Bull. Mukogawa Women's Univ. Humanities and Social Sci., **60**, 51−62 (2012)
武庫川女子大紀要(人文・社会科学)

English and Discourses of Identity in Japan

Nathanael Rudolph

Department of English, School of Letters,
Mukogawa Women's University, Nishinomiya 663-8558, Japan

Abstract

This paper situates the nature and role of English language learning, education and use in Japan, within Japan's ongoing socio-historical negotiation of identity in response to its forced opening in 1858. From the time of the Meiji period, social, economic, political and educational discourses in Japanese society have served to construct a "Japan" and notion of "Japaneseness" that focuses on a juxtaposition of Japan and the West. English language education in Japan, guided by these dominant discourses in Japan and in concert with pervading discourses within globalized English language teaching (ELT), has emphasized a focus on the West, linguistically and culturally. There are however, within Japanese society, emergent discourses challenging these dominant constructions of Japan and being Japanese, and by proxy of English language ownership, learning, instruction and use. As globalization continues, so shall the negotiation of identity and the place of English in Japan.

Introduction

In the following paper, I will provide a brief account of the entry of English into Japanese society. I situate this account in the context of a Japan negotiating its identity -internally and internationally- and place on the global stage. In concert with this historical contextualization, I will describe some of the sociohistorically-situated discourses that have given shape to English language education and use in Japan since the Meiji period (1868-1912). In addition, I touch upon alternate constructions of Japan and Japaneseness both within Japanese society and ELT. I conclude by examining how dialogue concerning language, culture and identity is far from complete, as Japanese society continues to wrestle with globalization and by proxy, with conceptualizing the nature and role of English in Japan.

Framing the Nature and Role of English in Japan

According to Iino (2002), English likely reached Japan first in 1600 with the arrival of an English speaker in the south of the country. English as a subject of study, however, did not occur for another two hundred years with the beginning of contact with the British in 1808. It was the signing of a treaty related to 'Amity' and 'Commerce' with Commodore Perry of the United States in 1858 that set Japan on the pursuit of English (Kitao & Kitao, 1995 paraphrased in Iino, 2002). Japan then opened its doors to the West in 1867, ushering in the Meiji period (1868-1912). Following the opening of Japan to the West, social, political, economic and educational discourses within the country intensified around the subject of the nature of Japanese identity and culture and Japan's relationship with the world beyond its shores. Japan was, "suddenly and involuntarily faced with a need to define its place in the modern world" (Heinrich, 2012, p. 3). Such discourses fuelled Japan's drive toward modernization and the rise of nationalism.

One discourse that emerged was that of "Datsu-A-Ron." In early 1885, an editorial appeared in the Japanese

newspaper Jiji Shinpo（‘Current Events’）, detailing the steps Japan would need to make in order to confront Westernization. The author, later identified as Yukichi Fukuzawa（Fukuzawa, 1885 cited in Banno, 1981）, was an influential author, educator and political theorist, who had witnessed first-hand Japan’s grappling with its new place international realm. Datsu-A Ron, Fukuzawa’s editorial, noted that in the interest of modernization and standing on equal footing with Western nations, Japan needed to leave Asia politically, socially and philosophically, focusing its attention instead on what Western civilization was offering. Fukuzawa believed that there was no time to wait for an Asia-wide enlightenment, through which Asia might modernize and develop, though he had previously been a supporter of a pan-Asian resistance to the West（Ge, 2007）. This opinion was due in large part to the failure of reform in Korea, which Fukuzawa had supported（Banno, 1981）. Fukuzawa’s notion of ‘leaving Asia,’ created in a time of great social and political tension, related to what he believed involved the potential death of Japanese civilization（Ge, 2007）. Other scholars were thinking along similar lines as well. Arinori Mori, Japan’s ambassador to Washington and first Minister of Education, proposed in 1872 that Japan adopt English as its official language, replacing Japanese（Heinrich, 2012）, with the ultimate goal of securing Japan’s viability into the future.

Debates regarding Japanese identity and Japan’s relation to the world beyond its shores were greatly influenced by neo-Confucianist[1] thought firmly entrenched in Japanese society（e.g., Hawkins, 1998; Khan, 1997; Varley, 2000）. Neo-Confucianism sought perfect moral and social order in the world, in humanistic fashion. This was achieved through the taming of one’s ‘ki’ : “a force governed by the passions and other emotions that produce evil”（Varley, 2000, p. 171）, which in turn allowed for an individual’s ‘ri’ -his or her inherently good principles or nature- to emerge（Varley, 2000）. Neo-Confucianism experienced its most robust growth as an influential philosophy during the Edo period under the Tokugawa shogunate（Sawada, 1993）, guiding moral and other forms of education. Its discourses focused primarily on “the conduct and affairs of people in the here and now”（Varley, 2000, p. 172）. In the interest of maintaining social order and as a result conformity, neo-Confucianism focused on the five primary relationships of father-son, ruler-subject, husband-wife, older（brother）- younger（brother）, and friends（Varley, 2000）.

