

Language Ideologies on the Language Curriculum and Language Teaching in a *Nihonjingakkō* (Japanese overseas school) in Belgium: Implications for Developing Multilingual Speakers in Japan

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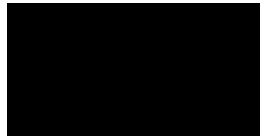
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Statement of originality

I, Yuta Mogi confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where confirmation has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

**Yuta Mogi
August, 2020**



Signature:

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the language ideologies underpinning the language curriculum and language teaching practices in a *nihonjingakkō*, a full-time day school for children of Japanese expatriates, in Belgium. By drawing on the theoretical frame of ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity (Woolard, 2016), I investigate what language ideologies the school, principal, and language teachers hold and how these influence the school's language curriculum and language teachers' pedagogy.

The research adopted an ethnographically-oriented case study approach. The data consisted of semi-structured interviews with the principal and language teachers along with questionnaires, classroom observations, and analysis of policy documents from the school. Using qualitative content analysis, the study illustrated the complexity and multiplicity of language ideologies manifested in the school's policy and practice.

The findings indicate that the language ideologies operating in the school influencing the language curriculum and pedagogy are primarily monolingual and homogeneous, and largely influenced by the dominant language ideologies of Japan's Ministry of Education and Japanese society. Consequently, the school positions itself as if it were a mainstream school in Japan despite its location in the multilingual setting of Belgium. This was manifested through Japanese and English occupying the dominant role in the language curriculum, while French was marginalized, and no other languages were offered. Furthermore, a monolingual approach to pedagogy was adopted that emphasized keeping language separate, disregarding students' and language teachers' rich multilingual repertoire. The idea of developing students to be multilingual speakers is missing from the school curriculum and pedagogy, since the school do not conceive their multilingual abilities as a resource.

In conclusion, this study proposes a critique of the language education policy of the *nihonjingakkō* operated in non-Anglophone settings such as Belgium. By setting this research in a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, I argue that these schools have the potential to provide an excellent model for multilingual education for Japanese children and for Japan since the majority of *nihonjingakkō* students will eventually return to Japan (Sato, 2019). The study also calls for a change in the monolingual language ideologies which shape the equation of 'foreign language is English' (Erikawa, 2018; Kubota, 2019; Sargeant, 2009) pervasive in the Japanese schooling context.

Impact Statement

While a large body of research on Japanese overseas schools exists in the field of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, this ethnographic-oriented case study is the first to critically examine language ideologies circulating in the school in Belgium, and how these shapes the school's language curriculum and pedagogy. By focusing on a school in a non-Anglophone setting and including locally hired language teachers as participants, both largely under-researched elements in previous studies, the study bridges a gap in the literature and adds further dimensions to the research on Japanese overseas schools. Furthermore, by shedding light on the ways in which ideology of authenticity and anonymity have a symbiotic as well as dichotomous relationship in the research context, the study can provide insights on Woolard's concept of ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity (2016), which risks slipping into the 'either-or' binary conceptualization.

On the level of policy implications, the findings argue for the adoption of a multilingual approach to language teaching, which can help students and teachers to fully draw on their multilingual resources in language learning and take pride in their forms of multilingualism. The critique I proposed in this thesis should be of particular relevance to the government of Japan, in particular the Ministry of Education, which has been playing a dominant role in designing and enacting language education policies to schools. In addition, I am convinced that the findings of this study do offer food for thought to other educational institutions which have a similar educational purpose and background.

This study and its findings have been presented to scholars at conferences inside and outside Japan. These events have prompted rich discussion which can stimulate others working in this field to undertake additional studies. Upon the completion of this thesis, I plan to collaboratively work with scholars who share similar research interests. This will further illuminate and contribute to advancing the discussions on language ideologies operating in Japanese overseas schools, and how these influence the schools' language education policy and teaching practice.

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Lists of Abbreviation

MEXT= Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

JFL= Japanese as a Foreign Language

JSL= Japanese as a Second language

JET= Japan Exchange and Teaching

ALT= Assistant Language Teacher

TETE= Teaching English through English

LOTE= Languages Other than English

MOFA= Ministry of Foreign Affairs

ELT= English Language Teaching

JLT= Japanese Language Teaching

CLT= Communicative Language Teaching

TESOL= Teaching English as a Second Language

OLON= One Language Only

OLAT= One Language at a Time

JALP= Japan Association for Language Policy

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction: An Anecdote

The research topic of *nihonjingakkō*, a full-time Japanese school which provides education based on Japan's national educational system for children of Japanese people temporarily living overseas, is deeply embedded in my upbringing as a returnee (*kikokushijo*). *Kikokushijo* are children of Japanese expatriates who return to Japan after a prolonged sojourn to a host country (Goodman, 1990; Kanno, 2003; Sato, 1997). Due to my father's job transfer to the United States, I was born in the suburbs of Philadelphia. Until my family moved back to Japan upon my middle school graduation, I attended a public elementary and private middle school in the United States since my parents expected that my family would eventually return to Japan, I attended both a local school on weekdays and Japanese complementary school (*hoshukō*) every Saturday to improve my Japanese language skills and foster Japanese-ness. When I moved to Japan after graduating from middle school in the United States, I was fortunate to enroll in one of the top private high schools in Tokyo, which is also renowned for accepting many *kikokushijo*. Thanks to other *kikokushijo* schoolmates with whom I shared similar experiences, my educational and social transition from the United States to Japan went relatively smoothly.

Therefore, when I first read Kanno's acclaimed study of *kikokushijo*'s multiple identities (Kanno, 2003), it had a huge impact on my life as I entered the world of academia. My experiences reflected very much those of her participants, who struggled with their identity due to their itinerant life of repeatedly moving abroad and returning to Japan. Having promised myself at the outset that I would choose a research topic that was meaningful to me personally, I first wanted to explore the process of identity construction of teachers working at *hoshukō*. As a former *kikokushijo*, I was curious to explore the identities of Japanese teachers working at *hoshukō*. These personal motivating drivers and the fact that there is an almost complete lack of research undertaken on Japanese teachers working at *hoshukō* (exceptions include Minami, 2000 and Mabuchi, 2002) drew me to research this topic. By adopting an ethnographic approach, my research aim was to contribute to research in the fields of language and identity and language policy and planning by addressing a gap in an understudied area of inquiry. However, it is common that research does not move forward as planned, with unexpected challenges and outcomes sometimes presenting themselves (Cohen,

Manion, & Morrison, 2011b; Dornyei, 2007). During my first year of doctoral studies, I was not able to gain access to my proposed research site, *hoshukō* in the United Kingdom.

Confronted by this barrier, I recalled the time at a high school in Tokyo where I was surrounded by my fellow *kikokushijo* schoolmates. My schoolmates returned to Japan from countries around the globe, but interestingly, most students who came back from non-Anglophone countries¹ had not learned languages other than Japanese and English. Although this institution was widely praised (Yashiro, 1995) for providing foreign language classes (French, German, and Spanish) to students, I felt as if both teachers and parents undervalued languages except Japanese and English. From this reflection, the question of language ideologies emerged as an ideal subject to explore. This childhood experience motivated me to cast my net more widely, expanding my research scope to a non-Anglophone country. I became interested in what language perceptions and experiences teachers of *nihonjingakkō* or *hoshukō* in a non-English speaking country have. Fortunately, with the support from the former principal of the *hoshukō* which I attended, I received a research approval from the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium (for details of why I selected *nihonjingakkō* instead of *hoshukō*, please see Chapter 4). Conducting research in Belgium, which has three official languages of Flemish, French, and German (Blommaert, 2011), allowed me to also investigate how the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium and its people regard multilingualism and multilingual education.

Since multilingualism is one of the central themes of my study, it is important to clarify what I mean by multilingualism, given that the multiplicity of interpretations may cause confusion. In defining multilingualism, I will also briefly explain my linguistic repertoire. Drawing on the literature (Cenoz, 2013; Marshall & Moore, 2018; Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese, 2012), I perceive multilingualism as both an individual ability and a society or geographical territory in which two or more languages come into contact. Furthermore, I take a holistic view of multilingualism, of the way in which it values hybridity of languages use, rather than an atomistic view that

¹ In defining a non-Anglophone country, I adopt Kachru's (1985) concept of an Inner Circle, which refers to the nations to which large populations migrated from the United Kingdom, a country widely viewed as being the origin of the English language. In this first diaspora, speakers from the United Kingdom carried the language to places such as Australia and North America. Therefore, an Anglophone country refers to the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and Canada. These countries are regarded as the authority on what counts as standard English.

conceives languages as separate bounded entities (Preece, 2020). I perceive multilingualism as fluid and constantly evolving, depending on multiple factors such as time, place, and circumstance. Accordingly, as argued by numerous scholars (Barakos & Selleck, 2019; Cenoz, 2013; Marshall, 2020), I do not consider perfect mastery of two or more languages as a requirement to be multilingual.

This holistic view of multilingualism resonates with my own competency and use of English and Japanese. Even though I identify myself as a fluent user of both languages, I often experience that one of my languages is dominant depending on my circumstances, needs, and interlocuter. For instance, as a person who has been studying in an Anglo-American academic environment for many years², English is my principal language in academic settings. I lack experience and knowledge in carrying out various academic activities in Japanese (e.g. conducting interviews, giving presentations in academic conference, reading academic literatures). However, moving to Japan in the middle of my PhD programme and teaching in universities enabled me to get in touch with Japanese academics and literature. Since then, my use of academic Japanese has increased and my proficiency levels in it improved. Cross-linguistically activating my linguistic repertoire has made it possible for me to examine research subjects at a deeper level than when employing only one language. As Cenoz (2013: 12) suggested, “the development of multilingual competence is dynamic and involves changes in language acquisition and language use”. Still, the fact that I am writing this thesis in English makes me realize that English is my main academic language.

Although various terminologies have been proposed in the past decade – e.g. plurilingualism (Marshall & Moore, 2018; Moore & Gajo, 2009), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), heteroglossia (Bailey, 2012), polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008) – I will use multilingualism as an umbrella term which includes the terminologies mentioned above, all of which share a holistic view of linguistic repertoire and language use (Cenoz, 2013), embracing mixing of languages as a resource and not as an indicator of low proficiency. The term bilingualism is also included under this umbrella definition, as multilingualism is often used to refer to two or more languages (Aronin & Singleton, 2008).

² Even though I entered university in Japan, I belonged to the department in which most of the classes were taught in English. At the time, my major was not applied linguistics. After graduating from university, I enrolled on a master’s programme in the United States and started studying applied linguistics.

The first chapter presented my personal narrative, describing how the topic of the study is related to my life and how I conceive multilingualism. Chapter 2 will outline the aims of this study, with a brief discussion of how my study can provide a contribution to academia. Finally, I will close the chapter by explaining the organization of the thesis.

1.2 Aims of the research and the significance for the field

The overarching aim of this thesis is to explore language ideologies, a concept which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, of language teachers and the principal in *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. In addition, the language ideologies of Japanese society and Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (hereafter referred to by its commonly known acronym, MEXT) which exerts a preponderant influence on the school, principal, and language teachers, will be analyzed. In doing so, I examine the issue of one's language ideologies, and how these affect language teachers' classroom teaching and interaction. I argue that teachers, principal, and the school also have mixed, conflicting orientations to languages, multilingualism, and multilingual education (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), whether or not they are aware of these contradictions.

This research can provide a significant contribution in five areas. Firstly, the participants of this research are language teachers and the principal of *nihonjingakkō*. Despite the accumulating body of research on *kikokushijo* and Japanese overseas school education in the field of applied linguistics in the past few decades, a substantial number of these studies have focused on individual *kikokushijo* (exceptions include Fukuda, 2018), whether those still living abroad or returnees to Japan (e.g. Goodman, 1990, 2012; Kanno, 2003; Pang, 2009; Sato, 2010, 2019; Shibuya, 2001; Sueda, 2014). This tendency can be explained by the public's interest in *kikokushijo*, which perceives *kikokushijo* either as troubled children in need of acculturation or valuable human resources for Japan's internationalization (Okamura, 2017). Although I do not challenge research on *kikokushijo*, teachers and principals should be taken into consideration since they also shape *kikokushijo*'s identities and help develop their multilingualism. Studies on Japanese high school English language teachers (Browne & Wada, 1998; Glasgow, 2014; Noda & O'Regan, 2020; Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004), and English language teachers working in higher education in Japan (Nagatomo, 2012; Simon-Maeda, 2004;

Stewart, 2005) are increasing, but language teachers and principals working at overseas Japanese educational institutions (e.g. *nihonjingakkō*, private Japanese schools) have yet to make it onto the radar of scholars interested in such matters.

Secondly, this research responds to a call to expand the geographical scope of research in the field. When I reviewed literature on *kikokushijo* and Japanese overseas schools, it was evident that very little work had been carried out in non-Anglophone countries (Dohi et al., 2017; Fukuda, 2018; Pang, 2009). In fact, a huge concentration of research has, to date, taken place in English speaking countries (e.g. Doerr & Lee, 2010; Kanno, 2003; Kano, 2013; Sato & Kataoka, 2008; Shibata, 2000). This may wrongly exacerbate the Japanese public's misconception of *kikokushijo* as English-Japanese bilinguals, which has been reported in past studies (Kanno, 2003; Okamura, 2017; Yoshida et al., 2003, 2009). This tendency can be attributed to several contextual issues: (1) many researchers on *kikokushijo* and Japanese overseas schools reside in Anglophone countries, and have easier access to schools and their staff and students in these countries, and (2) there is less demand for research in non-Anglophone settings since foreign languages except English are not generally valued in Japan (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). In light of this, by conducting research of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, I would like to contribute to the dissemination of a well-balanced picture of research about Japanese overseas schools.

The third area where this research takes on significance is the emphasis on language ideologies. In my view, more effort should be made to highlight the importance of teachers' and principals' perceptions of and experiences towards languages. While returnees' shifting identities (Kanno, 2003; Shibuya, 2001; Sueda, 2014), social perception of *kikokushijo* (Yashiro, 1995; Yoshida et al., 2003, 2009b), Japanese children and their family's lives abroad (Richards & Yamada-Yamamoto, 1998; White, 1988; Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards, 1998), returnees' readjustment to Japan (Enloe & Lewin, 1987; Ida, 2018; Miyamoto & Kuhlman, 2001; Yoshida et al., 2002), and cognitive studies on returnees' bilingual abilities (Taura, 1998) are well-examined, efforts to link students', teachers', and principals' language experiences to broader issues of language ideologies have been scarce. In these previous studies, there is only slight mention of the high prestige and market value which English enjoys in Japan.

The fourth way in which this research is significant is the new dimension it adds to research examining the issue of foreign language education in Japan. As numerous

scholars have discussed (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Kanno, 2008; Kubota & McKay, 2009; Tsuneyoshi, Okano, & Boocock, 2011), due to the advance of globalisation, the Japanese classroom will undoubtedly have more students from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, including *kikokushijo* who have returned to their home country (Okano, 2014; Tsuneyoshi, 2004). Foreign language teachers and curriculum developers must embrace the domestic and regional diversity (Kubota, 1998; Yamada, 2015). In most cases, teachers and principals of *nihonjingakkō* will eventually return to Japan. These teachers and principals, who have taught abroad to a wide variety of students, will introduce new practices and aspects of practice which will influence Japan's language education. Their experiences and knowledge will help support students, parents, teachers, and other school officials in Japan who are facing challenges pertaining to globalisation and transnational migration.

Finally, this study offers a potentially valuable new perspective relevant to research on complementary schools of other nations. For instance, research on complementary schools in the United Kingdom is a growing field, encompassing genre of literacy practices, language policies and planning, and students' learning and identity construction (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2009; Conteh, 2007; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; Li, 2006; Lytra & Martin, 2010). Unlike many complementary schools which are research sites in this body of literature many of which face financial difficulties, it is noteworthy that *nihonjingakkō* receive monetary and human resources support from the government of Japan. While some complementary schools in the United Kingdom receive funding from the country's government (Huang, 2020; Szczepek Reed, Said, Davies, & Bengsch, 2020; Tereschenko & Archer, 2015), documentation and examination of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium may serve as a reference for complementary schools who may consider receiving aid from the home government.

Having outlined the potential contributions this study can make, I address two overarching research questions which guided me throughout the course of the study.

1. What language ideologies are circulating in a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium? How do these language ideologies shape the perceptions of the language teachers and principal at a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium of the official languages of Belgium and languages taught at the school?
2. How are language ideologies manifested in the *nihonjingakkō*'s language education

policy and classroom language teaching?

I understand perceptions as ideas about languages held by the individual whereas language ideologies are beliefs on languages held more widely in society (Kroskrity, 1998: 2000; Woolard, 1998). While language ideologies have a major influence on how the individual perceives languages, individuals may hold different perceptions of languages which can challenge dominant language ideologies (Irvine, 1989; Woolard, 1998; 2016). Additionally, I view perceptions as an effective way into investigating the abstract and complex concept of ideology. This issue became evident when I carried out interviews in my pilot study (please see Chapter 4.4 for details). The participants were often confused when I directly employed the term ‘language ideology’ in the interviews. Instead, I found asking the participants about their experiences and perceptions about languages proved to be more successful in shedding light on the elusive idea of language ideologies.

In formulating the research questions, I drew on the theoretical frames of ideology of authenticity and anonymity (Woolard, 2016). In brief, the ideology of authenticity finds a language’s value in its relationship with a particular territory and group of speakers, which in my research context, is associated with Japanese and Flemish. Conversely, the ideology of anonymity places a language’s value in its universality, which here relates to English and French. To be clear, I came across Woolard’s (2016) concept of ideology of authenticity and anonymity during the data analysis of my study. Therefore, this work is an inductive study in which I did not begin with the assumption that Japanese and Flemish is indexed with ideology of authenticity while English and French are linked with ideology of anonymity. As such, the categories of qualitative content analysis were not imposed upon the data.

1.3 Organization of Thesis

In this chapter, I have started by briefly narrating my personal history in association with my research topic, outlined the aims of this study, its potential contribution in the research area, and presented the research questions for this study.

Chapter 2 provides a general overview of languages and language education in Japan, and the education of Japanese children living overseas, and the local context of Belgium and Brussels. I highlight how Japan and its schools are becoming multilingual and

multiethnic, and that some ethnic communities have established their own schools to nurture their ethnic identity and develop their language.

Chapter 3 examines the literature on ideology. Although ideologies are multifaceted, for the purpose of this research, I focus on one facet of ideologies, which is language ideologies. I argue that language ideologies are multiple and constantly contesting, multilayered construct and should be analyzed on more than one level (Gal, 1998; Woolard, 2016). Language ideologies will be discussed in relation to the history and social background of Japan. The chapter also provides a brief account on language ideological aspects of Belgium and Brussels.

Research methodology is the subject for Chapter 4, where I explain the rationale for and process of choosing which research paradigm, research approach, research context, data collection methods, and data analysis fits the purpose of this study. I will also outline my research positionality which shaped this study. In answering my research questions, I had to engage with my participants to understand their language ideologies. Thus, my research is qualitative in nature, and I took an ethnographically-oriented case study approach. The primary means of data collection was semi-structured interviews, which were complemented by questionnaires, classroom observations, and analysis of policy documents from the *nihonjingakkō*. The data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis (Dornyei, 2007).

Selected data and descriptive analysis from teachers and the principal of *nihonjingakkō*, and policy documents are presented in Chapters 5 and 6. The analysis and significance of the most salient data are discussed in relation to each theme which emerged. Chapter 7 then takes a step back and presents interpretative analysis with reference to the broader academic literature. By conducting interpretative analysis of key themes, I aim to provide insights to how these language ideologies are shaping the language policies and practices of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

In the final chapter (Chapter 8), I answer my research questions by drawing together the themes and its major findings. I conclude the thesis by presenting the contributions and limitation of my study, proposal for future research directions, and the implications for language education in Japan.

Chapter 2: Setting the scene for the study

2.1 Introduction

To lay the groundwork for the context of this research, this chapter gives an overview of Japan's language profile, language education, and overseas education and its people. To this end, the first section presents Japan as a multilingual and diversifying society by briefly outlining the history of migration to Japan. The second section moves on to language education of Japan's public-school system, which is administered by the municipal, prefectural or national government. Since my research site is a Japanese overseas school with students of grades 1-9 (ages 6-15), and is treated as a Japanese public school, the general overview on Japan's language education will focus on the primary and secondary education within Japan's public-school system. However, in discussing Japan's growing ethnic and linguistic diversity, I will also give an outline of *gaikokujingakko* (schools for foreigners), where immigrant students study their heritage languages. The term 'heritage language' is used here to mean languages used in addition to a society's dominant language (here: Japanese) by users whose links to that languages are due to family and heritage. The third section delves into Japanese overseas schools and their students and teachers. Finally, I offer a critical summary of the three sections.

2.2 Multilingual Japan

This section presents a historical overview of linguistic and ethnic diversity in Japan, focusing in particular on the rapid increase in the number of foreign nationals in the past few decades.

“The most ethno-linguistically homogeneous nation-states (that is, almost without any native speakers of other languages than the national) are Iceland, Japan, and Poland. In the cases of Iceland and Japan, this unusual homogeneity was achieved by the long lasting maritime isolation of both parties.” (Kamusella, 2009: 60)

The above quote vividly represents how Japan is still perceived as a homogeneous nation. Due to its geographical location and the fact that the Tokugawa Dynasty enacted a policy of isolation from the 17th to 19th century (Ike, 1995), Japan and its people have often been perceived as monolithic and monoethnic (Noguchi & Fotos, 2001; Seargeant, 2009). However, language and cultural contact was prevalent throughout the history of

Japan (Maher & Yashiro, 1995; Miller, 1982), and the nation continued to trade with China, Korea, and the Netherlands even after the policy of isolation. In addition, many academics (e.g. Anderson & Goodman, 2001; Heinrich, 2012; Osumi, 2001) pointed out that there have been minorities such as Ainu (indigenous people who once occupied northern Honshu Island and Hokkaido) and Ryukuan (people of the Kingdom of Ryuku who once ruled the chain of islands close to Taiwan) in Japan (Heinrich, 2004). These ethnic minorities have preserved their languages and cultures despite the enforcement of an assimilation policy by the Japanese government.

Among various ethnolinguistic minority groups that have immigrated to Japan since the country lifted its self-imposed isolation policy in the late 19th century, Korean and Chinese have been the two largest groups (Noguchi & Fotos, 2001). The contemporary inflow of Koreans began with the annexation of Korea which lasted for 35 years (1910-1945). During this period, the demand for labor in Japan prompted Koreans to work in Japan. However, due to its open discrimination, jobs allocated to Koreans were limited to physical labor such as coal mining and construction work, and many were sent forcefully as wartime laborers (Cary, 2001). According to Ryang (2000), when Japan was defeated in World War Two, there were approximately 2.4 million Koreans in Japan, and the Korean population in Japan continued to grow due to Korea's social unrest and economic hardship. Despite the fact that Koreans were made Japanese through colonialization, upon the signing of San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952 in which Japan abandoned its territorial claims, the government of Japan deprived Koreans of their Japanese citizenship (Tanaka, 1995). Even after this unilateral retraction, Koreans continued to live in Japan. At present, Korean residents include second, third, and fourth generations, some of whom speak Japanese as their first language and identify Japan as their home country (Ryang, 2000).

Unlike Koreans, the Chinese influx to modern Japan consisted of more diverse groups including artisans, merchants, and students, and not only wartime laborers (Nagano, 1994). This difference can be attributed to the fact that Chinese language and culture received more appreciation from Japanese, as it has had a huge impact on all aspects of life in Japan (Maher, 1995). In the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895), many Chinese studied abroad in Japan to learn from Japan's rapid modernization and industrialization. Some of these students such as Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), the first president of the Republic of China, started a political movement which resulted in the downfall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912 (Harrell, 1992). However, the war crimes

committed by the Japanese military authorities in China and the discrimination Chinese people endured in China and Japan caused a deterioration in the relationship between the two nations. Like the Koreans, the Chinese were also stripped of their Japanese citizenship after World War Two.

As can be seen from the historical trajectory of Korean and Chinese immigrants in Japan, although there are many Japanese-born ethnic Korean and Chinese, they remain 'foreigners'. Japan strictly follows *jus sanguinis* rather than *jus soli*, meaning that it bestows citizenship by blood and not by location of birth (Kanno, 2008). Moreover, since Japan does not accept dual or multiple citizenship, immigrants should abandon his or her current citizenship to naturalize and become Japanese (Sugimoto, 2003).

As reviewed above, linguistic and ethnic diversity has long existed in Japan. Yet, up until 1988, the percentage of foreign nationals in the total population had remained consistently at about 0.6 percent (Cornelius, 1994). However, Japan's economic prosperity in the 1980s and an accompanying labor shortage attracted many foreigners from various nations (e.g. the Philippines, Pakistan, Iran, Bangladesh, Thailand). Some of these entered Japan with tourist visas and illegally worked in manual jobs (Sellek, 1997). This situation prompted Japan to revise its Immigration Control Law in 1990 to attract *nikkeijin*, or Japanese immigrants who had moved overseas with the intention to live there permanently as well as their descendants (Castro-Vazquez, 2013; Hirakata, Koishi, & Kato, 2001). In particular, the revision was aimed at *nikkeijin* in Brazil and Peru, where there are large Japanese diasporas. During the late 19th century and second half of the 20th century, many Japanese emigrated to both countries as Japan was in a time of political turmoil and economic recession (Stanlaw, 2006). This statutory revision allowed these *nikkeijin* and their families down to the third generation to legally reside and work in Japan. The government of Japan only granted this special measure to *nikkeijin* based on the notion of the law of blood, and tried to ease the resistance toward immigrants by persuading people that *nikkeijin* would quickly adapt to Japanese society (Castro-Vazquez, 2013; Hirakata et al., 2001).

As Japan continued to suffer from a chronic labor shortage, the government of Japan established the Technical Intern Training Programme in 1993 (Tanaka, 1995). Under this programme, foreigners from developing countries receive on-the-job training in Japanese companies and farms. The number of trainees has increased rapidly, from 143,308 in 2011 to 251,712 in 2017 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2018a),

and most are from Southeast Asia such as Vietnam and the Philippines. While some interns have benefitted from the programme, it became a convenient way for employers to secure cheap labor for manual jobs that most Japanese will not take (Sellek, 1997). The negative side of the story is that some trainees are exploited, and commit suicide or die from overwork (Zuo, 2019).

In short, the latest figure for the number of foreign nationals living in Japan is 2,731,093, out of a total population of 126 million, or approximately 2% of the total population (Ministry of Justice, 2019). Furthermore, intermarriage between Japanese and foreign nationals is common (Kamada, 2010; Tsuneyoshi et al., 2018), accounting for 3.3% of the entire marriage in Japan as of 2015 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2016).

As shown in the table below, the foreign population in Japan is expected to increase as Japan has become structurally dependent on foreigners economically, socially, and culturally (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). Japan is one of the fastest ageing nations with one of the lowest fertility rates (1.42) in the world (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2018). Unless this low fertility rate rises dramatically in a short period of time, it seems inevitable that Japan will need to invite more foreigners, whether people like it or not.

Table 2.1: Number of Foreign Nationals in Japan as of 2018

Year	Number of Foreign National	Difference
2011	2,078,508	
2012	2,033,656	-44,852
2013	2,066,445	+32,789
2014	2,121,831	+55,386
2015	2,232,189	+110,358
2016	2,382,822	+150,633
2017	2,561,848	+179,026
2018	2,731,093	+169,245

Table 2.2: Nationality of Foreign Nationals in Japan as of 2018

China	764,720
Korea	526,575
Vietnam	330,835
Philippines	271,289
Brazil	201,865
Thailand	52,323
Peru	48,362
Others	535,124

As discussed, this increasing diversity in Japan impacts upon Japanese schools since many of the foreign residents enroll their children in mainstream local schools (Motobayashi, 2018; Yonezawa & Shimmi, 2018). The next section will turn to the overview of Japanese language education in public schools, and how it is affected by the diversifying demographics. This is then followed by discussion of English language education, and the education of other languages in public school system.

2.3 Japanese language education in public schools

Even though Japan does not have an official law declaring that Japanese is the national language (Gottlieb, 2012; Sato & Doerr, 2014), Japanese is perceived as the *de facto* national language used in all spheres of life across the nation. Japanese is a compulsory subject taught to students at all levels: primary (six years from ages 6-12), junior high (three years from ages 12-15), and high (three years from ages 15-18). The main objective of Japanese language education is the acquisition of *kanji* (complex characters adopted from Chinese), and *hiragana* and *katakana* (two phonetic scripts invented in Japan) (Galan, 2005; Gottlieb, 2008; Sato & Doerr, 2014). Other objectives of Japanese language education include mastering standard dialect, honorifics, and gendered language use. For Japan's school education policy, in particular primary and secondary education, MEXT serves as the supervising body and is responsible for developing the Course of Study and approving textbooks (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). The Course of Study is a national curriculum guideline for all subjects, including Japanese language, which all teachers should follow (Ishihara, 2005, 2009; Sato & Doerr, 2014).

Japanese language education in the school system was generally characterized by rote

learning, with students passively and uncritically taking in knowledge that teachers distribute through one-sided lectures. Students were taught with emphasis on reading aloud and silent reading, writing on blackboards, drill writing, and calligraphy (Mason, Anderson, Omura, Uchida, & Imai, 1989). However, in recent decades, MEXT has instituted a major reform by introducing and enhancing oral language activities in order to develop students' communicative competence and autonomy (Kitamura, 2018; MEXT, 2004). For instance, teaching approaches such as collaborative learning were adopted in which students are divided into small groups to learn from each other through discussion. Yet, despite the reform, when students advance to junior high school, to prepare for high school entrance examination becomes the top priority for Japanese language teachers (Gottlieb, 2008).

Japanese language is referred to in two ways by Japanese, one is *kokugo* (the language of our country) and the other is *nihongo* (the language of Japan). Although the language ideologies that underpin this distinction will be discussed in the next chapter, briefly speaking, *kokugo* is used when Japanese is taught to Japanese people, and *nihongo* is used when it is taught to learners of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) (Gottlieb, 2008; Tanaka, 2018) or second language (JSL). As illustrated in the figure table 2.3, in 2016, there were 30,709 foreign national students (table in left) and 9,095 Japanese national students (those with at least one Japanese parent) aged 6-18 (table in right) who attended JSL courses in Japan's public schools (MEXT, 2018). This figure represents a 1.7% increase over the last decade.

Table 2.3 (Left): Languages spoken by foreign students who took JSL instruction
(Right) Languages Spoken by Japanese students who took JSL instruction

Portuguese	8,226
Chinese	7,215
Filipino	5,490
Spanish	3,352
Vietnamese	1,442
English	908
Korean	585
Others	3,491

Filipino	2,891
Chinese	1,956
Japanese	1,163
English	988
Portuguese	518
Spanish	403
Korean	175
Vietnamese	122
Others	879

I suspect the number of foreign students is much larger, since this data excludes two groups of students. Those who are not in public schools, and those who have already been mainstreamed but may not have acquired grade-level academic proficiency in Japanese. The figure suggests that Brazilians, Chinese, and Filipinos represent more than half of the language minority students in public schools. This trend implies that Japan cannot continue to implement language education policies and practices that were originally developed for native Japanese speaking children.

This growing number of foreign pupils in Japan has been creating challenges for Japanese language education since the early 1990s (Kanno, 2008; Moorehead, 2012; Tsuneyoshi et al., 2018; Vaipae, 2001). At first, it was not rare for Japanese schools to reject the enrollment of foreign children, which led to non-schooling of many language minority students (Vaipae, 2001) and failure to progress to high schools (Chitose, 2008; Gordon, 2006; Takenoshita, 2005). In 1992, MEXT started allocating teachers to schools that had large numbers of language minority students to have pullout JSL classes (Ota, 2002). However, many JSL teachers were regular classroom teachers who had no or minimal professional training in second language acquisition and intercultural communication (Ota, 2002; Vaipae, 2001). Therefore, JSL instruction was mostly remedial (Moorehead, 2012) and done in a reluctant manner in which JSL teachers instructed basic conversation skills instead of academic literacy. Students were “either placed in the regular classroom where they do not understand the instruction, or pulled out for JSL instruction, in which they engage in cognitively undemanding, contentless language drills while their Japanese classmates march on with their academic learning” (Kanno, 2008: 15). It was not until 2001 when MEXT finally decided to design JSL curriculum with the content and language integrated approach (Sato, 2019). With the cooperation of many researchers and teachers, the JSL curriculum for elementary school was completed in 2003, and for junior high school in 2007 (Sato, 2019). Along with the implementation of the curriculum, various forms of JSL support were introduced, including team-teaching between homeroom and JSL teachers and JSL training in teaching-credential programme (Sakuma, 2006). Still, criticisms of the curriculum are raised from scholars and teachers (Sato, 2019), ranging from ineffective assessment of students’ Japanese language skills and using only Japanese, not students’ languages, as a medium of instruction. Additionally, there is no support for maintaining or developing students’ heritage language(s), which often results in the loss of their heritage language(s) (Miyajima, 2014; Sakuma, 2015, 2016). In sum, schooling in Japan can be

equated with a Japanese monolingual destiny. Even though JSL education has seen some progress, there are still many points which need improvement.

Up to this point, I have given a general account of Japanese language education in the public-school system and challenges resulting from immigration. The next section turns to English language education in public-school system in Japan.

2.4 English education in Japan in public schools

Japan's first contact with English can be traced back to 1600 when the Tokugawa feudal government appointed William Adams, an English sailor who drifted ashore, as an advisor to shogun (Ike, 1995). However, due to its strict isolation policy to combat Western colonialism, English language teaching in Japan did not commence until the late 19th century. Learning English took on special importance after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 (Butler, 2007; Saito, 2018), when Japan opened its door to the outside world after repeated foreign pressure. To prevent being colonized by the West, like China and other neighboring nations, Japan embarked on rapid modernization which involved emulating the technologically advanced nations of the West, mainly the United States and United Kingdom. For this reason, the main objective of learning English was to translate English texts and transmit Western knowledge to modernize Japan (Butler & Iino, 2005; Koike & Tanaka, 1995). Consequently, the government set a high value on English as an American or British language (Erikawa, 2018; Saito, 2018), and focused on writing and reading, rather than enhancing communication skills (Butler & Iino, 2005; Kikuchi & Browne, 2009; Nishino & Watanabe, 2008). Therefore, the most commonly used pedagogy was *yakudoku*, which is translation-based pedagogy by which the “target language is first translated word-by-word, and the resulting translation reordered to match Japanese word order as part of the process of reading comprehension.” (Hino, 1988: 46)³. Even after Japan was successful in catching up with the West, *yakudoku* was favored by mainstream schools for more than a century.

However, in the last two decades, facing continuous criticism from the public (Butler,

³ Although widely used in the literature of English education in the context of Japan, the precise definition of *yakudoku* in relation to its historical and social background is not often discussed (Noda & O' Regan, 2020). For instance, Hiraga (2005) argues that *yakudoku* is very different from the Grammar Translation Method developed in Europe, which emphasises grammar acquisition. In my view, if the approach includes translation (*yaku*) and reading (*doku*), regardless of the rationale, I conceive it as *yakudoku*.

2007; Kikuchi & Browne, 2009) and some researchers (Nishino & Watanabe, 2008; Sakui, 2004) for not incorporating English teaching for communicative purposes, the government gradually introduced communicative language teaching (CLT) to Japanese primary and secondary education. Through implementation of CLT since the late 1980's (Butler, 2015; Torikai, 2014), English education in Japan has experienced two major changes. One is that students start learning English at a lower grade, and another is the monolingual approach to English language teaching in which English-only is strongly preferred while use of Japanese should be avoided (Noda & O'Regan, 2020; Thompson & Yanagita, 2017).

The first step of the CLT movement in the country was the launch of Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme in 1987 (Kubota, 2002; Nagatomo, 2016; Nishino & Watanabe, 2008), in which the government annually recruits approximately 5,000 foreigners as assistant language teachers (ALTs) in Japanese primary and secondary schools (Borg, 2008). An ALT's main role is to communicate in English with students and enhance English oral communicative skills. Following this exchange programme, in 1989, MEXT issued the revised Course of Study and declared that the primary goal of Japan's foreign language education was to foster a positive attitude to the international world and develop communicative skills (Yoshida, 2003). To reinforce this objective, in 2003, MEXT announced its Action Plan, which included the proposal of implementing English at the primary school level. This proposal was put into action, requiring English from Grade 5 (Hashimoto, 2011; Hu & McKay, 2012) in 2011, and from 2020, from an even lower grade, Grade 3 (Erikawa, 2018; Kobayashi, 2018; MEXT, 2017b; Terasawa, 2020).

Accordingly, MEXT has also been active in relation to instruction of English in English (Hashimoto, 2013a; Kobayashi, 2018b). MEXT notified high schools of the need to teach English through English (TETE) in 2011, and junior high schools in 2016. Despite the concerns and initial resistance from teachers who had taught primarily in Japanese (Hashimoto, 2013a), TETE policy has been in effect since 2013 at high schools, and is scheduled to be implemented in 2021 at junior high schools (Erikawa, 2018). TETE is permeating teachers through government training courses (Noda & O'Regan, 2020), and changes to the university entrance examination which stress practical communication skills rather than reading and grammar (Thompson & Yanagita, 2017; Underwood, 2012) also prompted the spread of TETE. Yet, according to the research done by Benesse (2014), a major Japanese education company, TETE is not

fully administered in schools. English classes taught predominantly in English (70 to 100%) account for only 25.8 % of 1st grade junior high English classes, and 14% in 3rd grade high classes. This data indicates that although MEXT exerts influence in Japan’s school education, “local education boards and individual schools maintain a considerable amount of autonomy to implement what they deem suitable for their students, and few institutional mechanisms (such as inspectors) exist to fully check school-based practices” (Okano, 2012: 72). Furthermore, as argued by researchers (Kubota, 2011; Noda & O’ Regan, 2020), MEXT policy documents, including the influential Course of Study, are written vaguely which allows local schools and teachers to exercise discretionary power. The following extract taken from the Course of Study is a vivid example of how MEXT policy documents are ambiguous and can be interpreted in many ways. The extract is provided first in Japanese original, followed by English translation.

生徒が英語に触れる機会を充実するとともに、授業を実際のコミュニケーションの場面とするため、授業は英語で行うことを**基本とする**。

To enrich the opportunity for students to have contact with English and to make the class the place to have actual communication, **in principle**, the classes should be done in English.

(Text from MEXT, 2017a p. 90 Emphasis added by the researcher)

It is worth noting that by having the phrase, ‘in principle’, MEXT offers escape route for teachers who cannot, or would not like to practice TETE in their classes. Furthermore, in this Course of Study, MEXT does not specify how much English should be used in classes, which gives teachers certain autonomy in TETE.

2.5 Teaching languages other than English in Japan

Despite the fact that Japan is becoming ethnically and linguistically diverse, languages other than English (LOTE) are rarely taught in public schools (Butler & Iino, 2005; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Kanno, 2008; Kobayashi, 2012). The Japanese public have largely internalized the equation of ‘foreign language is English’ (Butler & Iino, 2005; Gottlieb, 2008; Kubota, 2002; Yamada, 2015). This is clearly reflected in MEXT’s Course of Study and other policy documents, where ‘English’ and ‘foreign

language' are interchangeably used (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). Although there seems to be an assumption that English and Japanese bilingualism is the sole solution for intercultural communication and understanding, this goes against Japan's growing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. Reflecting this perception of English as *the* foreign language, there are very few junior high schools which provide LOTE courses (MEXT, 2014). As reported by MEXT in 2014, there were only 23 schools, both public and private, out of a total of 10,557 schools (MEXT, 2016a), which offered mandatory LOTE courses.

Although some schools are doing their best to provide students opportunities to acquire and interact in various foreign languages, English is synonymous with foreign language (Morizumi et al., 2016; Torikai et al., 2017). The major source of the problem could be the fact that the vast majority of Japanese people can lead daily lives without ever using foreign languages, especially in the case of non-English languages. Foreign languages other than English are only seen as useful to the world outside Japan (Gottlieb, 2008). In addition, MEXT is not active in promoting LOTE education. First, with the exception of some schools, LOTE is not a mandatory subject and in the Course of Study, there is no detailed curriculum for languages except for Japanese and English. And secondly, MEXT do not certify textbooks for LOTE and there is no funding from MEXT when the school purchases textbooks on the general market. Therefore, in some cases, teachers design their own teaching materials to save on costs (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016).

In short, Japan's school policy discourages the learning of foreign languages aside from English. Due to the low demand of these languages in Japan's formal education, in most cases, LOTE courses are not compulsory. As a result, teachers of LOTE are in a very precarious position with some working part-time at several schools (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016). For these reasons, few apply for LOTE teaching jobs and very few universities provide LOTE teacher-training courses.

Table 2.4 below highlights the wide disparity between English and LOTEs, and despite the large population of speakers of Chinese, Korean, Spanish, and Portuguese in Japan, there are not many universities which offer teacher-training courses for these languages. On the contrary, English teaching licenses can be obtained in universities located in all prefectures in Japan.

Table 2.4: Number of universities which offer English and LOTE Teacher Training Courses for as of April 1st, 2019 (MEXT, 2019b)

Languages	Universities
English	308
Chinese	38
French	35
German	27
Spanish	12
Portuguese	3
Russian	7
Korean	6
Others *	10
Total	446

*Include languages such as Arabic and Italian.

To put it another way, students may need to move to another prefecture to receive teacher-training courses for foreign languages aside from English. Although there are other ways to obtain teaching licenses such as via graduate schools and online learning (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016), opportunities to attend LOTE teacher training courses are limited and difficult. In sum, this vicious circle prevents Japanese schools from diversifying their language curriculum.

As discussed, in Japan's primary and secondary education setting, languages except for Japanese and English are not generally appreciated and learnt. Additionally, for language minority students, their linguistic repertoire plays very little role in schools. The following section moves onto *gaikokujingakkō*, educational institutions where languages of minority students are valued and taught.

2.6 *Gaikokujingakkō*: Schools for foreigners

In response to the lack of foreign students' rights to public education in Japan and the marginalization of languages other than English and Japanese, some ethnolinguistic minorities started their own schools for their children (Shimizu, 2014). These schools are referred to *gaikokujingakkō*, and there are about 200 schools, largely divided into two types: international schools accredited by American and European associations and ethnic schools such as Chinese and Korean schools (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Shimizu, 2014). In recent years, Brazilian (Haino, 2010) and Indian schools (Sawa & Minamino, 2007) have been established in accordance with the growing population of these minority groups. Indian communities in Japan are increasing as many Indians are recruited as IT engineers (Sawa & Minamino, 2007). Since the majority of schools for foreigners adopt their respective ethnic or national language as the medium of instruction and develop their own curriculum, they are not accredited by MEXT, and instead are classified as miscellaneous schools (Kanno, 2008; Shimizu et al., 2014). Therefore, these schools cannot receive similar funding to Japanese mainstream schools, and students are often not given the same privilege as their Japanese peers to compete for school and university entrance examinations (Sugimoto, 2003).

Even though schools for foreigners face significant issues, many Japanese choose to have their children enroll in these schools (Kanno, 2008; Sato, 2019). According to Sato (2019), as of 2005, 36.3% of students in international schools were Japanese, and 10.7% of students in ethnic schools were Japanese. While it has been common for Japanese children of elites to enter Western-affiliated international schools (Wakabayashi, 2002), Chinese and Korean schools are gaining popularity among Japanese (Kanno, 2008; Shimizu, et al, 2014), since parents believe that their children can have a successful career by mastering the Chinese and Korean languages. It can be said that the value of proficiency in Chinese and Korean as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) is increasing due to the rise of China's economic power (Kanno, 2008; Kubota, 2015) and popularity of K-Pop and Korean drama in Japan (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). Against this backdrop, some schools are promoting education for students to foster their transnational identity and are becoming more open to accepting students from diverse backgrounds (Kanno, 2008; Shimizu et al, 2014). Many studies also report that since most of these ethnic schools also teach Japanese and English in addition to their ethnic/national language, some graduates become academic, social, and economic elites due to their multilingual skills (Shimizu et al, 2014).

