that up as an article for the CiCe Journal, and I can send you a copy of that if you like.

When you completed my survey, you very kindly indicated that you wouldn't mind my contacting you again regarding my ongoing research. I am now investigating some of the issues raised by the survey and was hoping for an opportunity to talk to you directly about your teaching, and some of the comments you made on the questionnaire. I'm especially interested to find out more about the ways you have taught some of the topics that you listed (Human Rights, Universal Design, Japanese "shame culture" etc.).

I know how busy you must be at your school, but if you could spare say just 1 hour of your time, it would be very helpful if I could speak to you about your work. I'm not sure where in Japan you are based, but I could come and see you at your school or anywhere else that you'd prefer and whenever it might be convenient for you. Please let me know what you think.

With very best wishes from my home in Shiga.

Ian Hosack

College of Social Sciences,
Ritsumeikan University

Appendix G

List of codes/NVivo nodes used in the analysis of qualitative data

Primary codes	Secondary codes	Tertiary codes
BEL Beliefs What teachers say they believe	CIT Beliefs about <u>citizenship</u> - the nature of citizenship (national, global etc.) – its duties, attendant rights etc.	
	ETJ Beliefs about <u>English teaching in Japan</u> - prevailing approach(es), practices; government policy; current issues; what “typical” teachers are “typically” doing etc.	ETJ/POL Beliefs about official policy (MEXT, Local government etc.), proposed reforms, the Courses of Study for English etc.
		ETJ/TST - Beliefs about the role of entrance exams / testing in the school curriculum
		ETJ/TXT – Beliefs about the role / nature of textbooks / textbook authorization system etc.
	JPN Beliefs about <u>Japanese society</u> - aspects which may have a bearing on education, what Ss need to learn etc.	
	ROL Beliefs about the <u>role of English teachers</u> - what <i>should</i> JTEs be teaching? Language only? Language + something else?	ROL/ALT What role(s) should ALTs play?
	SNTL Beliefs about <u>what students need to learn</u> - what do students need to know? What skills, values do they require as Japanese? As ‘global citizens’ etc.?	
	SR Beliefs about how <u>students respond</u> to teaching - perceived changes in Ss brought about by work on citizenship / Perceived effects on student motivation etc.	
VE Beliefs about the <u>value of learning English</u> - a communication tool – a means of understanding people from other cultures? - a means of explaining Japanese culture to outsiders?		
CONS Constraints Factors that <u>teachers think are <i>constraining</i></u> teaching for citizenship (contextual factors, lack of training, student expectations etc. etc.)		

CTXT Context Aspects of the teaching context that appear to affect the teacher’s ability to address citizenship teaching objectives in English classes	SCH Type of school - junior high/senior high? - private/public? - size etc. - selective? - academic level (prestigious? perceived “low level”?) - special-status (SelHi etc.)	
	CUR Curriculum - Special courses offered by school (e.g. “international course”, “English course” etc.)	CUR/IS - Integrated Studies What is IS used for? Are English teachers involved? Etc.
	COL Colleagues - How do teachers describe fellow teachers/school administrators (esp. vis-à-vis citizenship education) - Supportive/cooperative? Indifferent? Suspicious/Hostile?	
	EXPT Expectations What teachers feel is expected of them, by students, parents, school administrators etc.	
EXPR Experiences Past (and current) experiences that appear to have shaped the teacher’s classroom practices/beliefs	EL Experiences as an <u>English learner</u> - “Conventional” English learning – teacher-fronted, grammar-translation etc. - “Non-conventional” : content-based learning/international school etc.? - Overseas experiences?	
	ET Experiences as an <u>English teacher</u> - experiences in previous & current school(s) – successes/frustrations etc.	
	PD Professional development Ways in which teachers have taken active steps to improve their ability to teach for citizenship – formal study/research, joining professional organizations etc.	PD/NTWK - involvement in professional networks - postgraduate degrees - research groups etc. PD/PUB References to publications – articles, presentations etc.
OPP Opportunities Factors that <u>teachers think are facilitating</u> teaching for citizenship (supportive colleagues; special courses offered by the school; professional networks etc.)		
PED Pedagogy Teachers describe/explain their classroom practices	ACT Learning activities - classroom work – group discussions/presentations - research assignments	ACT/ALT learning activities done with the ALT

	<p>APP Approaches Specific references by teachers to English-teaching approaches: e.g. - Communicative Language Teaching; Content-Based Instruction; student-centred learning; reflective learning etc.</p>	
	<p>CEG CE Goals Direct reference to teacher's own teaching goals/objectives in terms of citizenship education</p>	
	<p>STRAT Strategies for "making space" - things teachers do to allow time for citizenship-related teaching</p>	
	<p>SUPP Use of supplementary materials - reference to any materials teachers use to develop topics, focus on skills etc.</p>	
	<p>TSTG teachers' own tests - ways in which teachers use tests in order to promote learning (about citizenship) etc.</p>	
	<p>UTXT Utilizing textbooks - links made between textbook material & social issues etc.</p>	
<p>SELF Self-perception/identity Words teachers use to characterize their own role as a teacher - language teacher or something else? - typical/untypical?</p>		
<p>STDY Study Teachers refer in some way to this research project study or their own involvement in it</p>	<p>SRV Comments that elaborate on/clarify responses to questionnaire survey</p>	
<p>TERM Terminology Comments that highlight different language (Japanese or English) used to describe aspects of "citizenship education" - e.g. <i>ningen kyōiku</i> ("human education"); <i>gurobaru kyōiku</i> ("global education") etc.</p>		