In the Meiji period, faced with the opening of Japan to the West, the Japanese government re-emphasized Confucianist thought in Japanese education via the Imperial Rescript on Education（1890）. The Rescript reinforced the importance of morality and the relationships in which social order might be attained, and emphasized a commitment to the Emperor and the Nation（Khan, 1997）. Neo-Confucianist therefore played a role in Japan’s drive toward nationalism in and beyond the Meiji period（Hawkins, 1998）.

During the Meiji period, Law（1995）notes that English, taught primarily by native speakers, served as a conduit for the transmission of Western knowledge and philosophy into Japan. English was the property of Caucasian Westerners and was as foreign as the individuals who spoke it. In the interest of fuelling Japan’s drive toward modernization（Iino, 2002）, of establishing a firm position vis-à-vis the West, and of preserving “Japanese civilization,” English was a critical subject to study. By the early 1900’s, however, English classes were being taught by Japanese instructors, as the tide of nationalism began to rise against Westernization. This continued until the Second World War, during which English was relegated to the status of an enemy language（Iino, 2002）. During the early 1900’s, English became an integral part of educational assessment in Japan:

> “…English was widely adopted as a screening process for elite education. As a result, the so-called Juken Eigo（English for the purpose of the entrance examination）became the main goal of learners rather than English for communication. The focus of their learning was on the memorization of grammar and vocabulary for translating English into Japanese, with little attention paid to pronunciation or use”（Kitao & Kitao, 1995, paraphrased in Iino, 2002, p. 82）.

In its newfound role as a gatekeeper within Japanese society and already a vehicle for the import of linguistic and cultural knowledge from the West, English was clearly property of the "Other." That "Other" was White and Western.

Following World War II, neo-Confucianism fell under scrutiny, as it had been shaped in a manner that promoted nationalist sentiment (Hawkins, 1998). Indeed, the National Rescript on Education was repealed at this time. Yet neo-Confucianism continued to maintain a powerful influence on the Japanese education system; an influence that continues to present (Hawkins, 1998; Wray, 2008). Neo-Confucianism in Japanese education seeks to limit individualism (Nemoto, 1999) in the interest of uniformity and consistency both on the part of students and teachers (Hawkins, 1998). This is grounded in an Edo-era emphasis on the value and pre-eminence of the 'expository lecture,' first established in neo-Confucian education in Japan by Ansai Yamazaki (Sawada, 1993). As such, after the War, classes were (and at present are often) taught in the Grammar-Translation method, conducted largely in Japanese, working grammar and lexis from English to Japanese and the reverse (Gorsuch, 2000). In such a classroom, the teacher is the authority, imparting knowledge to students whose role is receptive in nature (Nguyen et al., 2006).

Globalization, Identity and English

During the years immediately following the War, Japan again found itself attempting to define its identity in relation to the ever-globalizing world in which it was situated. Japan focused its energy away from military affairs and set about a course of economic growth popularly referred to as the "Economic Miracle," which lasted from around 1955 until the late 1970's (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). During this period, business leaders called for the prioritization of English in the name of better communication in international business (Imura, 2003). Teachers from the U.S. entered Japan, and the government focused on English language education. Standardized testing, such as the STEP (Society for Testing English Proficiency) Test and later the TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) test became commonplace in Japanese society (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). TOEIC scores became a common measure of the English proficiency of company recruits and employees. In addition, English became an integral component of high school and university entrance examinations (Kitao & Kitao, 1995).

Building upon social discourses in Japan that had sought to establish its position in the international realm vis-à-vis the West, new dominant discourses emerged related to Japan and globalization. Globalization, as in the Meiji period, related to Japan and its relationship with Western nations. Appearing immediately after World War II and building momentum in the 1960's, nihonjinron (Befu, 1993, 2001; Sugimoto, 1999) sought to portray the "sociological, psychological and linguistic uniqueness" of the Japanese (Kubota, 1998, p. 300). According to Sugimoto (1999), nihonjinron "tends to use three concepts- nationality, ethnicity and culture- almost interchangeably" (p. 82). "Japanese culture" is the sole property of those deemed "ethnically Japanese," which excludes not only "foreigners" but minority groups within Japan, such as the Ainu and Okinawans, who are not "ethnically Japanese" (Sugimoto, 1999). Noted politicians in the 21st Century continue to describe Japan in such a manner. In 2005, for instance, Aso Taro, then foreign minister and now a former Prime Minister, described Japan as "one nation, one language, one culture and one race" (Daily Yomiuri, 2005), unlike any other nation on earth. In addition, in 2008, Tourism Minister Nariaki Nakayama argued that Japan is an ethnically homogenous country that dislikes foreigners (Fukada, 2008)[2].

Grounded in the discourses of nihonjinron, another discourse -kokusaika, or "internationalization" (Kubota, 1998; Oliver, 2009) - emerged during the 1980's in Japan as a result of the nation dealing with its status as a new world economic power. According to Kubota (1998):

> “Japan as a world economic power experienced a need to communicate better with its international partners in order to ensure its economic prosperity while maintaining its own identity. A strategy that Japan employed in order to fulfill this need was neither to subjugate the nation to the West nor to seek a counter-hegemony against the West; it was to accommodate the hegemony of the West by becoming one of the equal members of the West and to convince the West and other nations of its position based on a distinct cultural heritage”（p. 300）.