Up to now, I have provided a glimpse into Japan's changing demographics and language education in public schools. Through this discussion, I portrayed how the Japanese government, out of concern for the protection of a Japanese national and homogenous identity, have marginalized ethnolinguistic communities and their languages in many ways. In my view, these draconian policies have been developed and enacted on the premise that Japanese people should ideally be monoethnic and monolingual. Even though some Japanese are willing to interact with minority groups and learn their languages, the government of Japan continues to perceive multiculturalism and multilingualism as a problem and not as a resource. In the next section, I outline Japan's overseas education, which also demonstrates the Japanese government's preferential treatment of Japanese-national children.

2.7 Overseas Education

Although I have briefly discussed immigration to Japan in association with language, it should also be pointed out that Japan has also been a country of emigration, represented not only by the *nikkeijin* and those who had no choice but to emigrate, but also by individuals who temporarily or permanently migrated overseas for the purpose of business or education.

The origin of Japan's overseas educational institutions can be traced back to the late 19th century when Japan was experiencing massive emigration caused by multiple factors such as political turmoil and social unrest (Kojima, 1993; 2003). During this period, major destinations for Japanese migrants were North and South America, which were recruiting immigrants to resolve labor shortages (Stanlaw, 2006). Japanese settlers began to build schools for their ethnic communities. However, since the majority of the students were immigrants who had no intention of returning to Japan, the support from the Japanese government was minimal (Kojima, 1993; 2003).

In accordance with Japan's invasions and colonization in Asia and the Pacific Islands from late 19th century to mid-20th century, Japan's overseas education spread to these areas (Kojima, 1993; 2003). Contrary to the Japanese community in North and South America, most Japanese in this region were temporary sojourners who were planning to repatriate to Japan. Responding to calls from the Japanese communities, the government of Japan began financial assistance and dispatchment of teachers to these schools

(Watanabe, 2003). Regarding language issues, analysis of school documents and interviews with former students led Kojima (1993; 2003) to argue that local languages such as Chinese, Thai, and Malay were generally not taught. Overall, languages other than Japanese and English were treated as unworthy.

With the outbreak of World War Two and Japan's defeat, Japanese overseas schools ceased their operations for a decade (Kojima, 1993; 2003). Japanese overseas schools began to reopen in the late 1950s (Sato, 1997), when Japanese companies expanded their business overseas, sending employees to various parts of the world (Kanno, 2003; Sueda, 2014). Like the prewar Japanese communities in Asia and the Pacific Islands, most of the Japanese living abroad are temporary sojourners who will eventually return to Japan. In order for their children not to fall behind academically while away from Japan, groups of Japanese expatriate parents started to reopen and establish schools. Since the majority of the parents came from upper-middle and upper class backgrounds, comprising elite businesspeople and diplomats with high social capital (Goodman, 2012), their successful lobbying to politicians and the public again pushed the government of Japan to fund overseas schools (Kojima, 1999).

Apart from local schools, there are four types of educational institutions where Japanese children living overseas are taught: *nihonjingakkō*, *hoshukō*, international schools, and private schools managed by Japanese academic institutions (MEXT, 2015). Of these, *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshukō* are supported by Japan's MEXT and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter MOFA), and students can receive the education equivalent to that of mainstream Japanese schools with low tuition fees. Under Article 26 of Japan's School Education Law, the government of Japan is obligated to provide support to all Japanese children who are guaranteed the right to receive compulsory education (Kojima, 1999; Sato, 1997; 2010). The supports include financial aid and dispatch of teachers, distribution of educational materials, and teacher training. In Japan, compulsory education is nine years: six years of primary school and three years of junior high school (ages 5-15). Therefore, the aid is not allocated to kindergarten and high school ages of *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshukō*.

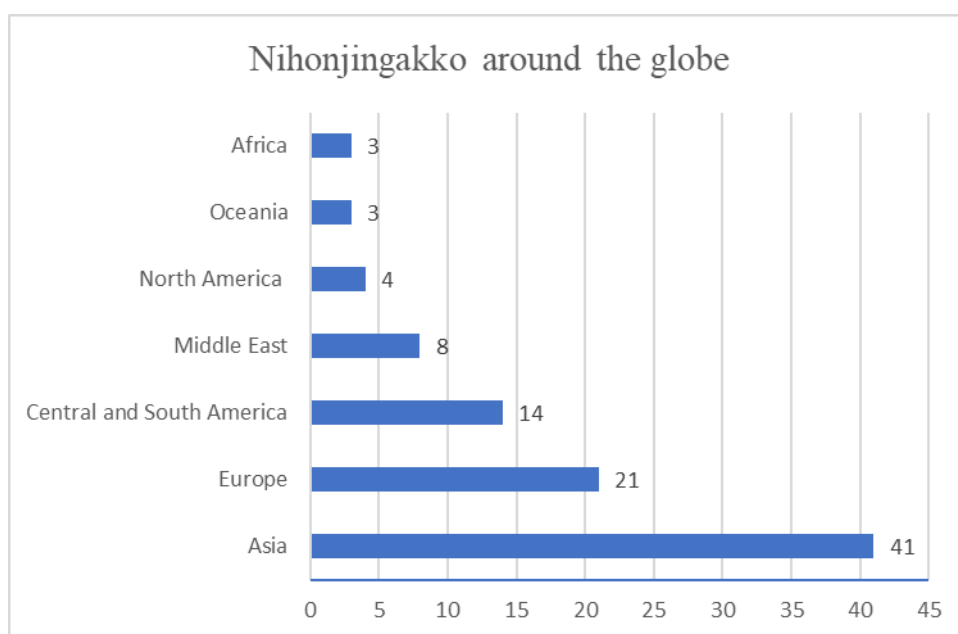
2.7.1 *Nihonjingakkō*

Nihonjingakkō (*nihonjin* means “Japanese”, and *gakkō* “school”) is a full-time school which offers education of the same standard as that provided in schools in Japan (Sato,

2010). In other words, the schools are designed so that students feel as if they are receiving schooling in Japan (Hill, 2007; Kojima, 1999). As shown below, as of 2019 (Japan Overseas Educational Services, 2020), there were 94 *nihonjingakkō* around the globe, and most are located in non-Anglophone regions such as Asia.

Graph 2.1: Number of *Nihonjingakkō* around the globe

Source: Japan Overseas Educational Services (2020)



Many of these schools are situated in multilingual nations (Fukuda, 2018; Kojima, 1999; Sato, 1997), and this is also the case for the *nihonjingakkō* in Brussels, which is the school selected for my study. Belgium, a federal nation established in 1830, is located at the crossroads between Germanic and Romance language border, and has three official languages: Flemish, French, and German (Blommaert, 1999; de Keere & Elchardus, 2011). Since many residents identify themselves closely within their language groups, Belgian law institutes linguistic territoriality throughout the nation (Blommaert, 2011; Vogl & Hüning, 2010). As a result, the country is composed of three regions (Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels Region) and three communities (Flemish, French, and German-speaking), each having their own legislative and executive bodies (Belgian Federal Government, 2015). Brussels is the capital and melting pot of Belgium, with official French and Flemish bilingual status (Ceuleers, 2008) and a variety of different languages, reflecting the ethnic diversity of the population, being used and functioning within the city. Due to its geographical proximity and logistical

infrastructure, Brussels attracts many immigrants, expatriates, and tourists including those from Japan (Conte-Helm, 1996; Pang, 2009).

As there is only one *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, it was inescapable of revealing the location of the school, which is Brussels. While I acknowledge the risk of exposing the real name of the city, participants were aware of this issue and were not concerned of the researcher presenting the city name. However, to protect the identity of the participants as far as possible in such circumstances, pseudonyms are employed in this thesis.

Since *nihonjingakkō*'s emphasis is placed on providing national curriculum and maintaining Japanese-ness of students, researchers have criticized the schools for their closed environment and reluctance to interact with the host community (Pang, 2009; Sato, 1997). Consequently, students and their family in *nihonjingakkō* tended to invest little in the host country, and in general, did not acquire languages and culture during their stay (Goodman, 1990; Sato, 1997; Yashiro, 1995). In response to growing criticism from scholars, some Japanese schools started adding 'education for understanding the host society' (*genchi rikai kyōuiku*) (Kojima, 1999), which included school excursions, gathering with local school students, and offering courses on official languages of the host nation. Moreover, in some *nihonjingakkō* (e.g. Thailand, Indonesia, Germany), official languages are taught as a mandatory subject in order for schools "to be authorized as a formal educational institution by the educational law of the host country" (Fukuda, 2018: 11). Thus, although *nihonjingakkō* adhere to national curriculum, it can be argued that the schools are gradually opening their doors to the host society and nurture students as internationally minded people.

2.7.2 *Hoshukō*

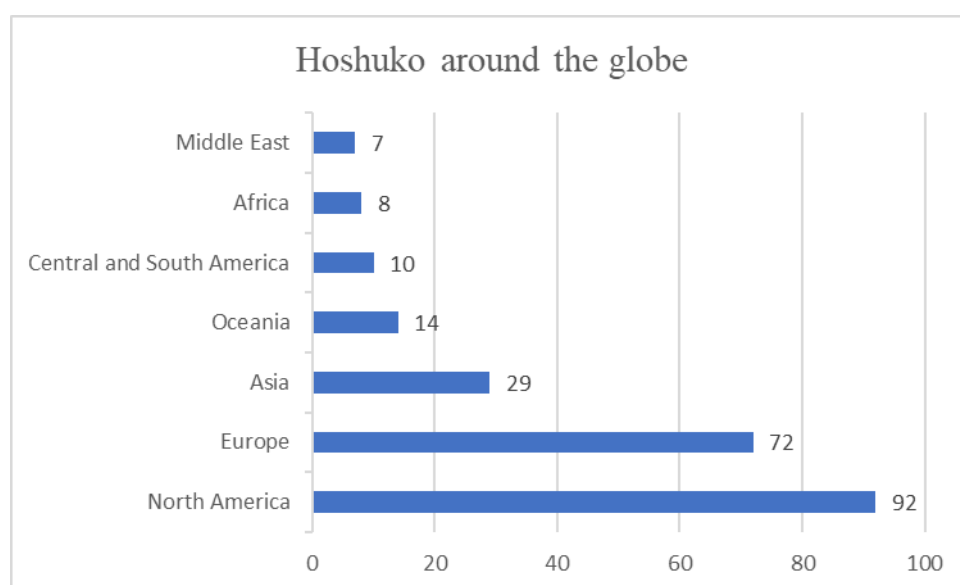
Unlike many complementary schools in the United Kingdom, *hoshukō* are accredited by the Japanese government to support children and families of Japanese who reside in the host country temporarily⁴. *Hoshukō* is an abbreviation for *hoshu jyugyō kō*. *Hoshu* means 'complementary learning', *jyugyō* 'teaching', and *kō* 'school'. In most cases, students of *hoshukō* attend local schools on the weekdays, and this is why schools are

⁴ It should be noted that there are some *hoshukō* which are not funded by the government of Japan (Japan Overseas Educational Services, 2019). The criteria MEXT and MOFA request to *hoshukō* for governmental aid is not well-known.

operated only on Saturday mornings. Due to the limited class hours, the school cannot cover the entire Japanese curriculum, and therefore concentrates on the instruction of Japanese and mathematics (Kano, 2013; Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards, 1998). The students study intensively to keep up with the schoolwork both from their local school and *hoshukō* (Aizawa, 1999; Furuya-Wise, 1999; Kano, 2013). Since *hoshukō* is designed as an institution offering complementary instruction, contrary to *nihonjingakkō*, government funding is minimal and majority of teachers are locally hired (Kano, 2013). Due to the growing transnational flow of people, some *hoshukō* have started providing JFL (Japanese as a foreign languages) courses to local students who study the language as an additional or heritage language to accommodate students with various socio-cultural backgrounds, levels of Japanese language proficiency, and learning needs (Doerr & Lee, 2010; Kano, 2013). Although this presents dilemmas between what the Japanese government has been offering to *hoshukō* and how they should actually be run, the tight financial situation of *hoshukō* have prompted the schools to accept students from diverse backgrounds (Sato, 2019). The *hoshukō*'s financial constraints have been caused by government budget cuts, which reflect Japan's stagnant economy since the asset price bubble burst in the early 1990s (Gao, 2001; Maswood, 2002), a declining birthrate, and ageing population. As the following graph illustrates, in 2019 (Japan Overseas Educational Services, 2020), there were 232 *hoshukō* around the world. About half the *hoshukō* are concentrated in North America.

Graph 2.2: Number of *Hoshukō* around the globe

Source: Japan Overseas Educational Services (2020)



As can be seen from the graphs above, it is noteworthy that *nihonjingakkō* are geographically concentrated in non-Anglophone nations, and *hoshukō* in Anglophone countries. This difference may imply that some Japanese parents assume that the educational level of developing countries is poorer than Japan and instead enroll their children in *nihonjingakkō*. Yet, as educational demands of parents in developing nations are diversifying, there are also some *hoshukō* in developing nations. On the other hand, parents in Anglophone regions tend to prefer their children to receive English education in local schools (Sato, 2019), since attainment of English can be academically beneficial (Ida, 2018; Kanno, 2003). However, some parents in developed countries, campaigned for the opening of *nihonjingakkō* due to concern about the education of their children (Sato, 1997). Okamura (2017) reported that a certain number of Japanese parents perceive *nihonjingakkō* are better educational institutions than local schools, since *nihonjingakkō* can help children to foster Japanese-ness and prepare for school entrance examinations upon returning to Japan.

2.7.3 *Kikokushijo*

As stated by Goodman (1990), *kikokushijo* are “Japanese children under the age of 20 who, because of one or both of their parents’ jobs, have at some time in their lives spent at least 3 months overseas, and have returned to continue their education in the mainstream education system” (p. 15). *Kikoku* means ‘to return to your home country’, and *shijo* ‘sons and daughters’. According to Kanno (2003), *shi* can also mean “child”, which is the more dominant meaning in contemporary Japanese, and *jo* as “mothers”. Therefore, *shijo* can also be defined as ‘children and mothers’, which possibly gives a gendered image of children and mothers accompanied by working fathers. To avoid using this term, some researchers use *kikokusei* (returnee student) as an alternative (Iino, 2010; Okamura, 2017), in which *sei* means student. In this thesis, I will use the term *kikokushijo* since to me *shijo* refers to both males and females, and it is widely used and recognized in the public and literature.

Furthermore, there is a debate whether Japanese children who were born overseas and then came to Japan, like myself, are *kikokushijo* (Goodman, 1990). In my view, children of Japanese expatriates cannot decide their place of birth, and to categorize Japanese children born outside Japan as not being *kikokushijo* is inappropriate. Therefore, I take the position that Japanese children born abroad who then came to

Japan should also be included in the definition of *kikokushijo*.

Usually, when *kikokushijo* return to Japan, they are accompanied by their parents, who are ordered to return to Japan by their companies or the government (Goodman, 1990; Sato, 1997). In some cases, such as some of the *kikokushijo* who participated in Kanno's (2003) study, the repatriation to Japan was self-initiated and for educational purposes, judging that it is either beneficial for their academic background or to establish themselves as Japanese. Moreover, Kobayashi (2011) states that due to Japan's androcentric worldview, sons are more likely to be sent back to Japan, while daughters have the option to remain in the host country for the reason they will ultimately become housewives. In such circumstances, children return by themselves or with their mothers, while the father remains in the host country to provide for the cost of their education and living. This also reflects Japan's strong gendered arrangements of work and household care, which places male as a breadwinner and female as homemaker who are also responsible for schooling (Castro-Vazquez, 2013; White, 1988; Yamamoto, Holloway, & Suzuki, 2006).

To understand the situation of *kikokushijo*, some statistical figures on Japanese children overseas and *kikokushijo* should be discussed. In 2018, (MEXT, 2019c), there were 84,247 children of Japanese expatriates (primary and secondary school years), and over the past few years the numbers are steadily increasing. Of these, each year approximately 10,000 return to Japan becoming *kikokushijo* (MEXT, 2019c). The number of school aged children who return to Japan becoming *kikokushijo* has fluctuated only slightly around the 10,000 mark for the past 10 years. This relative stability may indicate that, despite Japan's declining population of youth, on the whole, it is becoming more common for Japanese people to become sojourners or migrants.

Social evaluation of *kikokushijo* has experienced an incredible change over the past five decades (Goodman, 2012; Sueda, 2014). From the 1960s to early 1980s, *kikokushijo* were seen as children with deficiency in Japanese language skills, and having difficulties adapting to Japanese norms (Kanno, 2003; Sato, 1997). Some hardships of *kikokushijo* are documented in the study by Kidder (1992), which reveals one case of a female *kikokushijo* who learned Japlish, a mixture of English and Japanese, to avoid being labelled as 'less Japanese' and marginalized. Relating her experience, she states:

“Before I entered junior high school I didn’t know the sounds of Japlish. So in first grade of junior high I spoke English naturally. . . . But as time went on they got aggressive about my English. . . . So I tried to master the Japlish and learned to speak in those tones . . . and after that my classmates were not so aggressive anymore.” (Kidder, 1992: 389-90)

However, beginning in the late 1980s when Japan started to promote internationalization, society in Japan started to recognize and regard *kikokushijo* as exceptional Japanese and English multilinguals (Pang, 2009; Kanno, 2003; Yoshida et al., 2003), and not ‘deficient Japanese’ (Kano Podolsky, 2004). This positive image toward *kikokushijo* was magnified in light of the fact that Japan generally failed to produce competent English speakers (Butler & Iino, 2005).

As the public viewed *kikokushijo* as children of the new global elite (Vandrick, 2011) rather than a social problem, the number of schools and universities willing to accept them increased (Nukaga & Tsuneyoshi, 2011). The schools which offer special quota system for *kikokushijo* are called *ukeirekō* (acceptance schools), with varying status (national, private or public) and levels (elementary, junior high or high school). In addition, some universities began to reserve special seats for *kikokushijo*, which made entry for *kikokushijo* easier than non-*kikokushijo* candidates (Goodman, 1990, Goodman, 2012; Kanno, 2003; Nukaga & Tsuneyoshi, 2011). This system brought relief to *kikokushijo*, who wanted to overcome the barriers presented by Japan’s competitive college entrance examination. In Japanese society, obtaining a degree from a prestigious university is taken as a rite of passage for entry into the elite class (Kariya, 2008). This preferential treatment has been criticized (Goodman, 1990), and Kanno (2003) reports that some of her *kikokushijo* participants felt stigmatized entering university with such relative ease. Nevertheless, this advantageous treatment does not guarantee all *kikokushijo* pass the entrance examination easily. As stated by Ida (2018), the number of *kikokushijo* attending cram school has been increasing, since some have low academic Japanese skills and test taking strategies.

Although *kikokushijo* now have better chance of securing admission to schools and being welcomed as multilinguals, the situation is complicated. The following quote from one of Pang’s (2009) research participants, a *kikokushijo* from Indonesia, captures very well the dominant image of *kikokushijo* as English and Japanese bilingual.

“I don’t think I’m a real *kikokushijo* because normally people think that a *kikokushijo* is someone, who has studied in local schools and who speaks foreign languages fluently and especially English. So I don’t fit in that image.” (Pang, 2009: 29)

Furthermore, research (Yoshida et al., 2009) also reports that some Japanese companies do not fully value and provide opportunities for *kikokushijo* who are fluent in English.

“At job interviews they would ask me to speak English and when I did they would look at me and say, “If you’re so fluent, why don’t you just look for a job abroad?” I’ve also had companies tell me “Our company is very Japanese so it wouldn’t be good for a returnee” This made me really angry but I also felt sorry for this interviewer.” (Yoshida et al., 2009: 274)

In sum, it can be said that Japanese people’s view toward *kikokushijo* is distorted and cannot see past the stereotype of returnee as fluent English speaker. More research is needed to help understand and support *kikokushijo* who are facing challenges and mistreatment shaped by such perceptions.

From a different standpoint, the recognition of *kikokushijo* is also resulting in a declining number of studies on *kikokushijo* (Kano Podolsky, 2004; Goodman, 2012; Sato, 1997). It seems that scholars’ and public interest in *kikokushijo* is diminishing, since *kikokushijo* are not viewed as a problem anymore. According to Podolsky (2004), the focus of research on Japan’s multilingualism has shifted to the experience of immigrant students, and the challenge they present to education and society in Japan. In addition, research topics are diversifying (Tsuneyoshi, 2018; Tsuneyoshi, Okano, & Boocock, 2002; Noguchi & Fotos, 2001), ranging from Brazilian immigrant children (Hirakata et al., 2001 in English, Haino, 2010; in Japanese), Chinese war orphans (Tomozawa, 2001), ethnic minorities such as Ainu (Anderson & Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001; Heinrich, 2012) and Ryukuan (Heinrich, 2012; Osumi, 2001), children of international married couples (Kamada, 2010), and students of ethnic or foreign schools in Japan (Kanno, 2008; Shimizu et al, 2014). *Kikokushijo* may have lost their exclusive status as minorities in need of special attention and care.

2.7.4 Teachers and Principals

Teachers and principals of *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshukō* are sent from MEXT and will

return to their former educational institutions in Japan after several years of teaching (Okamura, 2017; Sato, 1997). As reported by MEXT (2020a), every year MEXT selects teachers and principals from public and private primary and junior high schools in Japan. The Japanese government first sent teachers to the *nihonjingakkō* in Bangkok in 1962, and the *hoshukō* in New York in 1974 (Sato, 1997). The government of Japan perceives these teachers and principals as valuable human resources upon their return to Japan. For MEXT (2020a), sending teachers abroad is one of the most effective ways to foster their intercultural awareness.

In general, there are three steps in the screening process for sending teachers abroad. First, with approval from the head of the school, teachers submit applications to the board of education. Then, the board of education selects teachers based on these written applications and oral examinations. If they pass, teachers take another oral examination from MEXT. A few months later, teachers receive the notice of acceptance or rejection. Before their dispatch to appointed destinations, teachers receive training for overseas education, but this is minimal, lasting between a few days to a week (MEXT, 2020a). During the screening and selection process, teachers work as usual, and thus, teachers cannot prepare that much before they are transferred from Japan. Even though it varies, generally, teachers' terms are about two to three years. Below is the table of teachers' screening process based on data from this study. It should be noted that each prefecture has its own rules and regulations. This screening and selection process of teachers also applies to principals.

Table 2.5: General process of teacher's selection

According to the information provided by an e-mail interview (2015).

May	Request application is sent from the board of education through MEXT. Teachers asks the principal for approval to apply. Teachers complete and submit application form.
June to August	Applicant screening and oral examination from board of education (July). Second oral examination from MEXT (August).
December	Results given.
January	One week of teacher training.

April	Dispatch.
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To support the teachers who will be living in places they have never taught before, MEXT and MOFA provide rich benefits to teachers. Furthermore, aid is also given to teachers' family members, in which family members are obligated to accompany a teacher. The benefits include foreign services allowance, spouse allowance, and educational allowance for children (MEXT, 2020a). For teachers who will be working at schools located in dangerous countries, special aid is offered for teachers to hire security guards. In small-scale schools, teachers may need to teach subjects and grades for which they do not have teaching licenses (MEXT, 2020a). To support the possible shortage of teachers and principals, MEXT also has a system to send teachers and principals who have retired. In this case, teachers and principals must have experience of being dispatched abroad and working at Japanese overseas schools (MEXT, 2020b).

Unlike *nihonjingakkō* where most of the teachers and principals are sent from Japan, the majority of the teachers of *hoshukō* are hired locally (Kano, 2013). This is especially the case for small-scale schools, since the number of student enrollments decide the number of teachers sent from MEXT, and schools with student populations of 100 receive one teacher, and “two teachers for 200, three teachers for 800, four teachers for 1200 and five teachers for 1600 students.” (Kano, 2013: 103). The background of the *hoshukō* teachers varies, ranging from parents to graduate students studying in the host country (Okamura, 2017). As might be expected, teachers of *hoshukō* are generally not highly trained and are low paid. This heavy burden for teachers is one of the major problems documented in the literature (Aizawa, 1999; Furuya-Wise, 1999), as some leave the job after working for a short period of time.

So far, in this section I have given a short description of Japanese overseas schools and their pupils and teaching staff. As argued by Sato (2010), the government of Japan has been supporting these schools hoping that students will eventually contribute to Japan by attaining high language proficiency and intercultural competence, while maintaining their Japanese-ness. Having a clear school philosophy of providing Japanese-national children the same educational standards to those of their home country, *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshukō* have been well-received by the local Japanese community.

2.8 Conclusion

To set the scene for the study, in this chapter I have provided a general overview of Japan's language education in public-school system, Japan's increasing ethnic and linguistic diversity, schools for foreigners in Japan, Japanese overseas schools and their students and teachers, and the local context of Belgium and Brussels. Although this chapter covered various topics, one clearly emerging line of argument is that it is becoming difficult for Japan to maintain its monolithic linkage between nation, ethnicity, and language. The growing diversity in Japan accompanied by transnational population flows is influencing language education and how people perceive languages (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Kubota, 2011a; Seargeant, 2009). Despite the government of Japan's suppression of ethnolinguistic minorities and their languages (Sakuma, 2006; Sato, 2019), some resist and welcome this diversity (Kanno, 2008; Tsuneyoshi, Okano, & Boocock, 2011; Tsuneyoshi, 2018).

Having set the scene for the study, the following chapter provides my understanding of ideology, in particular language ideology. This is then followed by outlining the theoretical framework used for the study, which is the 'ideology of authenticity' and 'ideology of anonymity' put forward by Woolard (2016). Then I will explore and examine the language ideology issues in Japan and Belgium relevant to my research. This discussion will also be helpful when analyzing the language ideologies manifested in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

Chapter 3: Language Ideology

3.1 Ideology, Discourse, and Power

“Ideology is perhaps one of the most equivocal and elusive concepts one can find in the social sciences; not only because of the variety of theoretical approaches which assign different meanings and functions to it, but also because it is a concept heavily charged with political connotations and widely used in everyday life with the most diverse significations.” (Larrain, 1979: 13)

As mentioned by scholars (Eagleton, 1991; Larrain, 1979; Thompson, 1984), since its introduction by Destutt de Tracy in 1796, ideology has been a complex and contentious concept which has been variously defined and interpreted in different disciplines and fields. Thus, the literature on the concept of ideology is extensive.

One of the seminal arguments in the discussion on ideology is its inextricable link to concepts of discourse and power (Eagleton, 1991; Foucault, 1980; Thompson, 1984). Without employing these two concepts, it is difficult to fully grasp key understandings about ideology. In attempting to unpack these intricate relationships, I will draw on theoretical works from Marx (Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970) and Foucault (Foucault, 1980, 1991) since their works are often cited in language ideology studies (Blommaert, 1999; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Kroskrity, 2001; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998), including those in the context of Japan (Heinrich, 2012; Seargeant, 2009). Furthermore, aside from some translated works and review of Western scholars such as Marx (Hiromatsu & Kobayashi, 2002) and Foucault (Nakayama, 2006) by Japanese academics, theoretical studies on ideology are limited in Japanese publications (Maruyama, 1961).

3.2 Marx and Foucault

Marx’s works on ideology (Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970) have made a significant impact on the concept. His theorization of ideology is based on a materialist perspective which posits that ideology is related to economic and class condition of production. From this materialist perspective, Marx proposed that ideologies are decided by the economic and material conditions of society and individuals. Generally speaking, Marx’s theorization of ideology began with his attempt to uncover how small groups of the ruling class are able to dominate production and economic wealth and control society. In order

to construct this unequal social order (Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970), Marx argued that this is not achieved by violent forces such as the police and army, but by people believing in false ideas, or ideologies, which are presented as taken for granted, unquestionable, and beneficial for the entire society. Therefore, ideology deludes the majority, preventing them from seeing the unequal reality which favors the interests of the ruling class. As a result, ideology is understood as a 'false consciousness' or illusory ideas which function to maintain the capitalist social order and class domination. Hence, in Marxist theorization of ideology, power is perceived as coming from the society's elite class who dominate production and wealth (Althusser, 1977; Eagleton, 1991; Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970).

Although Marx's theorization of ideology has been influential in academia, by bringing in the concept of discourse and its link with power, Foucault offered an alternative theoretical perspective to Marx's notion of ideology that has become highly influential in the Social Sciences (Foucault, 1980). Discourse can be conceived in many ways (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2014; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), but in the Foucauldian sense discourses refer to what is 'say-able', 'do-able', or 'meaning-able' at a given time and in a given place, in regard to a given topic (Foucault, 1970, 1978). For instance, in schools, students enact various social practices, or discourse (e.g. wearing school uniform, greeting teachers politely, bringing textbooks) which make the space a school, and not another institution such as a supermarket or hospital.

From the Marxist perspective, ideology is set of mystifying ideas to control the majority and preserve social and economic inequality for the benefit of the ruling class (Eagleton, 1991; Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970). However, Foucault opposed this conceptualization and stressed that discourses are nothing more than perspectives, as each and every system and individual produces their own form of truth (Foucault, 1970, 1980). In consequence, Foucault argues that it is not possible to decide what is true and false, and the idea of uncovering truth and liberating people from oppression is meaningless. To put it differently, Foucault (1980: 118) was interested in examining 'how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false'.

In addition, Foucault also rejected how Marx perceived power in his theorization of ideology. In Marx's materialist and economic model, power is owned and exercised by the elite class and maintained through economic relations (Eagleton, 1991; Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970). Although Foucault did not undermine the importance of material

production and economy, he goes against its centrality. Foucault argued that power is everywhere and not only owned by the elite, wealthy class (Foucault, 1980). As discussed in the example above, discourses are mediated through power, forming institutionalized ways of acting and thinking, which allow individuals to be passively disciplined by societal structures and institutional practices. In this sense, power relations are not sustained through ‘false consciousness’ constructed by the dominant groups, but through social practices which are recognized and accepted by a much broader range of groups. Furthermore, Foucault argued that discourse and its power relations can be contradictory and can change over time (Foucault, 1978, 1980).

Even though Foucault (Foucault, 1980, 1991) prefers to use discourse rather than ideology, in line with Eagleton (1991) and Woolard (2016), I argue that ideology refers to underlying concepts which becomes relatively invisible so that people uncritically perceive them as common sense, and thus are represented and enacted in discourses. Hence, to bring these three concepts together with an example in relation to my study: discourse is everywhere (everything we say and do), and some of this is connected to form particular powerful relationships (e.g. MEXT explicitly stating in the Course of Study Guideline that English should be selected in principle for foreign language education – public schools rarely offer foreign language courses other than English) which can be analyzed as representing broader ideological positions (English as *the* foreign language).

Lastly, when looking back at my research setting, adopting a Marxist approach to ideology (Althusser, 1977; Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970), which stresses inequality, domination, and liberation of the oppressed, does not seem appropriate for this research. This is due to the fact that my research participants, school principals and language teachers of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, are not economically and socially marginalized. Rather, these groups of participants come from the elite class, are highly educated, and privileged in society. This also applies to the students who come from upper class and whose parents (mainly fathers) are highly paid, working in managerial positions in multinational companies. Therefore, drawing on ideological conceptualizations influenced by Foucault (1978, 1980) is a more suitable framework for analyzing and understanding the ideologies shaping language education and circulating in the school context. Nevertheless, the materialistic perspective proposed by Marx should not be dismissed, as it holds true that economic wealth, class position, and the linguistic capital of people in *nihonjingakkō* enable them to learn and interact with various languages that

most people cannot obtain. Additionally, these resources facilitate the maintenance of their high social status in Japanese society.

Based on the above discussion, in this study I use the term ideology to refer to the following four features drawn from Foucault (1978, 1980).

- Ideology is a system of beliefs and values individually constructed and/or collectively shared among all social members within a certain range, which is relatively invisible so that people uncritically perceive it as taken-for-granted.
- Ideology directly or indirectly supports and maintains power and particular aims in all social relations. However, individuals and institutions do not simply conform to dominant ideologies, and some people and institutions go against prevalent ideologies.
- Ideology is closely linked with social, cultural, political, economic, historical, and institutional constructs of the context. Thus, ideology is context sensitive.
- Ideologies are often multilayered, contested, contradictory, ambivalent, and constantly changing.

With this understanding, in some cases, I will use the plural form ‘ideologies’ in this thesis. This conceptualization of ideology is also employed in my position in relation to language ideology, which builds an effective bridge between language and sociopolitical function (Blommaert, 1999; Kroskrity, 2001; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

3.3 Language Ideology

In recent decades, language ideology has received increasing attention among scholars in a wide range of areas such as linguistic anthropology (Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Silverstein, 1979) and sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 1999; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Woolard, 2016) as the study of language ideology pertains to all languages and language users. Various scholars propose different interpretations of language ideology, but no consensus exists (Kroskrity, 2001; Woolard, 1998).

In Japan, the theoretical aspect of language ideology seems to be an area which has not received scholarly scrutiny (Heinrich, 2012). This may pertain to the fact that, as argued by Sanada (2006) and Masiko (2014), an uncritical perspective has long been maintained among Japanese sociolinguistics who were “instilled to consider it a taboo to examine the relationship between language and society” (Sanada, 2006:1). Although

the historical background of Japanese sociolinguistics will be discussed further in later sections, in recent times, inspired by Western critical inquiry, theoretical studies on language ideology have started to emerge (Koyama, 2011). It may take more time to witness Japanese academia paying more interest and developing the theoretical study of language ideology. As a consequence, works of Heinrich (2012) and Seargeant (2009 and 2011), who examined language ideology in the Japanese context and provided detailed accounts of the study of language ideology, have greatly helped me inform my understanding of language ideology.

According to Kroskrity (2001), Silverstein's (1979) paper 'Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology' marks the beginning of 'language ideology' as a field of study. Silverstein states that "ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure or use" (1979: 193). Simply put, he argues that ideology can actively change the linguistic structure, and therefore, scholars need to examine the linguistic awareness and beliefs of the language users (Woolard, 1998; Kroskrity, 2000).

While Silverstein's definition of language ideology focuses on linguistic structure, scholars such as Irvine (1989), Woolard (1998, 2016), Gal, (1998), Kroskrity (2000, 2001) add a further dimension by emphasizing social, cultural, political, and moral aspects of language ideology. Irvine (1989) conceives language ideology as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989: 225). In line with Irvine, Woolard also stresses that language ideology should not be concerned solely with linguistic form and use but also with the very notion of the person and social group that underpin fundamental social institutions such as schooling and law. Echoing this relationship between language and society, Kroskrity (2000) and Gal (1998) describe language ideologies as not unitary but multiple, internally diversified, and unstable.

Having briefly outlined several definitions of language ideology, it can be argued that there exist two main conceptualizations of language ideology. First is the internal conceptualization, which focuses on how ideology influences linguistic structure, or metapragmatics. And the second is the external conceptualization, which emphasizes the intricate relationship between language and other social dimensions, and focuses on how language ideology influences the legitimation, regulation and advocacy of certain languages in a given society. My interest is in the external conceptualization, as I am

more interested in the social or institutional meaning of language and its complex power structures, and which do not relate to Silverstein's definition of language ideology.

To sum up, for this study, inspired by the works of researchers such as Kroskrity (1998, 2000) and Woolard (1998) and in line with my understanding of ideology, I take the position that language ideologies are: 1) shaping ways in which individuals and society perceive languages, and thus shape the identities and behaviours of language users and learners, 2) multiple, contested, piecemeal, multilayered constructs which should be examined in more than one level, 3) explicitly stated or unconsciously embedded in discourse, and 4) functions which serve the interests and aims of individuals or communities.

In relation to my definition of language ideology, I outline my understanding of language and multilingualism from a language as "repertoire" perspective. Drawing on the works of Busch (2017) and Blommaert & Rampton (2011), I conceive linguistic repertoire as a set of linguistic resources (e.g. language, dialect, register) and skills (e.g. writing, speaking, and reading) the individual picks up and develops informally and formally over their lifetime; these linguistic resources and skills change and develop as the individual encounters new situations and challenges (please see 1.1 for example related to my linguistic repertoire). Moreover, while these linguistic resources may be categorized as named languages – 'English', 'Japanese', 'French' – they are drawn on by individuals in fluid and complex ways. While the concept of 'linguistic repertoire' was first developed by Gumperz (1964) as a way to understand the set of language varieties in the speech community, due to increased mobility, migration, and digitalization, more recently applied linguists and sociolinguists (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Marshall & Moore, 2018) have focused attention on the hybrid nature of linguistic repertoires in relation to individuals in contexts of linguistic and ethnic diversity. Compared to the time when Gumperz (1964) conceptualized the linguistic repertoire, it is now more common for people to encounter, interact, and learn various languages in diverse settings that go beyond the realm of homogenous speech communities. Applied linguists are also interested in schools and other educational institutions as key sites for developing students' linguistic repertoires (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Marshall, 2020; Oyama, 2016; Preece, 2020). Nonetheless, language ideologies have a strong influence on how individuals build on and activate their linguistic repertoire (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Busch, 2017). As this study will show, people do not learn and use linguistic resources without considering the

“value ascribed to a language or language variety in a particular social space” (Busch, 2017: 348).

Having laid out my understanding of language ideology, in the next section, I explain Woolard’s concepts of ‘ideology of authenticity’ and ‘ideology of anonymity’ (Woolard, 2016) in relation to how they frame my study. With regard to Woolard’s theoretical framework, I also provide a brief account of the concepts of ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’, and ‘culture’, since these concepts are indispensable not only for understanding Woolard’s concept, but also for understanding the language ideologies manifested in Japan. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Japan is linguistically resistant with a strong national language, and languages which have close ties with Japan’s minorities such as Chinese and Korean are overall neglected (Erikawa, 2018; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). This being the case, the concept of ‘ideology of authenticity’ and ‘ideology of anonymity’ can help uncover ways in which this nationalistic and monolingual ideology strongly influenced by the MEXT and Japanese public, is reproduced, or not, in a *nihonjingakkō* context in a non-Anglophone setting.

3.4 Ideology of Authenticity and Ideology of Anonymity

In explaining the concepts of ‘ideology of authenticity’ and ‘ideology of anonymity’, it is essential to begin by briefly discussing the historical and language context of Catalonia, in which the concepts were developed. Catalonia is an autonomous community in Spain where there are two official languages, Catalan and Spanish. For centuries, Catalan was suppressed in public until the end of Francis Franco’s dictatorship. Catalan has since enjoyed special status embodied in the Statute of Autonomy in 1979, when Catalonia regained its political autonomy (Woolard, 2005; Woolard & Frekko, 2013). In that year, Kathryn Woolard began her research to trace if Catalan, a minority language which had long been marginalized, could transform into the community’s public language (Woolard, 2016). To capture this complex language situation in Catalonia, Woolard argued that the value of languages can be divided into two contrasting ideologies: the ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity (Woolard, 2016; Woolard & Frekko, 2013). The former locates the value of language in its relationship to a particular community, whereas the latter places value on its neutrality, belonging to nobody and therefore equally available to everybody. While the ideology of authenticity usually applies to minoritized and ethnic languages, the ideology of anonymity tends to be associated with global and cosmopolitan languages. In the case of Catalonia, Catalan is associated with ideology of authenticity, and

Spanish is positioned with ideology of anonymity. When Woolard started her research, she was concerned if Catalan, which was strongly marked with ‘Catalan-ness’ and had an exclusionary character, could change to a universally available public language by gaining new speakers from the Spanish speaking majority.

Despite her concern, Woolard claims that over the last four decades Catalan has shifted its ideological base from authenticity to anonymity (Woolard, 2016). Catalan, which was initially marked with a particular ethnic group and culture, is now undergoing ‘de-ethnicization’ (Pujolar & González, 2013) and losing its earlier function of ethnolinguistic boundary maintenance between Catalan and Spanish. This transformation was made possible mainly through an educational policy which made Catalan the principal medium of instruction in schools from the mid-1990s (Woolard, 2005; 2016). Furthermore, the high socioeconomic status of Catalan encouraged new speakers from various backgrounds (e.g. Spanish and South American immigrants) to learn Catalan. This educational policy and increased use of the language in public minimized the significance of Catalan linguistic competence as an indicator of ethnic group members. People in Catalonia increasingly use both Catalan and Spanish seamlessly, and this is also reported in Woolard’s (Woolard, 2005, 2016) ethnographic research in primary and secondary schools. Nowadays, especially for a younger generation, speaking Catalan is not equated with who you were ethnically, but rather that you are admitted into the hybrid and multilingual community. Nevertheless, Woolard and fellow researchers (Pujolar & González, 2013) also note that Catalan ethnolinguistic nationalism is still present, and thus Catalan is not entirely anonymized. Therefore, Woolard cautions not to conceive her concept in black or white division, but notes that there is considerable overlap and thus the linguistic situation in Catalonia is complicated and contested. This linguistic complexity is well represented in several public examples cited by Woolard (2016) in order to examine the role of Catalan and its relationship to Catalan society. For instance, Woolard (2006) discusses how José Montilla, who was the president of the Catalan government, was often ridiculed and criticized by the public when he gave speeches in Catalan, since he is an immigrant and not a native speaker of the language.

As can be seen from Woolard’s concepts of ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity, ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’, and ‘culture’ are important elements. Therefore, I should make it clear how I conceive these three notions, which have been contentious with various definitions and boundary problems. Race refers to imposed categories based on physical characteristics such as skin and hair color. However, as reported in studies

(Hutchinson, 2005), human beings are almost genetically identical, with only 0.1% of genetical difference. Therefore, in my view, race is not a biologically determined construct, but socially constructed. On the contrary, ethnicity is a group or people who share similar cultural characteristics such as country of origin, religion, and language (Bolaffi, Bracalenti, Braham, & Gindro, 2003). Like 'race', 'ethnicity' is not a biologically determined construct (Fought, 2006; Kubota & Lin, 2009), and is elusive since there is a huge variability within a group, such as Japanese Brazilians (Sakamoto & Morales, 2016). Culture is a particular set of customs, codes, and traditions of specific time and place (Kubota, 2014b; Mathews, 2000). In this respect, all these concepts share the function of differentiating, marginalizing, or privileging certain groups of people (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009). Furthermore, these three concepts do not represent innate or inherent attributes of human beings and are not stable. Rather, racial, ethnic, or cultural representations are constantly evolving and are located in social and historical processes. Importantly, language and its ideologies intersect with taken-for-granted perceptions of race, ethnicity, and culture. For example, speaking a language can allow an individual to belong to a particular ethnic group (Fought, 2006). In this way, language can influence people's perceptions of race, ethnicity, and culture by formulating the sense of 'us' and 'them'. These homogenous classifications can privilege some groups, while marginalizing others. However, it should be noted that language can also challenge these fixed and homogenous perceptions (Harris & Rampton, 2003). One such example is Rampton's notion of 'language crossing' (Rampton, 2006), in which speakers draw on linguistic repertoires that are not considered naturally their own, disconnecting the taken-for-granted linkage that is often made between race, ethnicity, culture, and language. Similarly, in coining the term 'metroethnicity', Maher (2005) also made an argument on how young Ainu people in Japan employed multiple languages such as Italian to challenge the static construct of ethnicity and language as an absolute value. In contrast to the traditional view which insists language, race, ethnicity, and culture should align, these studies (Maher, 2005; Rampton, 2006; Woolard, 2016) document the flexible, hybrid, 'do it yourself' language behaviour and use which is becoming more common in the contemporary world.