Appendix H

An annotated example of coding provided to the two external code-checkers

Interview with Teacher 1 (public senior high school)		
Script	Code(s)	Comment
<p>IH: ...In Section III [of the questionnaire] you strongly agreed with number 9 ...あなた自身は英語教師としてシティズンシップ教育に貢献できる ["As a teacher of English, you personally can make a contribution to education for citizenship"]</p> <p>T1: Yes.</p> <p>IH: ... I mean, in your own words...in what way do you think you can do that? What kinds of values, what kind of skills do you think you can promote in your English classes?</p> <p>T1: So...um... We have been doing kind of content-based study...</p> <p>IH: Hmm.</p> <p>T1: ... and ... I have... I really think that English education has a meaning. Not to teach just the skills. And also that, from our experience, the students got much more interested or motivated when we teach something meaningful. And so, at that time... um, the important thing is <i>what we teach</i>. ...Uh...Education, or high-school education, is not to teach students skills, or to be just a good speaker of English. What they say in English is much [more] important than their fluency. And so, to make the English lesson more meaningful, and interesting and to let the students motivate. And I would like to teach, for example, peace, or human rights, or many kind of social issues or international issues. So if we give this kind of issues students have more chances to think about our world, and also to be more...to broaden their knowledge. And also have more chances to think from different points of view. So that's why.</p> <p>IH: Hmm.</p> <p>T1: And I think it's a <i>must</i>.</p> <p>IH: So...everything you've just said, it's not an option...</p> <p>T1: No.</p> <p>IH: ... This is what English education should be...</p> <p>T1: Hmm.</p> <p>IH: Um...in Section II, you very specifically indicated to what extent you thought all of these things [citizenship teaching objectives] could be achieved, and you were positive about everything.</p> <p>T1: Yes.</p> <p>IH: To some extent, [you think] all of these things can be achieved. I wonder, when you answered this section of the questionnaire, were you thinking about your work on the</p>	<p>PED/APP</p> <p>BEL/ROL</p> <p>EXPR/ET</p> <p>BEL/ROL</p> <p>BEL/VE?</p> <p>PED??</p> <p>PED/CEG</p> <p>BEL/SNTL & PED/CEG?</p> <p>BEL/ROL (ETJ?)</p> <p>STDY/SRV</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>--- --- I've highlighted alternate sections in two colours, just to help distinguish one section from another. The colours themselves have no significance.</p> </div> <p><i>Refers to a content-based approach</i></p> <p><i>Role of teachers not just to teach skills</i></p> <p><i>T1 describes positive experiences of content-based teaching</i></p> <p><i>Again...teachers' role not just teaching skills</i></p> <p><i>T1 sees English as important for students to learn, but fluency in the language shouldn't be the primary aim?</i></p> <p><i>T1 believes content-based teaching helps motivate students</i></p> <p><i>T1 referring to her own goals (content areas she aims to teach)</i></p> <p><i>T1 implies students need to learn these things (and also that these are her own goals for teaching?)</i></p> <p><i>Indicates strength of feeling – JTEs role to include (global) content in classes (not just skills) – (and this applies to English teaching generally in Japan?)</i></p> <p><i>T1 confirms interpretation of her responses in questionnaire (although need to be careful when coding these sorts of answers to IH's questions. Not always a reliable guide to the teacher's own views?)</i></p>

<p>international programme at XXXX High School, or do you think this would also apply to students on the <i>futsuu</i> [i.e. regular] course?</p> <p>T1: Yes, um... of course, the international course students are more motivated and interested in world issues than the ordinary <i>futsuu-ka</i> students. But after we did SelHi,we applied some of the topics that we did in the international course, such as the landmine problems, or discrimination, or disabled people, universal design – these kinds of things – and much more focused on not just comprehending what the article says, or what the textbook says, but let the students think about “what do <i>you</i> feel?”, or are there any other ideas to improve our society? Or.... So we gave that kind of ‘thought questions’ ... not only the ‘True or False’ questions. And at that time we got a kind of ...hmmm...<i>belief</i>... that the students are motivated. And also the students matured.</p> <p>IH: So was this part of the SelHi project?</p> <p>T1: Yes. The SelHi project. It’s about 6 or 7 years ago.</p>	<p>CTXT/CURR & OPP?</p> <p>CTXT/SCH</p> <p>EXPR/ET</p> <p>PED/APP?</p> <p>EXPR/ET</p>	<p><i>T1 provides more information about her school context – a former SelHi school, the curriculum includes an “international course” which attracts “motivated” students (an “opportunity”?)</i></p> <p><i>Former experiences of content-based teaching</i></p> <p><i>This kind of questioning – a reference to what T1 later calls a “reflective approach”</i></p> <p><i>Again, referring to earlier, positive experiences of content-based teaching during SelHi project.</i></p>
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