Kokusaika involved the perpetuation of nihonjinron as a projected identity to the West, with the purpose of carving out a unique place at the “global” table.

In 1985, again due to concerns regarding the ability of Japanese students to use English communicatively, MEXT（called the Ministry of Education or MOE until shortly after the turn of the century, when it combined with the Ministry of Science and Technology）began to promote communicative competence and with such, interest in Communicative Language Teaching（CLT）increased. The MOE established the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program（JET）in 1985（Riley, 2008）, wherein native speakers of English are brought to Japan to work as Assistant Language Teachers（ALTs）. Such was done with the goal in mind of fomenting and nurturing the communicative ability and international understanding of students（Koike & Tanaka, 1995, paraphrased in Riley, 2008）. According to current statistics on the JET Programme Website（2009）, 98% of participants in the Jet Programme（the overwhelming majority of these being Assistant Language Teachers, or ALTs）are from Western, English-speaking countries（other language groups are represented within the statistics as well）. Of these individuals, nearly 63% are American. In addition, fuelled by kokusaika, English language conversation schools or “eikaiwa” spread rapidly across Japan（Mizuta, 2009）. In eikaiwa, or English conversation schools and their affiliates, NSs –typically Western（Kitao & Kitao, 1995; Kubota, 2011）and often white males（Kubota, 2011）- dominate. NSs were and continue to be the selling point of such institutions（Kubota, 2011）.

Once again, in 2000, debate regarding English language education emerged as a result of pressure from the business community who felt Japanese learners of English were yet ill-prepared to successfully engage in interaction（Yoshida, 2003）. Such pressure, “culminated in the report of the Japan’s Goals in the 21st Century Committee（2000）, in which a proposal was made to make English the second official language in Japan”（Yoshida, 2003, p. 291）, though this proposal was rejected. During this period, scholars and officials discussed the study of English for purposes of taking entrance examinations vs. English for communicative ability（Butler & Iino, 2005）, and an increase in English study in schools. There was much skepticism related to the potential harm an expanded role for English study would potentially perpetrate upon Japanese culture and the preservation of the status of the Japanese language（Tsui & Tollefson, 2007）. In 2002, MEXT explicitly expressed its dissatisfaction with the state of English education, claiming that such instruction has not produced desired outcomes（MEXT, 2002）. As such, the majority of the Japanese population studying English was unprepared for interaction with diverse populations using the language. In devising the plan, MEXT invited the input of experts related to English education, and held round-table committees which discussed the opinions of further visiting experts. These committees, “formed the basis for the attached strategic plan to cultivate "Japanese with English abilities”（MEXT, 2002）.

In its ‘plan of strategy,’ MEXT（2002）revealed its intention to emphasize communicative ability in English, in order to adequately prepare the Japanese people for life in a “globalized” community. In order to do so, MEXT recommended steps including increasing the number of ALTs working in schools, and increasing required Test Of English for International Communication（TOEIC）scores for Japanese teachers[3)]. The TOEIC test is widely used around the world to assess the English proficiency of its test takers, and Japan is no exception（ETS, 2009）, with particular relation to Japanese companies. In addition, the plan called for instruction to be carried out largely in English, and for English education at the elementary level to commence. Butler & Iino（2005）further point out

that in the Action Plan proposed by MEXT, the Japanese language is explicitly established as the foundation for intellectual activities, in the presumed interest of allaying fears of a loss of Japanese language and culture.

English Language Education at Present

As with a conceptualized globalization focusing on Japan's relationship with the West, multilingualism in Japan equates with 'English-Japanese Bilingualism' (Kubota, 2002, p. 12). Foreign language study in Japan is compulsory, from the 7th to 12th grades. English is the primary language offered around the country (Iino, 2002), however, as English is a major component on high school and university entrance examinations (Kitao & Kitao, 1995, paraphrased in Iino, 2002). Junior high and high school English education is meant to provide students with a grasp of written and spoken English, as well as exposure to the socio-cultural knowledge underpinning the language (Kitao & Kitao, 1995). According to Parmenter and Tomita (2001), guidelines for the contents of textbooks at the junior high and high school level are strictly outlined by MEXT, as is final textbook choices. Within these textbooks, the linguistic and cultural knowledge overwhelmingly corresponds to the West (Yamanaka, 2006). The goal of instruction at the junior high and high school level almost exclusively relates to students succeeding in passing the entrance exams. Many students, as a result, study in cram schools to supplement their secondary studies (Pettersen, 1993).

In 2002, English became an increasingly common subject of study at the elementary school level in the 5th and 6th grades, finally becoming compulsory once-a-week subject at the elementary level (Fennelly & Luxton, 2011). According to Butler (2007), discussion of English at the elementary level, "began largely as a response to pressure from business and political sectors; they had repeatedly called for changes to Japan's English education in order to be competitive in both business and politics globally" (Butler, 2007, p. 10). The responsibility for teaching English falls to the homeroom teacher, according to MEXT, though he/she may be supported by an ALT or member of the surrounding community. This has caused many elementary school teachers to complain of a lack of training and English skills to fulfill their language teaching duties (Fennelly & Luxton, 2011).