In applying Woolard's concept of ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity to the Japanese context, Japanese can be associated with ideology of authenticity and English can be linked with ideology of anonymity. Woolard's concept suits well in this research since it can further develop an understanding of how these two ideologies

inform the school, teachers', parents', and teachers' ambitions regarding language teaching and learning. In Japan, will Japanese continue to be regarded as an ethnic marker? Will English still be considered the only global language indexed with internationality and prestige? Will languages such as French and Flemish have any influence on the dichotomy of Japanese and English? These are the research questions that I seek to answer for this study. Although research on *nihonjingakkō* that draws on Woolard's ideological framework has started to emerge (Fukuda, 2018), in my view, there is a gap in the body of knowledge that can be filled by my study. This current paucity of knowledge and the contribution that I can make through this research will be discussed further in later sections in this chapter.

However, there are several important differences and potential issues that have to be taken into account when employing Woolard's conceptual framework in a Japanese educational context. First, unlike Catalonia which has experienced drastic demographic change brought by the influx of labor immigrants from various regions (Pujolar & González, 2013; Woolard, 2016; Woolard & Frekko, 2013), people at the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium are mostly racially homogenous, as reported in other studies on *nihonjingakkō* (Kojima, 1999; Sato, 2007). Secondly, whereas Japanese, English, French, Flemish are very distant languages, Catalan and Spanish are more closely related. And lastly, as Woolard (2016) warns, I should be careful not to simply equate languages to the two ideologies. For instance, in the Japanese context, although the value of English can be located in its neutrality and global reach, studies (Kubota, 2002; Saito, 2012; Sasayama, 2013) reveal that the language is often linked with a particular territory (Kachruvian Inner-Circle countries) and with the white race. This then allows the interpretation that English can also be associated with the ideology of authenticity.

Having briefly reviewed Woolard's conceptual framework of 'ideology of authenticity' and 'ideology of anonymity', the next section reviews the literature relating to the language ideologies of Japanese and English, and its teaching and learning. Tracing and discussing the language ideologies of Japanese and English in a historical and broader sense will help understand how current language ideologies in Japan have formulated and spread.

3.5 Language Ideologies in Japan

As mentioned previously, since its establishment in 1951 (Yasuda, 2006), Japanese sociolinguistics has long dismissed critical perspectives toward language studies

(Sanada, 2006; Otomo, 2019). Instead, much of the research undertaken by academics has focused on data gathering in a quantitative manner, as represented in an accumulating body of corpus-oriented research on Japanese honorifics and dialects (Masiko, 2014). On the other hand, influenced by the dominant ideology of Japan as an ethnically and linguistically homogenous nation, Japanese sociolinguists paid limited attention to minority languages (Otomo, 2019). Even though such an approach often failed to address the ideological linkages between language and socio-political structures, the situation started to change in the 1990s due to several factors. First, a large influx of immigrants to Japan led to conscious questionings of Japan's one-nation-one-language ideology (Masiko, 2014; Yasuda, 2019). And secondly, Japanese sociolinguists gradually became inspired by Euro-American critical inquiries, and "were more aware of interrelation between language and historical, socio-political and economic circumstances, and the consequences they entailed." (Otomo, 2019: 306). Since then, along with scholars based outside Japan (Heinrich, 2012; Seargeant, 2009), research critically examining language ideological issues in Japan has increased (Masiko, 1997; Yasuda, 1997; Lee, 2009; 2012).

As studies demonstrate that the language education policy of Japanese overseas schools is significantly influenced by the language ideologies of Japanese society (Fukuda, 2018; Mogi, 2017), it is important to discuss how language ideologies of Japanese and English have been developed in a historical context. In what follows, I will first trace the history of Japanese and elucidate that the "language was by no means the obvious candidate to stand as the defining characteristic" (Joseph, 2004: 110) of Japanese nationhood. Then, I will provide a historical overview of English and highlight how it has been the only foreign language valued in Japan. Following this, I will proceed with the review of underlying ideologies manifested in English language teaching (ELT) and Japanese language teaching (JLT) in Japan, particularly native-speakerism and monolingual teaching. Finally, the chapter closes with a summary, pointing out the gaps in existing studies of language ideology, and addressing contributions I can make to the study of language ideology in the Japanese context.

3.5.1 Japanese language and its history

By tracing approximately 150 years of history of Japanese language in association with its constantly changing socio-political contexts, I attempt to portray how the language is strongly linked with the monolingual, monoethnic ideal of the Japanese

state. This section will be divided into three historical periods: (1) Japan's abolition of international seclusion policy and adoption of rapid modernization in the mid-1800s, (2) Japan's foreign invasions from the late 1890s and its devastating defeat in 1945, and (3) post-World War Two to the present. Examining each period will help expose the roles nation states and other actors (e.g. the Euro-American forces, Japan's colonized territories, and the academics) have exercised in the construction and dissemination of Japanese language ideologies, and which have significantly influenced Japanese language teaching and learning.

Before embarking on the detailed literature review, I would like to specify that work to date on Japanese language ideology has tended to focus upon the historical investigation of the Japanese language, notably regarding Japanese colonialism (Lee, 2009, 2012; Tani, 2000, 2006; Yasuda, 1997, 2006 in Japanese and Gottlieb, 2005; 2012; Heinrich, 2012 in English). These scholars have investigated the history of the language by critically analyzing policy documents, and empirical studies are limited. Therefore, the majority of the literature review will be taken from these textual studies.

3.5.1.1 Japan and modernization: The Birth of *Kokugo*

In 1858, due to subsequent pressures from Euro-American powers, Japan ended its 200 years of isolationist foreign policy (Gottlieb, 2012). Although this is marked as one of the critical turning points of Japan's history, some readers may question why I decided to choose this period as a starting point to explore the genealogy of Japanese language. The reason is simple; prior to Japan's opening to the outside world, Japan did not have a unified national language (Heinrich, 2012; Lee, 2009; 2012).

However, after opening the country to the outside world, Japan was suddenly in need of its own national language to prevent colonization from the West (Kawai, 2007). The creation and proliferation of the unified language of Japanese was used as a tool for fostering a sense of nationhood, which was not present at the time when the country was divided into a few hundred feudal domains (Carroll, 2001; Clark, 2009). Nevertheless, the task and process of national language making was extremely challenging. Added to the reality of great regional diversity in Japanese, each local dialect had strict distinctions among four social classes: samurai, peasants, merchants, and craftsperson, and one could understand the person's class immediately upon listening to his or her speech (Lee, 2009: 2012). Furthermore, spoken and written languages were distinct

from each other (Clark, 2009). Only educated social elites were able to write and read written Japanese deriving from classic Chinese, and it was incomprehensible for people who only knew how to speak (Clark, 2009; Muto, 2004). In short, the Japanese language itself encompassed a wide diversity of regional, social, and class varieties. This was the linguistic situation even after the Meiji restoration of 1868, and the ideology of one-nation-one-language was incongruent at the time.

Japan had to wait until the appearance of Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937), who studied linguistics in Germany in the early 1890s and played a crucial role in establishing the Japanese as the national language (Clark, 2009; Lee, 2009, 2012; Gottlieb, 2008). During his study abroad, Ueda witnessed the movement of Germanization, the purification of German language by expelling French and Latin influence (Clark, 2009). Ueda became an enthusiastic promoter of national language, perceiving a unified national language as a symbol of overall national unity (Kawai, 2007). As the first linguist trained in Europe, Ueda's idea of national language was not original, and his theory was modelled on the work of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) who first coined the term 'national language' (Heinrich, 2012).

日本語は日本人の精神的血液なりといひつべし。

The Japanese language is a “spiritual blood for Japanese.” (Ueda, 1968: 110) (Original in Japanese and translated by the researcher)

As seen from the above quote, Ueda attempted to essentialize the Japanese language as an entity that embodies the nation. However, his call for unification and standardization of the Japanese language did not bear fruit until Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 (Lee, 2009). With increasing nationalism evident in the whole nation, Ueda's modernist language ideology gained rising acceptance amongst the general public.

In order to disseminate his modernist language ideologies, Ueda, with government support, established a state institution called the National Language Research Council in 1902 (Gottlieb, 2008). After much discussion, the organization selected Tokyo vernacular as a standard dialect and basis of written language in 1916. After the decision, in order to institutionalize the Japanese language, Japan's diverse language variants had to be extinguished through standardization of the language (Carroll, 2001; Sato & Doerr, 2014). Dialects other than Tokyo were ridiculed as a sign of backwardness (Gottlieb, 2008;

Yasuda, 2006) and Japan gradually constructed and promulgated itself as a monolingual nation. By introducing the national language as a subject of compulsory education and medium of instruction, the government was able to police people's language use and proficiency (Hansen, 2014). There was no excuse for not being able to correctly use Japanese, and failure to do so was conceived as not being allegiant to the nation. Dialects were severely suppressed in schools, using penalties such as hanging a placard around the neck of students who broke the rule (Heinrich, 2012; Oguma, 1998). However, even nowadays, many people still maintain and practice local vernaculars that can be unintelligible from people with standard dialect (Ball, 2004; Onishi, 2010). Still, in most cases, dialects other than Tokyo are not used in the public domain (Gottlieb, 2012). In conjunction with standardization, the unification of spoken and written language (*genbun itchi*) also took place, spreading the notion in which writing was for all Japanese regardless of social class (Lee, 2009, 2012). Under the aegis of the government authority, Ueda was successful in establishing a link between national language, state, and people, while promoting this via the national education system.

In sum, it can be argued that a unified national language did not emerge naturally, but was deliberately and gradually constructed under the leadership of Ueda Kazutoshi, who adopted the one-nation-one-language ideology which originated in Europe (Carroll, 2001; Clark, 2009; Heinrich, 2012; Lee, 2009, 2012). It was not until this era when the Japanese language, or *kokugo*, began to be stabilized as a unitary national language, and gradually invested with ideological value stressing the superiority of Japan and its people (Lee, 2009, 2012).

3.5.1.2 Japan's Colonial Expansion and Dilemma: The Birth of *Nihongo*

After the victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Imperial Japan sought to extend Japan's global authority. While Japan's territorial power and ambition surged with annexation of Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910), it became unconvincing for Japanese to accentuate excellence based on its ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. To combat this contradiction, the Japanese government and academics formulated 'mixed nation' theory, suggesting that Japan is a melting pot of various Asian people (Oguma, 1995; 2002). Japanese was also infused with this theory, putting forward the view that the language is formed from a mixture of diverse Asian languages (Yasuda, 1997, 2006). Although there were criticisms from nationalists who advocated the theory of ethnic purity, the 'mixed nation' theory became the dominant ideology which also legitimized and encouraged

the military, cultural, and linguistic invasion and colonization of Asian and Pacific Island nations (Oguma, 1995).

By highlighting Japan's ethnic hybridity rather than ethnic purity, Japan enforced the teaching and learning of the Japanese language in her territories (Komagome; 1996; Tai, 1999). Schooling in Japanese became the basis for assimilation policy until the end of World War Two. However, Lee (2009) and Tani (2000, 2006) unpack how Japanese language teachers dispatched to colonies met challenges. Since teachers came from different parts of Japan, there were massive complaints and questions about which dialect to teach. As mentioned earlier, although the Tokyo dialect was chosen as the official version of Japanese, the local dialects were still prevalent and deeply rooted. In addition, teachers were not fully equipped and experienced with the teaching of Japanese as a foreign language, since Japan had a history of long international isolation. According to Yasuda (2006), the word '*nihongo*' and its embedded concept as a lingua franca of territories of Imperial Japan ranging from East Asia to Micronesian islands, was finally developed in the 1930s. It was during this time when the binary classification of '*kokugo*' (national language taught to Japanese) and '*nihongo*' (Japanese language taught to foreigners) began to be formulated. Indeed, the terminology of *nihongo* portrays how Japan's ethnic minorities have been treated conveniently and unequally by the government of Japan (Oguma, 1998; Tai, 1999; Yasuda, 2006). When they have been needed, minorities have been valued as Japanese. When not needed, they have been rejected as non-Japanese.

In spite of the fact that the 'mixed nation' theory was a pervasive ideology during the pre-war era, Japan's defeat in World War Two caused the retreat from the 'mixed nation' theory (Oguma, 1995). The loss of outside territories enabled Japanese to possess the view that Japan is a monoethnic nation, which later helped formulate the post-war version of *nihonjinron*, or theory of Japanese-ness⁵.

3.5.1.3 After World War Two: *Nihonjinron* and Critical Perspectives on *Kokugo*

⁵ Although there are many terminologies equivalent to '*nihonjinron*' such as '*nihonron*' (theory of Japan) and '*nihon bunkaron*' (theory of Japanese culture), in this thesis, I shall use the term '*nihonjinron*' since it has the most widespread prevalence in both English and Japanese academia (Befu, 2001).

Japan reset as an island nation stripped of all its colonial territories, and as a result became less multiethnic and multilingual. Supported by this change, Japan steadily built a new form of *nihonjinron*, which emphasized Japanese as homogenous and monolingual people, and constituted by a single ethnicity of *Yamato* (Liddicoat, 2007a; Sugimoto, 1999). Furthermore, the postwar version of *nihonjinron* “discarded the imperial institution and other problematic symbols of national identity associated with the military Japan of the past, while amplifying other aspects of pre-1945 *nihonjinron* that were relatively minor when the imperial institution was the key element” (Befu, 2001: 101). These aspects included group-oriented values, politeness, and loyalty to the nation (Kubota, 1999). The ideology of *nihonjinron* became popular since the 1960s (Kubota, 1998; Oguma, 1995) as Japan’s economy grew, regaining the pride of Japanese people after the defeat in World War Two and subsequent social confusion. However, starting in the 1980s, *nihonjinron* was criticized by scholars (Miller, 1982; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986) as an ideology promoting monolithic, stereotypical views of Japanese people while dismissing internal diversity. In addition, by critically examining *kokugo* and *nihongo* textbooks and policy documents, researchers (Segawa, 2012; Yoshino, 1992, 1997; Suzuki, 2003) have pointed out that this ethnocentric and nationalistic profile of *nihonjinron* is manifested in these texts. *Nihonjinron* is not only indexed in the context of Japanese language, but also in English education policies which will be elaborated in the upcoming section discussing language ideologies of English.

Facilitated by its dominance and popularity, *nihonjinron* facilitated the dual usage of *kokugo* and *nihongo*. However, over the last two decades, there has been a critical turn with academics using *nihongo* instead of *kokugo* (Lee, 2009; Tai, 1999; Tanaka, 2018). These scholars argue that *kokugo* is a derogatory term based on the assumption that *kokugo* is for the language of *Yamato* ethnicity, and can only be mastered by having Japanese blood. For example, The Society of *Kokugogaku* (Study of *Kokugo*) was renamed in 2004 as The Society for *Nihongogaku* (Study of *Nihongo*). Similarly, Segawa (2012) claims that this is partly caused by a sense of guilt from educators in which current *kokugo* language education may be marginalizing non-Japanese as members who cannot be accepted into mainstream Japanese society. I support this reform, and in my view, the works of Lee (2012) and her contemporaries (Komagome, 1996; Oguma, 1995; 1998; Yasuda, 1997) contributed to this new scholarly movement. Yet, despite these changes in academia and an increasing number of immigrants in the Japanese schooling system (Moorehead, 2012; Motobayashi, 2018), Japanese taught in primary and secondary schools is still called *kokugo* (Tanaka, 2018). More time might

be needed before witnessing a significant ideological shift favoring *nihongo* in primary and secondary education, including that of *nihonjingakkō* which are also supervised by the government, and specifically by MEXT (Fukuda, 2018).

Up to now, this section has attempted to demonstrate that the Japanese language has been undergoing constant changes, reflecting the social, political, and economic situation. By revisiting the language's 150 year-long history, I have sought to highlight how the language and its embedded ideological essence has been able to evolve over different historical periods. Having laid the foundation for a better understanding of the establishment and evolution of Japanese and its underpinning language ideologies, in the following section, I would like to provide a historical overview of the language ideologies of English. Ever since Japan's modernization, English has been the only foreign language valued, while other foreign languages have been generally undervalued or forgotten (Erikawa, 2018; Kubota, 2015).

3.5.2 Language Ideologies of English

The purpose of this section is to investigate Japan's ideological attitudes toward English by reviewing the last 150 years of Japan's involvement with English. Since its introduction to Japan, English has been perceived as an international lingua franca (Ike, 1995; Sasaki, 2008; Yamada, 2015), and learning English is regarded as a positive practice, except for a brief interruption during World War Two⁶. From this perspective, the ideologies of English in the context of Japan can be categorized into three pillars: (1) admiration of Euro-American cultures and values, (2) *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* (internationalization), and (3) a strong emphasis on English to the exclusion of other foreign languages. As demonstrated when tracing the historical trajectory of Japanese, this section also illustrates the intricate relationships between English, Japanese, and Japan's ever-changing socio-political and economic situations.

3.5.2.1 Admiration of Euro-American cultures and values

As noted in the previous chapter, although Japan's first encounter with English was in 1600 (Ike, 1995; Yamada, 2015), English was not widely recognized or studied until the

⁶ However, scholars (Imura, 2003; Erikawa, 2016) document that some schools kept teaching English even during the wartime.

country's modernization from mid-1800s (Saito, 2018). Yet, after opening its doors to the outside world, English was perceived as the symbolic language necessary to obtain scientific information for industrialization and hold off colonial advances from Europe and North America (Butler & Iino, 2005; Erikawa, 2018; Friedman, 2016).

Even after Japan was able to avoid colonization, Japan continued to intensively incorporate Euro-American knowledge and culture (Hino, 1988a). Although English learning and teaching was limited to the elite class (Sasaki, 2008), certain aspects of Euro-American customs such as cuisine and fashion were steadily appreciated by the general population. This was accompanied by a major inflow of English loanwords in everyday language (Kay, 1995; Morrow, 1987; Stanlaw, 2004). Overall, Japan was enjoying its prosperity by successfully adapting to the rapidly changing world by imitating Europe and North America, while preserving Japan's national identity, sovereignty, and language. However, Japan's ruthless invasions of its neighboring countries in the 1930s resulted in a deteriorating relationship with international society (Erikawa, 2015; 2016). The admiration of Europe and North America waned during this era, and in exchange, Japan's superiority was propagated. Japan's joining of World War Two marked the Dark Age (1941-45), and the allied nations of United States and Great Britain were reviled as 'demons and beasts' (Hino, 1988). This was reflected in exclusion of foreign words, mainly English, from the daily lives.

In 1945, Japan suffered a devastating defeat by the allies. As a result, Japan again launched concerted efforts to vigorously study from Europe and North America and began rebuilding from its burnt-out ruins. Under the rule of United States occupation forces until 1952, a promotion and inward flow of English began in which almost every Japanese individual received the opportunity to learn English (Kubota, 1998; Seargeant, 2011; Terasawa, 2015). Floundering on the rocks of social confusion, Japanese idealized the United States as a democratic and civilized nation to which Japan should look as a role model (Ayabe, 2009; Hino, 1988)⁷. English became a *de facto* mandatory subject in junior high schools in 1947 (Terasawa, 2014), and many English derived loanwords were welcomed into the Japanese language (Hogan, 2003; Honna, 1995; Kay, 1995) even though many did not comprehend the exact meaning of these terms (Gottlieb, 2008). Supported by the development of mass media, English quickly attained the status of a

⁷ It should be noted here that some Japanese had ambivalence and rejection toward the United States and its influences, pertaining to multiple factors such as opposition against United States occupation forces and fear of being colonized (Oguma, 2002).

fashionable language. However, for some Japanese, English and English-speaking countries (chiefly the United States) also evoke negative images such as gun violence (Hogan, 2003). English is also seen as a threat, with some arguing that learning English takes time away from Japanese language study and may lead to the loss of Japanese-ness (Tsuda, 1990).

What needs to be attended to here is the admiration for English, which since the 1960s, has been linked with Japan's economic prosperity, which allowed many Japanese to devote their resources to English learning. However, as the economy grew, it was inevitable for Japan to increase its interactions with the outside world and experience cultural clashes and trade friction (Kubota, 1998). It was in this era, as Japan had to stand to face to face with the international community, that the ideologies of postwar *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* were formulated.

3.5.2.2 *Nihonjinron* and *Kokusaika*

As noted earlier, the ideology of postwar *nihonjinron*, which stresses the ethnic uniqueness and homogeneity of Japanese, was constructed during the 1960s when Japan's economy began to surge ahead. Japan's rising economy had a twofold effect on the mindset of the Japanese population. One was a restored confidence that Japan had lost following its devastating World War Two defeat, and another was the worsening economic and cultural friction between foreign nations (chiefly Euro-American nations) due to the increasing amount of contact between Japanese and foreigners. Thus, *nihonjinron* functioned as a self-congratulatory, nationalistic theory to safeguard Japanese from Euro-American influence (Befu, 2001; Kubota: 1998). The Japanese language is no exception from this *nihonjinron*, and perceives the Japanese language as a fundamental indication of being Japanese since the language can only be mastered by those who have Japanese blood (Liddicoat, 2007b; McVeigh, 2002; Tai, 1999).

Since its appearance, *nihonjinron* has received plentiful and often critical reviews from academics. Some scholars (Dale, 2012; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986) criticize *nihonjinron* ideology for justifying Japanese customs and practices which are incongruent with Euro-American values, resulting in an apathetic engagement with the outside world. In addition, *nihonjinron* ignores Japan's domestic diversity by constructing a worldview narrowed down into binary categories of 'Japan' and the 'West' (Befu, 2001; Lie, 2001). As discussed earlier, critics (Gottlieb, 2012; Heinrich,

2012; Yamada, 2015) have questioned Japan's uniformity by highlighting the fact that Japan has been a diverse nation constituted by indigenous minorities (Ainu and Ryukuan) and foreign immigrants (predominantly from Asian and South American nations). Furthermore, Yoshino (1992, 1997) concludes that *nihonjinron* functions as an ideology which serves the interest of Japan's political and business world, since the concept of homogeneity fosters loyalty to the nation and lessens anxiety in the society.

Given these criticisms, it can be argued that *nihonjinron* has been used as a defensive mechanism not to promote English learning and teaching, but as an ideological cover to ascribe the Japanese population's poor English skills to their Japanese-ness (Rivers, 2011b). However, in the 1980s when Japan experienced a need to be more prominent in international affairs in order to secure its economic success (Kubota, 2002), *kokusaika* (internationalization) began to be formulated as an ideology underpinning two conflicting notions: the desire for and pursuit of Westernization, or more precisely Anglicization, and promotion of nationalism.

これからの国際化の進展を考えると、日本にとって、これまでのような受信専用でなく、自らの立場をはっきりと主張し、意思を伝達し、相互理解を深める必要性が一層強まってくる。その手段としての外国語、とくに英語教育の重要性はますます高まってくるものと考えられる。

“When we consider the advancement of *kokusaika* (internationalization), for Japan, unlike in the past when it was only about passively understanding, it has become increasingly crucial to be able to express one's position and thoughts. In order to foster mutual understanding, the foreign language, especially English education will become much more important.”

(Ad Hoc Committee on Education: 1986: 1: as cited by The Nippon Foundation Library (2016) Originally in Japanese, Translated by researcher)

The *kokusaika* ideology has been researched for many years in the domain of applied linguistics, positioning nationalism as an important issue of investigation and discussion in the English language education policies and pedagogies (Borg, 2008; Kubota, 1998; Sullivan & Schatz, 2009). As indicated in the above excerpt from the report submitted by the Ad Hoc Committee on Education in 1986, English was adopted as a tool to propagate the superiority of Japanese using English, “so that the values and traditions embedded in the Japanese culture will be retained, and cultural independence will be ensured”

(Hashimoto, 2007: 27). Accordingly, McConnell (2000) and Borg (2008) argue that the JET programme founded during the 1980s *kokusaika* campaign was instigated for economic reasons, more precisely, to ease trade friction with the United States. Therefore, *kokusaika* was a responsive measure to walk the fine line between Japan's tradition and economic progress.

Given these findings, one issue raised by researchers (Hashimoto, 2000; Kubota, 2002; Rivers, 2011) is that *kokusaika* ideology channels interest in languages and cultures toward Anglophone countries (mainly United States and the United Kingdom), and not to non-Anglophone countries. Kubota (2002) states that the ideology of *kokusaika* is linked with Anglicization, and results in the following standard viewpoints : “(1) ‘foreign language’ is ‘English’; (2) the model for ‘English’ should be standard North American or British varieties; (3) learning English leads to ‘international/intercultural understanding’; (4) national identity is fostered through learning English” (p. 19). Although the terminology of *kokusaika* has been recently replaced by *glōbalca*, or globalisation (Borg, 2008; Kubota, 2015), the concept continues to be relevant. Both *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* ideologies are situated in the spatial dimension of the narrow, dichotomous world between ‘Japan’ and ‘the West’. Therefore, *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* ideologies have a negative impact on Japan since it fails to take into consideration languages other than English (Tsuneyoshi, Okano, & Boocock, 2011), which creates a language hierarchy in Japan (Kanno, 2008; Noguchi & Fotos, 2001).

In the education sector, English textbooks still contain reading texts aiming to reeducate Japanese and reassert their national pride by emphasizing the importance of promoting Japanese culture and values to the world using English (Friedman, 2016; Schner, 2007). In short, both *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* are carefully crafted ideologies intended to keep Japanese traditions and national identity afloat in the flood of Euro-American thoughts that enveloped the country in the era of internationalization.

3.5.2.3 Persistent Prevalence of English as *the* foreign language

In recent times in Japan, contact with foreign languages other than English is becoming common in daily life due to the increasing influx of migrants (Tsuneyoshi et al., 2011) and growing presence of global languages such as Chinese (Kanno, 2008). In accordance with such change, the ideologies of these languages have been increasingly placed in the academic spotlight since late 2000s (Fukuda, 2018; Kobayashi, 2015;

Kubota, 2013; Kubota & McKay, 2009; Nakamura, 2016), as interest grows in whether rising linguistic diversity will oblige Japanese to learn not only English. In other words, there has also been a ‘multilingual turn’ (May, 2013) in the research on language ideologies. Accordingly, contrary to previous research on language ideologies in Japanese and English which has largely been focused on examining public documents, scholars began to study language ideologies manifested in the actual practice of individuals and communities.

One of the first scholars who started conducting ethnographic research into ideologies of non-English foreign languages is Kubota. Kubota and McKay (2009) embarked on a critical ethnography at a local city in Japan where many non-English-speaking immigrants from Brazil, Peru, China, Korea, and Thailand were living. They were interested in how English impacts upon local multilingual context where English does not necessarily function as a shared language. Through community surveys and interviews with five Japanese adult learners of English and Portuguese, the study revealed how the dominant ideology of English as an international language shaped the policies and practices in various domains in the city (e.g. language schools, community center). Consequently, this ideology led to the alienation of other foreign and heritage languages. The following quote from Mrs. Nakai, a volunteer English teacher who was also in charge of creating Japanese learning programme for immigrant children in public schools, represents this prevalent ideology.

“But you can’t soar into the world with Portuguese. That’s why international students from China can speak English. If you want to improve your research, you go to the U.S. or Canada. ... Improving Japan with Portuguese won’t let the country soar into the world.” (Kubota & McKay, 2009: 604)

The above discourse is a vivid example of how English, as raised by numerous scholars (Evans & Imai, 2011; Kobayashi, 2011b; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011), is associated with inner-circle, Anglocentric views while promoting the greatness of Japan. Although there were some interviewees who were learning languages such as Portuguese and embraced languages of non-English speaking immigrants, these people were minority. Furthermore, the multilingualism which was valued in the city was Japanese and/or English, and this binary orientation undermined the maintenance of the heritage languages of immigrants.

This kind of exclusive multilingualism is also well documented in the study by Nakamura (2016) who interviewed Thai mothers married to Japanese and residing in the country. Nakamura discovered how Thai mothers self-restrict the use of Thai, since compared to English the language was overall viewed negatively in the local community. One of the participants, May, was aware of the value of speaking Thai to her children, but felt pressure from her surrounding environment which undermined Thai.

“If I speak Japanese only, I might lose the chance to teach other language. But if I keep saying Thai, (they are wondering) what are you talking about. If I speak in English, they might understand some word.” (Nakamura, 2016: 316)

In her study, Nakamura illustrated how language ideology which undervalues languages except for Japanese and English resulted Thai mothers to emphasize Japanese and English for themselves and their children, while some abandoned using Thai to their children.

To explore if this assimilation orientation to multilingualism is also shared among Japanese living abroad, some scholars widened their scope by conducting qualitative case study in Singapore (Kobayashi, 2011a, 2018a), Catalonia (Fukuda, 2018), and China (Kubota, 2015).

Due to its geographical proximity and low cost of living, the popularity of Singapore as a place to study English is increasing among Japanese. Against this backdrop, Kobayashi (2011a, 2018) was curious to find out if Japanese adult students in private English schools at Singapore were interested in learning local language(s) other than English. Garnering data from surveys and interviews, the results gave similar conclusions to those of Kubota & McKay (2009) and Nakamura (2016), in which Japanese students were focused on learning English, but not attentive to languages such as Mandarin Chinese. The study states that one of the causes may be the temporary nature of their stay, which affects their interest in and commitment to the languages of the host country, as most participants did not envision working in Singapore after their study abroad.

This relevance between short-term stay and low interest in languages other than Japanese and English was also noted by Fukuda (2018). Contrary to the research by

Kobayashi who explored Japanese adult students, Fukuda (2018) investigated the language ideologies circulating in the *nihonjingakkō* in Barcelona. Data from this research consisted of interviews with school principals and students' parents, which unpacked how the school was reproducing language ideologies valuing Japanese and English. Even though Spanish was offered in the school, the learning was minimal as the provision amounted to only approximately 1-2 hours of Spanish a week. Furthermore, Catalan was not included in the curriculum. In analyzing the different treatment given to these two languages, Fukuda draws on the concept of 'ideology of authenticity' and 'ideology of anonymity', as the study is based in Barcelona. Fukuda argued that the school and parents generally associated Spanish with an ideology of anonymity, perceiving it as one of the global languages that can be also used in other regions such as Latin America, while Catalan was conceived as language for local community and not for Japanese, and therefore associated with an ideology of authenticity.

Whereas one could conclude that the narrow view of perceiving English as *the* foreign language is generally shared among Japanese inside and outside Japan, Kubota (2015) offered a more nuanced view regarding ideologies of languages besides Japanese and English. In her research on Japanese communities in China, Kubota interviewed Japanese transnational businesspeople regarding their corporate language use. Unlike the participants of Kobayashi (2011a, 2018) and Fukuda (2018), some of them learned Chinese and regularly used the language in the workplace. In addition, the interviews with the workers showed how personal perceptions of language can change over time due to various factors. One participant, Tokio, narrated how he, at first, had no intention of studying Chinese as he disliked Chinese people for failure to keep promises. Yet, as he interacted with respectable Chinese colleagues and realized that having a negative attitude toward its people and language would be harmful for business, he gradually felt the need to learn and use the language. Therefore, treating Japanese as a static and monolithic group of people should be avoided. It is the interplay of various factors (e.g. education, age, gender, length of stay, necessity of language) that leads to each individual's particular reaction to the host society's linguistic situation.

As seen in Kubota's study in China (2015), on a positive note, Japan's waning internal market and increasing involvement with foreigners may bring a sense of urgency for people to seriously study foreign languages aside from English. And increasing economic and cultural ties with neighboring nations, especially China and

South Korea, may galvanize Japan and its people to revamp English-oriented language ideology. Although language ideologies of foreign languages other than English is underexplored, there exists some research evidence (Sergeant, 2009; Hasegawa, 2016) that younger generations tend to be more positive toward other foreign languages than seniors. In the interviews with Japanese university students, Sergeant (2009) discovered that they have a high regard for foreign languages such as Spanish, French, and Chinese. One of his participants, Naoto said,

“I want to be able to speak Chinese. The reason is simply because the Chinese population would be more dominant in business in future.” (Sergeant, 2009: 127)

In addition, through surveys given to Japanese high school students, Hasegawa (2016), although not specifying which languages, revealed that most students would prefer to have more foreign languages in the school curriculum.

However, it should be noted that overcoming the ideology of English as *the* foreign language and one which alienates other foreign languages presents a challenge, precisely because of the historical legacy of Japanese nationalism and the role afforded to language since the late 19th century (Gottlieb, 2012). In a nation which has historically defined itself as homogenous and unique, except for a brief period when Japan asserted itself as an ethnically mixed nation, the learning and embrace of foreign languages in addition to English can be seen as a threat. The historical longevity of this pattern is reported in the studies by Erikawa (2017, 2018) in which he critically analyzed MEXT’s policy documents since the late 19th century. He revealed that the strong English orientation in the education sector was established in early 1870s due to the financial difficulties of sourcing teachers and textbooks for other foreign languages, and to prevent possible conflict between different groups of foreign language teachers. English continued in its dominant position, and according to the report by MEXT in 1933, English accounted for 98.2% of foreign language education in junior high schools⁸. This tendency mirrors the current situation where English enjoys the lion’s share of attention in Japanese foreign language education.

⁸ In detail, English was taught in 540 schools (98.2%), English and Chinese in 5 schools (0.9%), English and German in 3 schools (0.5%), and English and French in 2 schools (0.4%). Even though Chinese and Malay were added as an option for foreign language education in junior high schools in accordance with the Japanese invasion of China and Malaysia, the majority of the schools did not choose these languages (Erikawa, 2017, 2018).

Also, even if the rise of emerging nations such as China allows Japanese to favor multilingualism, it is likely that this multilingualism will be linked to the ideology of anonymity which puts value on languages considered to be global and economically prestigious. Therefore, as indicated in Nakamura's study (2016), languages such as Thai which is associated with the ideology of authenticity, may be continued to be undermined in Japan.

So far, this discussion on the history of languages in Japan has discussed at length how languages in Japan constitute a hierarchical and pyramidal power structure of broadly three layers. Japanese occupies the most powerful position in the society with English in the middle layer of the hierarchy, while other foreign languages are in the lowest rung of the power hierarchy. This conception is fortified by the ideologies of *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* which serve to guide interest toward Europe and North America, often neglecting other countries and Japan's internal diversity while promulgating Japan's nationalism (Kubota, 2002). In the next section I explore how these underpinning ideologies feed into ELT and JLT in Japanese schools.

3.5.3 Language Ideologies in ELT and JLT

In opening this section, I would first like to emphasize that language ideologies manifested in JLT has not been the focus of research in the field of applied linguistics/sociolinguistics, like it has been for ELT (Hashimoto, 2018b). This paucity can be attributed to the fact that in Japan, where multilingualism is not the norm and the Japanese language is seen as 'the only language of Japan', the issues and possible consequences surrounding native-speakerism and monolingual teaching in JLT are not considered to be problems by the majority of academics and educators. Therefore, the following section in which I review the language ideologies demonstrated in ELT and JLT, will mostly consist of literature on ELT.

Various ideologies in relation to ELT in Japan have been well documented (e.g. Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018; Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Houghton, Rivers, & Hashimoto, 2018; Matsuda, 2011) and these scholars often identify two dominant ideologies. The first one is native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006), and another is a monolingual approach to language education (Cook, 2010). By reviewing this literature, I would like to show how these two ideologies are linked with *nihonjinron* and

kokusaika, which are deleterious to language education.

3.5.3.1 Language Ideologies in ELT: Native-speakerism and monolingualism

Native-speakerism is a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology. Holliday (2006: 385)”

This definition of native-speakerism, first advanced by Holliday in 2006, reflects an orientation towards English language education rooted in dichotomous ‘us’ and ‘them’ dynamics in which ‘native speakers’ of English are considered the only legitimate users of language and therefore the best teachers of the language. This construction of the native speaker has been questioned in numerous studies (e.g. Cook, 2016; Holliday, 2006; Llorca, 2016; Medgyes, 1992; Rampton, 1990), since it has had a substantial influence on English pedagogy and the recruitment of teachers. This great interest in native-speakerism is also shared among scholars who conduct research in the Japanese context, and the validity of this ideology, both theoretically and pedagogically, has been examined and critiqued in recent studies (e.g. Butler, 2007; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Oda, 2017). Among these scholars, Damien Rivers (Rivers, 2011b, 2011a, 2011c; 2013, 2018, 2019) is most highly acclaimed and cited in the field of native-speakerism in Japan.

In many regions, the term ‘native speaker’ is widely used in daily life in relation to teachers’ qualifications (Cook, 2016). This is also the case in Japan, and it is common to find references to native speakers in advertisements of private English schools (Bailey, 2006; Seargeant, 2009), policy documents (Hashimoto, 2013b), and various other domains (Butler, 2007; Houghton et al., 2018).

One common feature shared in these discourses is that native speakers of Caucasian extract, are cast as experts and purveyors of American and British cultures (Kubota, 1998; Lummis, 1976; Seargeant, 2009). This practice represents the linkage between nation, language, race, and ethnicity which is highly embraced within the Japanese context. Imagining and desiring these authentic native English speakers neatly captures the current state of English teaching in Japan, where native-speakerism is undergirded by the notion of native English speakers through physical appearance, not their

language and teaching qualifications (Rivers, 2019; Rivers & Ross, 2013). In Japan where whiteness is the symbolic image of modernity and assimilation in the international world (Bailey, 2006), white teachers are preferred by Japanese students (Matsuda, 2003; Rivers & Ross, 2013) regardless of the teachers' nationality and teaching skills. Whiteness is also represented in English textbooks circulating in Japanese junior high schools (Yamada, 2011), while mention of the United States' racial diversity is neglected.

With this understanding, the native speaker teachers can be seen as an entity in possession of some degree of power in Japanese society. Studies portray how native-speaker teachers tend to have easier access to English teaching jobs and higher incomes compared to non-native speaker counterparts (Hashimoto, 2013a; Lummis, 1976; Wang & Lin, 2013). While it is true that non-native speaker teachers can become victims of discrimination, native speakers can be marginalized, especially after they are employed (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011; Rivers, 2019). First, their native speaker position and reverence as linguistic and cultural experts often depends upon strict separation from their Japanese colleagues (Geluso, 2013; Rivers & Ross, 2013), represented by segregated meeting and offices. Secondly, native speaker teachers may be associated with a set of negative stereotypes. They may be viewed a cheerful entertainer and not as a teacher (Lawrence & Nagashima, 2019), and may be treated as a possible object of erotic desire for some students (Rivers, 2019). And lastly, in Japan, where linear linkage between nation, ethnicity, and language is dominant, native speaker teachers' multilingualism can be conceived as a problem, not as a resource. For instance, Siegal (1995) and McVeigh (2006) reported how non-Japanese teachers who were fluent in Japanese were usually seen with bewilderment, since it can cause uneasiness by blurring the line between nationality, language, and ethnicity. This separation and marginalization of native speakers from the rest of Japanese society, which impacts on English-only monolingualism, is common in English education in the Japanese context.

Monolingual teaching, according to Cook (2010), has its roots in the late 19th century. In response to the socioeconomic changes represented by people's easier access to travel and backlash against grammar-translation methods, the assumptions are putting more value to speech than writing, avoidance of explicit grammar instruction, and focus on practical usage. Furthermore, underlying this monolingual pedagogy is the input hypothesis (Krashen, 1982), which argues that the second language is acquired just as the first language, and maximum exposure to the target language yields the best results.

This monolingual assumption is often practiced through communicative language teaching (CLT), as native speaker teachers are regarded as possessing knowledge not just of English but of a CLT approach (Hashimoto, 2013). CLT is pedagogy which emphasizes L2 interaction as the principle learning goal, and which emerged in opposition to the grammar translation method. Advocates of CLT argue that learners acquire language through expression and negotiation of meaning through practical texts for reading and listening, rather than through the study of grammatical rules and translation (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004; Thornbury, 2016). In Japan, the call for a communicative approach was powerful from Japan's business world, who were in need of human capital with competent English and Japanese bilingual skills (Butler & Iino, 2005; Kanno, 2003; Kobayashi, 2012). Furthermore, this reform was also in accordance with the rise in significance of CLT in the wider TESOL environment in the 1980s (Canale & Swain, 1980). In an interview with former MEXT bureaucrats who introduced CLT in late 1980s, Torikai (2014) uncovered how MEXT valued this Euro-American knowledge and literature and how it became highly influential in policymaking (Noda & O' Regan, 2020).

From an ideological perspective, scholars (Auerbach, 1993; Phillipson, 1992) argue that monolingual pedagogies create unequal divisions of power and resource, and can be interpreted as a postcolonial strategy to maintain Euro-American cultural and economic hegemony. For instance, by drawing on English-only pedagogy in the university setting, Rivers (2011c: 106) emphasizes how "the symbolic power assigned to each language places one language (English) in the position of being 'normal' and 'valued' and the other language (Japanese) in the position of being 'abnormal' and 'devalued'; thus, the status quo of a paradoxical system of inequality and exclusion is maintained." Still, these critical arguments generally fall on deaf ears with the Japanese public, as it is deeply ingrained in the established social structures and the consciousness of the general population, including parents and teachers (Kubota, 2018). English monolingualism practiced through CLT is widely desired by most students, and many teachers and parents also believe that English monolingualism is the most efficient method to improve communication skills. Moreover, the criticism of 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992) does not resonate in the Japanese context, as many Japanese have pride in the fact that Japan was one of the few countries that was not colonized, as represented in the *nihonjinron* ideology (Befu, 2001; McVeigh, 2002; Miller, 1982).

Despite the dominant monolingual ideology prevalent in Japan's education sector, studies (Burden, 2000; Klevberg, 2000; McMillan & Rivers, 2011; Noda & O'Regan, 2020) have revealed that both Japanese and non-Japanese teachers use a certain amount of Japanese in their ELT for various reasons. Teachers describe how judicious use of Japanese is beneficial in explaining grammar, translating vocabulary, and building rapport with students. Students also reported that translation was more productive than teaching in English-only, and the use of Japanese in the classroom helped ease stress and anxiety with their classmates and teachers. These studies embody a sense of hope for future change, indicating that use of Japanese is effective, and some teachers demonstrate a certain level of agency in the matter even though they are socially and institutionally pressured to conform to English monolingualism. Although not in the Japanese context, scholars support approaches that are compatible with the multilingual turn in applied linguistics (May, 2013), including the purposeful use of L1 in foreign language classrooms (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009) and translation to develop language awareness (Cook, 2010). However, Klevberg's (2000) study also revealed the teachers' dilemma. While teachers recognized the value of using both languages, they also expressed a sense of guilt for resorting to Japanese and being lazy. This indicates that use of Japanese among teachers may not necessarily be anchored in the educational philosophy of multilingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2013; Marshall, 2020; Oyama, 2016). Further empirical research is needed to establish the advantages of Japanese use over English monolingual learning, so that teachers can confidently employ both languages.

As noted, even though there are numerous reasons for shifting from English monolingualism to additive multilingualism, the growing population diversity in Japan is the most crucial factor to consider when rethinking English monolingualism. Japan has been experiencing major demographic changes over the recent decades (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Tsuneyoshi, 2018b). An increasing number of students with mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds and Japanese returnees will inevitably challenge the often taken-for-granted notion of Japan as a monoethnic, monolingual, and monocultural country (Otomo, 2019). In this changing environment, forcing English-only teaching upon these students can hinder access to and expression of their multilingual repertoire. Therefore, a more inclusive language policy may encourage a more multilingual environment which is more representative of the changing demographic situation. One possible way of doing this is to take advantage of students' and teachers' diverse

linguistic repertoire. In the primary and secondary education setting, this may be realized through the JET Programme. In recent years, nationals from the outer circle have also been eligible to participate as ALTs (Wang & Lin, 2013). For example, statistics from JET Programme (JET, 2019) indicate that as of August 2019, out of a total of 5,234 participants, 111 participants were from Jamaica, 138 from Philippines, 77 from Singapore, 61 from Trinidad and Tobago, and 308 from other outer-circle countries. Even though the number of ALTs from the outer-circle remains comparatively small (about 1.2%), this genuine progress toward more inclusive views may provide increased opportunities for greater exposure to, and to develop increased awareness of, outer-circle varieties of English and other languages.