In public elementary, junior high and high schools, Japanese teachers comprise the majority of instructors, while Native Speakers largely participate as ALTs (Riley, 2008). Some companies act as intermediaries between schools and NSs, hiring "dispatch" teachers to teach in one or more locations during the week (Takahara, 2008). A small number of NSs work full-time at private schools, both Japanese and international in nature. Non-Japanese NNESTs are highly uncommon.

At the university level, departments choose the curricula in which their students will participate (there is no MEXT oversight). Students are often required by their departments to complete one to two years of language study. This may or may not include the study of another language as well; all depends upon the university and department in question (Kitao & Kitao, 1995). The primary concern of students at the university level is their achieving a "high TOEIC score" in order to secure the type of employment they desire[4]. Studying for the TOEIC is a pursuit many employees embark on after graduation, whether in company classes or in private language schools (Kitao & Kitao, 1995).

In terms of full-time university professors teaching English, NSs are most often on limited-term contracts, with their Japanese colleagues more often than not on tenure (Aldwinckle, 1999). According to Hall (1997), there were more foreign professors tenured at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., than at the dozens of national public universities in Japan combined[5]. Thus, the majority of faculty members are Japanese. In addition, universities rely heavily on the services of part-time NESTs and Japanese NNESTs (Aldwinckle, 1999). As with primary and secondary education, non-Japanese NNESTs are uncommon.

“Business” and English in Japan

The business community continues to promote the necessity of English in sustaining Japan’s ability to compete in the global business world, as it since the end of World War II. Grounded in the belief that without a large percentage of English speakers Japan is, “at risk of losing its competitive edge in the international business and political world”（Mori, 2011, p. 68）[6], Japan-based, international companies such as Kyocera and Rakuten[7] have prioritized the English proficiency of their employees.

In 2010, Rakuten president Hiroshi Mikitani, a Harvard Business School graduate with significant overseas experience, officially announced English as the new primary working language of the company（Neeley, 2011）. Mikitani called his decision and philosophy “Englishnization,” which he explains in a book he has published on the subject（Mikitani, 2012）. Mikitani’s expressed desire is not only to increase his company’ s ability to grow and compete; he desires to change Japanese society as a whole, believing that Rakuten “can be the role model for a new Japan”（Neeley, 2011, p. 4）. In addition to believing that English is the future for business, Mikitani also argues that English is a way to alter what he terms “the conservative customs and systems of Japan”（Neeley, 2011, p. 4）. He asserts that Englishnization is a manner to do so as, “the Japanese language is a barrier to information that comes from outside Japan and to a more objective view of the world”（Neeley, 2011, p. 4）. Though initially received with shock, Mikitani’s announcement has led for a push amongst employees to improve their English, both on their own and in language schools. The company uses the TOEIC test to assess reading/writing proficiency, and monitors the spoken proficiency of its employees via observations（Neeley, 2011）. Overall, the Japanese media has celebrated Rakuten’s flexibility in the global market, allowing the company to hire talented individuals from around the world and enter markets where other Japanese companies might struggle to do so（Neeley, 2011）.

Another push toward “globalization” occurred in 2009, when the Japanese government, with encouragement from the business community, undertook the “Project for Establishing Core Universities for Internationalization”（Mori, 2011）. The fundamental purpose underpinning the project was to establish English-medium university courses to attract international students and faculty to Japan, to play a role in the internationalization of Japanese society（Mori, 2011）. English was chosen as the medium instruction due to its perceived status as the global language; the language of business and of research（Mori, 2011）. The Japanese government initiated the program as a result of worries regarding Japan’s declining birthrate and its ability to attract international talent, both of which affect Japan’s ability to complete on the global stage（Mori, 2011）. The government voted in late 2010, however, to “abolish” and “restructure” the program, due to budget cuts and issues with finding potential participating universities（McNeill, 2010）.

The Japanese government and the business community are also, at the moment, discussing decentralization. This decentralization would reform the system of 47 prefectures within the country established in the Meiji period（Niikawa, 2006）, replacing it with a regional government system（“doshusei”）comprised of seven regional blocs（Yokomichi, 2008）. Proponents of decentralization argue that such a move would strengthen local autonomy, render the administrative system more efficient, and would make each region more globally competitive（Yokomichi, 2008）. According to Furukawa（2002）, “democratization, globalization, and public-sector reform have contributed most to decentralization”（p. 23）, as the relationship between the local and the global becomes increasingly intertwined.

The discourses regarding Japan’s relationship with and role in a globalizing world are also connected to another issue that has lingered in Japan since the end of World War II: territorial disputes with Russia, China, South（and North）Korea and Taiwan. These disputes are constructed by a complex web of issues related to national sovereignty, Japan’s colonial past, and specifically that of national resources including fishing and natural gas and petroleum deposits（Sylvester, 2007）. In the last decade nationalist sentiment within Japan has increased, fuelled

in part by right wing groups and politicians, are challenging the Japanese government to defend Japanese sovereignty（Matthews, 2003; Bouthier, 2012; Fackler, 2012, MacKinnon, 2012）. Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara and Osaka Mayor Toru Hashimoto, two such influential politicians, are also integral participants in promoting decentralization in Japan（Ishihara, 2004; MacKinnon, 2012; Pulvers, 2012; Wagner, 2012）.