3.5.3.2 Language Ideologies in JLT: Native speakerism and monolingualism

Despite Japan's rapidly changing student body, Japanese native-speakerism has been overlooked by scholars, Japanese language teachers, and policymakers (Hashimoto, 2018d). This disinterest may already imply that Japanese native-speakerism is deeply filtered into the subconscious of Japanese people, as it is not questioned and critically analyzed. However, this indifference does not mean that Japanese native-speakerism does not exist in Japan. When looking back to the history, although there were Ainu and Okinawan ethnic minorities in Japan, the native languages of these groups were not officially recognized and valued until recently (Heinrich, 2012). In addition, the Japanese government has swept the presence of largely phenotypically invisible Korean and Chinese people and failed to give them equal rights as Japanese citizens under the carpet of *nihonjinron* ideology (Gottlieb, 2012). These steps were taken to construct superficial Japanese monolingualism, which has been assumed in the emphasis on the importance of national language. Furthermore, the ownership of the Japanese language became clear and strong through this exclusive policy.

However, as demand for JLT is increasing abroad, especially in Asia (Hashimoto, 2018a; Hirahata, 2014), studies related to Japanese native-speakerism and monolingualism have started to emerge. These cover the use of Japanese between Japanese native speaker teachers and non-native Japanese speaker teachers in the secondary schools in the United Kingdom (Hobbs, Matsuo, & Payne, 2010), perceptions of Japanese native speaker teachers by Southeast Asian nurses learning Japanese (Kusunoki, 2018), and Japanese native speaker teachers at high schools in Asia (Kadowaki, 2018). However, these studies focus on Japanese as a foreign language

settings, and Japanese native speakerism and monolingualism in Japanese primary and secondary schools have yet to make it onto the radar of scholars interested in such matters.

So far, I have discussed the fact that while the ideology of the native speakerism and monolingualism remains highly controversial both practically and theoretically, it remains central to the daily discourse within Japan. Given these findings, it is possible to argue that native-speakerism and monolingualism create barriers to block the attainment of English skills by Japanese people. As indicated by Kobayashi (2011b), “the modern Japanese education context, which appears to be heading in the direction of globalisation and multiculturalism, never fails to offer conditions that foster Japanese youth’s sense of Japanese-ness, which is mediated by their identification as failed English learners” (p. 10). This exclusiveness can also be witnessed in the way that Japanese society has marginalized ethnic and linguistic minority groups, helping to solidify the coherence between language and ethnicity. Therefore, “native speakerism can relate as much to Japanese-ness and ownership of the Japanese language and culture as it can to the ownership of English and the nature of the idealized native speaker of such” (Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015: 38). Yet, as discussed, growing internal diversity may erode the myth of homogenous Japanese-ness, and the comfortable division between monoethnic Japanese ‘us’ and Anglo-American, white ‘them’. This change will be beneficial for embracing multilingualism and fostering intercultural communication, but it will presumably be at a glacial pace.

Before presenting the summary of the literature I have reviewed so far and indicating the limitations and contributions my research can provide, I give a sketch of the dominant language ideologies operating within Belgium and Brussels. Contrary to the previous sections, the aim of this part of the discussion is not to present an extensive account of language ideologies of Belgium, but to offer some contextual background to pave the way for the empirical investigations I present in the forthcoming chapters.

3.6 Language Ideologies in Belgium and Brussels

Belgium has often been perceived as an ideal of a multilingual nation as it provides equal rights to the three official languages of Flemish, French, and German (Blommaert, 2011; Vogl & Hüning, 2010). In this section, however, I show that the situation is much more complex by highlighting the longstanding linguistic conflict between Flemish and

French speakers⁹. In addition, I discuss how this linguistic conflict is linked with the rising presence of English, marginalization of minority languages, and monolingual approaches to language education.

To understand the linguistic tension between Flemish and French speakers, some historical background should be discussed. In the early 19th century when Belgium became an independent nation, the economic and political power was dominated by the French-speaking elites even though Flemish was the most spoken primary language (van der Jeught, 2016). This dominance of French was due to the socioeconomic wealth brought by the abundant amount of natural resources, such as coal and iron in the French speaking region of Wallonia, and the status of French as the prestigious language in Europe (Ceuleers, 2008; Vogl & Hüning, 2010). Against this backdrop, Frenchisation of Flemish speakers accelerated, which people in Flanders viewed as linguistic repression (de Keere & Elchardus, 2011). As a result, Flemish speakers demanded recognition of the Flemish language which eventually led to the establishment of a linguistic border between Flemish-speaking Flanders and French-speaking Wallonia in 1963 (O'Donnell & Toebosch, 2008). Both regions operate under the principle of 'territorial monolingualism' (Vogl & Hüning, 2010), and the two linguistic communities have been at odds with each other. Similarly, both groups have been unenthusiastic to study each other's official language as it has been seen as a threat of linguistic assimilation (Hambye & Richards, 2012). This was particularly evident for French-speaking people who were in a dominant position and did not deem Flemish learning as important (Ceuleers, 2008). Unlike the two monolingual regions of Flanders and Wallonia, Brussels has officially been bilingual Flemish and French since 1963 (Ceuleers, 2008; O'Donnell & Toebosch, 2008). Although not as intense as Flanders and Wallonia, a linguistic divide between the two communities also exists in the capital city, where the majority are Francophone (de Keere & Elchardus, 2011).

From the 1950s, Wallonia's major industries of coalmining and steel production experienced sharp decline as the region depleted its natural resources (Ceuleers, 2008; Vogl & Hüning, 2010). In contrast, Flanders overtook Wallonia as the economic center due to the development of high value-added production system and service industries (Ceuleers, 2008; Goethals, 1997). Consequently, the importance of Flemish has

⁹ Although Belgium also has a German-speaking community, due to its small population and territory, German language has no influence on the linguistic conflict between the two main linguistic groups (de Keere & Elchardus, 2011).

increased and being competent in Flemish and French has become a necessity for better employment opportunities (Hambye & Richards, 2012). Yet, this economic shift did not pacify the deep-rooted linguistic conflict (de Keere & Elchardus, 2011). Under these circumstances, English became the preferred second language for both groups, since it is perceived as a neutral language which is also beneficial for increasing salability in the global labour market (Blommaert, 2011; Hambye & Richards, 2012; O'Donnell & Toebosch, 2008). Though rising interest in Flemish and English is a nationwide trend, it is especially prominent in Brussels because of the presence of multinational corporations and international organizations (O'Donnell & Toebosch, 2008; Vandenbroucke, 2015).

As can be seen, while language is an integral part of identity for both Flemish and French speaking communities, investment in multilingual education is often driven by instrumental motivations. In this regard, studies (Blommaert, 2011; Hambye & Richards, 2012) report that the languages of Belgium's ethnic minority communities and non-standardized varieties of Belgium's official languages are not viewed as a resource in educational settings, and thus people are not encouraged to learn them. In connection with this point, languages are also taught separately in schools and mixing of languages is prohibited as a practice that harms language purity (Goethals, 1997; Hambye & Richards, 2012).

In this section, by outlining the language ideological issues in Belgium and Brussels, I portrayed that multilingualism in this federal nation is not as harmonious as imagined. The following section gives a summary of the literature on language ideologies in the Japanese context and indicates the limitations and contributions my research can provide.

3.7 Limitation and Contribution

Having reviewed the literatures related to language ideologies in the Japanese context, several common trends and features can be identified. As shown in the following table, previous studies conducted on language ideologies in the Japanese context suggest: 1) it has largely been focused on Japanese and English, 2) the study of JLT ideology is less well developed compared to that of ELT, 3) there is a paucity of ethnographic-oriented research compared to the substantial body of secondary research, and 4) the majority of the empirical research has been carried out in university and

private language schools attended by adults. Therefore, my ethnographic-oriented research set in the *nihonjingakkō* in multilingual Belgium can help fill in these gaps.

Table 3.1: Summary of Previous Studies on Language Ideologies in Japan

Languages	Themes	Method	Research Setting & Participants	Quantity
Japanese	Its birth and infusion with nationalism	Mostly historical investigation & textual analysis of policy documents		Large
	JLT	Mostly ethnographic using interviews and fieldwork	1. Outside Japan 2. JFL learners	Limited
English	Contact and its prestige	Both historical, textual and ethnographic-oriented	1. Inside Japan	Large
	In relation to other foreign languages	Mostly ethnographic using interviews and fieldwork	1. Local Community 2. Study Abroad Students	Limited
	ELT (native-speakerism and monolingualism)	Both textual and ethnographic	1. Public education system from primary to higher education 2. Eikaiwa schools	Large

Furthermore, as touched upon earlier, language ideologies in the *nihonjingakkō* is an under-researched field. Although recently, Fukuda (2018) documented and unpacked

language ideologies manifested in *nihonjingakkō* in Barcelona, the data is mainly from interviews with parents, the principal, and vice-principal of the school. Hence, my research in which participants are language teachers and the principal, with data coming from various sources (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, classroom observation) to add depth to the research on language ideologies in the *nihonjingakkō*.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have first constructed my perception of and approach to ideology, discourse, and power by drawing on the studies of Marx (Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970) and Foucault (Foucault, 1978, 1980, 1991). Moving from this definition, I have discussed the term language ideology with reference to the works of scholars (Blommaert, 1999; Kroskrity, 2001; Schieffelin et al., 1998), in particular Woolard and her concepts of ‘ideology of authenticity’ and ‘ideology of autonomy’ (Woolard, 2016). By reviewing the literature on language ideologies in Japan, I have addressed the fact that 1) the Japanese language continues to be the sole national language even as Japan is becoming linguistically and ethnically diverse (Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Tsuneyoshi, 2018a), and that the language is imbued with *nihonjinron* ideology which asserts the superiority and specialty of the Japanese people and language (Kubota, 1998, 2002; Kubota & McKay, 2009), 2) English has generally been embraced as the dominant foreign language (Seargeant, 2011; Yamada, 2015), and one which marginalizes other foreign languages (Fukuda, 2018; Nakamura, 2016), and 3) native-speakerism and monolingual teaching is deeply rooted in language education and can convince Japanese of their separateness from non-Japanese and protect Japanese linguistic identity (Kobayashi, 2011b; McVeigh, 2006; Rivers, 2012). Furthermore, by giving a brief account of the dominant language ideologies circulating in Belgium and Brussels, I attempted to demonstrate how monolingual and homogenous ideologies are also prevalent in a country which is widely viewed as a role model of multilingual nation (Blommaert, 2011; Vogl & Hüning, 2010). Finally, I argued that previous research has generally overlooked the language ideologies in Japanese primary/secondary schools and *nihonjingakkō*, and further research is needed to investigate how the dominant ideologies are being reproduced or not in these schools.

Based upon this understanding, in the following chapter, I would like to discuss the methodological aspects of this research and how these can help to analyze and unpack the language ideologies circulating in the context of a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having set out the context and the theoretical framework for this research, I now discuss the research methodology used in examining the issues related to language ideologies in the context of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. In order to answer the research questions, I posed in Chapter 1, I had to consider the ‘fitness for purpose’ of my research, as this informs the research paradigm, methodological approach, instruments to collect data, and data analysis.

The first part of this chapter starts with a discussion of the research paradigm and how it determines the researcher’s approach to the empirical study. This is then followed by an outline of the methodological approach underpinning my research strategy, which is an ethnographic-oriented case study. I will also discuss some methodological issues that arose in the course of the research, including how the pilot study helped me develop the research design for my main study. Following this, I proceed to describe the data collection design, providing information on participants, data collection instruments, and analysis of data.

4.2 Research Paradigm

A research paradigm is essentially a worldview, or set of assumptions of how research should be conducted and the way the researcher engages with the research setting (Phakiti & Paltridge, 2015). Deciding which research paradigm to subscribe to can be one of the most daunting tasks for researchers, as it can impact upon research strategy, instruments to collect data, data analysis, and research findings (Cohen et al., 2011b; Dornyei, 2007). In selecting which research paradigm to adopt, I first recalled the time when I entered the doctoral programme. As touched upon at the start of this thesis, my research topic of ‘a Japanese overseas school’ is embedded in my life. As a former returnee who studied at Japanese complementary school, being a returnee is an invaluable part of my identity. In line with my strong attachment to the research topic, I found it impossible to detach myself from the research setting.

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3, I have found Foucault’s works (1979, 80) to be influential not only for my understanding of ideology, but also in framing the position

of my study. Poststructuralism has many different interpretations (Belsey, 2002; Sarup, 1993), and definitions are contested and not fixed. Therefore, to focus on features which are relevant in conducting my empirical study, I take a selective interpretation. Poststructuralism can be viewed as an opposition to structural-functionalism, such as Marxism (Marx, 1977; Marx & Engels, 1970), which perceives that individuals are largely determined by given, structural features of society (e.g. social class, economic wealth, role in society). However, poststructuralists argue that individuals have agency, and individuals are not simply a blank sheet of paper or puppets. People are different, diverse, carry contradictions and resist. Thus, there is no single and objective reality, but many layers of realities are inherent in the research phenomenon. An important task of the researcher is to examine and “understand how meaning and knowledge are produced, legitimized, and used” (Cohen et al., 2011: 28).

Based on these understandings, I decided not to take the positivist position which holds the assumption that reality can be understood objectively and researchers should distance themselves as far as possible from the research setting “so that they can determine an accurate correspondence between their observations and reality” (Phakiti & Paltridge, 2015: 18). Instead, I take the position that realities are unavoidably subjective, multiple, and dependent on the research context and researcher. Understanding the participants’ interpretations of the phenomenon has to come from inside and not the outside. Therefore, I do not see my involvement with the research setting as a hindrance, but as Cameron (1992) argues, “as one element in the human interactions that comprise our object of study” (p. 5).

Having decided against a positivist position, there are various research paradigms or ‘isms’ embraced by anti-positivist viewpoints – postpositivism, constructivism, critical paradigms, and the social network paradigm to name a few (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). To avoid becoming embroiled in these wide-ranging paradigm discussions, and following the example of Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011b), I adopted the ‘interpretive paradigm’ which tends to be anti-positivist. One of the distinguishing features of the interpretive paradigm is interpreting reality through a sense-making instead of hypothesis testing process. Within this paradigm, it is neither achievable nor desirable for researchers to be neutral and detached from the researched. Reality is socially co-constructed with the researched, and thus, building a trusted relationship with the research subject is necessary to understand the subjective world of human experience.

In subscribing to an interpretive paradigm, in my view, researchers' moral concerns need to be considered when evaluating interpretive findings. Therefore, following Cameron et al (1992), I also take an 'advocacy position' to give voice to the principal and language teachers of the school in Belgium. Given that literature on Japanese overseas schools has concentrated on Anglophone regions, their voices can provide perspectives which have been largely unnoticed. Indeed, I sought to draw implications from my participants' voices to suggest proposals for language education policies and practices in the context of Japan. Up to now, I have discussed my research paradigm and in the following section, I turn to my research positionality which also shaped my study.

4.3 Research Positionality

Inspired by works such as McKinley (2017) and Subedi (2006), I define research positionality as where one stands in relation to the research site and participants, which inevitably influences every aspect of the research including research design, data collection design, and data analysis. This is particularly evident in my research, which adopted an ethnographic-oriented case study approach, since my values, perceptions, status, relationships with the participants, and other matters affected the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Furthermore, I perceive positionality as a fluid entity which changes in the course of study, and should be seen as "more of process, rather than a place" (McKinley, 2019: 5). To highlight this aspect, in this section, I reflect on my own research positionality and briefly narrate how my understanding of research positionality developed through interactions with the participants. By doing so, I also address my reflexivity, a concept and process of acknowledging and exposing one's own self in the research, and being aware of how the researcher's presence affected the research (Cohen et al., 2011b).

From the initial stage of my study where I was designing and searching for potential research site, I was conscious of my multiple positioning (e.g. student, former Japanese returnee, researcher) which allowed me to not simply identify myself as an insider or outsider, but also as a 'halfie' (Subedi, 2006). For instance, although I am a former Japanese returnee and share the racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds as Japanese participants, I was not educated at a *nihonjingakkō* in a non-Anglophone setting, which could make participants view me as an outsider. Consequently, in designing the early phase of my research, my top priority was to establish rapport with my participants. This was especially the case for building a trusted relationship with the local language

teachers, with whom I was more of an outsider with few points in common. At this stage, my conception of research positionality was confined to the researcher and did not extend much to the participants. However, as I conducted the fieldworks, I soon came to realize how “the participants would re-position me and assign identities” (Miyahara, 2019: 60), and how these also impacted upon my research.

Thanks to my competency of Japanese language and shared cultural backgrounds, establishing a rapport with the Japanese participants went more smoothly than I anticipated. This also applied to two of the local language teachers of French (Louise and Elena) who were fluent in Japanese and familiar with Japan (please see Chapter 4.7 for details), which was an unforeseeable treat for me that was beneficial in building credibility. Nonetheless, the teachers positioned me as having high academic status through my affiliations with a prestigious university in the United Kingdom, which constrained our interactions in ways I had not imagined before carrying out the fieldwork. To give an example, during the interviews I conducted in my first fieldwork, interviewees were often hesitant of conveying their perceptions of language since they ascribed me the identity of an intellectual elite. Utterances such as ‘You already know this because you are an expert’ was repeatedly said by the participants. To overcome this problem, in the middle of the interview, I decided to be more open about myself and explained that I have limited knowledge of Belgium and the *nihonjingakkō* context. This practice seemed to be very effective at breaking down barriers and encouraging the participants to see me as a legitimate researcher as they became more relaxed and willing to share their thoughts. Sharing my story as a former Japanese returnee and my position as an advocate of multilingualism in the interviews also helped stir interest from my participants, bringing rich discussion about language ideologies.

In sum, until I stepped into the research site, I was not aware of the shifting nature of research positionality and the ways in which this is discursively constructed with the participants (McKinley, 2019; Miyahara, 2019; Subedi, 2006). While sharing my life history allowed participants to position me as an insider on some aspects, this did not completely change my outsider status. This is well represented in how the school principal positioned me on an unequal footing, and my access to Japanese language teachers was severely limited by the school principal. Since I was not a member of the school community and had no personal network with Japanese language teachers, I had to entrust the school principal with the arrangements of interviews and classroom observations. This power structure eventually led to the denial of my school entry after the second fieldwork,

which brought about methodological changes to my study. Before going into the detailed explanation of this issue, I proceed to the discussion on how I designed my study based on my research paradigm and research positionality.

4.4 Research Design: An ethnographic-oriented case study

4.4.1 Qualitative Approach

In designing my research investigating the language ideologies of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, I started with questions and curiosities. In relation to my upbringing as a returnee, I wanted to know what language perceptions teachers of *nihonjingakkō* or *hoshukō* in a non-Anglophone region have and how these are shaped. The task of examining the experience of teachers called for qualitative research which seeks to make sense of a social phenomenon as it occurs in natural settings such as language classrooms (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Flick, 2004). Reflecting on my interpretive paradigm, I had no intention of controlling the object of my research. Instead, I aimed to allow myself to be involved in constructing meanings and interpretations of what I observed and my interactions in the research field. Therefore, I elected to employ multiple, interpretive methods such as interviews and classroom observations in helping understand a social phenomenon which is unique and bounded to the context in which it happens (Creswell, 1998; Dornyei, 2007). Furthermore, qualitative research is cyclical, flexible, and open to change and I can respond to new findings or openings which will likely emerge during the process of the research (Nunan, 1992). This is different from quantitative research which mainly follows a linear and mechanical process such as hypothesizing and measuring (Chapelle & Duff, 2003).

4.4.2 Case Study

Within the different qualitative research approaches, I identified case study, as defined and suggested by Yin (2014), as a preferred method to answer my research questions, all of which require an extensive and in-depth description of a social phenomenon. Case studies can provide rich details about the school and its participants (Merriam, 1998), and describe the “complex dynamic, and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance” (Cohen et al., 2011b; 289). In adopting a case study approach, I had to be clear about what constitutes the case (Casanave, 2015; Yin, 2014), and sets boundaries to the case. ‘*Nihonjingakkō* in a

non-Anglophone country' was selected on the basis of my interest grounded in my experience as a former returnee. In addition, in the literature review on Japanese overseas schools (see Chapter 1 and 2), there is a paucity of research on Japanese overseas school in a non-Anglophone setting. There are various types of case study (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014), and for the purpose of this research, I chose the notion of an intrinsic case study (Stake, 1995, 2005), since the particular case itself was the primary interest. Additionally, I decided to enhance the insights from the single case of *nihonjingakkō* in a non-Anglophone nation and as part of a single-case embedded design (Yin, 2014). From the outset, I planned to have five 'subunits' (Yin, 2014): the school's principal, Japanese teachers of Japanese, Japanese teachers of English, non-Japanese teachers of English, and French language teachers. By having these units of analysis, I anticipated that it would help me to examine how language ideologies are interplayed and interwoven at multiple levels. Since my aim was to understand and interpret the experience of the participants from their perspective by being at the research site, I decided to include ethnographic features as part of the case study.

4.4.3 Ethnographic orientation

Having its roots in anthropology, ethnography is one of the major approaches used to study language practices within natural settings (Dornyei, 2007; Starfield, 2015). The key characteristics of ethnography include prolonged engagement by the researcher in the research setting, use of multiple data sources such as observations and interviews, and co-construction with participants by sharing and teasing out the meanings which were exposed during the course of ethnography (Davis, 1995; Harklau, 2005). Therefore, ethnography can generate thick description from multiple perspectives even though it is often laborious and time-consuming. Moreover, as argued by Chapelle and Duff (2003), ethnography can add "texture, depth, and multiple insights to an analysis and enhance the validity or credibility of the results" (p. 165). In conducting ethnography, researchers should avoid preconceived notions as much as possible. Rather than testing preconceptions and theories, ideas are developed inductively from observation and interaction with the research participants (Davis, 1995; Harklau, 2005).

After gaining access to conduct research at *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, I began designing my case study. Drawing on the principle of ethnography as interpretive research aimed at describing and analyzing complexity, I first studied the possible contexts (e.g. language profile of Belgium, *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium) which I would observe during

my fieldwork to help “expand the range of recognisable things – not everything will be totally strange and unexpected – and lower the risk of asking the wrong questions and behaving totally out of order” (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 19). These were done mainly from reading relevant literature and accessing the school websites. During this process, I decided that to conduct a fully-fledged ethnographic study in Belgium would prove to be too challenging. As I was residing in London, there were practical constraints such as geographical distance and high travel and accommodation expenses. Given these constraints, I developed an ethnographically oriented case study. Although I chose interview as my major source of data (the reason will be given in the next section), I also considered other sources, namely classroom observations and analysis of policy documents.

4.4.4 Narrative orientation

Drawing upon my understanding of social realities (e.g. values, beliefs, cultures) as multiple and co-constructed, I was also influenced by narrative research, a qualitative investigation which is grounded in the notion that people live and tell stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002; Riessman, 2008). Narrative research pays a particular attention to how participants experience their lives in a narrative form, and researchers are interested in what connections participants make between separate events and what they express in their storytelling (Andrews et al., 2013). One of the defining features of narrative research is that it is interpretive in nature (Josselson, 2007; Riessman, 1993). I view narration as a collaborative production between the participants and the researcher, and “the extent of the co-construction does vary depending on the nature of the data, the purpose for which it was gathered, and context in which it was collected” (Barkhuizen, 2015: 174). To put it differently, participants would have told a different narrative to others, since narrative occurs in particular space and time with specific people (Pavlenko, 2002). Narrative research also allows researchers to give voices to participants who might otherwise not have been known (Barkhuizen, 2015; Simon-Maeda, 2004), and their thoughts and interests can be accounted for in policies and practices.

Although narrative research involves various methods including collection of participants’ biographical records such as diaries, portraits, and blogs (Bell & Bell, 2012; Davis, 2013), in this study, I draw on Clandinin & Connelly (2000), Elliott (2005) and Riessman (2008), by electing narrative oriented interviews as my primary method of data collection. By carrying out narrative oriented interviews which draw on participants’ life

history, I hoped to access rich sources of data that would prove beneficial in understanding the complex picture of the participants' language learning and teaching experiences throughout their lives. Having discussed my research design, in the following section, I provide a brief overview of the pilot study which helped me design the main study.

4.5 Pilot Study

This section summarizes the pilot study which I carried out from November 2014 to January 2015 in Japan. The section describes how I came to conduct the pilot study, its purpose and design, information about participants, and learning outcomes focusing on methodological aspects.

To conduct my ethnographic-oriented case study in which narrative-oriented interview was the primary source of gathering data, I had to gain access to key people in the school. Although I am a former returnee who received education at *hoshukō* in the United States, I had no prior relationship with the *hoshukō* in the United Kingdom. The school's denial of permission to conduct research there was the first major obstacle I encountered. When I reflect now, I was overly optimistic, without any alternative plan if I failed to carry out the study in my intended research site. Unlike the 'insider researcher' (Robson, 2002) who has built a trusted relationship with their people and has a first-hand understanding of the local culture by being immersed in the research field, the negotiation of entry into the research site was daunting. After discussion with my supervisor, colleagues, and family, I decided to consult with the former principal of the *hoshukō* in the United States where I graduated¹⁰. The former principal replied to me that he knows a former teacher of *nihonjingakkō* who is noted in the world of Japanese overseas education and might be able to act as a gatekeeper in providing access to schools. To take this opportunity, I decided to carry out a pilot study interviewing these two people. Fortunately, they accepted my request for several interviews. Before conducting the interviews, I agreed with the participants that Japanese would be used. Although both participants are multilingual (please see table 4.1), we decided that the Japanese language would best facilitate the conveyance of perceptions and experiences related to language. In what follows, I outline the general background of the participants including their postings and linguistic repertoire. Participants are referred to below using pseudonyms which they

¹⁰ At the time, I had hoped that with his connections, it would be possible to carry out an ethnographic-oriented study at the *hoshukō* I had attended as a child. However, I decided that it was more constructive to first conduct a pilot study, and then consider other research plans.

requested.

The first participant in the pilot study was Ikuo, a former principal who was sent to *hoshukō* in the United States and which I attended as a student. The principal was accompanied by his family, and the children were educated at *hoshukō*. My family and the principal's family became friends and have kept in touch ever since. After living in the United States for several years, the principal and his family returned to Japan.

The second participant for the pilot was Sazanami, a physical education teacher who had spent three years in a *nihonjingakkō* in Brazil. After retiring as a schoolteacher, at the time of the pilot study, Sazanami was the Head of the International Education Association¹¹, an educational group formed by former and current teachers of *hoshukō* and *nihonjingakkō*. Sazanami frequently traveled around the globe to give lectures and workshops to teachers of *hoshukō* and *nihonjingakkō*.

Table 4.1: A Brief Profile of the Participants in the Pilot Study

Name of the Participant	Former Occupation	Postings	Linguistic Repertoire	Age
<u>Ikuo</u>	Principal of Hoshuko	United States	Japanese and English	60s
<u>Sazanami</u>	Physical Education Teacher of Nihonjingakko	Brazil	Japanese, English, and Portuguese	60s

The main purpose for conducting a pilot study was to establish 'interpersonal trust' (Lee, 1993: 123) with the participants, especially with Sazanami. However, I also wanted to know whether or not the issues of language ideologies would spark interest. I also hoped to put my Japanese interviewing skills to the test and find ways to improve them. Fortunately, my first interview was with Ikuo, with whom I had already established a relationship of mutual trust, and I was able to try out my Japanese interviewing skills in a relaxed setting before the interviews with Sazanami. Since the research context was individuals who had no relationship with the *nihonjingakkō* I intended to study, I treated

¹¹ The International Education Association is a pseudonym.

this pilot study as a case in itself and not as one to embed in my main study.

The primary method for collecting data was via a series of semi-structured, narrative oriented interviews over a period of three months. Semi-structured interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002), unlike structured interviews which have strict set of questions, can allow unexpected themes to emerge during the interviews. Yet, to maintain a certain degree of control, I composed a general interview guide.

Table 4.2 Topics covered in the interviews

1. First interview	1) Biographical information (e.g. place of birth, educational background, experience of living abroad, language profile) 2) Experiences of Japanese overseas school (e.g. role at the school, years working)
2. Second interview	1) Language learning experience 2) Asking about details brought up in the first interview
3. Final interview	1) Language education in <i>nihonjingakkō</i> and <i>hoshukō</i> 2) Asking about details brought up in the second interview

I adopted the model of Seidman (2013), who carried out three 45 minutes to an hour interviews over a period of several weeks. These interviews focused on life history to understand a participant’s experience in context, details of lived experiences within the context under study, and the participant’s reflection on their experiences and their meaning. I also wrote a summary for each interview and shared it with the participants, which afforded further insights into participants’ stories.

Overall, the pilot study was very fruitful as the narrative-oriented, semi-structured interviews were effective in eliciting life histories from the participants. Yet, the pilot study also provided me with useful lessons. First, even though I intended to carry out three rounds of interviews, this proved to be too optimistic as both participants were occupied with jobs and personal matters during the three months I was in Japan. Therefore, I had to reduce the number of interviews and questions.

Table 4.3: An Overview of the Interviews

Participant	Number of Interviews	Time
<u>Ikuo</u>	1	47 minutes
<u>Sazanami</u>	2	1 hour (1 st Interview) 2 hours and 13 minutes (2 nd Interview)

This experience reminded me once again of the importance of using multiple data sources (e.g. questionnaire, observations, documents). Relying on a single instrument for collecting data can be precarious, as it may not produce sufficient and trustworthy data for the main study. Another lesson I learned was to be careful in using comprehensible words in the interviews. For example, in some cases, I carelessly used academic terms such as ‘language ideology’ which puzzled my participants. And lastly, I realized that for participants, giving accounts of their language learning meant having to recall at least several decades. This recalling was not straightforward, and the process was at times complicated and lengthy. On the basis of this experience, I decided to distribute a questionnaire prior to the first interview of the main study. I assumed that sending the questionnaire at the outset of the research would help the participants to trigger their memories and have time to construct their stories.

Nevertheless, in the interviews, both Ikuo and Sazanami showed interest and seemed to feel freer to talk about the topics regarding language ideologies. In particular, Sazanami provided rich accounts of his experience of learning Portuguese in Brazil and problematized the situation in which languages other than Japanese and English are not generally taught in *nihonjingu*. He responded positively to my plan to research *nihonjingu /hoshukō* in a non-Anglophone setting. And in the final phase of the pilot study, he informed me that he was willing to undertake the role of a mediator between me and the school.

Having built a rapport with Sazanami, which was instrumental in helping me negotiate access to the research site, my next step was to choose which school to conduct the main study at. Given that there are a considerable number of schools in non-Anglophone areas, the selection process was challenging. First, I considered the logistical difficulties such as time and travel costs between London and the research site. This excluded the option of carrying out research at *hoshukō*, which usually operates only on Saturdays. Secondly, in order to secure a sufficient number of participants, I had to choose schools with large populations of students and teachers. These criteria allowed me to narrow down the

potential research site to 3 *nihonjingakkō* in Europe. And finally, the work of Pang (2009) was another driving force in choosing the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

Pang (2009), in her in-depth qualitative research on Japanese families in Belgium, also visited *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, considering it a potentially interesting site for research. However, after her brief fieldwork, she did not include the *nihonjingakkō* in her research agenda, for the following reason.

“I was not interested in reporting how close-knit the Japanese are, how they segregate themselves from others, in short stressing their unwillingness to ‘integrate’ in the host society and their insistence on the own ethnonational identity.” (Pang, 2009: 189-190)

Therefore, in her longitudinal research spanning six years (1990-6), Pang mainly conducted research in an English-medium international school in Belgium, and a school in Japan where returnees entered. She perceived Japanese in those schools were more intercultural and willing to widen their social network. Have Japanese in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium changed since Pang’s study? If so, what implications does this have for *nihonjingakkō* and its people? To seek answers to these questions was one of the reasons for choosing this school as my research site. With the help from Sazanami, who served as a bridge between me and the school, I gained access to the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium in spring 2015.

Thus far, I have discussed how the pilot study played a role in gaining access to the school, developing my interview skills, refining my research collection methods, and the design of my main study. In the next section, I describe the research setting to help contextualize the data findings which follow in later chapters.

4.6 The Research Context: *Nihonjingakkō* in Belgium

In this section, I provide a brief account of the research context at four levels: Japanese in Belgium, *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium and their people, and the curriculum of the school.

4.6.1 Japanese in Belgium

In the era of Japan’s modernization from late 19th to early 20th century, Belgium was

selected as one of the most appropriate role models for modernization. The very first Japanese visitors to Belgium were a group of government officials, who were keen to learn Euro-American knowledge and develop ties with Europe and the United States (Conte-Helm, 1996). However, Japanese migration and sojourns to Belgium only began in the 1950s, reflecting Japan's rapidly expanding economy and increasing international presence (Pang, 2009). Attracted by the well-established transportation networks and English functioning as a lingua franca in the region, Japan's investment concentrated in the Flemish area. Advancement of Japanese companies were welcomed by Belgians, for creating jobs and adding another layer of diversity to an already multilingual, multicultural nation (Conte-Helm, 1996; Pang, 2009).

As of 2013, there were 5,713 Japanese in Belgium, with more than half living in Brussels (Embassy of Japan in Belgium, 2013). This is the fourth largest Japanese community in Europe, after London, Paris, and Dusseldorf (Conte-Helm, 1996). Similar to the Japanese community in London, described in detail by Block (2006) and Yamada-Yamamoto (1998), the largest group of Japanese nationals in Belgium are private company employees and their accompanying families. In addition, Belgium being an administrative center of international organizations such as the European Union attracts government officials. The tendency for Japanese overseas workers to be male, reported by previous research on Japanese migrants in the United Kingdom (Block, 2006; Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards, 1998) and the United States (Kano, 2013; White, 1988), is also the case in Belgium. Caution is necessary when analyzing this census data since it excludes Japanese who have not submitted residence records to the Embassy of Japan. Although strongly recommended, overseas Japanese are not penalized for failing to submit these.

Table 4.4: Japanese people in Belgium as of October 2013

Source: Embassy of Japan in Belgium (2013)

Position	Employed		Family		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Private company staff	1,162	156	526	1,236	1,688	1,392	3,096
Journalists	7	0	0	9	7	9	16
Self employed	91	88	76	115	167	203	370

Students, researchers, and teachers	99	136	22	47	121	183	304
Government workers	73	23	40	84	113	107	220
Others	42	515	345	331	387	846	1,233
Subtotal	1,474	918	1,009	1,822	2,483	2,740	5,223
Permanent Residents					125	365	490
Total					2,608	3,105	5,713

As in reported by Pang (2009) and Conte-Helm (1996), Japanese in Belgium come from the middle and upper classes, from highly educated backgrounds and a wealth of social capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The Japanese community in Belgium is strong and intimate, reflected by the establishment of Belgium *Nihonjinkai*, or the Japanese Club. Since its foundation in 1966 in response to the increasing number of Japanese in Belgium, the Japanese Club has supported Japanese residents in all aspects of living in the country, and providing access to Japanese culture and contacts with Belgian people (Conte-Helm, 1996).

4.6.2 The *nihonjingakkō* research site

Sazanami enabled me to gain access to a *nihonjingakkō* located in a suburban area of Brussels. Compared to the commotion of the city filled with workers and tourists, every time I visited the school, I felt that the tranquil environment and its fresh air was a perfect place for school education. I was surprised when I entered the spacious campus to discover a two-story building, athletic field, an indoor gymnasium, a library room, a music room, and a medical room. On Saturdays, this well-equipped facility was used by students and teachers of *hoshukō*¹². The school was established by the Japanese Club and is one of the oldest and largest *nihonjingakkō* in Europe. Although some members of the Japanese Club serve as a school committee, their role is in the management of the school, and not in teaching and curriculum development (personal communication with the school principal).

The school has an official policy of celebrating multilingualism and multiculturalism,

¹² During my first visit to the school, I had a chance to speak with the principal of the *hoshukō*. As I predicted, because the school only opens on Saturdays, the principal informed me that he would have denied access if I had asked to undertake research at the *hoshukō* in Belgium.

and this is pursued by organizing field trips to local museums and class exchange visits with Belgian schools. However, the school also serves as “a microcosm of the Japanese community” (Pang, 2009: 189) in Belgium, where students, teachers, and parents interact. Many traditional Japanese festivals are held to nurture and maintain the Japanese-ness of the students. The school is active in internet media and has its own school homepage with frequent updates on teachers’ profile, school events, and a monthly school newsletter with students’ pictures and drawings.

4.6.3 Students and Teachers

The school had roughly 300 pupils between ages of 5 to 15, and the majority of the students and their families lived close to the school. Except for English and French language classes, students mainly used Japanese. Yet, some students, due to their migrant lifestyle, have acquired a proficient level in foreign languages (mainly English) before enrolling at the school. After school, some students devote themselves to extracurricular activities such as brass bands or join local sports clubs. Students’ parents are fixed-term sojourners working in Japanese and multinational companies and government agencies. Therefore, students mostly return to Japan, or move to other countries within 2-3 years. This life trajectory pattern inevitably impacts upon the child’s educational and language choices made by parents.

To provide education for the large number of students, there were 26 teachers in the school. Most were sent by the government of Japan, but some teachers were hired locally. The dispatched Japanese teachers come from various prefectures of Japan, and this diversity offered an enriching learning experience to teachers. The school has a tradition of Japanese teachers conducting action research and presenting their findings to the school website, and teacher workshops or academic conferences after they return to Japan. This may be one of the factors why the school was willing to open the doors to an outside researcher like me.

4.6.4 Curriculum

As mentioned previously, the role of *nihonjingakkō* is to offer a Japanese education equivalent to that of Japan to facilitate eventual re-entry to Japan. Thus, despite the fact the school is located outside Japan it is in compliance with MEXT policy. With its luxurious facilities and equipment, the school is able to offer courses in mathematics,

science, history, physical education, calligraphy, art, music, and home economics. Japanese is mandatory from primary 1 to junior high 3, and English is taught from primary 5. However, the school has its own language courses, which are English and French conversation courses taught by non-Japanese language teachers who are hired locally.

Table 4.5: General Overview of Language Courses as of 2014

Source: School Handbook

Years	Japanese	English	French
Primary 1 to 2	7hrs/week	1.6hrs/week	2.5hrs/week
Primary 3 to 4	5.3hrs/week	2.5hrs/week	2.5hrs/week
Primary 5 to 6	3.5hrs/week	3.5hrs/week	3.5hrs/week
Junior High 1	3.5hrs/week	3.7hrs/week	3hrs/week
Junior High 2	3.5hrs/week	3.5hrs/week	3hrs/week
Junior High 3	2.9hrs/week	3.8hrs/week	2hrs/week

In general, teachers of conversation courses were entitled to exercise a certain level of autonomy and implement flexible pedagogies to serve students with varying levels and needs. French is compulsory for primary 1st and 2nd years, but students have to choose either French or English when they become primary 3rd year. However, since English is the compulsory subject from 5th year, students who chose French are required to also take English classes taught by Japanese teachers. Thus, students who chose English will have additional time to study English. Having presented a glimpse of the research context, I will provide a description of the participants and data collection design.

4.7 Participants and Ethical Considerations

In selecting the participants, I adopted what Dornyei (2007) refers to as typical sampling, that is, “the researcher selects participants whose experience is typical with regard to the research focus” (p. 128). Reflecting on my research questions and lessons from the pilot study, I decided to focus on the perceptions and experiences of the language teachers. Regarding their profession, I assumed that these teachers will show interest in the issues of language ideologies compared to teachers of other subjects. I also wanted to include the principal, who plays a key role in implementing and managing school

language policies. After asking the permission of the school, all of the language teachers and the principal decided to take part in the study. As table 4.6 shows, the participants consisted of the principal (Kazuhiko), 2 Japanese language teachers (Wataru and Kanako), 2 Japanese teachers of English (Shinichi and Sakura), 3 non-Japanese teachers of French (Louise, Emma, and Elena), and 4 non-Japanese teachers of English (Diego, Mary, Katherine, and Alice). During the course of the study, 2 language teachers (Katherine and Mary), withdrew without giving any specific reasons.

Table 4.6: Participants' Profiles (names are pseudonyms)

Name	Gender	Role	Age	Nationality	Linguistic repertoire
<u>Kazuhiko</u>	Male	Principal	60s	Japanese	Japanese and some English
<u>Wataru</u>	Male	Japanese language teacher	30s	Japanese	Japanese
<u>Kanako</u>	Female	Japanese language teacher	30s	Japanese	Japanese, English, and German
<u>Shinichi</u>	Male	English language teacher	30s	Japanese	Japanese, English, and some French
<u>Sakura</u>	Female	English language teacher	40s	Japanese	Japanese and English
<u>Louise</u>	Female	French language teacher	40s	Belgian	English, French, Dutch, and Japanese
<u>Emma</u>	Female	French language teacher	40s	Belgian	English and French
<u>Elena</u>	Female	French language teacher	30s	Belgian	English, French, and Japanese

<u>Diego</u>	Male	English language teacher	50s	Spanish	English, German, and Spanish
<u>Mary</u>	Female	English language teacher	30s	British	English, French, and Spanish
<u>Katherine</u>	Female	English language teacher	30s	Irish	English
<u>Alice</u>	Female	English language teacher	20s	British	English, Dutch, French, German, and Spanish

As can be seen from the table, there were 4 males and 8 females, and an equal proportion of participation in terms of gender was ideal. The participants ranged in age groups from 20s-60s, with diverse nationalities and linguistic repertoires. All of the participants have travelled overseas, and some of them studied or taught abroad before coming to *nihonjingakkō* and are multilingual.

After approval from the participants, informed consent forms written both in English and Japanese (see Appendix 1 and 2) were distributed to the participants. The informed consent forms followed the ethical guidelines set by the British Educational Research Association (British Educational Research Association, 2011). The main ethical issue faced in carrying out this research was protecting the identity and privacy of the participants. To prevent any harm to the participants, I have informed my participants that no personally identifiable information will be disclosed in the study and that all participant names will be referred to through pseudonyms (Josselson, 2007). Furthermore, to build a trusted relationship with my participants, I was careful in carrying out following steps when conducting research (Allmark et al., 2009; Simpson & Tuson, 2003): (1) I have reminded all participants that they have the right to decline any question and at any time, to withdraw from participating in the study, (2) each interview session was concluded with a debriefing section where the participants were allowed to review their comments/evaluations and, if they deem necessary, add or retract any of their previous statements, and (3) summaries from the questionnaire, interview and classroom

observation transcriptions were shared with the participants¹³. Uppermost in my mind was to respect my participants, and to ensure that the research was carried out and reported in a fair manner (Rossman & Rallis, 2010).

4.8 Data Collection Design

I conducted two fieldwork trips in summer 2015 and fall 2015, with each lasting about 2-3 days. The principal source of data was a series of narrative oriented, semi-structured interviews in the form of individual, group, and e-mail interviews. These interview data were supplemented by questionnaires, classroom observations, and teaching materials designed by language teachers (see Appendix 5 for organized dataset).

However, after my second fieldwork in fall 2015, I received a notice from the principal of the school politely informing me that I can no longer carry out fieldwork and interviews via e-mail and/or Skype. Even though the head did not explain the reasons explicitly, this may be attributed to school's privacy matters. Furthermore, during this period, Belgium and its surrounding nations were suffering from multiple terror attacks and subsequent social unrest. Given this unprecedented situation, in my view, it was understandable that the school was hesitant to have an outsider researcher when the school was striving to re-establish normal life. Although I was planning to carry out further short-term fieldwork, the fieldwork on site ended up being smaller in scale than planned. This meant a change to the methodological aspect of my research, as I was not able to collect a sufficient amount of data and this posed challenges in ensuring the trustworthiness of my research. Therefore, I gathered data from the school website as these were readily accessible. These data were significant in examining how the school projects their perceptions of language to the public.