The dominant sociohistorical discourses in Japan guiding sociocultural, political and educational approaches to identity have constructed an essentialized Japan, which has then been juxtaposed against the West. The borders around conceptualizations of what constitutes "Japan," "being Japanese" and what is "other" have permeated Japanese society, essentializing who and what might be considered Japanese. The discourses both embedded within and shaping English language education are no different. In concert with the discourses of "us and them," English language learning and instruction have prioritized the linguistic and cultural knowledge of an idealized, white, Western native speaker（Kubota, 1998; Oda, 1999）, while reinforcing the gap between Japan and the world beyond, linguistically and culturally and eliminating space for individuals who do not fit the native speaker model and who are not Japanese（Rudolph & Igarashi, 2012）.

Reconceptualizing Language, Culture and Identity

Indeed, essentialized constructions of language, culture and identity related to Japan and the world beyond, permeate business, politics and society in general. Yet such constructions have not gone unchallenged. These challenges shed critical light on Japanese society, being Japanese, and as a consequence, on the nature and role of English in Japan.

Perhaps the most powerful challenge to constructions of Japanese culture and identity, are embodied in the people who do not fit nihonjinron-inspired conceptions of who is Japanese. Sugimoto（1999）argues that, "Globalization has brought into view many kinds of Japanese of whom Nihonjinron lost sight and who pose a fundamental challenge to its core assumptions"（Sugimoto, 1999, p. 88）[8]. This includes the indigenous Ainu minority, the people of the Ryukyus who are ethnically and linguistically distinct from "the Japanese," Koreans and Chinese who were forcibly brought or emigrated to Japan before and during World War II, and the Burakkumin or "defiled" who have, since the Edo period, been relegated to the fringes of Japanese society marked by their occupations, lineage and where they are from（Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008）.

At present, marriages between Japanese and non-Japanese now comprise one out of twenty（Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2010）. These families are adding to the diverse fabric of what Japan is and what it is becoming. There are also over two million immigrants living in Japan, for the short and long term. Over 250,000 Brazilians and 50,000 Peruvians, with at least one family member on a Japanese ancestry visa, are currently living in the country. Over 500,000 Chinese and 300,000 Filipinos reside in Japan as well（Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2010）. In concert with other internationals and other members of Japanese society, these individuals are redefining the nature of Japan and Japaneseness[9].

As a result of the global flows of people, finances, technology, ideas and information（Appadurai, 2000）, hybridization is occurring in Japan leading to "trans-local, Creole and creolized cultures"（Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008, p. 31）. In their book "Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender and Identity," Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu（2008）describe Japan in the following manner:

> "The dividing lines between Japanese and Others, including conceptions of what is 'pure' and 'impure,' are no longer so clear as they were once assumed to be. These new and complex contexts reveal a transcultural world that is overlooked when we are preoccupied with conceptual dichotomies and dialectical oppositions. What we are seeing instead is a transcultural, transnational society with fluid boundaries, constant change, and often innovative cultural formations"（p. 5）.

What is Japan? What is being Japanese? These are few of the questions that emerge in the deconstruction of the social discourses that have essentialized identity, language and culture in Japanese society.

Approaches to ELT seeking to move beyond the NS construct, are approaches that are concomitantly challenging essentializing discourses within Japanese society in general. Scholars have first and foremost questioned the necessity for such an intense focus on English study for the general population, as for the majority of these people English plays little or no role in their lives（e.g., Oda, 2007; Yano, 2011）. Oda（2007）asserts that the "world" Japanese English learners are being prepared for is a myth; a myth that perpetuates the power of the NS construct. Other scholars including Kubota（1998, 2002, 2011）have connected the perpetuation of the NS construct in ELT to larger societal discourses related to Japan's juxtaposition vis-à-vis the "world"（the West）.

Recently, scholars have been critically examining language ownership（e.g., Matsuda, 2003a; Simon-Maeda, 2011）, and language and identity（e.g., Kubota, 1998, 2002, 2011; Murahata & Murahata, 2008; Rudolph & Igarashi, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004, 2011; Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008）, assessment grounded in a NS-centric approach（e.g., Matsuda, 2003b）, curriculum and materials privileging the language and culture of an idealized NS and ignoring the Outer and Expanding Circles（e.g., Matsuda, 2003b, Yamanaka, 2006）[10], and the NS-centric nature of some professional ELT organizations（Oda, 1999）in Japan. Scholars are also examining the effect of globalization on language policy in Japan, both in terms of Japanese and English（e.g., Heinrich, 2012; Seargeant, 2011）. Such work is creating space for border crossing; for reimagining who Japanese learners, users and teachers of English might be or become. Yet within the larger social and academic discourses of ELT in Japan, such discussions and issues are far from mainstream and potentially threatening to those who might attempt to do so（Rudolph & Igarashi, 2012）. Murahata（2008）notes that the overwhelming majority of discourse related to the NS/NNS binary takes place in the West and not in contexts such as Japan.

At Present, Into the Future

The debate over language, culture and identity in Japan is far from complete. As Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu（2008）argue, "Japan is moving in two seemingly contradictory directions at the same time, one of increasing isolation… and the other of opening more doors, symbolic and real"（p. 31）. In this context, via discourses within Japanese society and those embedded within a globalized ELT, the nature and role of English continues to be negotiated.

Endnotes

1） The Confucianism that first entered Japan in the late Kamakura period（1185-1333）（Craig, 1998）is termed "neo-Confucianism," as it was a reformed Chinese approach to Confucius' original ideas（e.g., Hawkins, 1998; Khan, 1997; Varley, 2000）.

2） The belief in and perpetuation of nihonjinron transcends social status and political affiliation in Japan. It is propogated both within and beyond Japan by Japanese and non-Japanese alike（Sugimoto, 1999）.

3） The plan has been criticized, within the NS construct paradigm, for issues including its emphasis on TOEIC scores, which likely do not reflect an individual's communicative proficiency（Yoshida, 2003）and for the fact that teachers and students alike may opt to focus on English for entrance examinations and tests such as the TOEIC, over communicative competence（Murphey, 2004）.

4） Students may also take the Test of English as a Foreign Language（TOEFL）, a standardized test typcially used by North American educational institutions for assessing international student applicants.

5） The commonplace nature of limited-term contracts for foreign teachers has been a subject of discussion amongst such individuals for many years（e.g., Aldwinckle, 1999; Hall, 1994, 1997; McCrostie & Spiri, 2008）, something which Hall

（1994）has labelled ‘academic apartheid.’ This is a very complex matter that is beyond the scope of this literature review, though it is directly related to the social discourses juxtaposing Japan against the West. In an Asahi Newspaper article, Shinichiro Noriguchi, a University of Kitakyushu English professor described the logic of separate academic tracks for native speaker teachers, arguing, “native speakers who have lived in Japan for more than ten years tend to have adapted to the system and have become ineffective as teachers”（Noriguchi, 2006）.

6） The discourse of “Nihon Chinbotsu” or “Sinking Japan” is a do-or-die discourse that, like nihonjiron, prevails in Japanese society. This discourse, which takes its name from a 1973 sci-fi movie, argues that, “Japan would sink, doomed unless it changed fundamentally”（Curtis, 1999, p. 42）as a result of the forces of globalization.

7） Kyocera is a company specializing in electronic parts and products, while Rakuten is a global market site where a customer can search for and purchase almost any kind of item.

8） As Arudou（2007）notes, the members of the “foreign” community in Japan, becoming increasingly visible, have been scapegoats at times for the ills plaguing Japnese society, including issues related to crime, employment and education.

9） In line with discourses shaping Japan’s relationship with the “outside world,” here are a couple interesting facts according to（Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2010）: There are 570,000 Japanese in Western countries, while around 123,000 Westerners live in Japan. There are 1,371,000 Asians living in Japan, but only 193,000 Japanese living in Asia. 93% of Japanese permanent residents overseas live in North America.

10）Kachru（1985）proposed a three-concentric circle model attempting to explain the historical spread of English around the world and the development of new Englishes. Kachru（1985）describes an “Inner Circle” as consisting of native-speaking Western nations, the “Outer Circle” as consisting of the former colonies of English-speaking nations, and the “Expanding Circle” as including countries which had not experienced colonialization on the part of an English-speaking nation.

References

Aldwinckle, D.（1999）. Ten+ questions for your next university employer. *The Language Teacher*, 23（7）. Retrieved October 1, 2011 from: http://www.jalt-publications.org/old tlt/articles/1999/07/aldwinckle

Appadurai, A.（2000）. *Modernity at large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arudou, D.（2007, August 28）. The blame game. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved September 7, 2012, from: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/fl20070828zg.html

Befu, H.（1993）. Nationalism and nihonjinron. *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity. Research Papers and Policy Studies, 39*, 107–135. University of California.

Befu, H.（2001）. *Hegemony of homogeneity: an anthropological analysis of“ Nihonjinron”*（Vol. 5）. Trans Pacific Pr.

Bouthier, A.（2012, August 18.）. Japanese nationalists land on disputed island, tensions with China intensify. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved September 12, 2012, from http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/japanese-nationalists-land-on-disputed-island-tensions-with-china-intensify/article4488134/

Butler, Y. G.（2007）. Foreign language education at elementary schools in Japan: Searching for solutions amidst growing diversification. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 8*（2）, 129–147.

Butler, Y. G., & Iino, M.（2005）. Current Japanese reforms in English language education: The 2003 “action plan”. *Language Policy, 4*（1）, 25–45.

Craig, E.（1998）. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy: Volume 7*. Routledge.

Curtis, G. L.（1999）. *The Logic of Japanese Politics: Leaders, Institutions, and the Limits of Change*. Columbia U. Press.

Daily Yomiuri.（2005, Oct. 18）. Aso Describes Japan as ‘One Race Nation’. *Daily Yomiuri*, p. 2.

Educational Testing Service（2009）TOEIC. Retrieved December 10, 2009 from: http://www.ets.org/portal/site/ets/menuitem.fab2360b1645a1de9b3a0779f171509/?vgnextoid=06cfd898c84f4010 VgnVCM10000022f95190RCRD

Fackler, M.（2012, July 15）. Japan Recalls Ambassador in Island Dispute With China. *The New York Times*. Retrieved Septem-

ber 12, 2012 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/16/world/asia/japan-recalls-ambassador-to-china.html

Fennelly, M., & Luxton, R.（2011）. Are they ready? On the verge of compulsory English, elementary school teachers lack confidence. The *Language Teacher*,（35）4, 19-24.