As noted previously, one caveat that should be mentioned is the involvement of the principal throughout the course of collecting data. As a gatekeeper who controls access, I had to constantly negotiate with the principal in designing and scheduling the fieldwork, and the principal was "shepherding the fieldworker in one direction or another" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 65). In particular, the principal exercised surveillance over the data collection process of Japanese teachers. Upon the principal's request,

¹³ Due to an oversight on my part, I failed to include permission for observation and sharing summaries and transcription of the data. Thus, I later asked the permission from the participants verbally.

questionnaires and e-mail interviews to Japanese teachers in the form of Microsoft Word attachment to e-mails, had to be first distributed to the principal and not directly to teachers. The answers to e-mail interviews were collected and returned by the principal. Furthermore, the principal asked me not to contact Japanese teachers in person. Even though the principal did not explicitly state the reason for this requirement, I suspect that the principal made access conditional to control risks (e.g. disruption of teaching job by participating in my research). However, this did not apply to non-Japanese teachers, and I was able to send data collection instruments and contact this group in a flexible manner. This difference may pertain to the fact that the principal and Japanese teachers will eventually return to Japan. Mismanagement of Japanese teachers can negatively affect the principal and Japanese teachers' career after returning to Japan. Although the principal was not present at the interviews and classroom observations, his involvement could have affected how the participants responded to me as the researcher. Despite these challenges, as Lee (1993) suggests, I had to make some compromises in order to be able to undertake the research rather than not to be able to do the research at all.

In sum, as summarized in the table below, the following data were collected, and in this approximate order: questionnaires, interviews (individual face-to-face, group, and e-mail), classroom observations, and written texts and visual images. However, the data collection was not followed as neatly as stated below in the table. Often, I carried out several data collection methods simultaneously (e.g. receiving school brochure during my first interview with the principal) and moving back and forth between each data collection methods (e.g. doing interviews before and after classroom observations).

Table 4.7: Overview of the data and the order in which it was collected (for a more detailed dataset, please see Appendix 5)

Method and Order in which it was collected	Brief Description
1. Questionnaire	Sent electronically to the principal prior to my first fieldwork at the research site. Most questionnaires were answered and given back before conducting classroom observations and interviews.
2. Classroom observation	Immediately after my first arrival to the school, I observed classrooms for a short

	time. For the second visit to the school, I also conducted classroom observation.
3. Interview (face-to-face individual, group, and e-mail)	Interviews served as the main dataset for my research. Interviews were given in three forms of face-to-face individual, group, and e-mail and were carried out throughout the course of data collection.
4. Written text and visual images	Although some written texts and visual images were collected during the fieldwork, most were collected by accessing <i>nihonjingakkō</i> websites.

In what follows, I will describe each data collection method in the chronological order in which I collected the data. As explained earlier, although interviews were principal source of my research data, having interview as the only method for data collection was insufficient as I was not able to engage with the participants in-depth. Therefore, I had to employ multiple data collection methods to generate additional data and triangulate with the primary data garnered from interviews.

4.8.1 Questionnaire

The main purposes of the questionnaire were to obtain participants' factual and biographical information, and general views about language education. The questionnaire also aimed to help participants imagine what I was intending to ask in the upcoming interviews. Therefore, following Cohen et al. (2011) and Oppenheim (1992), the questionnaire mostly consisted of open-ended questions. Open-ended questions enable participants to answer freely and as much as they wish, and are appropriate for exploring the complex issues relating to language ideologies. The questionnaire begins with assurances of confidentiality and anonymity, and the option to withdraw from the study at any time. Then, the questionnaire moved to closed questions (e.g. dichotomous and multiple-choice questions) asking unthreatening factual information (e.g. age, years in post, teaching subject) and shifted to more open-ended questions which seek responses on participants' perceptions on language learning and teaching. Finally, the questionnaire ended with a short note inviting participants to interviews and thanking the respondents for participating in the questionnaires. The questionnaires were written in both English and Japanese (please see Appendix 3 and 4), and the draft of the questionnaire was

checked by a few of my colleagues.

Table 4.8: Record of Questionnaires with word count

Teachers	Role/Subject	Questionnaire (Word Count)
Kazuhiko	Principal	863
Kanako	Japanese	340
Wataru	Japanese	224
Sakura	English	476
Shinichi	English	407
Alice	English	386
Diego	English	98
Mary	English	70
Katherine	English	83
Emma	French	219
Louis	French	220
Elena	French	41

In sum, all of the 12 questionnaires were answered and returned in a timely manner. Most of the questions were answered, yet some were left blank as these questions did not apply to some participants. Ten participants printed and hand-written the answer and handed me during my first visit to the school. Two participants (the principal and Alice) typed and replied by e-mail with Microsoft Word attachments after I left Belgium. Questionnaires which were returned via e-mail had more detailed answers. This may be attributed to the fact that it is easier for participants to add more space and words electronically. Questionnaires were useful not only in gaining participants' biographical information, but an insight into what might be pursued in subsequent interviews and classroom observations.

4.8.2 Classroom Observations

Classroom observation has been one of the most fundamental and effective methods in qualitative research in education, as it can offer the researcher the opportunity to collect

live data from naturally occurring social situations (Lightbown, 2000; Simpson & Tuson, 2003). Observations can enable gathering of various types of data (Morrison, 1993), but my main interest was collecting data in the interactional setting (e.g. classroom interactions including verbal and non-verbal) and programme setting (e.g. pedagogic styles, teaching materials), with their associated and underlying language ideologies. Although I had this agenda, since I wanted to go into a situation and let the elements of the situation speak for themselves, I opted for a semi-structured observation (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011a). As for my researcher role in observation, drawing on Gold (1958), I was planning to first be a *complete observer*, that is, a passive observer not participating in the group activities. Since I was not an insider researcher and had no prior relationship with the school and its people, I felt it would be intrusive to actively participate in the class activities. Yet, in conjunction with building rapport with the participants, I wanted to gradually shift to *observer-as-participant*, who participates a little or actively in the group activities (Gold, 1958).

At first, I planned to conduct classroom observations after building trusted relationship with participants. Therefore, the main objective for my first fieldwork was to interview principal and teachers. However, during my first visit to the school, the principal and teachers were cooperative and suggested I observe the classroom. Since this offer was suddenly given without any previous notices beforehand, I was not well prepared and failed to audio-record.

With the guidance of the principal, I observed five language classes consecutively spending about five to ten minutes for each class. Due to this tight schedule, I was only able to take brief notes and several pictures in a hurried manner. Since it was my first visit to school and I did not want to disturb the teachers and students, I was detached from the group and standing in the back of the classroom taking notes. Despite the setbacks of my lack of preparedness and the limited time, this unexpected bonus also helped me construct questions for the interviews carried after the classroom observations.

Table 4.9: Brief overview of the language classes observed (1st Fieldwork)

Name of Teachers	Language Taught	Level
<u>Emma</u>	French	Beginners
<u>Katherine</u>	English	Advanced

<u>Alice</u>	English	Beginners
<u>Mary</u>	English	Intermediate
<u>Elena</u>	French	Intermediate

Experiencing the significance of classroom observation, after negotiation with the principal, for my second fieldwork I conducted 4 classroom observations totaling approximately 3 hours. The classes which I did not observe in my first visit were selected for this second round of classroom observation.

Table 4.10: Record of Classrooms Observed (2nd Fieldwork)

Name of Teachers	Language Taught	Level	Recorded Time
<u>Kanako</u>	Japanese	Primary 1	49.33
<u>Wataru</u>	Japanese	Junior High 2	48.28
<u>Sakura (Team-Taught with Mary)</u>	English	Junior High 2	48.28
<u>Shinichi (Team-Taught with Mary)</u>	English	Junior High 1	50.46

My main interest in observing the classroom continued to be language teachers' pedagogy, interaction between students and teachers, and how language ideologies surfaced in the classroom. However, since I conducted questionnaires and interviews in my first visit to the school, I also aimed to do a reality check, since what language teachers recounted and related in the questionnaires and interviews may differ from their classroom teaching (Robson, 2002). Even though I intended to be more active in my role as an observer, for Japanese language classes, I was again a passive observer and sat quietly on the table located at the side or back of the classroom. This was mainly due to the teaching content, as both classes were teacher-centered with students reading textbooks and doing calligraphy in a silent manner, which made me hesitant to interact. On the other hand, for English classes, the teachers assigned me certain roles to engage actively with students (e.g. self-introduction in English with student' question and answer sessions, commenting on the class choir in English). This outcome was unanticipated, but by being more directly involved in the classroom activities allowed me to know more about the teachers, students, and what is taking place *in situ*. According to the later e-mail interviews I carried out with Sakura and Shinichi, they had a high expectation of me

and had decided that I could be a role model for students as a fluent English speaker. Thus, occasionally I had to switch roles from being a complete observer to observer-as-participant.

As I was more prepared for the second round of classroom observations, I had an audio-recorder placed on the desk. The audio recordings were all transcribed and translated in the same manner as I did for the interview data. Although videotaping of the classroom was considered since it also records nonverbal cues and can better identify the participants than audio recording (Simpson & Tuson, 2003), I was concerned about the potential distractions caused by cameras (Cohen et al., 2011b). Regarding the ethical issues, I decided not to video record to prevent any harm or loss of privacy to teachers and students.

During and after the classroom observations, I recorded fieldnotes both in English and Japanese (see Appendix 8 for summary of classes). The language used for the fieldnotes was based on the content of the classroom. In doing so, I was able to capture the nuances which are specific to different languages. Following Lofland (1971), I disciplined myself to write notes immediately after each classroom observation, as the quantity and quality of information forgotten is very small over a short period of time but accelerates quickly as more time passes. Unlike the classroom observations in my first visit, I had relevant amounts of intervals between each class. This allowed me to devote some time in writing notes in a relaxed manner. Fieldnotes written in Japanese were translated by the researcher. In my fieldnotes, I focused on noting features which may not be stored in audio recordings such as physical settings of the classroom, attitudes and facial expressions of students and teachers. As a result, the fieldnotes were aimed to compensate for the possible shortfalls of audio-recordings.

4.8.3 Interviews

Interviews served as the main dataset for my research, and generated useful data to examine the underpinning language ideologies of the participants and school. Throughout the interviews, I was greatly helped by the teachers, who were constantly in the “interview society” (Silverman, 1997: 248), and were used to being interviewed and also interviewing students and parents, and the interview process went out smoothly.

Following Brinkmann & Kvale (2015) and Gubrium & Holstein (2002), I perceive

interview as a collaborative production between the interviewer and interviewee. Therefore, in order to build an equal and cordial relationship with the participants, during the research period and school visits, I focused on establishing a trusted relationship with the principal and language teachers and made my best effort to make them feel at ease and comfortable narrating their experiences and thoughts with me. The interviews touched upon key themes of this research, including the participants' prior and current experience learning languages, and their views on language pedagogy and language education policy. The teachers who participated in this research were mostly multilingual, and the interviews were conducted in the language(s) that we shared, i.e. English and/or Japanese, depending on their preferences. For interviews with French language teachers (Louise, Elena, and Emma), English was mainly used as I cannot speak French. As for Louise who was also fluent in Japanese, Japanese was sometimes used. In retrospect, not conducting interviews in French could have restricted them from fully articulating their views about languages, as some apologized for not conveying their messages clearly in English. Interviews were held in a reception room and classroom of the school, where it was quiet, and participants felt that their privacy was protected. This environment also helped me to comfortably listen and analyze the audio-recorded interviews. Notes were not taken during the interviews, since I wanted to concentrate on the interviews and felt it may stop the flow. Thus, notes were taken immediately after each interview. I mainly noted the elements which may not be stored in the audio-recordings, such as participants' facial expressions and gestures.

The interview guidelines I employed in the main study mostly adhered to the pilot study I conducted (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Seidman, 2013), and the interviews served as the main method for collecting rich data. However, as I predicted, I had to adjust my expectations and reduce the number of interviews. The teachers of the *nihonjingakkō* were also busy with their work, and the time pressure was compounded by the regular travel required from my residence in London to Belgium and high costs incurred during my stays in Belgium. Therefore, I had to be flexible and employed 3 different types of interview: face-to-face interviews, group interviews, and e-mail interviews, all of which I discuss in the following sections.

4.8.3.1 Individual face-to-face interviews

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015) were carried out 4 times with 3 participants: Kazuhiko, Louise, and Alice. Although I had planned to carry

out face-to-face interviews with all participants, 9 out of 12 participants declined, possibly due to workload, schedule mismatch, and possible anxiety caused by the principal's surveillance. To counter this situation, I adopted group interviews and e-mail interviews. The individual interviews addressed the issues I was interested in exploring through this research, including the participants' prior and present experience studying languages, pedagogic style, and the significance of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium in relation to language education.

In the first visit to the school, I focused on asking for biographical and factual information which was not directly connected to language issues. On the contrary, the interviews carried out during my second visit delved into language topics, some of which had emerged in prior classroom observations and questionnaires (some interview questions can be found in Appendix 6). Due to the conversational nature of the semi-structured interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002), the interviews often contained digressions. For instance, as the participants recounted their language learning history, I also narrated my upbringing as a former returnee having studied at a Japanese complementary school. And during the interviews, I was often interviewed by my participants. By having a heart-to-heart conversation, we were able to mutually explore the issues.

Table 4.11: Record of Face-to-face Interviews
Total of approximately 2 hours

Name of Teachers	Language Taught	Recorded Time
<u>Kazuhiko</u>	Principal	33.28 (1 st Visit)
<u>Kazuhiko</u>	Principal	32.41 (2 nd Visit)
<u>Louise</u>	French	52.49 (2 nd Visit)
<u>Alice</u>	English	11:54 (2 nd Visit)

4.8.3.2 Group Interviews

In addition to individual interviews, I conducted 4 face-to-face group interviews in my first visit. Watts & Ebbutt (1987) view group interviewing as a research method which allows researchers to gain information from organized discussion with a selected group of individuals who have been working together for some time for common purpose. This within-group interaction can produce rich data (Bodgan & Biklen, 1992; Watts & Ebbutt, 1987), but unlike individual interviews, during the group interviews, I had to serve as a moderator to keep a constant watch so that nobody dominated the floor.

Each group consisted of 2 to 4 language teachers, and the group was selected according to the type of language the participants taught. The interview questions to Japanese groups were similar to the first individual interview I had with the principal, which were aimed at drawing out their motives in becoming language teachers and teaching at the school in Belgium. On the contrary, the group interviews to non-Japanese teachers were loosely structured on the basis of prior classroom observation. Some questions can be found in appendix 6, and the topics ranged from medium of instruction to teaching style (e.g. communicative language teaching, monolingual approach to pedagogy). Transcribing and analyzing group interviews can be challenging due to the often complex interactions (Bodgan & Binklen, 1992; Watts & Ebbutt, 1987), but it proved manageable due to the limited number of group members.

Table 4.12: Record of Group Interviews
Total of Approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes

Name of Teachers	Recorded Time
<u>Japanese teachers of Japanese</u> (<u>Kanako and Wataru</u>)	23.20
<u>Japanese teachers of English</u> (<u>Sakura and Shinichi</u>)	22.10
<u>Non-Japanese teachers of English</u> (<u>Mary, Katherine, Alice, and Diego</u>)	22.00
<u>Belgian teachers of French</u>	23.38

4.8.3.3 E-mail Interviews

To compensate for the difficulties in arranging face-to-face interviews, the participants also took part in E-mail interviews, an increasingly popular way to conduct interviews in qualitative research (Bampton & Cowton, 2002; Gibson, 2010; James, 2007). The format of the e-mail interview was similar to that of the questionnaire and comprised several open-ended questions over 3-4 pages. Although e-mail interviews were not originally envisaged, the need to carry them out emerged after my first visit to the research site in summer 2015. Since the research site was outside the United Kingdom, it had proved difficult to arrange a mutually convenient time to conduct the interviews in person. Furthermore, I was able to overcome practical constraints such as time and the costs of travel and accommodation. Secondly, participants tend to devote more time and effort to reflect and construct their answers (Seymour, 2001), and some teachers reported that they felt more relaxed and protected since they were able to answer the e-mail questions in their private space (personal communication). On the other hand, the main weaknesses were 1) loss of spontaneity, flow, and flexibility (Seymour, 2001); 2) unable to observe interviewee's nonverbal cues (gestures, eye-contact, etc.) (James, 2007), and 3) it took time to receive the answers. The questions were based on the previous interviews, questionnaires, and classroom observations. As with the questionnaires, the e-mail interviews with Japanese participants were first needed to be sent to the principal, and the answers to the e-mail interviews were returned by the principal. Although there is no way of knowing if the principal read Japanese teachers' responses, this process may have influenced the way teachers answered to the questions.

4.8.3.4 Interview Transcription and Translation

Although interview transcription is a time-consuming and laborious task, it proved to be a necessary and fruitful process as it provided me an opportunity to delve into the data (Cohen et al., 2011b; Dornyei, 2007). Furthermore, transcription is not merely to write down a copy of recorded data, but it is an intuitive analysis (Riessman, 2008) and a 'retelling' of the original communication with the participants (Lapadat, 2000). Therefore, the entire transcription was done by the researcher, since the richness and the subtlety of the interview data could be lost if the transcription would have been conducted by the person who has little or no relationship with the participants. According to Roberts

(1997) , "transcribers bring their own language ideology to the task" (p. 168), and it was difficult to form my own transcription convention. The kind of transcription convention I use will certainly influence the analysis of the data, but also the impression and interpretation the reader receives from the transcription. The interview data was transcribed in a 'cleaned-up' style (Elliott, 2005), since my major research interest was in the content rather than the form of the verbal data. I excluded the nonverbal cues (e.g. gestures, facial expression, eye-movement), suprasegmentals (e.g. stress, intonation), acoustic sounds (e.g. grunts, laughters), and nonvocal sounds (e.g. alarm). Exclusion of nonverbal aspects of the interview data is certainly a drawback. However, in my view, this transcription convention is appropriate for the purpose of this research which examines and uncovers underlying language ideologies in the researched context. As Gee argues:

"The validity of an analysis is not a matter of how detailed one's transcript is. It is a matter of how the transcript works together with all the other elements of the analysis to create a "trustworthy" analysis." (Gee, 2014: 136)

The transcriptions were done in both of the languages in which I carried out interviews (English and Japanese). During the course of the data analysis, selected original Japanese texts which I decided were pertinent in answering my research questions were translated to English. Transcription translations were done by the researcher who lived and studied in Japan. However, in order to secure credibility and accuracy, these translations were peer-reviewed by a few of my colleagues who have professional training and experience in Japanese-English translation (Keiko Yuyama and Yoko Asari).

In this thesis, the English-translated transcripts are followed by the original Japanese transcripts. The purpose of this is to provide readers, bearing in mind some are English-Japanese bilinguals, the subtle nuances and richness which cannot be obtained by only reading and analyzing English-translated texts. Furthermore, I decided that it would be inappropriate to exclude Japanese-original texts as this would contradict my advocacy of multilingualism, one of my key research purposes.

4.8.4 Written Texts and Visual Images

Collecting and analyzing written texts from various fields enabled me to understand the language ideologies manifested at different levels, especially at the school level and

at a broader Japanese government level. Written texts which I gathered included: MEXT's Course of Study for primary schools and junior high schools, MEXT's policy documents regarding Japanese overseas education, teaching materials designed by the language teachers of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, and the website and brochure of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. However, since my research is a case study on *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, only policy documents of the school were included in the analysis, and MEXT policy documents were used as a literature review. This dataset reminded me how language ideologies of the participants were influenced and interacting at these different levels. In particular, this aspect was evident when investigating MEXT policy documents, which are influential in ratifying and transmitting dominant language ideologies to schools and participants (Hashimoto, 2011; Noda & O' Regan, 2020). Furthermore, since most of the written texts I gathered were easily accessible on the internet, the data also allowed me to ascertain how and what language ideological elements MEXT and the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium display to the public. The selected extracts from the Japanese documents were translated by the researcher.

During school visits, I took pictures inside the language classrooms. The purpose of taking pictures was to capture the physical environment and linguistic landscape of the school. Approval for photographing was obtained with verbal consent from the principal and teachers. Yet, for privacy matters I was not allowed to photograph students and their works. Therefore, the pictures were mostly signage and flyers taken in the empty classrooms where language courses were taught. The signage and flyers hung in the classrooms helped me understand how the school perceives multilingualism. My comments on pictures were written quickly after the photographing. These photographs were one element in triangulated data, in particular with the data collected from classroom observation and fieldnotes, as pictures were helpful in reminding what I observed. So far, I have provided an overview of the data collection instruments and its process. The next section moves on to how I analyzed the data.

4.9 Qualitative Content Analysis

In analyzing my data, I chose qualitative content analysis (Dornyei, 2007; Krippendorff, 2004; Mayring, 2004), which is a subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification of coding and identifying trends and patterns. This type of analysis was appropriate for my research as I was interested in the content of the collected text, and what kind of issues were salient from the data. In employing this

analysis, I had to distinguish the differences between quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). First, quantitative content analysis explores the surface meaning of the text in an objective manner, while qualitative content analysis examines the underlying meaning of the text in an interpretive manner (Dornyei, 2007). And secondly, quantitative content analysis tends to be more deductive, intended to test hypotheses or address questions generated from theories or previous research (Krippendorff, 2004). By contrast, qualitative content analysis is mainly inductive and are drawn from the data analyzed. Therefore, the meaning of the text is not given, but constructed by the researcher (Schreier, 2012). Regarding the emphasis given to the researcher in constructing the meaning, I had to be constantly aware that the stories, conversations, or utterances I garnered at the research site were always co-produced with others in a specific temporal and spatial context.

The analysis started immediately after I collected and processed the interviews, classroom observations, fieldnotes, and pictures. In general, the analysis took several steps which were recommended by Dornyei (2007) and Cohen et al. (2011a).

1. Initial coding: First, I read the transcribed data, fieldnotes, and pictures several times to gain a general sense of the data. When I encountered a section which I felt relevant to my research topic and interesting, I highlighted it and added code on the margin. Even if the passage was not directly related to my research interest, I highlighted it since it might be insightful. The aim of coding was to break down and understand a text and to attach and develop categories and put them into an order in the course of time. For clarity, I made the codes as simple and short as possible. In some cases, I used key words from the actual passage. Examples included 'English for entrance exam' 'course of study', and 'native speaker'. The categories kept increasing as I did my analysis. These codes were provisional, and I was flexible in revising or deleting at any stage of the analysis. I also added a tally mark (/) to each code to see frequencies.
2. Writing memos: Once I finished categorizing, I thoroughly reread the entire list of categories. I made analytical memos, which were my commentary on what the data may mean, and added these to coded segments. Memo writing was helpful in developing meaning making, as it allowed me to engage with the text in-depth. These memos ranged from as short as a sentence, or as long as several paragraphs, such as 'The code of 'native-speaker' did not appear in Japanese language teachers of Japanese. This may be because native speakerism in the context of JLT was taken-

for-granted among the teachers.’

3. Second-level coding: After constructing memos, when appropriate, I joined together and created a hierarchy of codes by clustering similar codes. I organized the codes by constructing a tree diagram. These hierarchy of codes were treated as categories. For instance, ‘English Dominance’ became one of the categories, and codes such as ‘English for Entrance Exam’ ‘students take English rather than French’ were included in this category.
4. Interpreting the data: At this stage, I chose core categories, as presented in the table below, and extracts which I decided were helpful in answering my research questions. I searched for relationships among the selected codes and extracts. Since language ideologies embedded in these extracts (e.g. stories participants told, policy documents) are connected to wider historical and social contexts (Andrews et al., 2013; Menard-Warwick, 2011), I revisited the literature relevant to the significant themes which were emerging. This was helpful in viewing the data holistically.

Table 4.13: Final Categories

<u>Final Category</u>
1. MEXT
2. English Dominance
3. Monolingual Teaching
4. CLT & Native Speaker
5. Monocultural Approach to Language

Even though these steps served as a guideline when carrying out the data analysis, in reality, the data analysis was not the strictly linear and clear process the guidelines might suggest. I was frequently moving back and forth, cyclically or conducting several steps simultaneously. However, I do not perceive this as problematic, but rather desirable since it provided me an opportunity to intensify my familiarity with the data.

4.10 Criteria for assessing the research

When considering the quality criteria which can be employed in ensuring the validity and reliability of my research, I noted Dornyei’s (2007) reminder that validity and

reliability originate from quantitative research, and are strongly associated with a positivist paradigm. In a positivist tradition, validity refers to the accuracy and truthfulness of scientific findings, and reliability is concerned with the consistency, stability and repeatability of the results (Cohen et al., 2011b; Phakiti & Paltridge, 2015). As my research did not aim to describe reality objectively, I decided to avoid using these terms. Instead, I prefer the concept of ‘trustworthiness’ used by Lincoln & Guba (1985), as it does not reside within the positivist paradigm. As outlined in the following table, I took several steps to secure the trustworthiness of my study.

Table 4.14: Summary of Lincoln & Guba’s (1985) trustworthiness criteria and techniques for establishing them.

Criteria	Techniques
Credibility (confidence in ‘truth value’ of the findings)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Prolonged engagement 2) Persistent observation 3) Triangulation (sources, methods, investigators) 4) Peer debriefing 5) Negative case analysis 6) Referential adequacy (archiving of data) 7) Member checking
Transferability (the applicability of findings in other contexts)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Thick description
Dependability (consistent and could be repeated)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Triangulation of methods
Confirmability (degree of neutrality)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Availability of detailed records of each step of the research

In light of Lincoln & Guba’s trustworthiness criteria, I applied methods and data triangulation, shared the findings and interpretation with participants, discussed the data with peers, and provided a detailed account of the research process. Thus, in my view, the trustworthiness of my research has been demonstrated. However, I acknowledge the limitations as well. I was not able to gain a thick description through prolonged engagement and persistent observation at the research site. These points will be further discussed in the final chapter.

4.11 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have provided the methodological foundations of the research, which is a qualitative study using an ethnographic-oriented case study and applying qualitative content analysis for analyzing the empirical data. In addition, this chapter traced the first steps on my journey toward becoming an independent researcher. Borrowing the words of Blommaert & Jie (2010: 26), research is ‘a learning process’, and although my research did not end exactly as planned, I learnt that researchers should be flexible and willing to adapt procedures if unanticipated events happen. In the next three chapters, I will present the data and its descriptive, interpretive analysis. The data illustrates how the ideologies manifesting themselves are prevalent and widely shared by the school and its people.

Chapter 5: Influence of MEXT & English Dominance

5.1 Introduction

In this and the chapter to follow, I present and descriptively analyze the most significant themes which were salient from the data. The descriptive analysis in chapters 5 and 6 prepares the ground for the discussion of the data with regard to language ideologies, which I examine in greater detail in chapter 7's interpretive analysis. The primary dataset is interviews (individual, group, and e-mail), and supplementary datasets are composed of questionnaires, classroom observations, fieldnotes, and policy documents. As I examined the data, several common themes emerged, and are discussed in five sections in the order of 1) the influence of MEXT, 2) the dominance of English in foreign language education, 3) a monolingual approach to language teaching, 4) native speaker and CLT-oriented pedagogy and 5) monolithic views of language and culture.

This chapter will address the first research question (please see Chapter 1.2) on what language ideologies are operating in the school and how these influence the participants' perceptions on languages of the host country and school curriculum. Focusing on the first two themes are helpful in understanding what factors influence the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium to decide which languages should be taught and learnt. The first theme will demonstrate how the participants, mainly Japanese participants, are responsive to the national curriculum guidelines set by MEXT. And the second theme will discuss how English is prioritized over the official languages of Belgium in the school's foreign language education, and how this hierarchy is constructed not only from MEXT policy but from multiple elements. The remaining three themes will be discussed in the subsequent chapter, as I shed light on the second research question on how language ideologies are demonstrated in school policy and are enacted in actual language teaching.

Drawing on the works of Blommaert (2011) and van der Jeught (2017), in this thesis, I define 'official languages of Belgium' as Flemish, French, and German, which are the legally recognized languages of the nation. Nonetheless, I have no intention of disregarding other languages and dialects which are also used in Belgium. At the time of data collection, I was not fully aware and did not differentiate the differences between official and local languages, and mostly employed 'local language' during the course of

my fieldwork. While I acknowledge that local languages suggest a non-official status mainly referring to minority or community languages or dialects, at the time, my understanding was ‘official languages’ of Belgium, which in my view was also widely shared among participants.

Each theme is organized by participants and these are largely divided into the Japanese principal (Kazuhiko) and teachers (Wataru, Kanako, Shinichi, and Sakura), and non-Japanese teachers (Louise, Emma, Elena, Diego, Mary, Katherine, and Alice) since I felt that there was a marked distinction between the two groups. Separating the dataset based on nationality and teaching subject may have the drawback of essentializing the participants and overlooking individual differences. However, in my view, dividing themes into two sections will help organize and highlight the differences and ensure their visibility.

As noted in Chapter 4, interview and classroom observation data were transcribed in a ‘cleaned-up’ style (Elliott, 2005). To make the data easier to read, the interview data is put into a line format as follows: line number, abbreviated name of the speaker, and the interview extracts. To prevent confusion, line numbers do not follow those in the original transcripts and will start from number 1. For each interview extract, the number of the session is given Y1 and Y2, which denote the visits I made at the school in Belgium. Thus, those numbered Y1 refer to the interviews I conducted during my first visit to the school. For the data extracted from questionnaire and policy documents, there will be no line numbers. The data in Japanese are presented first and then followed by its English translation. Admittedly, translations sometimes seem awkward in English, but this is to keep with the original Japanese sentence structures. The contents in brackets in both original and the translated excerpts were added by me for clarification. In some empirical data there are letters in bold to emphasize certain features or were taken from my notes during my fieldwork. The title of the extracts is chosen from the data, which brings out the emic perspective of the qualitative research. Some of the extracts have been truncated for reasons of space, and the truncated sections are represented in the sign of [...]. Fuller transcripts can be found in Appendix 7.

5.2 Influence of MEXT

As set out in previous chapters, one of the motivating factors in choosing the *nihonjinguakkō* in Belgium as the research site was to explore the school’s language

curriculum in a nation which officially recognizes multilingualism within their nation state through the use of several official languages. Before carrying out the fieldwork, I anticipated that the school may have designed and provided language education programme by incorporating rich language resources found in Belgium. However, as the fieldwork progressed, it became evident that Japanese participants had strong affiliations with MEXT and Japan's national curricula, which resonates with previous findings from literatures on *nihonjingakkō* (Fukuda, 2018; Sato, 1997).

In the following paragraphs, I attempt to highlight how MEXT is influential in shaping the school's language education programme. Therefore, most data extracts contain the word MEXT, terminologies which often appear in MEXT policy documents, or suggestive of presence of MEXT. Except for Louise, a French language teacher who had studied abroad in Japan and was knowledgeable of education policies in Japan, the theme of 'influence of MEXT' was not raised by non-Japanese teachers. Therefore, the majority of the data will come from the principal and Japanese language teachers.

This gap may indicate separateness between Japanese and non-Japanese participants, as non-Japanese teachers appeared not to be well-informed about MEXT and its policies. As discussed in Chapter 4, I had the impression that non-Japanese teachers were seen as sub-teachers, and the main responsibility lies with Japanese teachers. This was reflected by the principal's less strict observation of my research interaction with non-Japanese teachers and the fact that he did not request I submit questionnaires and e-mail interview questions for them beforehand. Additionally, this point may also indicate that non-Japanese language teachers are less constrained by MEXT policy, and thus have more agency in designing and implementing their own language teaching. Nevertheless, non-Japanese teachers' language pedagogy and its underlying ideologies also reflect those of MEXT, as is further elaborated in subsequent chapters.

5.2.1 Principal (Kazuhiko)

Kazuhiko is the principal of the school, and throughout the fieldwork, he constantly stated that MEXT's Course of Study, a national curriculum guideline, served as the core of the school agenda. The following data is extracted from the first round of face-to-face interviews with Kazuhiko, which reflects the typical voice of Japanese participants.

Extract 5.1: 'We must conduct classes according to the Course of Study Guideline' (Y1:

face-to-face interview with principle) (Y: Yuta, K: Kazuhiko)

1. Y: まず、ベルギー日本人学校の意義といたしますか、一番大事なことは
2. 何だと思われますか？
3. K: 日本人学校の場合は、それこそ学習指導要領に則った授業をしなければ
4. ばいけません。それこそ、ベルギー日本人学校の場合、生徒の大半は
5. 2,3年で帰国されますし。帰国後の生活に適応できるよう助けるのが
6. 大事だと思います (力強く言う)。

1. Y: So, first what do you think is significant, or the most important thing for
2. the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium?
3. K: In the case of *nihonjingakkō*, we must conduct classes according to the Course
4. of Study Guideline. Especially in the case of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, most
5. of the students will return to Japan within two, three years. And it is important
6. for us to help them adapt to life after returning to Japan (**firmly said**).

What is noteworthy from this account is that the principal was attentive to the Course of Study Guideline set by MEXT, aimed at mainstream schools in Japan, even though the school is located outside Japan. In lines 4-6, by adding the fact that majority of the students will eventually repatriate to Japan within several years, in a confident manner, the principal emphasized that following the MEXT guideline is beneficial for students' smooth re-entry to Japanese society.

In this first interview with Kazuhiko, I was impressed by his extensive knowledge of Japan's education administration, which he gained from his long years of experience as a school principal in his hometown in Japan before being sent to Belgium, for 3 years as a primary school principal and 5 years as a junior high school principal. Moreover, the principal was dispatched to the *nihonjingakkō* in the Netherlands as a physical education teacher for 3 years in the late 1980s. His knowledge is also evident in the following extract taken from the questionnaire (for the full questionnaire, please see Appendix 4 and 5) which he answered after my first fieldwork.

Extract 5.2 “To implement the educational equivalent of Japanese education” (K: Kazuhiko)

Part A. Q3 日本人学校のミッションは何だと思われますか？

(What do you think is the mission of *nihonjingakkō*?)

K: 国内の諸法令に準拠した日本と同等の教育の推進

国際理解教育の推進、グローバル人材の育成

(To implement the educational equivalent of Japanese education, based on the country's laws.

To implement **education for international understanding** and foster **global human resources**.) (Emphasis added by the researcher)

As can be seen, the principal emphasized the importance of offering the education of same standard as those provided in mainstream schools in Japan. In addition, Kazuhiko's answer to the question is filled with terms which often appear in MEXT policy documents on *nihonjingakkō*, such as 'education for international understanding' and 'global human resource'. As discussed by researchers studying *nihonjingakkō*, MEXT expects *nihonjingakkō* to raise students to be internationally minded individuals by pursuing 'education for international understanding' (Kojima, 1999; Sato, 2007), so that they will become 'global human resources' (Fukuda, 2018) who have high language proficiency (chiefly English), initiative, and knowledge about other cultures, while maintaining their pride in being Japanese (Nitta, 2019). Kazuhiko's account clearly reflects this MEXT policy, which is not well known to Japan's general public.

However, in the questionnaire, Kazuhiko also expressed his support for incorporating local languages of Belgium to school curriculum. Yet, as the following extract demonstrates, MEXT's Course of Study Guideline overrides his desire to provide local language education in the school.

Extract 5.3: 'It is essential, but the top priority is to follow the Course of Study Guideline'

(K: Kazuhiko)

Part C. Q1 日本人学校の生徒が現地の言語を勉強、取得するべきだと思いますか？そうであれば、その理由をお聞かせください。そうでなければ、その理由をお聞かせください？(Do you think that students of *nihonjingakkō* should learn language(s) of the country where the *nihonjingakkō* is based? If so, why? If not, why not?)

K: 現地理解教育(国際理解教育)には、[現地語を学ぶことが]不可欠であり、

教育課程にしっかり位置付けて実施しなければならない。日本の学習指導要領をこなすのが先決であり、現地語の学習に充てられる時間には限りがある。(It [learning the language of the host country] is essential for local understanding (education for international understanding), and therefore it should be included and implemented in the school curriculum. But the top priority is to carry out the Course of Study Guideline, and therefore, there is a limited time for providing local language education).

Here, even though Kazuhiko expressed the importance of providing local language education in the school, he also seems to justify the lack of time allocated to local language education by emphasizing the importance of enforcing the national curricula set by MEXT. A similar finding is stated in the report of Japan's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2015). Based on the data collected from questionnaires sent by the ministry to *nihonjingakkō* officials around the globe, the report reveals that the most of *nihonjingakkō* (80.2% of the valid responses) can only teach local language(s) for a limited time, since adding more time to local languages can cut into the time spent teaching other subjects required by the MEXT Course of Study Guideline.

So far, I have demonstrated how the principal is well informed of MEXT policies, and places the MEXT Course of Study Guideline as the backbone of the *nihonjingakkō* schooling in Belgium. As stated in literature on language education in Japan, the Course of Study Guideline positions Japanese (Gottlieb, 2008; Sato & Doerr, 2014) and English (Saruhashi & Honna, 2019) as two languages which should be systematically taught in the school system. Although the Course of Study Guideline does not clearly specify that English should be selected as a subject for foreign language, on the whole, English is chosen by schools since other foreign languages are not mentioned in the guideline (Morizumi et al, 2016; Torikai et al, 2017). Consequently, following the Course of Study may lead to students losing the opportunity to learn languages other than Japanese and English. I now turn to Japanese language teachers, who also stressed the importance of offering Japan's national curriculum at the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

5.2.2 Japanese teachers of Japanese (Kanako and Wataru)

Before I embarked on the group interview with Kanako and Wataru, Japanese language teachers at the school, I received questionnaires from them. The following extracts from the questionnaire show their interest in the languages of Belgium.

Extract 5.4: ‘Learn why so many languages are mixed’ (KA: Kanako, W: Wataru)

Part 2. Q2. 派遣先が決まった時、その国に対し、どのようなイメージを抱いていましたか？ (When you learned where you will be sent, what was your image toward the country?)

KA: 言語については、なぜ多言語が入り混じっているのか、背景を知りたい。(In terms of languages, I thought I want to learn why so many languages are mixed.)

W: 仏語。オランダ語。英語。南北の言語差などに関心がある。(French. Dutch. English. I am interested in knowing different languages between the North and the South.)

The above comments indicate that Kanako and Wataru has some knowledge about Belgium’s complex sociolinguistic situation (Blommaert, 2011; van der Jeught, 2017) and were curious to learn about the language issues of the host country. As seen in the reply from Wataru, he uses ‘Dutch’ which he presumably means ‘Flemish’. The term ‘Dutch’ was used repeatedly, and in some cases interchangeably with ‘Flemish’ from Wataru and other participants, including local Belgian teachers. Although I did not ask the reason since the complicated language issues of Belgium can be a sensitive theme (Vogl & Hüning, 2010), they seemed unaware of the issue. This may suggest that they perceived Flemish as synonymous with Dutch.

Nevertheless, in the group interview with both teachers, they expressed different, or contradictory views about languages. As with the principal, I started the interview by asking what they care most about when teaching Japanese at the *nihonjingu* in Belgium. Kanako replied first, and in answering to my question, Kanako started off with a brief introduction of her class. As a Japanese language teacher working with primary level students (ages 6-12)¹⁴, she explained how her students come from diverse language backgrounds.

Extract 5.5: ‘We need to strictly follow the curriculum’ (Y1: group interview with Kanako and Wataru) (Y: Yuta, KN: Kanako)

¹⁴ In Japan’s education system which includes Japan’s overseas school (*nihonjingu* and *hoshukō*), primary students are generally between the ages of 6-12. And junior high school mostly covers the ages of 12-15.

7. Y: まず、ベルギー日本人学校の国語教師として大切にしていることはな
8. んですか？

9. KN: 3分の1、約10名が、ベルギーの日本人幼稚園から来た子供たちで、
10. 残りの3分の2が、現地幼稚園から入ってきます。若干名、四月から日
11. 本からの編入ということで。入ってきた時点で、もうずっと日本語の環
12. 境で育ってきた子。それからオランダ語がわかる子、フランス語がわか
13. る子、英語がわかる子。そこは若干の個人差はあるにしろ、文科省の降
14. りている学習指導要領に則った教育課程で進めていくことをきちんと
15. しています。

7. Y: First, as a Japanese language teacher of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, what do
8. you think is the most important thing?

9. KN: About a third, or about 10 of my primary first year students come from a
10. Japanese kindergarten in Belgium and the remaining two-thirds come from a
11. local kindergarten. And few students just got transferred from Japan this April.
12. So, there are students who were brought up speaking Japanese their whole life,
13. students who understand Dutch, students who understand French, and students
14. who understand English. Despite the different language level these students have,
15. we need to strictly follow the curriculum guidelines set by MEXT.

As shown, even though I did not ask about her students' linguistic repertoire or their educational background, Kanako gave detailed information (lines 9-13). This extract from Kanako is reminiscent of the pupils of the *nihonjingakkō* in Catalonia reported in Fukuda's (2018) study, in which children have different levels of Japanese, English, Spanish, and Catalan as they have very complex migration and language learning experiences. In spite of the multilingual class she has and herself being a multilingual (Japanese, English, and German) who studied in Germany, she seems not to value her students' multilingual repertoire, as indicated in the phrase of 'despite the different language level these students have' (lines 13-14). And in lines 14-15, without any hesitation, Kanako declares that she follows the Course of Study guideline from MEXT. In comparison to the above responses, in the questionnaire, her account suggests that despite expressing interest in the languages of Belgium, in practice, she disregards languages of the host society and her students' rich linguistic repertoire.

Contrary to Kanako, Wataru, who teaches Japanese to junior high school students, did not mention MEXT or Course of Study Guideline in this group interview. Still, he did share the same perspective as Kanako. This is evident in the e-mail interview which I conducted after observing Wataru's Japanese class during my 2nd visit to the school.

Extract 5.6: 'Nihonjingu strictly follows the course guidelines' (3rd E-mail interview with Wataru) (Y: Yuta, W: Wataru)

16. Y: 昨日、授業を見学しましたが、先生の国語の授業の目標と内容は何でも
17. しょうか？

18. W: 日本では外を歩くだけで、もしくはテレビをつけるだけで、生活して
19. いるだけで自然と多くの日本語に触れることになります。ここは普
20. 段、日本語を必要としないベルギーですので、授業では生徒が日本
21. 語に触れるようにすることを心がけています。ですので、日本の学
22. 校以上に日本語に力を入れています。また日本人学校は、文科省の指
22. 定するカリキュラムに則って行いますので指導要領の目標、内容と
23. 同じです。

16. Y: Yesterday, I observed your class, and what is your objective and aim of your
17. Japanese language teaching?

18. W: In Japan, even when walking outside, watching TV, or just living in Japan,
19. you will be naturally exposed to a lot of Japanese. Here in Belgium where
20. usually Japanese is not needed, in my class I keep in mind having students
21. exposed to Japanese. So, I put effort into Japanese more than schools in Japan.
22. And in *nihonjingu*, we need to follow the curriculum that MEXT requires.
23. So, the aim and the content of the class is same as those in Japan.

In replying to my question asking about the goal and purpose of Wataru's Japanese teaching (lines 16-17), Wataru also stresses the importance of carrying education outlined by MEXT's Course of Study guideline (lines 22-23). This is emphasized by the word 'same' (line 23), in which Wataru appears not to have any intention of designing and carrying out teaching that considers his students' multilingualism. Wataru seems to be worried about his students' Japanese language level, which he perceives to be lower than counterparts in Japan due to the local language environment (lines 18-21), and therefore puts more effort in teaching Japanese than if he was in the home country.

Wataru's concern about students' Japanese skills is also shared in Mabuchi's (2002) study of *nihonjingakkō* teachers in Australia and Malaysia. By analyzing data garnered from interviews and questionnaire to Japanese teachers, Mabuchi illustrates how some teachers were anxious about pupils' low proficiency in Japanese and were more considerate of their students than when they were teaching in Japan.