Fukada, T.（2008, September 29）. Tourism minister apologizes for gaffes. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved September 7, 2012, from: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/nn20080927a2.html

Fukuzawa, Y.（1885）. Datsu-A Ron（脱亜論）. In Junji Banno（Ed.）, *Fukuzawa Yukichi Sensyu*（福沢諭吉選集 , "Selected works of Yukichi Fukuzawa"）（1981, volume 7）. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Fujimoto-Adamson, N.（2006）. Globalization and history of English education in Japan. *Asian EFL Journal, 8*（3）. Retrieved September 12, 2012 from http://70.40.196.162/September 2006 EBook editions.pdf#page=259

Furukawa, S.（2002）. Decentralization in Japan. *Japan's Road to Pluralism: Transforming Local Communities in the Global Era. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange*, 21–47.

Ge, Sun（2007）. How does Asia mean? Translated by Hui-Shu Lun & Lau Kinchi. In Chen, K. H., & Chua, C.B.（Eds.）, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Reader*, 9-65. London: Routledge.

Gorsuch, G. J.（2000）. EFL Educational Policies and Educational Cultures: Influences on Teachers' Approval of Communicative Activities. *TESOL Quarterly, 34*（4）, 675-710.

Hall, I.（1994）. *Working Paper #3: Academic apartheid at Japan's National Universities*. Tokyo: Japan Policy Research Institute. Retrieved August 19, 2011 from: http://www.debito.org/JPRIacadapart1.html

Hall, I.（1997）. *Cartels of the Mind*. New York: W W Norton & Co.

Hawkins, J.（1998）. Education. In R. Maidment（Ed.）, *Culture and Society in the Asia-Pacific*（pp. 141–162）. Routledge.

Heinrich, P.（2012）. The making of monolingual Japan: Language ideology and Japanese modernity. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Iino, M.（2002）. English language education in Japan. In R. E. Silver, G. Hu & M. Iino（Eds.）, *English language education in China, Japan, and Singapore*（pp. 81-97）. Nanyang, Singapore: Nanyang Technological University National Institute of Education.

Imura, M.（2003）. 日本の英語教育 200 年 *（English education in Japan for the past 200 years）*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.

Ishihara, S.（2004）. Policy Speech at the 2nd Regular Session of the Metropolitan Assembly, 2004. Retrieved online from:http://www.metro.tokyo.jp/ENGLISH/GOVERNOR/SPEECH/2004/fge6g102.htm

Kachru, B. B.（1985）. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures*, 11–30.

Khan, Y.（1997）. *Japanese Moral Education Past and Present*. Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press.

Kitao, K., & Kitao, S. K.（1995）. *English teaching: Theory, research, practice*（pp. 3-20）. Tokyo: Eichosha.

Kubota, R.（1998）. Ideologies of English in Japan. *World Englishes, 17*（3）, 295–306.

Kubota, R.（2002）. The impact of globalization on language teaching in Japan. In D. Block & Deborah Cameron（Eds.）, *Globalization and language teaching*,（pp. 13-28）. London: Routledge.

Kubota, R.（2011）. Learning a foreign language as leisure and consumption: enjoyment, desire, and the business of Eikaiwa. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 14*（4）, 473–488.

Law, G.（1995）. Ideologies of English language education in Japan. *JALT Journal, 17*（2）, 213 － 224.

MacKinnon, M.（August 14, 2012）. Tokyo's hawkish governor stirs the pot. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved online at: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/08/14/tokyo s hawkish governor stirs the pot

Matsuda, A.（2003a）. The ownership of English in Japanese secondary schools. *World Englishes, 22*（4）, 483–496.

Matsuda, A.（2003b）. Incorporating World Englishes in teaching English as an International Language. *TESOL Quarterly, 37*（4）, 719-729.

Matthews, E. A.（2003, November 1）. Japan's New Nationalism. *Foreign Affairs*,（November/December 2003）. Retrieved from: http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/59369/eugene-a-matthews/japans-new-nationalism

McCrostie, J., & Spiri, J.（2008）. Foreign university faculty face annual round of "musical jobs" | The Japan Times Retrieved

September 7, 2012, from: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/fl20081230zg.html

Mcneill, D.（2010, September 8）. Japan's Globalization Project Stalls as Some Criticize Focus on Elite Universities. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from http://chronicle.com/article/A-Slow-Start-for-Japans/124346/

MEXT（2002）. Developing a strategic plan to cultivate 'Japanese with English abilities. Retrieved October 4, 2009 from: http://www.mext.go.jp/english/news/2002/07/020901.htm

Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare（2010）Saikin kohyo no toukei shiryou（Statistical documentation recently made public）. Retrieved September 7, 2012 from: http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/jinkou/suii09/marr2.html

Mikitani, H.（2012）Englishnization. Kobo Publishers.

Mizuta, A.（2009）. The Unchanged Images of English in Changing Japan: From Modernization to Globalization. *Intercultural Communication Studies, 18*（2）, 38.