As we can see, the extracts from Kanako and Wataru imply that their interest in the languages of Belgium is on a superficial level. To prepare for life after repatriating to Japan, both teachers seemed to want their students to be very much similar to those in Japan. Their principle of providing the education equivalent to that of Japan was equally the case among Japanese teachers of English.

5.2.3 Japanese teachers of English (Sakura and Shinichi)

In contrast to the principal and the Japanese teachers of Japanese, the issue of MEXT's strong influence on school education was less prominent among Sakura and Shinichi. This may be due to the fact that the data collection of Sakura and Shinichi concentrated mainly on other topics such as dominance of English and monolingual approach to language teaching. Still, the following excerpt from the questionnaire shows that Sakura and Shinichi also placed emphasis on offering Japan's national curricula.

Extract 5.7: 'To provide students the same education as that of Japan' (SK: Sakura, SH: Shinichi)

Part A. Q3 日本人学校のミッションは何だと思われませんか？(What do you think is the mission of *nihonjingakkō*?)

SK: 日本と同じ教育を提供すると共に、[生徒の]国際性を培うことを目指した創意ある活動を取り入れていくこと。(‘To provide [students] the same education as that of Japan, and to implement creative activities which aim to foster [students] to be internationally minded.’)

SH: 在外で生活される子供達へ日本と同等の教育の提供とその国での生活に適応させる心のサポート(‘To provide the [students] same standard of education to that of Japan, and to support students so that they can adapt to the life in the host country.’)

In spite of the fact that their answers are similar to those of the principal and Japanese language teachers, it appears that Shinichi is more open to the host society. This may be attributed to his rich experiences of studying abroad in the United States (2 weeks during high school), Canada (2 weeks during undergraduate), and Australia (2 years MA). Among the Japanese participants, he was most committed to learning French, one of the official languages of Belgium. This point will be discussed later in a more detailed manner.

I have, so far, provided accounts from the principal and Japanese teachers which demonstrate how they value MEXT principles in carrying out school education. I now turn to Louise, who was the only non-Japanese teacher who raised the issue of MEXT.

5.2.4 Belgian Teacher of French (Louise)

Unlike Japanese participants, being attentive to MEXT and the Course of Study guideline was less of an issue for non-Japanese teachers. This may not be surprising given the fact that none of the non-Japanese teachers were trained as educators in Japan and all were hired locally. The only exception was Louise, who had studied in Japan and was knowledgeable about MEXT. An indication that she was familiar with Japan's education policy was first evident in her questionnaire response. Unlike other non-Japanese teachers who gave answers not evoking MEXT (e.g. provide students confidence, make students enjoy learning English), she stressed the importance of continuing the Japanese curriculum at the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

Extract 5.8: 'To continue the same Japanese curriculum while being abroad' (L: Louise)

Part A. Q3 What do you think is the mission of *nihonjingakkō*?

L: 'To continue the same Japanese curriculum while being abroad and give the students the opportunity to become a citizen of the world.'

Her knowledge of MEXT and Japanese educational policy was also demonstrated in the face-to-face interview. Although the content of the following extract overlaps with the second theme of 'dominance of English', I will present this passage as it serves as an effective link between the two themes. At this point of the proceedings, we were discussing the foreign language education policy of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. I

questioned whether the policy of students having to choose either English or French has been practiced for many years (lines 24-26).

Extract 5.9: ‘Rather the influence from MEXT’ (Y2: Face-to-face interview with Louise)
(Y: Yuta L: Louise)

24. Y: So, was this foreign language policy in which students need to choose between
25. English and French when they are primary 3, has this been from the
26. beginning?
27. L: In fact, like until ten years ago, in the Japanese school, students would all
28. learn French from primary as being a local language. And, in the past, here at
29. JSB [Japanese School of Belgium], they used to have primary 1, 2, 3, 4. All
30. French.
31. Y: I see.
32. L: No choice between English and French. And it was only from primary 5, that
33. they had the choice. But then, I think in Japan, the importance of English has
34. increased. And so, they decided to have students to start English as early as
35. possible. So that giving parents the choice of, children the choice between
36. French and English from primary 3. Yes, that’s how the system evolved. But I
37. think it was rather influence from 文科省 (*monkashō*). Or influence by the
38. tendency in Japan. English is getting more important in Japan.

Louise’s use of Japanese term of 文科省 (*monkashō*), or MEXT, in the interview (line 37) shows her fluency in Japanese and knowledge of Japan’s education policy. As a veteran teacher serving for 18 years, Louise explained how the policy lessened French language education while increasing English education by starting at a lower grade (lines 27-29, lines 32-36). In lines 36-38, Louise explains with her own reasoning that this change came from the top-down policy of MEXT and the increasing popularity of English in Japan. Her narration suggests that this school policy change aligns with those in mainstream schools in Japan. As stated by Mizuguchi and Hasegawa (2016), in 1998, MEXT urged junior high schools to implement more English education by deleting the sections for French and German in the Course of Study guideline. On a related note, as discussed in Chapter 2 and numerous literature (Butler, 2015; Hu & McKay, 2012; Nitta, 2019), Japan’s expansion of English provision and an earlier approach to English language learning was driven by MEXT. From her account, it can be argued that MEXT also exerts influence on Japanese overseas schools’ foreign language education policy,

which may prevent languages other than Japanese and English from being incorporated into the school's language education.

As can be seen from the extracts above, what can be said is rather than creating and carrying out school policy by harnessing the language resources of Belgium, participants (mainly Japanese) are attentive to MEXT. 'We must conduct classes according to the Course of Study Guideline' was a sentence repeatedly heard from both the principal and Japanese language teachers during my two visits to the school. This attentiveness to MEXT resonates with Sato's (1997) argument in which *nihonjingakkō* are bound by MEXT's policy, in particular, the Course of Study guideline.

日本人学校の教育構造そのものに問題がある。特に、学習指導要領という枠の中で、現地理解教育を展開せざるえないという制度上の問題である。

There is a structural problem in the education of *nihonjingakkō*. Especially, there is an institutional problem of developing education for understanding the host society in the framework of the Course of Study Guideline. (Sato, 1997: 98) (Original in Japanese and translated by the researcher)

As is evident in the above quote, Sato is critical of how *nihonjingakkō* is confined by a national perspective, which hinders students from developing understanding of languages and cultures of the host country. Considering the fact that this work was published decades ago, it seems that this structural problem is still present. In addition, some data (Extract 5.1) also indicates that it is not only MEXT, but students' life trajectory and their need to prepare for educational transition upon returning to Japan, which has a huge impact on deciding what languages can be included or not in the school.

Having explored how MEXT exercises preponderant influence on the school, the next section will discuss how English is prioritized over official languages of Belgium in the school's foreign language education.

5.3 Dominance of English in Foreign Language Education

As set out in Chapters 2 and 3, numerous scholars have discussed how the Japanese public internalizes the equation of foreign language is English, while marginalizing the teaching of other foreign languages (Erikawa, 2018; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Kubota,

2019; Seargeant, 2009). This was also the case for *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, as English enjoyed the lion's share of space in the school's foreign language curriculum. In the discussion, I also portray how some participants were supportive of students learning French but were enmeshed in an unwelcome language education struggle brought about by a number of actors. Moreover, I will illustrate how Japanese participants and non-Japanese participants took a different approach regarding the school's multilingual education. Since the theme of 'dominance of English' did not come from Japanese teachers of Japanese, the data is taken from the principal, Japanese teachers of English, and non-Japanese teachers.

5.3.1 Principal (Kazuhiko)

Since the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium also teaches French, around the middle of the first round of face-to-face interviews with Kazuhiko, I asked questions about French language education in the school.

Extract 5.10: 'Students choose English rather than French' (Y1: face-to-face interview with principle) (Y: Yuta, K: Kazuhiko)

39. Y: この学校を研究対象にしたのは英語だけでなく、フランス語も指導
40. されているというのも理由の一つで。

41. K: 一つの課題としては中学になると、[フランス語は]選択になっている
42. ので、どうしても生徒が受験を意識する。やっぱり、ちょっと割合ま
43. でわかりませんが、英語を選択する生徒が多くて、フランス語を
44. 選択する生徒が少ない。外国語教師の方も、そんなこと言われると思
45. うのですけども。受験との絡み。本人の意思とは違うところで。やっ
46. ぱり先のことを見通して受験を意識するということになるとですね。
47. その、受験に関係ない[言語は]、変な話ですけど、生徒はフランス語
48. よりも英語を選択する。

39. Y: One of the reasons why I chose this school for research is because this school
40. also teaches French.

41. K: One of the challenges we face is that in junior high school, it [French] is
42. elective, so obviously students become aware of school entrance exams. I do
43. not know the ratio, but there are many students who choose English and few

44. students choose French. The foreign language teachers will probably say the
45. same thing. Students get caught up with school entrance exam regardless of
46. their intention. When students foresee their future, they think about the school
47. entrance exam. So, [the language] that is not related to school entrance exam,
48. it's a strange story, students choose English rather than French.

As shown, Kazuhiko problematizes the tendency for the majority of the students to choose English rather than French since the language is not the subject for Japan's school entrance examination (lines 41-42, 45-48). The principal's quote, 'regardless of their intention' (lines 45-46), implies that parents play a key role in deciding their children's language choice. As noted by Kunieda (2017), examinees have no choice but to choose English since other foreign languages are generally not offered for school entrance examination in Japan. Kazuhiko's opinion in which 'foreign language teachers will probably say the same thing' (lines 44-45) was later confirmed in the interviews with Japanese teachers of English and non-Japanese language teachers, which will be discussed in detail in following sections.

After Kazuhiko gave an account of the strong influence of the school entrance examination, I questioned his thoughts on providing other official languages of Belgium, Flemish and German, since these languages were absent from the school curriculum.

Extract 5.11: 'French is more widely spoken than Flemish and German' (Y1: face-to-face interview with principle) (Y: Yuta, K: Kazuhiko)

49. Y: ベルギー日本人学校がフラマン語とドイツ語のコースも設けるとい
50. うことに関してはどう思われますか？
51. K: まあ、フラマン語とドイツ語もベルギーの公用語であることは理解し
52. ています。理想的には、フラマン語もドイツ語も教えるのは素晴らしい
53. ですが、フランス語が一番人気で広く使われていますし。それに現実的
54. には、[新しい言語コースを設ける]時間もないですし。また、[フラマ
55. ン語とドイツ語のコースがあったとしても]、私は[授業を]取る生徒は
56. とても少ないと思います。これらの言語は受験科目ではないですし。

49. Y: What are your thoughts on also having Flemish and German courses in the

50. *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium?
51. K: Well, I do understand that Flemish and German are also official languages of
52. Belgium. Ideally, it would be great to teach also Flemish and German. But,
53. French is the most popular and widely used language. And realistically, we do
54. not have time [to allocate new language courses]. And I think even if we did
55. [have Flemish and German language courses], very few will take [the classes]
56. because these languages are not school entrance exam subjects.

Although Kazuhiko shows his knowledge of the linguistic situation in Belgium (lines 51-52) and would like to add Flemish and Dutch to the school education (line 52), he also expresses reluctance to include these official languages (lines 53-56). This is legitimized by the low status of these languages in comparison with French (line 53), limited class hours (line 54), and the fact that Flemish and Dutch are not ‘school entrance subjects’ (line 56). Similar accounts were reported by Fukuda (2018) in her study on *nihonjingakkō* in Catalonia which provides Spanish language education but not Catalan. One of her participants, the vice-principal of the school, voiced his opinion that Catalan is not taught in the school because “(Spanish) is spoken also in Latin America, whilst use of Catalan is limited to Catalonia” (Fukuda, 2018: 8). Even though this study was not able to reveal who chose French as additional foreign language to the school and the reason behind its decision, the above extract suggests that the status of languages was also one of the causes for the school not to have Flemish and German language education.

Also, recalling the principal’s supportive comment on learning local languages in the questionnaire (see extract 5.3), the above excerpt seems paradoxical. This contradiction was also indicated in Kazuhiko’s answer and thought about his own learning of the languages of the host country.

Extract 5.12: ‘I want to learn, but I do not have time’ (K: Kazuhiko)

Part B. Q1 今現在、派遣先の国の言語を学習していますか？その場合はどのように、学習されていますか。学習されていない場合は、その理由をお聞かせください。(Are you learning the language(s) of the country where your *nihonjingakkō* is based? If so, what kind of method are you using? If not, why not?)

K: 学習したいが、時間がない。英語はオランダに比べ、比較的通じやすい。

フランス語は難しいが、簡単な日常会話ができるようになりたい。(I want to learn, but I do not have time. Compared to the Netherlands, English is relatively widely understood in Belgium. French is difficult, but I want to learn simple daily conversation.)

As is evident, Kazuhiko has the desire to learn French but is actually not learning. He rationalizes this by explaining his busy schedule and Belgium's comfortable environment in which English is widely spoken. What is also noticeable in this excerpt is that Kazuhiko equates local languages to French, which chimes with the absence of Flemish and Dutch from school language curriculum, website, and school handbook.

Thus far, I have illustrated how parents and Japan's school entrance examination has huge impact on the foreign language education of *nihonjingakkō*. Additionally, a comparison of Kazuhiko's questionnaire and interview responses reveals the complexity and contradiction of his perceptions of local languages and their place in the school. I now turn to Japanese teachers of English, who also articulated the strong influence of the school entrance examination and shared contradictory comments regarding official language education.

5.3.2 Japanese teachers of English (Sakura and Shinichi)

The first time when I raised the topic of English dominance was around the middle of the group interviews with Sakura and Shinichi. As I explained that the school's French education was one factor in my choice of this school as the research site, both Sakura and Shinichi reasoned that the school entrance examination plays a critical role in students' and parents' language choice.

Extract 5.13: 'We have been told by parents. English is becoming stronger.' (Y1: group interview with Sakura and Shinichi) (Y: Yuta, SA: Sakura, SH: Shinichi)

57. Y: それで、ベルギーを何故選んだのかといいますと、ここは、フランス語も教えているということ。
59. SA: [...]
60. SH: 親のニーズは英語[を子どもらに学んでもらう]。
61. SA: 特に、歳が上がるにつれ。やっぱりどこで帰るにしろ、一番近い将来は高校受験なのですね。私は言語学者じゃないけど、言語学的

63. なポジションとしては、どの言語を学んだとしても言語を学ぶとい
64. うそのプロセス自体は結局、後で英語を勉強したいとなっても絶対
65. 活かされると思っているけど。
66. SH: やっぱり、マイナー・ランゲージになればなるほど、そういうふう
67. になる[親が他の外国語ではなく英語を選択する]。 [生徒が]親から
68. フランス語ではなく英語を選ぶよう言われているので。僕たちとし
69. てはその現地語を学んでもらいたいということはある。でも、保護
70. 者のニーズを支えるというのも一つの役割。それに、やっぱり親も
71. [生徒]もここにいる方って、大体、3年スパンで[日本へ]変えられる
72. 方が多いので。ここに永住するとかではない子が多いので。そうい
73. う意味では[フランス語を学ぶ]メリットが少ない。
74. SA: 日本の受験システムが変わらない限り、この傾向は変わらないと
75. 思う。(暗いムード)
57. Y: So, the reason why I chose Belgium is because here, this school also teaches
58. French language.
59. SA: [...]
60. SH: Well, the parents' needs are [for their children to learn] English.
61. SK: Especially when they get older. No matter when you return to Japan, in the
62. near future, there is the entrance exam. Although I am not a linguist, from the
63. linguistic point of view, no matter what language you learn, the process of
64. learning a language itself will definitely be of use when students wish to
65. learn a language afterwards.
66. SH: You see, as the language becomes more minor, it becomes like this [parents
67. choose English instead of other foreign language(s)]. [Students] are told by
68. their parents to choose English and not French. For us, we would like
69. students to learn the local languages. But there are parents' needs and one of
70. our tasks is to support their needs. And people here, including parents [and
71. students] usually return [to Japan] within 3 years. It's not like students will
72. reside here permanently. Considering this, there is not much benefit [of
73. learning French].
74. SA: Unless there is no change to Japan's school entrance examination, I think
75. this tendency will not change. (**Gloomy atmosphere**)

In this passage, unlike the principal, Shinichi explicitly says that the students' choice

of English rather than French is led by parents (line 60). Sakura agrees with Shinichi and explains that this becomes a stronger tendency as students advance to junior high school since they need to take high school entrance examinations (line 61-62). She continues by giving an intriguing opinion in which she states her view that learning another language also has cognitive advantages as it can aid English learning (lines 63-65), implying that parents' choice is regrettable. Her opinion echoes that of participants of Portolés & Martí (2020)'s study in which pre-service language teachers agree that learning many languages is cognitively beneficial. Echoing the principal's statement in Extract 5.9, Shinichi also implicitly suggests that the tendency to choose English becomes stronger as the language becomes minor (lines 66-67). However, facing external pressures from parents, Sakura and Shinichi need to cater to parents' demands for the children to study English (lines 68-70). As discussed by Okamura (2017), although *nihonjingakkō* are supported by the government of Japan, tuition paid by parents are also a major source of income. Therefore, demand from parents can be influential as they may decide to have their children transfer to international school or send them back to Japan (Okamura, 2017). And in lines 70-73, Shinichi appears to defend students and parents for their preference for English, as they will eventually repatriate to Japan where French has limited academic and economic capital (Seargeant, 2009). Finally, Sakura closes the exchange by claiming that if nothing is done to change Japan's school entrance examination, parents and students will continue to prefer choosing English over other foreign languages (lines 74-75).

As we can see, Sakura and Shinichi lament the situation in which French has limited interest from students and parents. To brighten up the mood, after a short break, I proposed that if French is added to the subject of school entrance examination it might motivate students to choose French. Nonetheless, both Sakura and Shinichi exhibited unenthusiastic responses, reflecting those of the principal.

Extract 5.14: 'Why [make] French [as the subject for school entrance exam].' (Y1: group interview with Sakura and Shinichi) (Y: Yuta, SA: Sakura, SH: Shinichi)

76. Y: それでしたら、フランス語が受験科目になれば[フランス語を選らぶ
77. 生徒が増えるのかもしれない]。
78. SH:でも、そうすると今後はなぜフランス語を受験科目にするのかという
79. ことに。

80. Y: それでも、[フランス語は]グローバルな言語ですし。

81. SH & SA: まあ。

76. Y. Then, if French is also added to the subjects for the school entrance exam

77. [there might be more students who will choose French].

78. SH: But then, it becomes why [make] French [a subject for school entrance

79. exam].

80. Y: But it [French] is a global language.

81. SH & SA: Well.

Here, like the principal, both Sakura and Shinichi appear to be disinclined toward increasing opportunities for students to learn multiple languages (lines 78-79, line 81). Even when I emphasized that French is ‘a global language’ (line 80), their unwillingness persisted. This reluctance was also reflected in the questionnaire, in which Sakura noted that she cannot study French since she is preoccupied with her teaching job.

Extract 5.15: ‘I really want to study French, but I am preoccupied with my job’ (SA: Sakura, SH: Shinichi)

Part 2. Q1 今現在、派遣先の国の言語を学習していますか？その場合はどのように、学習されていますか。学習されていない場合は、その理由をお聞かせください。(Are you learning the language(s) of the country where your *nihonjinguakkō* is based? If so, what kind of method are you using? If not, why not?)

SA: 学習できていません。学習したい気持ちは、十分ありますが、日々、業務に追われてしまい、できないでいます。(I cannot study [French]. I really want to study French, but I am preoccupied with my job, and thus, I cannot study.)

SH: フランス語[を学んでいます]。以前は、語学学校で[学んでいました]。今は独学。[I study] French. Before [I was learning] at a language school. Now I study by myself.

Sakura’s experience of leading a busy life chimes with the answers of the principal (see extract 5.10) and also with other Japanese participants. Therefore, Shinichi’s answers in which he studies French while working at the school is laudable. Yet, in all

the responses given to this question by Japanese participants, Flemish and German were not mentioned. French was chosen by default as ‘the language of the host country’ which reflects the school policy favoring French over Flemish and German.

As illustrated by my data, parents and Japan’s school entrance examination are influential in deciding which foreign language should be incorporated in the *nihonjingakkō* curriculum. English is a preferred choice among students and parents, since it is generally the only language validated in the form of an academic certificate (Kunieda, 2017; Morizumi et al., 2016). As a result, the principal and Japanese teachers of English had to accept their request which, in turn, made it difficult for the school to have more official language education. However, the data also suggests that the principal, Sakura, and Shinichi are reluctant to enrich the school’s multilingual education, which is represented in their seemingly self-contradictory accounts. This finding resonates with what Mabuchi (2002) found when researching the *nihonjingakkō* in Malaysia, where Malay was not included in the school’s language curriculum. In the early stage of his research, the majority of Japanese teachers stated that “students should also learn Malay” (p. 202), but as the study progressed, only a handful of Japanese teachers agreed with the opinion “that the school should also have Malay in the school curriculum” (p. 203). Hence, it can also be argued that they are implicitly concurring with parents’ perception in which other foreign languages are not worth learning, which is also reflected in their low commitment to studying French (except for Shinichi).

Having discussed the data given by the Japanese participants, I will now proceed to non-Japanese language teachers who also raised concerns about the dominance of English. In contrast to the Japanese participants, the words of non-Japanese language teachers quoted in the following sections shows a very different response they took to school’s multilingual education.

5.3.3 Non-Japanese teachers of English (Diego, Mary, Katherine, and Alice)

The first group interview with the four non-Japanese teachers of English (Diego, Mary, Katherine, and Alice) was done immediately after the group interviews with Japanese participants. Having learnt from the principal and Japanese teachers that English is a preferred choice over French, I questioned their thoughts on this tendency in the initial stage of the group interview.

Extract 5.16: ‘Students have always in mind that they have to pass the exam’ (Y1: group interview with non-Japanese teachers of English) (Y: Yuta, M: Mary, K: Katherine)

82. Y: Just now, I learned from Japanese teachers that there is the tendency that most
83. students choose English and not French. So, can you tell me what you feel
84. about this or think about this [tendency].

85. M: The parents decide that maybe that language will be more helpful to their
86. children when they grow older. So, I suppose that really influences the
87. decision. And then often the kids who choose French, it might be, one of the
88. reasons might be because they already have a pretty good level of English.
89. They might have lived in another country already. So, they might choose
90. French instead.

91. K: And the nature of this school is that students stay for three years, four years.
92. They all go back to Japan. Not all, but most of the students go back to Japan.
93. And in Japan, French is not taught. And so, I think that’s why the parents also
94. [choose English instead of French].

95. M: Students have always in mind that they have to pass the exam, you know in
96. junior high. And having had English here can help.

In this extract, Mary starts off by stating that parents have a huge influence on students’ language choice (lines 85-87). However, Mary also states that some students select French, and suggests that the choice may be driven by their intellectual curiosity since they have already acquired proficient level of English partly due to their migrant lifestyle (lines 87-90), which is a point not raised by the Japanese participants. Katherine joins the discussion by adding that students’ relatively short sojourn in Belgium and the fact that French is not taught in Japan (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016), prompt students to choose English rather than French (lines 91-94). And Mary responds by saying that the school entrance exam also plays a role in becoming English as a popular choice for parents and students (lines 95-96).

As is evident, even though Mary and Katherine’s accounts are similar to those of the school principal and Japanese teachers of English, Mary makes an intriguing point about why some students choose French. The group interview continued with the topic of possible reasons on why students learn French.

Extract 5.17: ‘Because the child would like to do a club here’ (Y1: group interview with

non-Japanese teachers of English) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice, K: Katherine)

97. A: We have observed is, well we've spoken to children if there is ever a change
98. in why they are going to choose French. It's quite often because the child
99. would like to do a club here. Sports club, or an activity where they would
100. like to interact with other Belgian children. So, might benefit from speaking
101. French.

102. K: I think we all encourage them to take French if their, it it's [English
103. proficiency] is native level. If we have somebody who has lived in States or
104. in the UK, and who comes to join our English classes, we try to encourage
105. them to take French. Because and it might be a little, too easy for them. And
106. it would be better for them to be challenged in French.

As these excerpts show, Alice explains that some students would like to further develop their relationship with local people by learning French, and this is likely to be the main driving force for them to pursue French learning (lines 98-101). Moreover, as Katherine describes in lines 102-105, it is noteworthy that non-Japanese teachers of English are in the position to offer encouragement to take French to students with native proficiency in English, since this kind of active support was not given during the interviews with Japanese participants. Despite the risk of losing their job teaching English, if teachers deemed it beneficial, they advise and support students in taking French classes instead.

Their push for students to develop their French language education may arise from their strong devotion to learning multiple languages in association with their itinerant lifestyle. Below is an excerpt from the e-mail interview with Alice, one of the key participants of the study as she gave the most detailed story of her language learning experiences. Alice is a native of the United Kingdom, and is an ardent language learner who mastered Dutch, French, German, and Spanish. The following account clearly shows her commitment to learning the official languages of Belgium.

Extract 5.18: 'I am a firm believer that if you live in a country you should make the best effort to learn their language(s)' (1st E-mail interview with Alice) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

107. Y: Can you tell me your story of learning languages? Where, when, why, and
108. how have you learnt these languages?

109. A: [...] When I moved to Belgium I couldn't speak Dutch. I wanted to be able
110. to speak, read and write it to ensure swift integration into Belgium. I didn't
111. want to rely on anyone else to always have to translate or interpret
112. for me, nor for friends to always have to speak English just for my benefit.
113. Lots of listening to the radio, speaking, making mistakes, and watching
114. TV. I also knew that I would have to learn French again – for professional
115. and practical reasons. For two years I followed evening classes. I also
116. learned by practicing at work, listening to the radio, reading the newspaper
117. and speaking when out and about. These are things that I still do now. I am a
118. firm believer that if you live in a country you should make the best efforts to
119. learn their language(s).

Here, Alice provides a rich narrative of her language learning experiences. Even after she gained a proficient level of Spanish and German during her schoolyears in the United Kingdom and by studying abroad to Spain (see Appendix 7 for fuller transcription), she continued her journey as a multilingual learner after settling in Belgium. While agreeing with the principal (Extract 5.12) that English can be understood in Belgium (lines 110-112), unlike the principal, she assiduously studied Dutch by herself using multiple methods (lines 113-114). Her devotion toward language learning is also displayed in lines 114-118. Even though Alice stopped studying French at a secondary school in the United Kingdom, feeling a pressing need for acquiring French in Belgium, she restarted her French learning by studying by herself and attending evening classes (lines 114-118). She concludes her story by insisting on the importance of learning the language(s) of the country of residence (lines 118-119).

Up to this point, I have demonstrated that non-Japanese teachers of English also gave similar accounts to those of Japanese participants. What is common in their accounts is that English is favored over French, and this is mainly due to the overemphasis on English within Japan's school entrance examination and language curriculum in mainstream schools. However, contrary to Japanese participants' unwillingness to expand the opportunities for students to learn more official languages, non-Japanese teachers of English were more enthusiastic about having students study French. This enthusiasm was also found in the interviews with non-Japanese teachers of French.

5.3.4 Non-Japanese teachers of French (Louise, Emma, and Elena)

As shown by the previous data excerpts, non-Japanese teachers of French (Louise, Emma, and Elena) can be said to be in a vulnerable position. Contrary to other language subjects, French is not a mandatory subject after primary 3, and most students choose English and not French. The group interview with Louise, Emma, and Elena was conducted last. By bringing up the previous group interviews I had had with Japanese teachers of English and non-Japanese teachers of English in the early stage of the interview, I asked how they perceived the tendency for the majority of students to select English rather than French. In contrast to other group interviews, ‘English dominance’ became a central topic and brought rich discussions.

Extract 5.19: ‘I think it’s a pity that they have to choose between French and English’ (Y1: group interview with local Belgian teachers of French) (Y: Yuta, E: Emma, EL: Elena)

120. Y: So, can you tell me what you think or feel about this tendency that students
121. choose English instead of French?
122. E: Well, it’s very, it’s kind of sad. Of course, we understand that parents want
123. them to learn English for when they go back to Japan. Well it is English
124. which will be important for them. But, I think, I think, the three of us all
125. think that it’s going to be easier for them if they learn French because they
126. will adapt to the environment easily. But I think it’s a pity that they have to
127. choose between French and English. They shouldn’t choose. They should
128. have both of languages. Before, French was compulsory from primary 1 to
129. 4. And, some years ago, they decided that they can choose it from primary 3.
130. EL: For the parents, they think that putting them in English will help keep their
131. children’s English. But our experience is that when they learn another
132. language, it’s not that a scientific, but that’s what we all observe. When they
133. learn another language [French], they don’t forget the other one [English].

In this passage, while acknowledging the fact that English will be highly important for students, Emma laments the ‘English dominance’ and insists on having both languages in the school curriculum (lines 122-128). Emma continues by describing the school’s policy change (lines 128-129) that led to the reduction of French language teaching and learning, which was also reported by Louise in Extract 5.7. In addition, similar to Sakura’s remarks in Extract 5.13, Elena also addressed the linguistic and cognitive benefit of learning French in conjunction with English (lines 131-133). Elena

proceeds by explaining that the majority of students choose English believing that it will help them learn English for school entrance examination, which she calls English Japanese.

Extract 5.20: ‘Choose English because they think that it would be easier to learn the English Japanese’ (Y1: group interview with non-Japanese teachers of French) (EL: Elena)

134. EL. So, most of them choose English because they think that it would be easier
135. to learn the English Japanese. But, it’s a conversation class. And the content,
136. and the way of teaching the English of Japanese programme is quite different.
137. So, we don’t think that it helps.

In this extract, Elena questions the benefit of selecting English courses taught by non-Japanese teachers (lines 135-137), since her class emphasizes conversation, not the grammar and translation which is valued in passing the school entrance examination (Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Kikuchi, 2006; O’Donnell, 2005). Her account suggests that the English taught by Japanese teachers at the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium also places an emphasis on preparing students to pass competitive entrance examinations, as found in previous studies on English education in mainstream schools in Japan (Butler & Iino, 2005; Yamada, 2015).

As the group interview went on, French language teachers reported how students who take French are highly motivated. As shown, Emma gives a similar reasoning as Alice in Extract 5.17, indicating that students who pursued French had a powerful rationale for developing skills in French in order to achieve or deepen a friendly relationship with local people (lines 138-140).

Extract 5.21: ‘Activity outside of school and they want to learn more French’ (Y1: group interview with non-Japanese teachers of French) (EM: Emma)

138. EM: But it’s most of the time it’s the students who are very interested in languages
139. and culture. Or they do an out-of-school activity such as football, and they
140. want to learn more French to strengthen ties with local people.

Toward the end of the group interview, I asked teachers if there were any final questions or comments (lines 141-142). While recalling her career as a French language teacher of

the school serving for 18 years (line 143), Louise gave a description of students' and parents' increasing interest in learning French by comparing the past and present.

Extract 5.22 'Parents in general are more and more interested in learning languages'
(Y1: group interview with non-Japanese teachers of French) (Y: Yuta, L: Louise)

141. Y: If you have any questions or comments, final things to say before we end the
142. interview.
143. L: I feel that more and more with the time I've been working here 18 years,
144. parents in general, are more and more interested in learning languages.
145. I remember that, a teacher that worked in in the school before me. From the
146. start of the school, many years ago, she worked here more than 20 years, and
147. what she said was Japanese students thought French classes were kind of a
148. play time. So, 遊ぶ (Asobu=Play in Japanese). They didn't see it as
149. something serious to study. That's really changing. And I think it's coming
150. partly from the parents. And them being more conscious about the
151. importance of languages, and I think they give that message to their children.
152. And, so we have more and more mothers that have a quite a good level in
153. French. We have open classes and parents can come and ask us questions, or
154. we give them sheets to write down whatever they think or their requests
155. regarding language. And they show it also through coming to us, and asking,
156. "What can I do so my child improves his French?" And, I think more and
157. more parents tend to try and put their child into sports activity after school.

The above narrative demonstrates that although English has been in a dominant position in the *nihonjingakkō*, French is gradually gaining interest from students and parents (line 144, lines 149-152, lines 155-157), compared to the time when learning the language was seen as a leisure (lines 147-149). French languages teachers are enthusiastically viewing this change as an advantage, and like the non-Japanese teacher of English (see extract 5.17), support students' French language learning by having open classes and answering parents' questions related to French (lines 153-156).

This increasing interest in French also resonates with Fukuda's (2018) research on *nihonjingakkō* in Catalonia. In the *nihonjingakkō* in Catalonia, there are some parents who are also fluent in Spanish and Catalan and would like their children to learn Spanish and Catalan in addition to Japanese and English. This change may come from

parents' and students' view in which French provides social and cultural benefits to enable understanding of the host society, rather than academic or economic benefits gained from mastering the language.

5.4 Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter was to present narrated accounts from Japanese and non-Japanese participants on the theme of 'influence of MEXT' and 'English dominance in the foreign language education'. The data and its descriptive analysis raise several important issues which help understand what factors affect the school's decisions about which languages should be incorporated in the curriculum.

First, the principal and Japanese teachers were attentive to MEXT, represented in their responses by their reiteration of the Course of Study guideline. Even though the school is in Belgium, the Japanese participants positioned the school as if it were a mainstream school in Japan. Placing the Course of Study guideline as a basis for the school's language education policy can impede the school from introducing official languages into the curriculum, since the guideline sets Japanese and English as main languages to be taught with other languages missing (Erikawa, 2018; Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016).

Secondly, English was the most favored foreign language among students and parents. This is seen in the participants' accounts in which parents guide their children to choose English instead of French. This is mainly due to the fact that English is overall the only language which get accredited in the school entrance examination (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016), even as Japan is linguistically diversifying (Nakane, Otsuji, & Armour, 2015; Shoji, 2019). As most parents expect to return to Japan within several years, they are very conscious of the need for their children to pass the school entrance examination because it is tied to their children's future academic, economic, and social wellbeing (Kariya, 2012). Added to this is the fact that foreign languages other than English are not generally taught in Japan's mainstream schools (Erikawa, 2018; Fujita-Round, 2019), which reinforces their preference to select English. However, some students choose French over English, reflecting the growing interest in French among these students and parents. These students tend to be highly motivated by personal factors, such as developing relationships with local peer groups.

And lastly, the data demonstrates stark differences between Japanese participants and

non-Japanese participants' approaches toward languages and multilingual education. Even though both groups regretted the dominance of English, non-Japanese teachers were more active in supporting students to learn French. Their enthusiasm may come from their devotion to language learning, as exemplified by Alice's narrative in Extract 5.18. On the other hand, Japanese teachers seemed unwilling to make changes. This is demonstrated in the passive resistance they exhibited when I made a proposal for curriculum change and school entrance examination reform (Extracts 5.11 and 5.14). Their reluctance is also reflected in their learning of official languages of Belgium (Extracts 5.12 and 5.15), as the majority of them do not demonstrate deep commitment despite expressing motivation. On a related note, the data also portrays the separateness between the two groups, as the point about the rising popularity of French was not one raised by the Japanese participants.

Having discussed the two key themes, the subsequent chapter will present what perceptions the school and participants have about language education, and how these are manifested in language policy and language teaching.

Chapter 6: Monolingual approaches to pedagogy, CLT/native speaker-oriented teaching, and monolithic views of language and culture

6.1 Introduction

As noted, this chapter discusses second research question by presenting data and its descriptive analysis of how language ideologies were manifested in the language policy and language teaching. Three themes will be discussed in the order of 1) monolingual approaches to language teaching, 2) CLT and native speaker-oriented pedagogy, and 3) monolithic views of language and culture. In the first section, I will illustrate how languages were perceived as discrete entities and, consequently, taught in isolation while discouraging the use of other languages. As argued by scholars (Wei & Wu, 2009), this is an example of One Language Only (OLON) or One Language at a Time (OLAT) policy, as students and teachers were encouraged to use only the target language in the classroom while multilingual, flexible use of languages was often prohibited and viewed negatively. Then, I will proceed to the second section in which I demonstrate how monolingual approaches to pedagogy were practiced in the form of CLT. This feature was prominent in non-Japanese language teachers, who were positioned by the school as ‘native speaker’ teachers, and therefore also as experts in CLT. And in the final section, I will describe how the school and language teachers’ understanding of language and culture was situated and shaped within the nation-state framework.

Although this chapter will generally follow the structure and data presentation style of Chapter 6, two changes were made. First, for the theme of CLT and native speaker-oriented pedagogy, the order will be reversed and the data from non-Japanese participants will be given first and followed by that of the Japanese participants. This is due to the fact that this theme was more salient for non-Japanese teachers, which may reflect the general trend in which CLT and native-speaker oriented pedagogy is mainly associated with English rather than Japanese (Hashimoto, 2018c; Hirahata, 2014). Secondly, for presenting the data from school websites, I have inserted screenshots to vividly capture how the school presents its language education policy to the public.

6.2 Monolingual approaches to language teaching

This section will highlight how the perception that monolingual approaches to

language teaching prohibit students from using languages other than the target language were widely shared by the participants. Regardless of their language education background, language subjects, and linguistic repertoire, the majority of the participants firmly conceived that this approach was the best practice for students' language acquisition. I also attempt to demonstrate how these monolingual practices were partly developed from participants' language learning experiences.

6.2.1 Principal (Kazuhiko)

The topic of 'monolingual approaches to pedagogy' arose during the first face-to-face interview with the principal. Towards the end of the interview, since I was curious to know about students' language use in a school set up in multilingual Belgium, I asked the principal if there were any instances of students speaking languages other than Japanese or alternating between two or more languages (lines 1-2).

Extract 6.1: 'I do not see the point of students and teachers using languages other than Japanese' (Y1: face-to-face interview with principle) (Y: Yuta, K: Kazuhiko)

1. Y: 学校で、生徒が日本語以外の言語を話す、また様々な言語を交互に
2. 駆使しながら使うことはあるのでしょうか？
3. K: (驚きと戸惑いの表情を見せながら、数秒間沈黙が続く) 一部、日本語
4. があまりできない生徒がいる補習校と違って、日本語以外の言葉を学
5. 校で使う必要は、外国語の授業以外は必要ない。日本人学校は両親も
6. も生徒も日本人で、家庭で日本語を使っているのです。ですので、様々
7. な言語を[生徒が]交互に使うということはない。

1. Y: Do students speak languages other than Japanese in the school, or alternate
2. various languages?
3. K: (After few seconds of pause with a look of surprise and confusion) Unlike
4. *hoshukō*, where some students have limited Japanese skills, I do not see the
5. point of students using languages other than Japanese, except for foreign
6. language courses. Parents and students of *nihonjingakkō* are all Japanese and use
7. Japanese in their household. Thus, students do not alternate various languages.

As can be seen from the extract, what comes through forcefully is Kazuhiko's idea of language separation and the monolithic equation of language with nationality (lines 4-6, lines 6-7). Judging from the principal's bewilderment (line 3), it seems that the principal is unaware of the potential benefits of fluid use of languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Marshall, 2020) or conceives it as having a negative effect on students' language learning. In addition, by making comparison with *hoshukō*, or Japanese complementary school¹⁵, he confidently assumes that all students and parents of *nihonjingakkō* use only Japanese (lines 6-7) in the school and household, apparently overlooking other languages they may master and choose to speak. At this point, Kazuhiko looked puzzled and displeased, since my question may have challenged his belief in which languages should be used and taught discretely. Therefore, from this point onwards, topics related to 'monolingual approaches to pedagogy' were avoided to prevent possible conflict with the principal. However, his accounts indicate that the school has no education philosophy which values students' rich linguistic repertoire, as the principal seems not to consider their multilingual ability as resource that can be actively embedded in the language learning process.

Still, Kazuhiko's comments about which students predominantly speak Japanese in the school was quickly confirmed during my fieldwork. I rarely heard or witnessed the use of languages other than Japanese, including students' private spaces such as playgrounds and hallways where teachers' surveillance tends to be weaker than classrooms (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Heller, 2006). As explained by the principal, the only exception was English and French classrooms, where language teaching was conducted profoundly in the target language. Likewise, the only time when I encountered students' and teachers' codeswitching (Corcoll, 2013; Galante et al., 2020; Marshall & Moore, 2018) was when I observed English classes team-taught by Japanese and non-Japanese teachers, which will be discussed further in later sections. In other words, the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium successfully functioned as a monolingual Japanese speaking institution in a non-Japanese dominant area. Contrary to many studies which state that students' codeswitching is a common practice in school context (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Wei & Wu, 2009), this was not the case for the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium.

After the first interview with the principal, I proceeded with the group interview with

¹⁵ According to the short conversation I had with the principal of *hoshukō*, various languages are used outside the classroom. Still, there is a strict language segregation policy of only allowing Japanese in classroom.

Kanako and Wataru, teachers of Japanese language. The group interview soon demonstrated how the school's monolingual principle was carried out in their Japanese language teaching.

6.2.2 Japanese teachers of Japanese (Kanako and Wataru)

After I finished the first face-to-face interview with the principal, this monolingual approach to language education provided me with pause for thought. As I moved on with the group interview with Japanese teachers of Japanese, I started to recognize the ways in which Japanese language teachers act to enforce this approach.

The theme of 'monolingual approaches to language teaching' emerged naturally as Kanako answered my question of what she values for Japanese language education in the school. The following extract is a continuation of Extract 5.3 in Chapter 5, in which she explains the diversity of her students' educational and linguistic backgrounds. She reports how some of her students converse in French (lines 8-10), and kindly advises those students to only speak Japanese since this is *nihonjingakkō* and Japanese is learned in the class (lines 9-10).

Extract 6.2: 'Please say "Arigatō" (Y1: group interview with Kanako and Wataru) (Y: Yuta, KN: Kanako)

8. KN: でも、中には子供によっては、フランス語で答えたり。「ありがとう」
9. という時にも「メルシー・ボクー」と言ったりする子がいるので。こ
10. こは日本人学校で日本語学んでいるから、「ありがとう」で言ってね。
11. Y: では、日本語学習する時は、生徒はフランス語でしたりオランダ語
12. を使う時は、日本語だけを使うように。
13. KN: そうですね。
14. Y: 使わないように[日本語以外の言語を]。
15. K: そうですね。はい。教室の中では。

8. KN: But there are some students who answer in French. Even when they have to
9. say 'Arigato' (*thank you*), they say "Merci beaucoup". Then, I explain that
10. this is *nihonjingakkō*, and we are learning Japanese, so please say "Arigato".
11. Y: So, when students use languages such as French or Dutch, you try to get

12. students to only use Japanese.
13. KN: Yes.
14. Y: Try not [to use languages other than Japanese].
15. K: Yes. Inside the classroom.

In this excerpt, Kanako gives a detailed example of how she forbids the use of languages other than Japanese by bringing up the case of one of her students who responds to her questions in French (lines 8-10). Kanako instructs the student to speak in Japanese (lines 9-10), by emphasizing that this is Japanese class in *nihonjingakkō*. As can be also seen from how she repeatedly replies ‘yes’ to my questions confirming her restriction of students’ multilingual language use (lines 11-12, 13), similar to the principal, it can be said that Kanako also views students’ flexible use of two or more languages as a potential hindrance to Japanese learning. Even though Kanako is multilingual (Japanese, English, and German), she does not make greater use of students’ diverse linguistic repertoire in her instruction. Furthermore, from these accounts, it appears that both the principal and Kanako have not encountered the notion of language as a resource (Hult & Hornberger, 2016), either in their initial teacher education or language learning experiences, which points to the widespread, common-sensical perceptions of OLON and OLAT (Wei & Wu, 2009) in the educational settings.

As we can see, her accounts demonstrate how her Japanese teaching is grounded in a monolingual principle. Her monolingual approaches to pedagogy were observed when I carried out classroom observation during my second fieldwork trip in October. Although I did not witness her asking students not to speak languages other than Japanese, Kanako’s medium of instruction and students’ interaction was solely in Japanese. Given that the academic year of *nihonjingakkō* starts from April and ends in March (Kojima, 1999; Sato, 2010; Okamura, 2017), generally aligning with mainstream schooling in Japan, it can be argued that students were accustomed to Kanako’s Japanese-only teaching and were aware that they should not speak other languages in her class.

Even though I was not able to investigate Kanako’s teacher training trajectory in Japan, her monolingual approaches to language teaching may partly derive from her experience of learning German during her study abroad. In the e-mail interview, Kanako describes how she primarily communicated in German.

Extract 6.3: ‘[I] basically used only German’ (2nd E-mail interview with Kanako) (Y:

Yuta KN: Kanako)

16. Y: ドイツではどのようにドイツ語を勉強していましたか?
17. KN: [...]ドイツで出会った日本人とは日本語を使いました。ただ、その他
18. の人たちとはいつもドイツ語でした。ドイツ語だけの方がドイツ語
19. の習得になると思っていました。ですので、ドイツでは基本ドイツ
20. 語しか使いませんでした。

16. Y: How did you learn German in Germany?
17. KN: [...] I used Japanese language with Japanese who I met in Germany. But, to
18. other people, I always used only German. I thought that using only German
19. will be better for acquiring German. So, basically, I used only German when
20. I was in Germany.

Here, her accounts resonate with Krashen's input hypothesis (1982), as she perceived that being exposed to German as much as possible can yield the best results in mastering German. Hence, her monolingual language learning experience may have influenced her Japanese-only teaching at the *nihonjingakkō*.

In the same way as Kanako, Wataru also recounted how he exclusively uses Japanese in his pedagogy to junior high school students. After Kanako finished explaining her students' linguistic repertoire and medium of instruction (Extract 5.3 and 6.2), I questioned if students also use languages such as French and Dutch in his classroom (lines 21-22).

Extract 6.4: "I conduct classes in Japanese" (Y1: focus group interview with Kanako and Wataru) (Y: Yuta, W: Wataru)

21. Y: 中学にも同じようなことは、起きるのでしょうか?教室の中で、[生
22. 徒]がフランス語でしたり、オランダ語を生徒が話したり。
23. W: 基本、年齢が上がるにつれ、生徒は帰国後の日本での生活を考えま
24. す。ですので、教室の中で、[生徒から]英語やオランダ語が出ること
25. とは、まずない。また、受験を見据えた教育というものをお家の方
26. も含めてやっております。[生徒が]受験に合格するため、そして
27. [生徒が]帰国後、日本で過ごしてきた子たちと、一緒の生活を送ると

28. きに不利にならないようなことは意識しています。ですので、[私は]
29. 日本語での授業をしています。

21. Y: Does a similar thing happen also for junior high? [Students] speaking French
22. and Dutch in your classroom?

23. W: Basically, as students grow older, students will think about their lives after
24. returning to Japan. Thus, in my classroom, [students] speaking languages
25. such as English and Dutch does not happen. And with parents, we prepare
26. students for the school entrance exam. I am conscious of having [my
27. students] pass school entrance exam, and to prevent [my students] from being
28. disadvantaged when they have to live their lives with students who have
29. been living in Japan. Therefore, [I] conduct my classes in Japanese.

The above excerpt shows that unlike Kanako's students, Wataru's students do not speak languages other than Japanese (lines 23-25) as they become conscious of life after repatriating to Japan. Wataru reports that his Japanese class is characterized by preparation for high school entrance examination (lines 25-26), which echoes other research findings about Japanese mainstream schools (Gottlieb, 2008). He continues by conveying the fact that his Japanese-only stance is rigorously enacted so that his students can pass school entrance examination and make a smooth transition to Japan (lines 26-29). Wataru's account also reminds us that parents and Japan's school entrance examination has huge impact upon the school's language education.

Up to this point, I have illustrated that both Kanako and Wataru have a taken-for-granted notion that Japanese-only teaching is best for students' Japanese learning and view pupils' multilingual use in the classroom as a hindrance, rather than a benefit to Japanese language learning development (Garcia & Kano, 2014). Their monolingual teaching reflects that in Japanese mainstream schools, which exclusively use Japanese as a medium of instruction, while languages of linguistic minority students are marginalized (Kanno, 2008; Miyajima, 2014; Sakuma, 2015, 2016; Sato, 2019). I now turn to Sakura and Shinichi, who were more tolerant of students using Japanese in their English classroom.

6.2.3 Japanese teachers of English (Sakura and Shinichi)

The topic of 'monolingual approaches to language teaching' was less controversial for

Sakura and Shinichi, who were relatively open to students' use of languages other than English (chiefly Japanese). On a related note, Sakura and Shinichi alternated English and Japanese in their English teaching to junior high school students, which resembled the findings of Benesse's (2014)'s study that TETE is not fully practiced in junior high schools in Japan (please refer to Chapter 2 for details). However, while Sakura did not caution her students' use of Japanese, Shinichi explicitly instructed students to communicate in English and not in Japanese. Therefore, in this subsection, the extracts are only taken from classroom observation and interviews with Shinichi.

The first instance of Shinichi's monolingual approach to teaching was witnessed during my classroom observation. In this class, Shinichi was teaching English with Mary. Immediately after the class started, Shinichi requested I come to the podium. Although I was surprised since this request was given without advance notice, as I stepped onto the podium, Shinichi asked students to interview the outside researcher (lines 30-31).

Extract 6.5: 'Of course. This is English class.' (Y2: Classroom observation) (Y: Yuta, SH: Shinichi, ST1: Student 1)

30. SH: OK. I will give you five minutes. So, please ask Mr. Mogi as much as you
31. can. OK. So, ready go and five minutes.
32. ST1: 英語でですか? (*In English?*) (**The student looked worried.**)
33. SH: Of course, this is English class.
34. Y: Maybe some Japanese. (**Some students looked relieved.**)
35. SH: Oh. (**Shinichi looked surprised and troubled when I said this to students.**)
36. Y: You can ask any questions to me after class in Japanese, but in this class,
37. English only? (**I was looking at the teacher to make sure I was right.**)
38. SH: Yes, it's English only.

In this passage, what is interesting is that in replying to the student's question (line 32) in which interviews should be carried in English, Shinichi takes for granted that English should be used, which can be indicated in his use of 'Of course' (line 33). Furthermore, Shinichi seems puzzled by my suggestion to include some Japanese in the interview (lines 34-35), since I felt that some students were uncomfortable questioning me completely in English (as represented in the student's statement in line 32). As I was concerned that Shinichi may lose face, I compromised and offered students the opportunity to interview me after class in Japanese, which apparently gave relief to

students (lines 34, 36-37). Even though Shinichi warned students to speak in English when he judged them to be using too much Japanese (e.g. ‘English please’ ‘speak English’), Shinichi did not ban Japanese language from the classroom. Since this seemed contradictory, I asked about this issue in the e-mail interview afterwards (lines 39-40).

Extract 6.6: ‘I want my students to be exposed to English as much as they can’ (3rd e-mail interview to Shinichi) (Y: Yuta, SH: Shinichi)

39. Y: 授業では、生徒に対し英語で会話するよう何度か促していました。
40. 英語授業における、言語使用（英語、日本、その他）についてどう
41. 考えていますか？
42. SH: 英語のレベルが高い子に関しては、なるべく英語を使ってほしいか
43. らです。でも、[生徒が英語以外の言語を使うことを] 禁止するとい
44. う意味ではありません。英語でしゃべることができるなど[私
45. が]思う時には、そのように[生徒に]伝えています。また、生徒が英語
46. をしゃべることによって、生徒が英語になるべくたくさん触れられ
47. るようにと考えています。
39. Y: In your class, several times, you were encouraging students to converse in
40. English. What are your thoughts on students’ language use (English,
41. Japanese, others) in your English class?
42. SH: That’s because, for students who have higher level English skills, I would
43. like them to speak in English as much as they can. But I do not mean to
44. prohibit [students from using languages other than English]. So, I tell [my
45. students] to try to speak in English when [I think] they can. In addition, by
46. having students speak English, I want my students to be exposed to English
47. as much as they can.

As can be seen, Shinichi emphasized that the purpose of his cautions was to encourage students to speak English so they will be more exposed to the target language (lines 42-43, 44-47). His answers indicate his attentiveness to MEXT, since as noted by Naka (2013), one of the purposes of MEXT’s implementation of TETE was to prompt students to speak more English and increase exposure to English. However, as shown in Extract 7.5, some students were silent and asked only two or three questions to me in English.

The classroom atmosphere changed when one student questioned me about what I had for breakfast.

Extract 6.7: ‘Croissant’ (Y2: Classroom observation) (Y: Yuta, SH: Shinichi, M: Mary, ST2: Student 2, ST3: Student 3, ST4: Student 4)

48. ST2: What, what do you have for breakfast?
49. Y: Let me see, I had cereal, coffee, and sausage. And I also had croissant.
50. SH: Mary ‘先生’ (*teacher*), do you know how to spell ‘croissant’?
51. ST3: *Croissant* (**the student pronounced in French**)てフランス語じゃない
52. の? (*Isn't ‘croissant’ French?*)
53. SH: C.
54. M: C, R, O, I, double S, A, N, T.
55. ST4: 三日月っていう意味。 (*It means ‘a crescent moon’*).
56. SH: Yes, this is French.
57. M: We also say it in English.

As seen in lines 51-52, the student’s question doubting that ‘croissant’ was an English word, produced a complex web of interaction entwined with three languages. In replying to their classmate’s question, another student explained the origin of the term (line 55) and Mary continued by adding that fact that ‘croissant’ is also English (line 57). This interaction illustrates how teachers’ acceptance of using languages other than the target language facilitated students’ widespread participation, which also validated students’ existing linguistic knowledge and raised their language awareness. To put it differently, students’ multilingual repertoire became tools for language learning (Allard, 2017; Marshall, 2020), as the whole class learned several facts on croissant. Yet, this was the only case in which students spontaneously and actively communicated during class. For the remaining class, students were overall quiet unless they were urged by Shinichi to speak English. As for Mary, even though she did not tell students to use only English, her medium of instruction was only in English.

So far, I have explained how Sakura and Shinichi were not overtly strict about students’ use of languages other than the target language, and they also used both English and Japanese as their medium of instruction. These findings are consistent with what Noda & O’ Regan (2020) discovered when researching language use among teachers and students in a Japanese schooling context. Importantly, their tolerance

toward students' language use opened educational spaces in which students became lively by drawing on and exchanging their prior linguistic knowledge. Having presented and discussed data from Japanese teachers of English, I will now move on to non-Japanese language teachers who also perceived that target language-only pedagogy is the best method for students' language acquisition.

6.2.4 Non-Japanese teachers of English (Diego, Mary, Katherine, and Alice)

The theme of 'monolingual approaches to language teaching and learning' was salient for non-Japanese English teachers. Even though the time I spent observing their classrooms was very short (please refer to Chapter 4.5.2), the medium of instruction of the classes was completely English, and there were no instances of Japanese language use like those I observed in team-teaching class with the Japanese and non-Japanese English teachers. When I questioned this monolingual approach to pedagogy in the group interview (lines 58-59), the teachers stated their aim for their English-only teaching (lines 60-70).

Extract 6.8: 'Everything is in English' (Y1: group interview with non-Japanese English teachers) (Y: Yuta, M: Mary, A: Alice, K: Katherine)

58. Y: When I observed the classrooms, it was interesting because it was all in
59. English.

60. M: The thing is none of us speak Japanese. Of course, they will speak Japanese.

61. It happens, but we always just encourage them to use [English]. Just encourage
62. as much possible [to use English]. When they come into the English class,
63. everything is in English.

64. A: The class that you observed mine, there are few students who have just only
65. arrived [from Japan]. It's, it's not natural to only speak English and they're
66. not able to speak only in English. I, we all understand that [they cannot speak
67. only in English].

68. K: But it's just getting them into a habit of with speaking as much English as
69. they can. So, soon as they open the door, it's [the situation of speaking only in
70. English] natural.

In answering my question, Mary first explains that all non-Japanese English teachers are not fluent in Japanese, suggesting that thus there is no choice except for English-

only pedagogy (lines 60-63). Alice follows, and shows sympathy to some students who were “parachuted into a world for which they are extremely ill-prepared” (Heller, 2006: 70) and reports that it is unrealistic to have students be English monolinguals in classroom (lines 64-67). Nevertheless, as stated by Katherine (lines 68-70), it appears that they have a strong notion that the language is best learnt monolingually.

This solid belief in the effectiveness of monolingual pedagogy was especially evident in Alice, a key participant who gave the most detailed accounts regarding her perception of monolingual pedagogy. Therefore, the remaining extracts in this subsection are taken from e-mail interviews with Alice, which demonstrates her attachment to the monolingual principle. The first two excerpts are taken from the answer to the same questions. Since her answer is rich and lengthy, I divided her excerpt in two. Extract 6.9 shows her devotion toward English-only teaching and extract 6.10 illustrates how she responds to students’ Japanese use in her classroom.

Extract 6.9: ‘I am a firm believer that when learning a language, it should be taught in that language’ (2nd e-mail interview with Alice) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

71. Y: Can you tell me your thoughts on the use of Japanese (both teacher and
72. students) in your classroom? Do you use Japanese in your classroom? What
73. do you do when students use Japanese or other languages in your classroom?
74. A: I never use Japanese in my classroom – for two reasons. The first reason is
75. that I can’t speak Japanese. The second is that I am a firm believer that when
76. learning a language, it should be taught in that language, rather than their L1.
77. If a language is taught in the L1, you will always be reliant on the mother
78. tongue to speak the L2, and I believe they should be independent from each
79. other. Some teachers argue that the L1 can be used to check understanding
80. especially when teaching beginners. However, there are many effective ways
81. of checking understanding without resorting to the L1. For example by using
82. a concept checking questions, realia, and flash cards to name a few.

As can be seen from the passage, what comes across so clearly is her adherence to the monolingual principle. In replying to my questions, Alice starts off by reiterating her inability to speak Japanese and then unequivocally states her faith in monolingual approaches to pedagogy (lines 74-76). From line 77, she legitimizes target-language only teaching by stressing that learners will be dependent on the mother tongue if L1 is

used in teaching. Even though Alice knows that there is an ongoing debate about the effectiveness of L1 in teaching, she refutes this by referring to specific teaching methods (lines 79-82). Her answer is reminiscent of teachers who participated in studies on teachers' beliefs regarding language use in classroom (Higgins & Ponte, 2017; Oyama, 2016). Their findings also show that despite having a certain level of understanding about the benefits of incorporating students' languages, some teachers, nevertheless, argued for a monolingual pedagogy.

Alice continues by explaining how she deals with students' use of Japanese in her classroom. Although she shows understanding over students' Japanese use as long as its related to her class (lines 83-86) since English-only is too challenging for her students (lines 87-88), this does not stop her adopting English-only pedagogy.

Extract 6.10: 'I give them a gentle reminder that they should try and speak English as much as possible' (2nd e-mail interview with Alice) (A: Alice)

83. If students use their L1 in the classroom, I don't usually mind if it is kept to a
84. a minimum and if it is about the lessons (although I don't speak Japanese, it
85. is quite obvious when the Japanese spoken in the classroom isn't about the
86. lesson). Following this, I give them a gentle reminder that they should try and
87. speak English as much as possible. It is of course only natural to express in
88. your mother tongue if you can't in another language. As an English
89. department (not Japanese teachers) at school, we have made the decision to
90. try as hard as possible to teachers and students not to speak Japanese in the
91. classroom.

What is noteworthy in this extract is that despite the fact that she cannot speak Japanese (Extract 6.8 and 6.9), she seems confident of understanding what is being said in students' interactions in Japanese (lines 84-85). Alice concludes her answer by stating that English-only pedagogy is shared among other non-Japanese English teachers (lines 88-91).

As we can see, Alice has strong commitment toward monolingual pedagogy, which are likely to be shaped also by her language education background. Similar to Kanako (see extract 6.3), Alice also narrated her monolingual language learning experience in the United Kingdom and Spain.

Extract 6.11: ‘The classes were all taught in Spanish’ (1st E-mail interview with Alice)
(Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

92. Y: Can you tell me your story of learning languages? Where, when, why, and
93. how have you learnt these languages?
94. A: When I was studying Spanish and German at university in the UK, we were
95. always taught in the target language, never in L1. [...] During my studies,
96. I went to Spain on an Erasmus semester. The classes were taught only in
97. Spanish. You learn a language quickly when thrown in to the deep end!

In this narrative, Alice describes how her language education in both countries was dominated by target language only pedagogy (lines 94-97). Her comments echo how language teaching approaches grounded on a monolingual principle, or the ‘immersion myth’ (Marshall, 2020), are put forward by educators in widespread educational contexts, as has been noted by numerous researchers (Cenoz, 2013; Oyama, 2016; Portolés & Martí, 2020; Wei & Wu, 2009). And even though Alice showed understanding for her students who had recently arrived in Belgium (Extract 6.8), her last quote (line 97) indicates that Alice conceives being immersed in a target language only environment as a necessary hardship for students to learn languages.

As can be seen from the data extracts, the target language only approach was entrenched in non-Japanese English teachers’ language education policy and practice. Moreover, throughout the course of study, none of them expressed a desire to learn Japanese, which could have benefited their English teaching. Unlike English teachers who were not proficient in Japanese, some non-Japanese teachers of French were proficient in Japanese and thus were more open to the use of Japanese in French classroom.

6.2.5 Non-Japanese teachers of French (Louise, Emma, and Elena)

I first encountered non-Japanese teachers of French during my short observation of Emma and Elena’s class. In common with non-Japanese teacher of English, I did not hear languages other than French in Emma and Elena’s classroom. On a related note, the signage and flyers taped to the French classroom wall were nearly all in French, which demonstrated their attachment toward French monolingual teaching.

Extract 6.12: Picture of French classroom wall



Their adherence to French-only pedagogy was also expressed in the group interview conducted after the observation. However, as the following extract shows, the interview also revealed that the strictness of monolingual teaching varied among these teachers. At this point of the proceedings, we were discussing the classroom language use.

Extract 6.13: ‘But it really depends on the teacher because it depends on the situation’
(Y1: group interview with Belgian teachers of French) (Y: Yuta, EM: Emma, L: Louise)

98. Y: So, when observing the French classes, it was interesting because it [medium
99. of instruction] was all in French.
100. EM: Everything will be in French, and I believe that it’s better to use only the
101. language that you are going to teach. But it really depends on the teacher
102. because it depends on the situation. Some children, they feel more confident
103. if they have some Japanese. I don’t speak Japanese, but in some cases, and it
104. happens, in my class, I have new students, sometimes they don’t understand
105. something. And then I ask to another students, “OK, please help him and you
106. can tell him in Japanese.” And I think it’s OK because you ask to the student
107. to do.

108. Y: Interesting.

109. EM: And then I ask the students, or I go to Louise or Elena and ask for, for help.

110. L: And so, in the beginning, especially with the little ones, primary 1 and 2, I

111. tend to use quite a lot of Japanese. But little by little, I try to decrease the

112. amount of explanation in, in their native language.

In replying to my comment based on my classroom observation, at first, Emma stressed the effectiveness of ‘French-only’ (lines 100-101). However, as she continued, Emma acknowledged that in the real world of the classroom, total exclusion of Japanese is unrealistic. And she also described how use of Japanese can help students build confidence (lines 102-103), which is also discussed in studies on Japanese use in English teaching (Burden, 2000; Klevberg, 2000; McMillan & Rivers, 2011). Then, she gives an intriguing example of responding to students who have problem in French. Since Emma cannot speak Japanese, she assigns some classmates, Louise, or Elena to act as an L1 mediator (lines 103-107, 109). Her teaching method is reminiscent of Rochan, a teacher participant in Marshall's (2019) study on teachers’ perceptions and responses in multilingual classroom. Rochan also asks classmates and fellow instructors to be L1 mediator when he judges that students cannot understand his instructions. Following Emma, Louise explained that she adjusts her Japanese use in accordance with students’ age and level (lines 110-112). As demonstrated, both Emma and Louise expressed pedagogical value in allowing and using Japanese in their French teaching. This was also expressed by Elena whose mother is Japanese and also fluent in Japanese.

Extract 6.14: ‘I often use Japanese when I explain grammar points’ (2nd e-mail interview with Elena) (Y: Yuta EL: Elena)

113. Y: Do you use Japanese in French language classroom? Why or why not?

114. EL: For the little ones, I only use Japanese when I see that the child is ‘困った’

115. (‘troubled’), but I prefer using French even if it takes a lot of time. For the

116. older ones, I mostly use Japanese when I explain grammar points, because

117. that is faster.

In this extract, like Louise, Elena incorporates Japanese in her teaching depending on the students’ ages and content (lines 114-117). Her pedagogy of employing Japanese for grammar explanation (lines 115-117) is similar to the common practice among Japanese teachers who primarily use Japanese in English grammar teaching (Hu & McKay, 2012;

Noda & O'Regan, 2020). However, as suggested in the phrase 'I only use Japanese when I see that the child is (troubled)' (lines 114-115), it can also be said that she reluctantly uses Japanese as a last resort, and may not necessarily be anchored in the education philosophy of multilingual pedagogy (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Marshall, 2020).

What can be seen from these accounts is that all Belgian teachers of French showed a degree of tolerance regarding students' use of Japanese in the classroom. Moreover, Louise and Elena judiciously use Japanese in their French teaching. Unlike non-Japanese teachers of English, this flexibility can be attributed to their high proficiency in Japanese. Moreover, it can be also argued that Louise and Elena's use of Japanese in the classroom can be related to their positive impression toward Japan and its culture, which I felt when I interviewed both teachers.

I have now demonstrated how most participants shared a monolingual orientation to language education. However, as shown in the data extracts from Japanese teachers of English and non-Japanese teachers of French, the strictness in conducting monolingual approaches to pedagogy varied among teachers. Some instructors taught cross-linguistically by also employing Japanese and were lenient toward students' use of languages other than the target language. Furthermore, this approach made class more inclusive (see extracts 6.7 and 6.12) by making use of students' rich linguistic repertoire. Yet, in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, languages were compartmentalized, and the school policy documents seem to make no reference to the benefits of multilingual approaches to pedagogy that encourages the use of the full linguistic repertoire of students and teachers. In the subsequent section, I discuss how monolingual teaching was carried in the form of CLT, in particular among non-Japanese teachers, who were highly regarded by the school as native speakers.

6.3 CLT and native speaker-oriented pedagogy

As set out in Chapter 3, CLT, which places a major emphasis on verbal expression and negotiation of meaning through practical materials, has been prevalent in English education in Japan since its implementation in the late 1980s by MEXT (Naka; 2012, 2015; Noda & O'Regan, 2020; Torikai, 2014). In this section, I demonstrate how CLT also characterized the language education of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. Particularly, CLT was institutionally promoted in English and French conversation courses taught by non-Japanese language teachers, who were positively positioned as native speakers by

the school. Even though the theme of CLT and native speaker-oriented pedagogy was less salient for Japanese language teachers, I also attempt to illustrate how CLT is gaining a presence in the school's Japanese language education, echoing previous studies in this area (Ishihara, 2005, 2009; Kitamura, 2018). Since the theme of 'CLT and native speaker-oriented pedagogy' did not emerge in the data from the principal, the data will come from the interviews with language teachers together with relevant policy documents.

6.3.1 English and French conversation course

Before embarking on the presentation of data and data analysis of each group of language teachers, this subsection will briefly highlight how 'CLT and native-speaker oriented pedagogy' is a fundamental feature of the school's English and French conversation courses. In the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, non-Japanese teachers of English are assigned to teach a course called *eikaiwa* (English conversation), which focuses on fostering students' positive attitudes toward communicating with 'native speakers' of English (Kubota, 2011b). Largely reflecting the features of communicative language teaching (CLT) identified in the literature (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004; Larsen-Freeman, 1986; Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999), *eikaiwa* teachers often employ authentic real-life materials and use group activities that encourage interaction to help develop an autonomous learning style (Bailey, 2006; Kubota, 2011b). This approach is supported by the widespread, commonly held assumption that native speakers of English, who have acquired English as a mother tongue, are most highly qualified in CLT (Hashimoto, 2013b; Houghton & Rivers, 2013). Such ideas and practices are also applied to French conversation courses, as can be seen in the following screenshot taken from the page of the school website that introduces the main objectives and pedagogies of English and French conversation courses in three languages (French, English, and Japanese).

Extract 6.15 'Language acquisition is mostly through listening and speaking' (From the school website explaining the school's foreign language education)

-COMMUNIQUER !

COMMUNICATE !

外国語の会話の目標は
「楽しく外国語を学んで、フランス語や英語を使いながら楽しくコミュニケーションをとること」です。

-L' accent est mis sur l' oral : Ecouter et parler.

Language acquisition is mostly through listening and speaking.

会話中心なので、理解することや話すことを優先にしています。

-Eveil de l' intérêt pour les langues et la culture occidentale. Ouverture sur le monde.

Introduce the students to western cultures.

国際性を育てます。

-Enseignants « Native speaker »

Teachers are native French/English speakers

教師はみんな ネイティブ スピーカー です。

As is evident, the principles of CLT are clearly represented in the 2nd ('Communicate!') and 3rd ('Language acquisition is mostly through listening and speaking') rows, and the emphasis on 'native speaker' is declared in the last row ('Teachers are native French/English speakers'). It is worth noting that this trilingual construct reflects the fact that the school is aware that some viewers maybe multilingual and this construct in itself advocates multilingualism by employing three languages. Nevertheless, when read carefully, the translations do not faithfully match with each text. For instance, in the 2nd row where it states '*Communiquer!*' and 'Communicate', the Japanese translation is more informative. When this Japanese text is translated into English, it reads: "The purpose of learning foreign language conversation is to 'learn foreign languages for fun and to enjoy communicating in French and English'." This discrepancy might suggest that the school's commitment to multilingualism may be intended for outward appearances only.

Having briefly explained how CLT and native-speaker oriented pedagogy characterizes courses instructed by non-Japanese language teachers, I now discuss the same topics in relation to non-Japanese teachers of English.

6.3.2 Non-Japanese teachers of English (Diego, Mary, Katherine, and Alice)

On the school website, there is also a subsection of ‘English’ and ‘French’, which explains each language education policy in detail. The screenshot below is taken from the ‘English’ subsection, which addresses the fact that English conversation courses place special importance on and especially value CLT.

Extract 6.16: ‘English conversation at JSB’

English Conversation at JSB

英会話

·Learning a foreign language should be exciting and interesting. Therefore our lessons are fun and interactive. As communication is the key element of our curriculum, games are an important part of our syllabus as they encourage our students to communicate and express themselves with confidence. As students progress there is an increasing expectation of spoken accuracy.

外国語学習では、楽しく学習することが大切です。JSBの英会話授業は、先生やクラスメートとの関わりの中で楽しく学ぶことができます。コミュニケーション活動をカリキュラムの中心に据え、子どもたちが自信をもって自分の思いを表現しコミュニケーションをはかれるように、ゲーム的な活動を幅広く取り入れています。上達するにつれて、子どもたちは正しい英語を話すことができるようになります。

As this screenshot shows, the pedagogies of English conversation are grounded in developing conversation skills and oral fluency (‘communication is the key element of our curriculum’ ‘increasing expectation of spoken accuracy’) conducted in an ‘exciting and interesting’, ‘fun and interactive’ atmosphere through activities such as ‘games’. This approach reflects Krashen’s affective filter hypothesis (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004; Krashen, 1989) and the way that negative emotions can constrain learners’ language acquisition.

This emphasis on CLT was observed when I carried out very short classroom observations, as all the teachers adopted active oral activities such as word matching games using cards in their classroom teaching. However, in contrast to the school language policy of developing students’ communication skills through oral activities that are intended to be enjoyable, it seemed that some students were silent, implying the CLT inspired pedagogy may have been developing their understanding of English but doing

little to develop their speaking ability. At an early stage of the group interview, conducted after this observation, I commented on the listening and speaking focus of the class (line 118).

Extract 6.17: 'It's more conversation class.' (Y1: Group interview with non-Japanese English teachers) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice, M: Mary, K: Katherine, D: Diego)

118. Y: I thought it's very activity-based and with focus on listening and speaking.

119. A: It's more conversation class with focus on speaking and listening.

120. M: Yes, me too.

121. K: Yes, I agree.

122. D: (**Nodding and agreeing with other teachers.**)

Here, Alice was the first teacher to concur with my comment, with other teachers agreeing shortly after (lines 120-122). Their comments indicate their conformity to school policy, which favors a CLT approach.

Nonetheless, towards the end of the group interview, non-Japanese teachers of English also confirmed the impression I had gained during my classroom observations, as they described how some students are nervous and silent in their classroom.

Extract 6.18: 'They are shy' (Y1: Group Interview with non-Japanese teachers of English) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice, M: Mary, K: Katherine, D: Diego)

123. Y: Do you have anything you would like to say about language teaching, or what
124. we have discussed?

125. A: Well, we want to say the biggest concern we have is that some students are
126. quiet during class.

127. K: Yes, they are shy.

128. M: And afraid of making mistakes.

129. A: We do tell them [students] that is OK to make mistakes. We learn from
130. mistakes. Speak or else you will not learn.

131. D: So, sometimes doing activities are difficult because they [students] are so
132. nervous.

What is noteworthy in this passage is that all teachers agree that some students are shy

and hesitant, which may pose a challenge in carrying out oral activities (lines 125-132) and developing pupils' communicative skills in the target language. A similar comment is also found in Naka's (2012) research on CLT-centered English teaching in a Japanese secondary school context. He often witnesses "some students are not smiling and speaking" (Naka, 2012: 1). Despite raising concerns about the silence and knowing that from a CLT perspective this is perceived as problematic as noise is taken as evidence of developing communicative competence (Cook, 2010; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004), apparently, the teachers were ill-equipped to confront with the issue and had no intention of modifying their CLT-centered pedagogy.

Furthermore, in the face-to-face interview with Alice, she explained how her foreign language learning played an influential role in her CLT pedagogy.

Extract 6.19: 'I remember my lessons to be quite grammar based' (Y2: Face-to-face interview with Alice) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

133. Y: Did your languages learning experience influenced your language teaching

134. at this school?

135. A: Definitely, and if I look back to my own language learning at school, we were

136. taught things in order to pass exams. I remember my lessons to be quite

137. grammar based, not overly interactive, rather than learning which are

138. particularly useful or functional. And when I realized that when I lived

139. abroad, I learned so many useless things. And we hope that we teach our

140. students that they are learning things that they can use in a day-to-day.

Recalling how she was taught languages, Alice describes how her foreign language learning was grammar-oriented that did not engage her in the authentic, functional use of languages (lines 135-139). It is clear from her account that the negative experience she had with grammar-oriented teaching led her to be an advocate of CLT (lines 135-140), which is reminiscent of how CLT gained popularity at the expense of the grammar-translation method which was not appreciated by some language learners (Cook, 2010; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). Alice's positive attitudes toward CLT underpin her teaching practice, which aligns with the school policy of promoting CLT.

Moreover, as shown in the last row of the school website screenshot (Extract 6.14), the school positions non-Japanese teachers as native speakers. The theme of 'native speaker'

emerged in the answers Alice and Diego gave in replying to my question regarding the school's hiring practice. At this stage, Mary and Katherine left the study without giving any specific reasons, and thus, Alice and Diego became the only participants. Since the question was same for both Alice and Diego, I will present their answers in the same extract.

Extract 6.20: 'In principle, the school prefer native speakers' (1st e-mail interview with Alice and Diego) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice, D: Diego)

141. Y: Can you tell me the story when you applied for the job at the school?
142. What did you think were the school's recruitment standard?
143. A: The advertisement for the job opening specifically stated their wish for
144. native speakers, and it's fair to say that it was a priority for the school and
145. other English teachers.
146 D: In principle, the school prefer native speakers.

In this extract, both replied that the school's preference was for native speakers (lines 143-146), implying native speakers' privileged status in English language teaching. As argued in Chapter 3, in the context of Japan, the term 'native speaker' is generally taken to refer to people who are white and come from Anglophone areas (Bailey, 2006; Rivers, 2019; Rivers & Ross, 2013). It is also true to say that this framework can apply to non-Japanese English teachers who are all from Anglophone countries (please refer to Table 4.6 in Chapter 4) and white. Even though Diego is from Spain, his biographical account as a language learner, which he later provided in the e-mail interview, indicates that the school generally hires teachers based on Japan's native-speaker criteria.

Extract 6.21: 'My father being Spanish and my mother English' (1st e-mail interview with Diego) (Y: Yuta D: Diego)

147. Y: Can you tell me your languages learning experience?
148. D: Well, both Spanish and English are my mother tongues. My father being
149. Spanish and my mother English. At 10, I was sent to school in England
150. where I spent all the summers between the ages of 10 and 17.

From this account, it can be assumed that the school views Diego as a native speaker due to his English background and his experience of learning English in England (lines 148-150).

Based on the answers I received in the 1st e-mail interview (Extract 6.20), in the 2nd e-mail interview, I asked Alice and Diego their thoughts on native speaker teachers. It should be noted that when I asked the same question to other non-Japanese language teachers, including the French teachers, they seemed hesitant to give an explanation and their thoughts on the school's hiring policy and process.

Extract 6.22: 'Lessons being taught by near native speakers is not a problem' (2nd e-mail interview with Alice and Diego) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice, D: Diego)

151. Y: Do you think language teachers should be native speakers of the language?

152. A: If the students will use their English to communicate with non-native

153. speakers, lessons being taught by near native speakers is not a problem.

154. D: I cannot say really, as headmasters change every three years. I suppose it is

155. quite difficult to have a real recruitment policy. However, I do not think being

156. a native speaker is necessary to teach a language.

In this excerpt, Alice seems to conditionally accept that language teachers do not have to be native speakers as long as teaching is aiming to foster communication with non-native speakers (lines 152-153). However, her use of 'if' also suggests that she perceives that native speakers are best qualified for English teaching. Contrary to Alice, Diego appears hesitant to give further details on his views on native speaker language teachers (lines 154-155). It may be inferred that my question made Diego cautious, since voicing his thoughts may offend the school. Still, Diego responds that being a native speaker is not a necessity for language teachers (lines 155-156).

Another role which non-Japanese teachers of English were assigned was team-teaching with Japanese teachers of English. Team-teaching between Japanese teachers and native speaker teachers (or Assistant Language Teachers) was first officially implemented in Japanese schooling by the government of Japan through the JET Programme in 1987 (Borg, 2008), and this system has also been adopted in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. The main objective of team-teaching is to provide students with exposure to English, the opportunity to interact with foreign people, and to deepen students' international

understanding (Browne & Wada, 1998). Previous studies (Machida & Walsh, 2014; Tajino & Tajino, 2000; Tajino & Walker, 1998) reveal how team-teaching is conducted. The roles for individual teachers are in most cases divided up, with native speaker teachers checking students' pronunciation and Japanese teachers supporting students' non-phonetic features such as grammar. And in general, this division of roles is generally taken for granted and not questioned, as native-speakers teachers are conceived as superior in listening and speaking than Japanese teachers (Matsuura, Fujieda, & Mahoney, 2004). This division of roles was also expressed by non-Japanese English teachers in the group interview.

Extract 6.23: 'And I think we are there just to help sometimes with pronunciation' (Y1: Group interview with non-Japanese teachers of English) (Y: Yuta, K: Katherine, M: Mary)

157. Y: So, I also interviewed Japanese English language teachers and they told me
158. that they also sometimes team-teach. So, can you tell me how [team-teaching
159. is done]?
160. K: So, Mary and I do the team-teaching. And they [Japanese teachers of English]
161. start with very basic grammar structures.
162. M: And I think we are there just to help sometimes with pronunciation.
163. K: Yes.
164. M: Like, how do you say this, can you help me say this.

As reported in previous studies (Machida & Walsh, 2014; Tajino & Tajino, 2000; Tajino & Walker, 1998), Mary and Katherine's role in team-teaching is also to monitor students' pronunciation (lines 160-164). This pronunciation check was observed in the classroom taught with Sakura and Mary. In the latter half of the class, students sang an English song many times to prepare for the upcoming school concert. After students finished singing the song, Sakura asked Mary about students' pronunciation.

Extract 6.24: 'Pronunciation is, has improved a lot' (Y2: classroom observation) (SA: Sakura M: Mary)

165. SA: Mary, what do you think [about students' pronunciation]?
166. M: That was really good and well done. I can hear that you have been working
167. very hard on 'the'. Last time, it was very strong 'the'. Today, I, especially
168. the boys, I can hear 'the'. So, great work, and good job. So, I think the

169. singing is beautiful. Yes, and pronunciation is, has improved a lot since last
170. time. So, you've been working very hard. So, good and well done and I'm
171. very happy.
172. SA: Thank you.

In this dialogue, what is interesting is that Mary is very particular about the pronunciation of 'the' (lines 167-168), since mispronunciation of 'the' usually do not hinder English communication. Her comments indicate that her teaching is also grounded in a strong emphasis on imitation and exact reproduction of native speaker models. Although I only observed two classrooms which carried out team-teaching, it appears to the case that in team-teaching, it is a common approach to appoint native-speakers to teach speaking and listening, and for the Japanese teachers to teach aspects of English that do not depend on fluency in English, such as writing and reading.

As I have demonstrated so far, English conversation courses are CLT-centered and taught by native speakers who are considered by the school as ideal for implementing the method. These findings echo previous studies on CLT and native-speaker teachers in Japan (Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Sakui, 2004; Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999). I now turn to non-Japanese teachers of French, who also favored CLT and were positioned by the school as native-speaker teachers.

6.3.3 Non-Japanese teachers of French (Louise, Emma, and Elena)

As with English conversation courses, CLT is also the central pedagogy among non-Japanese teachers of French. Following is a screenshot from the school website which addresses the main principles of French conversation courses, written in French and Japanese. I will also provide English text translated from the row written in Japanese.

Extract 6.25 'Objectives of French language course'

Les objectifs des cours de conversation française

フランス語会話

Généralités

フランス語教育 総説

L'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère doit avant tout être attrayant.

Tout en adoptant une démarche active, nous donnons une place essentielle au plaisir d'apprendre une langue nouvelle.

Le jeu occupe ainsi une place centrale dans notre pédagogie.

Par cette approche ludique, nous abordons des situations quotidiennes proches de la vie de l'enfant et stimulons au maximum son envie de communiquer.

Ainsi, dans ce climat de confiance, qui permet aux élèves de s'exprimer sans appréhender l'erreur, toute production est encouragée.

A la fin du cycle primaire, la place accordée à la grammaire augmente petit à petit pour ainsi former un tout avec les aptitudes à la communication.

新しい言葉を覚えるには、面白く学習することが何よりも大切です。

楽しく学ぶために遊戯活動を利用して学習します。

そのようにゲーム、遊びを通して、子どもの生活に基づいたテーマを選び、コミュニケーションを活性化します。

こうして間違えを恐れずに安心した環境で進んでいくようにしています。

高学年になるにつれ、子どものコミュニケーション能力や必要場面に応じ、少しずつ文法の量を増やしていきます。

English translation

In order to learn a new language, the most important thing is to have fun when learning a language. To learn with fun, the school uses games when learning the language. By employing games and selecting themes relevant to students' lives, we activate students' communication. With this approach, students can learn language in a safe environment

without worrying about making mistakes. As students' grades go up, we will gradually add the amount of grammar where it is necessary for students' communication.

Similar to the objectives for English conversation courses, this statement demonstrates that the top priority of the school's French education is the communicative competence (Breen & Candlin, 1980; Canale & Swain, 1980). The emphasis on having fun in language learning also aligns with the features of CLT (Howatt & Widdowson, 2004; Krashen, 1982, 1989). As stated on the school website, when I observed Emma and Elena's classes, they were playing games with students using puppets and boardgames. In the group interview carried out after the observations, teachers agreed that their pedagogy is in line with CLT.

Extract 6.26: 'Priority on communication' (Y1: Group interview with non-Japanese teachers of French) (Y: Yuta, L: Louise, EM: Emma, EL: Elena)

173. Y: So, when I observed your class briefly, I thought it focused on conversation.

174. L: Yes, priority on communication, conversation, and very activity based.

175. EM: Children have no motivation to learn a language. But if you propose games,

176. songs, they will be interested to play. The language doesn't matter.

177. EL: I try to vary the activities. Games, songs, plays, at the desks, in a circle on

178. the ground, on stage.

As we can see from the extract, emphasizing oral input (line 174) together with frequent use of interactive activities (lines 175-171) is consistent with the CLT approach mentioned on the school website. Throughout the interviews, teachers appeared to have no doubts about employing CLT. In spite of witnessing some pupils who were quiet during the oral activities led by Emma and Elena, unlike non-Japanese teachers of English, this point was not raised by the French language teachers. This difference can be attributed to their incorporation of Japanese and tolerance toward students' use of Japanese, as it may have helped lessen students' anxiety and promoted oral output.

Like Alice, Louise's support to CLT was also partly driven by her experience of learning languages under grammatical approach that she did not enjoy and felt ineffective, which was expressed during the face-to-face interview while she was narrating her language learning experiences (lines 180-182).

Extract 6.27: 'When I was at school, the focus was more on grammar' (Y2: Face-to-face

with Louise) (Y: Yuta, L: Louise)

179. Y: Can you tell me your languages learning experience?

180. L: I did my primary and secondary school in Dutch. When I was at school, the

181. focus was more on grammar. So, many of my friends could not speak Dutch.

182. Nowadays the focus is more on conversation, and I like it.

In answering to the same question, Emma also reflected on her own language learning experience as a child (lines 185-186). Even though I did not raise the term ‘native speaker’, she implicitly stressed that being a native speaker is necessary for language teachers (lines 186-187) and supports the school policy of having native speakers as language teachers (187-188).

Extract 6.28: ‘Sad that it’s not the native speakers who are teaching the language’ (1st e-mail interview with Emma) (Y: Yuta E: Emma)

183. Y: Can you tell me your story of learning French, Flemish, and English?

184. How are these languages taught in schools in Belgium?

185. E: The languages were not very well taught when I was a kid. My Dutch is very

186. bad. It’s also sad that it’s not the native speakers who are teaching the

187. language. (I’m talking about Belgium schools not the Japanese school who

188. took native people).

As I was curious to know if the favoritism for native speakers in academic institutions when hiring English teachers (Selvi, 2011; Wang & Lin, 2013) also applies to French educational contexts, I also asked French teachers about the school’s recruitment policy. As mentioned earlier, they seemed to be afraid, and only Elena hesitantly answered my question.

Extract 6.29: ‘It’s essential that a language teacher is native speaker’ (2nd e-mail interview to Elena) (Y: Yuta, EL: Elena)

189. Y: Can you tell me the story when you applied for the job at the school?

190. What do you think are the school’s recruitment policy.

191. EL: I can’t answer to your questions about the school thinkings. I think it’s

192. different from a principal to another. For me, it’s essential that a language

193. teacher is native speaker.

Here, it is clear that Elena is cautious of providing her thoughts on school's recruitment policy (lines 191-192) which may be caused by fear of exposing the institution's confidential matters. Although being hesitant, Elena conveys her belief that native language ability is a major component for being a language teacher (lines 192-193).

As seen from the data extracts, CLT is also pervasive in the French conversation courses. Similar to non-Japanese teachers of English, French teachers also accepted and favored the school policy of CLT, and some shared the perception that being a native speaker is an indispensable element of being a language teacher. In the next section, I attempt to illustrate how the CLT principle is also influencing language teaching among Japanese teachers.