Mori, J.（2011）.〈Survey Report〉G30 and its Implications for Japan. *京都大学国際交流センター論攷 , 1*, 63–71.

Murahata, Y.（2008）. What do we learn from NNEST-related issues? Some implications for TEFL in Japan. *The Language Teacher, 30*（6）, 3-7. Tokyo: JALT Press.

Murahata, G., Murahata, Y.（2008）. V. Cook's Multicompetence and Its Consequences for SLA Research and L2 Pedagogy. Retrieved from: https://ir.kochi-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/10126/2998

Murphey, T.（2004）. Participation,（Dis-）Identification, and Japanese University Entrance Exams. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*（4）, 700–710.

Neeley, T.（2011）. Language and Globalization: "Englishnization" at Rakuten. *SSRN eLibrary*. Retrieved from: http://pagpers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract id=1993062

Nemoto, Y.（1999）. *The Japanese Education System*. Universal Publishers.

Nguyen, P. M., Terlouw, C., & Pilot, A.（2006）. Culturally appropriate pedagogy: the case of group learning in a Confucian Heritage Culture context. *Intercultural Education, 17*（1）, 1–19.

Niikawa, T.（2006）. Decentralization and local governance: Reinforcing democracy and effectiveness of local government. *Regional Forum on Reinventing Government in Asia-Building Trust in Government: Innovations to Improve Governance*. Retrieved from: http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UN/UNPAN024473.pdf

Noriguchi, S.（2006, September 15）. English education leaves much to be desired. *Asahi Shimbun*. Retrieved January 20, 2007 from: http://www.asahi.com/english/Heraldasahi/TKY200609150129.html

Oda, M.（1999）. English only or English plus? The language（s）of EFL organizations. *Non-native educators in English language teaching*, 105–121.

Oda, M.（2007）. Globalization or the World in English: Is Japan Ready to Face the Waves? *International Multilingual Research Journal, 1*（2）, 119–126.

Oliver, C.（2009）. Kokusaika, revisited: Reinventing "Internationalization" in late 1960s Japan. *Sophia Junior College Faculty Journal*, 29, 47-54.

Parmenter, L., & Tomita, Y.（2001）. Virtual intercultural competence: A programme for Japanese elementary school students. In M. Byram, A. Nichols, & D. Stevens（Eds.）, *Developing intercultural competence in practice*（pp. 133-145）. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Pettersen, L.（1993）. Japan's cram schools. *Educational Leadership*, 50（5）, 56-58.

Pulvers, R.（2012, July 22）. Osaka Mayor Toru Hashimoto: "What Japan needs now is dictatorship." The Japan Times. Retrieved September 6, 2012, from: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/fl20120722rp.html

Riley, P. A.（2008）. Reform in English language teaching in Japan. *人間環境学会 (紀要), 9*, 105-11.

Rudolph, N. & Igarashi, Y.（2012）. Conceptualizing the Role of the Language Teacher Within and Beyond the Native Speaker Construct: A Focus on Japan. *2012 Proceedings of the IAFOR Asian Conference on Language Learning*. Aichi, Japan, 342-357.

Sawada, J. A.（1993）. *Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. University of Hawaii Press.

Seargeant, P.（2011）. *English in Japan in the Era of Globalization*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Simon-Maeda, A.（2011）. *Being and becoming a speaker of Japanese: An autoethnographic account*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Sugimoto, Y.（1999）. Making sense of nihonjinron. *Thesis Eleven, 57*（1）, 81–96.

Sylvester, J.（2007）. Japan's territorial disputes. *American diplomacy: Foreign service dispatches and reports on U.S. foreign policy*. Retrieved from: http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2007/0709/sylv/sylvester japan.html

Takahara, K.（2008, January 5）. Assistant language teachers in trying times. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved September 12, 2012 from: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/nn20080105f1.html

Varley, H. P.（2000）. *Japanese Culture*. University of Hawaii Press.

Wagner, A.（2012）. Policy Change in a Post-Crisis Japan: An Interview with Richard J. Samuels. National Bureau of Asian Research. Retrieved online September 21, 2012 at: http://www.nbr.org/research/activity.aspx?id=218

Willis, D. B. & Murphy-Shigematsu, S.（2008）. Transcultural Japan: At the borderlands of race, gender and identity. New York: Routledge.

Wray, H.（2008）. *Japanese and American Education: Attitudes and Practices*. IAP.

Yamanaka, N.（2006）. An evaluation of English textbooks in Japan from the viewpoint of nations in the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles. *JALT Journal, 28*（1）, 57-76.

Yano, Y.（2011）. English as an International Language and 'Japanese English'. In P. Seargeant, P.（Ed.）. *English in Japan in the Era of Globalization*, 125-142. Palgrave Macmillan.

Yokomichi, K.（2008）. The Debate on the Introduction of a regional System in Japan. *Up-to-date Documents on Local Autonomy in Japan No, 3*. Retrieved from http://www3.grips.ac.jp/~coslog/test/activity/01/03/file/up-to-date-3 en.pdf

Yoshida, K.（2003）. Language Education Policy in Japan: The Problem of Espoused Objectives versus Practice. *The Modern Language Journal, 87*（2）, 290-292.