6.3.4 Japanese teachers of English (Sakura)

In Japan where the grammar-translation method, or *yakudoku*, has been a dominant English pedagogy, CLT has generally been negatively perceived among Japanese teachers of English (Kikuchi & Browne, 2009; Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999). Nevertheless, due to widespread support of CLT from the public (Butler, 2015) in conjunction with MEXT policy and school entrance examination reform (Thompson & Yanagita, 2017; Torikai, 2014), CLT is now widely carried out by Japanese teachers of English (Naka, 2012; 2015; Noda & O'Regan, 2020). Placing an emphasis on building communicative skills can be identified in the following statement taken from the school handbook which lists learning objectives and goals for each subject. For English, the school clearly sets development in English communication as the goal.

Extract 6.30: 'Building an attitude of trying to communicate' (School Handbook, p. 10)

- ・ 関心・意欲をもって英語で積極的に言語活動を行い、コミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度の育成を図るとともに、英語で表現する基礎的な能力を養う。
- ・ 英会話講師とのチームティーチングを通して、生徒のコミュニケーション能力の育成を図る。
- ・ Students to have interest and motivation of actively participating in language activities, to build an attitude of trying to communicate, and develop basic skills in

expressing things in English.

- Through team-teaching with *eikaiwa* (English conversation) teachers, build students' communicative skills.

Moreover, the second-row states that the school conceives team-teaching with English conversation teachers as an effective method of developing students' English communication skills.

This focus on developing communicative skills was confirmed when I observed English classes team-taught by Japanese and non-Japanese teachers. Teachers adopted oral activities such as singing songs and classroom discussion (for further details on classroom observation, please see the summary tables in Appendix 8). In addition, the following extract from an e-mail with Sakura shows that CLT is gaining prominence in English education in Japan.

Extract 6.31: 'Recently, we give importance to communicative competence' (3rd e-mail interview with Sakura) (Y: Yuta, SA: Sakura)

194. Y: 見学した授業ではスピーキング、リスニング、そしてアクティビティ
195. ーが多いと感じました。スピーキング、リスニング、そしてアク
196. ティビティは先生の授業ではどのような位置づけですか？
197. SA: 近年、コミュニケーション能力の育成を重視しています。特にチー
198. ム・ティーチング(TT)では、リスニングやスピーキングが多いです。
199. もちろん、私が中学に受けた英語教育と今の英語教育は違いがあり
200. ます。私の時代は、まだ外国人教師との TT が今のようにたくさん
201. ありませんでした。また、当時は'コミュニケーション能力の育成'
202. という言葉も使用されていませんでした。しかし、私の授業ではラ
203. イティングもリーディングも教えるよう心がけています。

194. Y: In the class I observed, I felt that there is a lot of speaking and listening, and
195. also activities. How do you position speaking, listening, and activities in your
196. English language class?
197. SA: Recently, we have stressed the importance of building communicative
198. competence. Especially for team-teaching (TT), there is a lot of listening
199. and speaking. Of course, there are differences between the current English

200. education and English education I had when I was in junior high. In my
201. time, there were not that many TT classes taught with foreign teachers. And
202. the term, ‘building communicative competence’ was not used at that time.
203. But, in my class, I keep in mind to also teach writing and reading.

In this e-mail interview, while commenting on Sakura’s class, I asked how she places listening, speaking, and activities in her English teaching (lines 194-196). Sakura starts off by explaining that there is now more focus on ‘building communicative competence’ (line 197) and agrees with my comment in which team-taught classes are listening and speaking oriented (line 198). By making comparison with the current English education and how she learnt English in her junior high school, she emphasizes the communicative turn in Japan’s English education (Butler & Iino, 2005) while stressing the importance of developing writing and reading skills (199-203). Furthermore, this passage indicates that she is attentive to MEXT which can be seen from her use of the term ‘building communicative competence’ that often appears in MEXT policy documents (Naka, 2012; 2013; 2015).

The above data extract shows that CLT is gaining influence among Japanese teachers of English. However, considering the accounts from Elena (Extract 5.20) implying that Japanese teachers focus on grammar and translation in order to have students pass the school entrance examination, which aligns with common teaching practice in Japan (Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Kikuchi, 2006; O’Donnell, 2005), to conclude that Japanese teachers’ English teaching is CLT-centered would be a mistake. It should be noted that I did not observe the English classes taught independently by Japanese teachers.

6.3.5 Japanese teachers of Japanese (Kanako)

As discussed previously, Japanese language education is also experiencing a shift to CLT in order to develop students’ communicative skills (Ishihara, 2005; 2009; Kitamura, 2018). Placing importance on building Japanese communicative competence is also addressed in the following excerpt taken from school handbook which states the objective and goal for Japanese language education.

Extract 6.32: ‘Building communicative competence’ (School Handbook, p. 9)

- ・言葉による豊かな思考力及びコミュニケーション能力を育成する。

- Students build rich thinking ability and communicative competence.

A focus on developing students' communicative skills was also evident when I observed Kanako's class. In her class, she incorporated various oral activities such as classroom discussion and encouraging students to ask questions to me. Moreover, in the e-mail interview sent to her after the classroom observation, Kanako explains the recent change in Japanese language education.

Extract 6.33: 'Recently, we stress the importance of 'active learning'' (3rd e-mail interview with Kanako) (Y: Yuta, KN: Kanako)

204. Y: 見学した授業では、スピーキング、リスニング、そしてアクティビ
 205. ティーが多いと感じました。スピーキング、リスニング、そしてアク
 206. ティビティは先生の授業ではどのような位置づけですか？
 207. KN:近年、「アクティブ・ラーニング」が重視されるようになりました。
 208. 児童生徒の主体性や能動型学習を狙いとしたものです。ですが、[私
 209. の]授業では書くこと、読むことも重視しています。

204. Y: In the class I observed, I felt that there is a lot of speaking and listening, and
 205. also activities. How do you position speaking, listening, and activities in your
 206. Japanese language class?
 207. KN: Recently, we stress the importance of 'active learning'. The aim is to value
 208. students' autonomy and have them learn actively. But, I also value writing
 209. and reading in my teaching.

Like Sakura, even though Kanako also emphasizes writing and reading (lines 208-209), she voiced her opinion on how Japanese language teaching is placing more emphasis on fostering students' autonomy and interactive learning (lines 207-8). While it is unclear if Sakura's definition of 'active learning' is synonymous with CLT, her account suggests that Japanese language education is changing in part due to the influence of CLT.

As for Wataru, I did not see any oral activities associated with CLT. His class was teacher-centered and taught in a traditional style (Mason, Anderson, Omura, Uchida, & Imai, 1989), employing dictation and calligraphy handwriting. This may indicate that in relation to the school's Japanese language education, especially as the students get older,

the traditional teaching style is still dominant.

Up to this point, I have demonstrated that CLT was the commonly practiced pedagogy and was institutionally implemented and promoted by the school. In particular, alongside the assumption that native speakers are the ideal teachers, CLT was the dominant pedagogy in English and French conversation courses. However, the classroom observation and interviews with the non-Japanese language teachers also uncovered the fact that some students may not have welcomed CLT and attempts to develop their oral communicative skills. Therefore, it can be said that the school's pedagogy is partially unsuccessful. In the following section, I will illustrate how the school and some language teachers viewed language in a static manner and associated with a particular nation and culture.

6.4 Monolithic Views of Language and Culture

Many scholars note that teachers of Japanese overseas schools perceive that learning Japanese language is closely bound to the maintenance of Japanese culture (Mabuchi, 2002; Sato, 2007; Shibano, 2014) necessary for making a smooth social transition upon returning to Japan. Also, by taking advantage of being located overseas, *nihonjingakkō* place importance on learning the language(s) of the host country as a means to also understand its culture (Fukuda, 2018; Sato, 2007). The *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium is no exception to this policy, and language education was tied to cultural education. Nevertheless, the school and some participants' views of language and culture were found to be monolithic, and hence they tended to stereotypically nominate only one dominant language and culture from each country. I argue that this essentialist view of language and culture is problematic as it reinforces marginalization of various languages and cultures. Since the theme of 'monolithic views of language and culture' did not emerge from Japanese language teachers (Kanakano and Wataru) and Shinichi (Japanese teacher of English), the presented data are extracted from other participants together with relevant policy documents.

6.4.1 Principal (Kazuhiko)

The first instance when the topic of culture was brought up was during the second face-to-face interview I had with the principal. At this point of the proceedings, we were talking about Japanese language education in the school.

Extract 6.34: ‘Learning Japanese is also about learning Japanese culture’ (Y2: face-to-face interview with principle) (Y: Yuta, K: Kazuhiko)

210. K: 日本語を学ぶことは日本の文化を学ぶことでもあります。生徒が
211. 帰国するにしても、日本の文化に触れることは大事だと思っていま
212. す。

210. K: Learning Japanese language is also about learning Japanese culture. Even
211. though students will return to Japan, it is important for students to be
212. exposed to Japanese culture.

As is clear, Kazuhiko conceives Japanese language learning is an essential way to understand Japanese culture, even though students repatriate to Japan in due course (lines 210-212). Kazuhiko’s accounts on the close relationship between Japanese language and culture is in line with the school policy, as can be seen in one of the objectives of Japanese language education addressed in the school handbook.

Extract 6.35: ‘Be exposed to Japanese culture and tradition through Japanese language’ (School Handbook, p. 9)

- ・ 国語を通して日本の文化や伝統に触れ、[日本の文化や伝統を]親しもうとする態度を育成する。
- ・ [生徒に]日本の伝統的な文化に触れる機会を設け、日本人としての言語感覚を磨く。
- ・ Through Japanese language, students will be exposed to Japanese culture and tradition, and build an attitude which appreciates [Japanese culture and tradition].
- ・ To create opportunities [for students] to be exposed to Japanese culture and tradition, and develop feelings of languages as a Japanese person.

What is noteworthy from these extracts is that both the principal and school interpret culture as ‘national culture’, overlooking diversity within culture. This nationalistic formalization of culture is also reported in Sato’s (2007) research on the cultural education of the *nihonjingakkō* in the United Kingdom. However, the school policy documents seem to make no reference to concrete cultural products which the school considers as representing Japanese culture. This was also witnessed in the face-to-face interview with

the principal, as Kazuhiko struggled to articulate his definition of ‘Japanese culture’ and to cite cultural products or practices representative of ‘Japanese culture’, causing a moment of awkward silence. This may suggest that in the time of globalisation, it is becoming difficult to clearly choose cultural products and customs distinct to Japan. Soon after the silence, Kazuhiko left his seat and went to his desk to get a copy of a lesson plan designed by Sakura, a Japanese teacher of English. The principal advised me that although the lesson had already been taught, this document could be helpful in understanding how Sakura perceives language and culture. As he said, the document became a key data source for this theme, which I now examine in more detail.

6.4.2 Japanese teacher of English (Sakura)

Textbooks used in Japan’s primary and secondary schools are issued and authorized by MEXT, and along with the Course of Study, determine the overall school curriculum (Sato & Doerr, 2014; Yamada, 2015). However, in 1998, MEXT introduced the Period for Integrated Study, in which the school and its teachers can exercise discretionary power to design and implement their own lessons using the allocated hours provided by MEXT (Yamane, 2002). The Period for Integrated Study was also applied to *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, and Sakura gave her lesson during the school’s Period for Integrated Study. Therefore, this lesson plan designed by Sakura captures her views on language and culture.

To summarize, her lesson is a collaborative project between junior high school students of *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshukō* in Belgium. First, students of the *nihonjingakkō* divide into groups and conduct research on language structures of Japanese, English, and French. Then, students make and perform a skit based on their research. Finally, students of both schools discuss and deepen the understanding of three languages. The full lesson plan in the original Japanese can be found in Appendix 9.

Extract 6.36: ‘To re-recognize the beauty of Japanese people and Japan’s greatness’

1. 題材名

英語・フランス語にはない日本語の表現に組み込まれた日本（日本人）の思い。

2. 題材と目標について

①題材目標について

・言語（日本語、英語、フランス語）に興味・関心をもち、特定の表現を深く追及することで、その国の歴史的背景や文化、習慣、人々の思いを知ることができる。

- ・日本人の心の美しさなどの日本の良さを再認識するとともに、他国の良さに気づくことができる。

1. Name of the Material

Japanese people's feelings ingrained in the Japanese language, which are not expressed in English and French.

2. Material and Aims

① Material and Aims

- ・ *By taking interest in language (Japanese, English, and French) and by examining certain expressions, students will learn those countries' historical background, culture, customs, and people's feelings.*
- ・ *To re-recognize Japanese people's beautiful feelings and Japan's good points, and the good points of other countries.*

The above excerpt demonstrates that Sakura's understanding of language and culture automatically takes place within the nation-state framework. She sets only one dominant, standardized language from each country (Japanese, English, and French), and other languages and regional varieties are not mentioned in the document. For example, in the case of Japan, regional dialects, indigenous languages of Ainu and Ryukuan, and ethnic languages of Korean and Mandarin Chinese are disregarded (please refer to Ch.2 for details on linguistic diversity in Japan). Moreover, despite the fact that Belgium is a multilingual nation-state having languages of Flemish and German along with other languages (Blommaert, 2011; van der Jeught, 2017; Vogl & Hüning, 2010), her lesson plan only includes one other language taught in the *nihonjingakkō*, which is French. Such essentialization and marginalization may limit and discourage students of both schools, who have diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, from engaging with multiple languages and cultures. Indeed, *hoshukō* students' linguistic repertoire is also rich, ranging from French, Dutch, English, German, Lithuanian, and many more (personal communication with the principal of *hoshukō*, October 17th, 2015).

Another issue which Sakura's lesson plan raises is her pedagogical objective of reasserting students' national pride by emphasizing the uniqueness and superiority of Japanese language. This is done by linking Japanese linguistic structure and thought patterns unique to Japanese people and making comparisons with those of English and French. The outcome of her lesson was explained in the e-mail interview I conducted after reading her lesson plan, as I questioned how she defines the uniqueness of Japanese

language and superiority of Japan.

Extract 6.37: ‘Japanese culture cares about others’ (3rd e-mail interview to Sakura) (Y: Yuta S: Sakura)

213. Y: 英語とフランス語にはない、日本語の特徴、及び日本の良さとは、具
214 体的に何でしょうか？

215. S: 例えば、ある班は、以下のことを調べ見つけました。英語は主語の後
216. にすぐに動詞がきます(SVO)が、日本語は動詞が一番最後にきます。
217. ですので、日本語は最後までその文章を聞かないと、全体の意味が分
218. かりません。つまり、日本人は最後まで相手の話をしっかり聞こうと
219. とする。これは日本人の良さの一つである。また、他の班では、以下
220. のことを調べ見つけました。フランス語や英語は、一人称を表す単語
221. は一つだけ。しかし、日本語は、“私、”“自分”、“俺”、“僕”、“うち”
222. などたくさんあります。これは、日本が相手との関係性を重視する文
223. 化であり、その文化の中で[違う一人称] 使い分ける必要性があった
224. からだということを[班が]見つけていました。

213. Y: Can you tell me what you mean by the special features of Japanese
214. language and Japan’s good points?

215. S: For instance, one group found out the following points. In English, the verb
216. comes after the subject (SVO), but in Japanese, the verb comes last. This
217. means that for Japanese, you need to listen until the end to understand. Thus,
218. Japanese people try to listen to what others say carefully until the end. This
219. is one of the good points of Japanese. Another group researched and found
220. the following points. In French and English, there is only one word that
221. expresses first-person singular pronoun. But in Japanese, there are “*watashi*”
222. “*jibun*”, “*ore*”, “*boku*”, “*uchi*”, and many others. [The group] found out that
223. this means that Japanese culture values the relationship with others, and thus,
224. had to use different [first-singular pronouns] depending on the situation.

In replying to my question, instead of giving her definition and examples of special features of Japanese language and greatness of Japan, she gave several examples given from students. Sakura first explains that one group discovered unique Japanese sentence structure (differing to that of English) which reflects the thoughtfulness and kindness of

Japanese people (lines 215-219). She goes on to give one more research finding from another group, in which they found many first-person singular pronouns in the Japanese language but only one for English (*I*) and French (*Je*) (lines 219-222). And the group links this difference to the uniqueness of Japanese culture which cares about others (lines 222-224). As we can see, it can be argued that her lesson was successful in generating pride and knowledge of Japanese language and culture.

As mentioned, in this activity, students are expected to choose only three languages. Such an activity not only overlooks linguistic and cultural complexities within the country and its communities, but has the risk of reinforcing more stereotyped images of language and culture. This positioning by Sakura may have had the effect of disempowering students who speak other languages from both schools and unwittingly silencing their voices. However, as discussed in the literature on Japanese language education (Hosokawa, 2002; Segawa, 2012; 2014; Yamashita, 2001), the pedagogy of emphasizing the uniqueness of Japanese language through its association of Japanese linguistic structure and the mindset of Japanese people has been a common practice, especially in JSL setting.

So far, I have demonstrated that Japanese monolingualism and monoculturalism is taken as normal, and therefore as essential to the linguistic, cultural, and identity development of students. This simplistic and stereotypical formalization of language and culture can also be seen in the English education offered by non-Japanese teachers, which I now proceed to.

6.4.3 Non-Japanese teachers of English (Alice)

In mainstream schools in Japan, the linguistic norm in teaching English has been standard American or British English (Fujiwara, 2017; Kubota, 2019). This was also the case for the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, as confirmed by teachers in the group interview (lines 226).

Extract 6.38: ‘It’s British’ (Y1: Group interview with non-Japanese teachers of English)
(Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

225. Y: So, I am curious to know what variety of English is taught.

226. A: It’s British, because we are not American (**laughter**). We all speak British

227. English, but some of our kids lived in America. So, sometimes they can be
228. confused. They understand that there are many Englishes, and we speak
229. different Englishes. So, sometimes we explain that there are different
230. Englishes.

In replying to my question, Alice explains that British English is chosen as a model since the teachers are all fluent in the variety. Nonetheless, due to the students' and teachers' rich linguistic repertoire and migrant lifestyle (lines 227-229), teachers were aware and provided instruction of other varieties of English (lines 229-230). Still, the school and teachers subscribed to British English and British culture as being central to the English teaching objective. This can be indicated in the bulletin board outside the English conversation classroom in which a British flag vividly projects the image that English is the language of the United Kingdom.

Extract 6.39: Picture of bulletin board outside the English conversation classroom



Furthermore, as evident from the school website and face-to-face interview with Alice, British culture is set as a cultural model to be learned at an English conversation course (lines 232-233). Alice gives 'afternoon tea' (line 235) as an example for authentic British culture, which also manifests an elite classed cultural activity that requires material wealth.

Extract 6.40: 'Opportunity of discovering different aspects of British culture' (School Website)

• Our classes also offer the opportunity of discovering different aspects of British culture: cooking, festivals, traditions, holidays, etc.

また、料理、お祭り、伝統、祝祭日などの観点から、様々なイギリス文化に触れる機会も設けています。

Extract 6.41: ‘We do try to expose them to British culture’ (Y2: face-to-face interview with Alice) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

231. Y: What are things that you value in your language teaching?

232. A: You learn a lot about the language, from the culture. So, as teachers here,

233. we do try to expose them to British culture. For example, we have done a

234. cooking lesson and food sampling lesson, and pretending that we have an

235. afternoon tea.

As we can see, teachers are cast as experts and purveyors of British culture, while their rich multicultural backgrounds are unacknowledged. As explained, non-Japanese teachers of English are transnationals who have lived and been educated in various places. When examining school websites or policy documents, there are no references to teachers’ multilingual repertoires and the potential benefits of fostering multilingual and multicultural students. Aligning with the findings of Copland, Mann, & Garton (2019) and Ellis (2016), multilingual repertoires of native English teachers were not recognized and valued by the school as English monolingualism was the institutional policy. This imposition of essentialized understanding of language and culture also applied to the French conversation courses.

6.4.4 Non-Japanese teachers of French (Louise, Emma, and Elena)

Similarly, the school’s attachment to the norm of standardized French was associated with the monolithic idea that Belgian culture is the culture to be learned through French learning. This is stated on the school website and represented by an image of the Belgian national flag, shown in the following screenshot with my English translation.

Extract 6.42: ‘Opportunity to be exposed to Belgian culture’ (School Website)



Nos cours sont également l'occasion de découvrir différents aspects de la culture belge : cuisine, fêtes, coutumes...

Par ailleurs, lorsque le sujet s'y prête, nous travaillons en français le vocabulaire de la matière vue dans les cours généraux : la poste, les pompiers, l'eau...

Les cours de français permettent également de préparer nos élèves aux rencontres organisées avec d'autres écoles.

フランス語の授業はベルギーの文化と触れ合う機会でもあり、授業の中でベルギーの料理、祭り、慣例、などに取り組みます。

The French language course is an opportunity to be exposed to Belgian culture. In the course, students will learn things such as Belgian food, festival, and customs.

As shown, this website presupposes that only French is spoken in Belgium. Such a presupposition or monolithic linkage between language, culture, and nation, overlooks linguistic and cultural diversity within Belgium. On a relative note, like teachers of English conversation courses, French teachers' multilingual repertoires were apparently not mentioned in the school documents, strengthening the fixed image of teachers as French monolinguals.

Furthermore, French language education in the school was failed to sufficiently raise students' awareness that French is a global language, used in Francophone areas of the world and as a contact language of choice among multilinguals throughout the world (Battye, Hintze, & Rowlett, 2000). This lack of linguistic awareness was demonstrated by the French teachers in the group interview.

Extract 6.43: 'French we speak in Belgium and French we speak in France' (Y1: group interview with Belgian teachers of French) (Y: Yuta, L: Louise, EM: Emma)

236. Y: So, what kind of French do you teach?
237. L: French we speak in Belgium and French we speak in France.
238. EM: Not much difference Belgian French and French French. Like for the
239. numbers, for the numbers, sometimes it's different. Like 90, 90 Belgian
240. means '*nonante*' and in France it's '*quatrevingt dix*'. But the children
241. know that because we tell them. If you go to Paris, it will be like that
242. [French spoken in France will be French variety].

In answering my question on what French variety is taught, Louise explains the linguistic model is the French used in Belgium and France (line 237). Emma continues by informing me that the two are almost identical, but also points out some differences by giving a specific example (lines 238-240). And Emma states that teachers do teach the French used in France, as some students visit the country (lines 240-242). However, the teachers do not seem fully conscious of the fact that French is an international language. For example, even though Belgium has a substantial migrant, expatriate community from Francophone Africa where multiple varieties of French exists (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005), this issue was not raised in the interview.

Thus far, I have demonstrated the school's monolingual and monocultural orientation toward language education. As we can see, minority languages and regional varieties of languages were disregarded in favor of the national language of the country. Additionally, culture was interpreted as a national culture, overlooking the diverse and dynamic nature of culture which varies depending on region, social class, age, gender, and many other factors. Therefore, the school and some participants' nationalistic and essentialized formalization of language and culture can impede understanding of the richness and complexity of languages and cultures.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed the empirical and secondary data on themes relating to the language perceptions which influence the school's language education practice. The data and its descriptive analysis uncovered the following key points.

Firstly, the school had an OLON and OLAT policy (Wei & Wu, 2009) grounded in the perception that languages are separate entities. Students and teachers' multilingual repertoires were not viewed as an asset for learning languages and use of languages other

than the target languages was prohibited. However, there were some teachers who cross-linguistically employed other languages and showed a certain degree of tolerance to students' multiple use of languages. As reported in many studies on multilingual education (Cenoz, 2013; Marshall, 2020; Oyama, 2016; Preece, 2020), their multilingual teaching brought benefits to students' language learning, which is clearly represented in Extract 6.7. Still, monolingual assumptions prevailed in the school.

Secondly, CLT was institutionally promoted as a favorable way to teach languages. Since one of the fundamental tenets of CLT is the exclusive use of the target language and forbidding of other languages (Dewey & Patsko, 2018; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004; Thornbury, 2016), adopting CLT further strengthened the school's monolingual orientation. Furthermore, CLT was especially practiced in conversation courses taught by non-Japanese teachers of English and French, in which teachers were regarded as native speakers with expertise in CLT. In general, the school's preference for CLT and native speakers was also shared by language teachers, and it was partly driven by their displeasure with the grammar-oriented language teaching taught by non-native teachers. Nonetheless, some students were quiet and did not actively communicate in the target language despite teachers' efforts to develop their oral communicative skills through CLT.

Lastly, the school and some of its teachers' perceptions of language and culture were situated within the nation-state framework, selecting only one dominant language and culture from each country. Such simplistic frameworks further alienated and disregarded languages and language speakers who were not included in the framework. This aspect was well-demonstrated in Sakura's lesson plan, as uniqueness and significance of the Japanese language was legitimized at the expense of other languages. Within this framework, teachers were positioned by the school as monocultural and monolingual speakers while marginalizing their rich multilingual repertoires and multicultural backgrounds. As a result, a monolingual pedagogy of primarily using the target language was reinforced.

In this and the previous chapter, I have presented and descriptively analyzed five salient themes which are important in understanding the language ideologies which influence the school's language curriculum and pedagogy. In the subsequent chapter, I will provide an interpretive analysis of the data with reference to the broader literature on language ideologies.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1. Introduction

While the previous two chapters provided data and a descriptive analysis of the language ideologies circulating in *nihonjingakkō* and operated by my participants, this chapter presents an interpretative analysis interwoven with discussion of relevant academic literature and wider contextual issues. This chapter is organized into three key themes: 1) Japanese and English occupying a dominant role in the language education, 2) the monolithic perception of languages as separate entities attached to and owned by particular cultures and nations, and 3) pedagogical practices that marginalize use of languages other than the target language. The discussion of first theme is geared toward the first research question while the subsequent two themes address the second research question. I will also consider how these language ideologies were enacted and how agentive the participants were in reproducing and resisting these language ideologies. The key arguments I address in this chapter are that the school's and participants' language ideologies are largely influenced by or reflect the dominant language ideologies of MEXT and Japanese society. Furthermore, the school's language curriculum and pedagogy are expected to serve as a vehicle to maintain and reinforce monolithic linkage between Japanese language, nation, and ethnicity which is highly embraced in the Japanese context.

7.2 Dominant Position of Japanese and English

As set out in Chapter 2 and 3, Japanese and English have significant prominence in Japan. Japanese has absolute and axiomatic status as the only language of Japan (Masiko, 1997; Sato & Doerr, 2014a; Yasuda, 2003), while English is the default language in all policies for foreign language education (Erikawa, 2018; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). Even though linguistic diversity has long existed in Japan and is increasing due to a massive wave of immigrants since the 1990s (Sato, 2019; Shoji, 2019), in most cases, other languages have not been systematically taught as part of the school education system (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016; Fujita-Round, 2019; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). This language hierarchy was also observed in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, in which French was offered on a limited scale and other official languages were not incorporated into the school's language curriculum.

In analyzing language ideologies manifesting themselves in the school's language curriculum, applying the theoretical frames of ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity (Woolard, 2016) is beneficial. First, Japanese was linked with ideology of authenticity, since the language is one of the fundamental indications of being Japanese (Heinrich, 2012; Lee, 2009; 2012). As can be seen from the accounts from the principal and Japanese language teachers who enforced strict Japanese-only policy (Extracts 6.1 - 6.3), Japanese was valued in the school. Moreover, Wataru was very conscious of his students' Japanese proficiency, which he evaluated as lower than those in Japan and made an effort to have more Japanese instruction than mainstream schools in the home country (Extract 5.6). Not only Wataru, but the school and Japanese language teachers seemed to be conscious that it was important not to allow their students to be viewed as having a deficiency in Japanese language skills and being labelled as 'less Japanese' as this could hamper the smooth academic, social transition upon returning to Japan. Therefore, in my view, the school was disinclined to add more official languages to the curriculum since they perceived it as a threat to Japanese language acquisition and identification as Japanese. Furthermore, the school apparently had no recognition and promotion of Japanese as a language of communication beyond Japan, which runs contrary to practice in the school by some of the non-Japanese teachers, Louise and Elena, who were Japanese speakers. In fact, Japanese is also used in the wider world, as represented in Japanese diaspora communities such as Brazil (Sakamoto & Morales, 2016) and Hawaii (Kondo, 1998), with Japanese as foreign language speakers steadily increasing (Hashimoto, 2018a; Lämsäsalmi, 2019).

Although it can be argued that students of *nihonjingakkō* are in a vulnerable position in terms of Japanese language learning, they are also highly regarded by the Japanese public and MEXT as 'golden eggs' that will become exceptional Japanese and English multilinguals (Kanno; 2003; MEXT, 2016b; Yoshida et al., 2003). This expectation is reflected in the policy change implemented in *nihonjingakkō* in the 1980s (Fukuda, 2018), the period in which the *kokusaika* (internationalization) closely associated with high English proficiency prevailed in the Japanese government (Kubota, 2019b). English was perceived as a hyper-central language that belongs to everyone, and this view points to the way in which the ideology of anonymity was informing MEXT policies in relation to English. Learning to speak the language was encouraged in order to propagate Japanese values in the international community and maintain Japan's economic success (Hashimoto, 2007; Kubota, 2002, 2011c; Toh, 2019). However, Japan generally failed to produce competent English speakers (Butler & Iino, 2005) since

English was not widely used in daily life and work in the country (Seargeant, 2009; Terasawa, 2018). Therefore, MEXT set a target for *nihonjingakkō* as an ideal education institution to foster students as ‘global human resources’ who have high levels of English competency (Kojima, 1999; Sato, 1997). In response to the government’s call to *kokusaika*, from the 1980s, *nihonjingakkō* around the globe started providing English conversation classes not usually offered in mainstream schools in Japan (Fukuda, 2018; Mabuchi, 2002) within primary education. This was also the case in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, where English conversation courses are implemented from Grade 1-9 (please see Chapter 4.4 for language curriculum details). Hence, equation of *kokusaika* and English acquisition has been one of the major driving forces in promoting English in *nihonjingakkō*, overlooking the value of languages of the host countries.

Nevertheless, the prioritization of Japanese and English became subject to criticism from scholars and the government of host countries where English is not an official language (Fukuda, 2018). Facing these pressures, some *nihonjingakkō* decided to also incorporate language(s) of the host nations into the school curriculum in the 1980s (Kojima, 1999). Even though this study was not able to uncover details relating to the inclusion of official languages in *nihonjingakkō*, it is likely that it was during this period that the school added French to the curricula. However, as explained by participants, only French was taught in the school while Flemish and German were not. These languages were absent from the school handbook and website, and were rarely mentioned by the participants. The principal’s perception of these languages may have been informed by the ideology of anonymity and authenticity (Extract 5.11). In response to my proposal of adding Flemish and German to school’s language programme, the principal explained that these two languages have less value as they are only used in local community, and thus linked the languages with the ideology of authenticity. Conversely, the principal indexed French with the ideology of anonymity, as he pointed out that the language has a global reach, implying that its universality was why French was selected out of three languages. Still, as narrated by the French language teachers (Extract 5.9 and 5.19), French has been gradually marginalized by the school. According to Louise and Emma, French language education was reduced in exchange for implementation of English learning at a lower grade. Even though neither of the teachers specified when this policy change was carried out, it is in line with the introduction of more English and at an earlier stage in Japan’s school education (Honma & Saruhashi, 2019; Kubota, 2019; Terasawa, 2020).

The emphasis on developing students' English competence continued to intensify after the 1980s, and in 1998, MEXT erased the guiding principles, which had been present since 1955 (Erikawa, 2018), of French and German in the Course of Study guideline for junior high school, sending an implicit message to schools to promote English (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016). And in 2003, MEXT announced an Action Plan which included a proposal to introduce English at primary school level (Kobayashi, 2018b). Based on this proposal, in 2011, MEXT made English instruction mandatory beginning with Grade 5 at ages 10-11 (Hu & McKay, 2012; Yoshida, 2012) and this was lowered to Grade 3 at ages 7-8 in 2020 (Terasawa, 2020). As can be seen, considering that this research was conducted in 2015, the French reduction in *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium presumably occurred in tandem, or in advance of the steady shift toward English in Japan.

Yet the language hierarchy which places Japanese and English on the top rung of the ladder is not only shaped by MEXT policy in a top-down manner, but is also maintained and reinforced by students and parents. The principal and language teachers' accounts evidenced how the majority of students and parents select English instead of French. This preference can best be explained by the strong influence Japan's school entrance examination has on students' and parents' language choice (Mogi, 2017; Sato, 1997), as English fluency is linked to elitism and academic and social success in Japan (Saito, 2020; Seargeant, 2009) while other foreign languages are not (Morizumi et al., 2016; Torikai et al., 2017). Added to this is the fact that French is generally not taught in mainstream schools in Japan (Erikawa, 2018; Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016), which further solidifies their perception that learning languages other than Japanese and English is neither necessary nor worthwhile. To put it differently, it can be argued that students' and parents' language choices are informed by the ideology of anonymity, as they conceived French to be less global and prestigious than English.

Nonetheless, some optimism was also expressed in the interviews with non-Japanese teachers (Extracts 5.16, 5.17, 5.20 – 5.22), as there were students who chose French rather than English, contesting the language ideology of synonymizing English with foreign language. This could pertain to several factors such as: 1) interest to French language and culture, (2) students would like to further develop their relationship with local peer groups by improving their French, and (3) as a personal fulfilment by learning another language since some students have achieved a high level of English. Importantly, according to Louise who is a veteran French teacher, there has been a

growing interest amongst students and parents in learning French (Extract 5.22). Taking into account that they are highly educated and come from the elite class (Goodman, 2012; Kanno, 2003), it can be assumed that parents may also invest French with economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) beneficial for their child's salability in the global labor market since English-Japanese multilingualism is becoming common for elites (Kanno, 2008; Seargeant, 2009). This is represented by Chie, one of the participants in Seargeant's (2009) research on ideology of English in Japan. Chie is a Japanese returnee from London and works at a major computer company in Japan, and is eager to learn other languages:

“I was interested in Spanish and Italian. So I learned both of them. Now I want to learn French again. When I was in junior college I had to learn it but I wasn't interested at that moment so I spent horrible hours.... If I could manage to use another language, I could get a good job and salary as well. There are a lot of English speakers in Japan, so we need a second foreign language now.” (Seargeant, 2009: 126)

As we can see, there is growing sign that some Japanese do not conform to English-only foreign language education. The findings from non-Japanese teachers shed light on ways in which both authenticity and anonymity can exist symbiotically, since some of the factors increasing interest in French appear to be local and global. This may suggest that for students and parents who have selected French instead of English, their relationship with French is more complex than English and Japanese, which were positioned more by a dichotomous anonymity-authenticity ideology maintained by the principal and Japanese teachers in the *nihonjingakkō*.

However, Japanese teachers and non-Japanese teachers were distinct from each other in terms of their support to students' French learning. Japanese teachers were reluctant to encourage students to take French (see extract 5.14), while non-Japanese teachers were more active and involved in students' foreign language decision making (Extracts 5.17 and 5.22). In addition, the principal and Japanese teachers seemed unaware of non-Japanese teachers' efforts to support students' French learning and the rising popularity of French. This gap and indifference can be attributed to the principal and Japanese teachers' career paths. In accordance with MEXT policy (MEXT, 2020a; 2020b), Japanese principals and teachers only stay in Belgium for 2-3 years and are reappointed to their former workplace in Japan upon their return. Considering their prospect of their eventual return to Japan, it is not difficult to imagine that attributing importance to

French is not sufficiently worthwhile as French is not widely used and valued in Japan (Seargeant, 2009). Their unenthusiastic attitude for the French language is also reflected in their French learning, as the majority were not committed enough to learn the language (Extracts 5. 12 and 5.14). Similarly, MEXT apparently did not provide French or other local language training prior to or during their terms in office, as the principal and Japanese teachers did not raise this issue when I asked about their learning of Belgium's official languages. These are significant differences with the experiences of the non-Japanese teachers, who have been living in Belgium for years, expect to continue living in the country, with most having mastered French and the other official languages.

Even though this divide is regrettable for those who advocate multilingual education, it should also be noted that the school and its teachers were doing their best to provide French education despite the many constraints. As explained in Chapter 2, due to the overemphasis on English in Japan, there is a shortage of French teachers in Japan and it is impossible for MEXT to send Japanese teachers of French. On a related point, MEXT does not have teaching guidelines and certified textbooks for French (Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016) that can help support Japanese teachers. These factors also resulted in the school having a seemingly hands-off policy toward non-Japanese teachers. It also made it difficult for both groups to collaborate and develop students' French language education as Japanese participants lack experience, knowledge, and resources for French education.

Up to this point, I have discussed how ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity influenced the school and participants' language perceptions and treatment. In sum, Japanese was associated with an ideology of authenticity which is strongly marked with 'Japanese-ness' (Befu, 2001; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019; Liddicoat, 2007a), and English was tied with an ideology of anonymity, conceived of as a global language (Erikawa, 2018; Kubota, 2019) that opens up children's futures and gives them a distinct advantage. In contrast to these highly valued languages, French was deemed less important. Although the language was tied up with the ideology of anonymity as it is one of the international languages, it was apparently perceived to be less cosmopolitan than English. In addition, Flemish and German were overlooked, as they were seen as something irrelevant to 'outsiders', which relates to the ideology of authenticity. The language hierarchy shaped by these interactions of ideology of authenticity and ideology of anonymity underlies the school's language education

curriculum. Despite the growing interest in French, this language hierarchy is identical to that of Japan and is reproduced in the school and its people. Having discussed this language hierarchy and its underpinning language ideologies, I now turn to the language teaching practice. The monocultural and monolingual orientation of the school's language pedagogy strengthened the 'authenticity' of the Japanese language, while English and French were labelled with a particular territory and race.

7.3 Monolithic Perception of Language and Culture

A growing consensus in the academic literature identifies how language education in Japan's school system tends to apply nation-state frameworks to languages, and often promotes essentialized culture (Horii, 2015; Kubota, 2014b; Toh, 2019; Yamada, 2015). This aspect was also evident in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, with languages perceived as linguistically and culturally homogeneous entities, owned solely by particular national groups. Standard Japanese was treated as the only language in Japan (see extract 6.36), disregarding regional dialects, indigenous languages, and foreign languages which constitute the linguistic and ethnically diverse Japan (Shoji, 2019; Tsuneyoshi et al., 2011), and Japanese spoken in communities of Japanese immigrants and their offspring (Kondo, 1998; Sakamoto & Morales, 2016). Similarly, English was strongly associated with British Standard English and British culture (Extract 6.38-6.40), and French was linked with standard French and Belgian culture (Extract 6.41-6.42). In other words, English and French were narrowly perceived in terms of the UK, France, and Belgium, and not the Anglophone and Francophone speaking parts of the world.

Even though the school was placed in Belgium, the school followed this static agenda common over mainstream schools in Japan. Instead of fostering and promoting a worldview which goes beyond the nation-state framework, the school appeared to distance itself from the rich linguistic and cultural diversity existing in the school and local communities.

In discussing this fixed framework on language, I would like to first highlight the nationalistic principle of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, which influences the school's education policy. Studies which take a critical perspective on Japanese language policy (Lee, 2009; 2012; Yasuda, 2006) argue that the Japanese government, in particular MEXT, has been imposing on students a set of values, attitudes and dispositions which

the state has deemed necessary since the late 19th century to foster nationalism (Masiko, 1997; Yasuda, 2003) though school education (Takayama, 2008). This nationalistic sentiment can be observed in following extract taken from the school handbook.

- 「日本人としての誇りを持ち、他と調和的にかかわりながらよりよい生き方を目指す子どもを育てる」。

- 「児童・生徒が積極的に日本と世界に目を向け、日本人として世界の人々とよりよく生きていこうとする態度とそれを実現するために必要な力を高める学習指導を推進する。」(学校要覧、2014年：ページ1, 追加強調)

- “To foster children who have pride of being **Japanese**, and those who aim to have a better life while harmoniously engaging with others.”

- “The school will promote education to foster students who will actively turn their eyes toward **Japan** and the world, and as **Japanese** living together with the people around the world.” (School Brochure, 2014: page 1, emphasis added by researcher)

This school motto, addressed in the first page of the handbook, can be described as ‘nationalism at a distance’ (Blackledge & Creese, 2012: 84), aimed at reassuring and providing unity for students who may have a sense of loss due to their relocation from home country. The aspect of nurturing the pride of being Japanese is influenced by the ideology of *nihonjinron* (Befu, 2001; Dale, 2012; Sugimoto, 1999), which shapes the school’s language learning and teaching (please refer to Chapter 3 for details on *nihonjinron* ideology). This perspective is clearly evident in Sakura’s lesson plan and the outcomes of her lesson (Extract 6.36 and 6.37). In this lesson plan, the uniqueness and superiority of Japanese language and thought patterns were emphasized by making comparisons with those of English and French. Rather than fostering mutual understanding of diverse languages and cultures, it appears that Sakura is instilling the idea that Japanese language and culture is superior to others, aligning with the aims of Japanese language education that MEXT envisions.

Teaching materials should be selected with due consideration to the following points:

(a) To be instrumental in deepening awareness of the Japanese language and developing an attitude of respect for the Japanese language.

(MEXT’s Course of Study for Junior High School Japanese Language English Version; 2011: page 13)

Importantly, it can be argued that the school and Japanese teachers may come to position themselves in more nationalistic terms in the Belgian context than might have been the case in Japan, as they are intended to protect students' national identity from the outside environment.

Furthermore, Sakura's lesson plan was constructed in line with the principles of a one-nation-one-language ideology. By stereotypically nominating only one dominant language from each country, Sakura gave little or no space to explore linguistic plurality and complexities within that country (Extract 6.36). This emphasis on essentialized and narrow understanding of language may perpetuate the one-nation-one-language ideology, rather than nurturing critical examination and challenging injustices caused by conceiving languages in a nation-state framework. In a similar vein, Sakura viewed culture as something fixed and definable by formalizing culture as 'national culture', for example as 'Japanese culture'. This fixed 'national cultural' construction may well create challenges when mutual understanding between students of *nihonjingakkō* and *hoshukō* is the core aim of the lesson, since it is clear that in this globalised world neither 'us' nor 'them' are as neatly bounded and homogeneous as once seemed to be the case (Kubota, 2014a; May, 2003). Such superficial and essentialized understandings of language and culture, influenced by the *nihonjinron* ideology, can reify difference and exclusion, and further legitimize dominant language perceptions.

Likewise, this static framework was also operating when non-Japanese language teachers were presented as purveyors of 'British culture' and 'Belgian culture' on school websites (Extract 6.39 and 6.41), while dismissing their multicultural backgrounds. The view of culture as a fluid, hybrid, and constantly evolving entity (Kubota, 2014a; May, 2003; Sato, 2007) was not adopted, as it challenges Japan's imagined homogeneity of nation, language, and culture. In short, by taking a monoglossic and stereotypical approach to language and culture, the school and teachers further authenticised the notion that the Japanese language belongs to specific groups of people (ethnic Japanese). Moreover, the English pedagogy, which focused on relating the target language to United Kingdom and its culture, did not align with MEXT's policy of placing value on utility of English in the global marketplace (Hashimoto, 2007; Kubota, 2011c, 2019b; Toh, 2019). Similarly, despite the principal's account in which he conceives of French as an international language, in the language classrooms, French was marked in relation to Belgium and France. This contradiction that arose in the data

between English and French suggests that teachers have to negotiate the utility and culture arguments surrounding both languages. This process of territorializing languages to a particular nation and culture was also carried out in the monolingual approaches to language teaching, a theme which I now turn to.

7.4 Monolingual Approaches to Pedagogy

Even though students and language teachers have diverse linguistic repertoires, in part due to their complex migration and language learning experiences, language education in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium was underpinned by largely unquestioning acceptance of monolingual approaches to pedagogy. Languages were compartmentalized, and the use of languages other than the target language and mixing of languages was generally prohibited. This finding aligns with numerous studies discussing how monolingual teaching is hegemonic in many places (Cook, 2010; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004; Kanno, 2008; Noda & O'Regan, 2020; Wei & Wu, 2009). Yet, in terms of monolingual orientation in language teaching, Japanese monolingualism seemed to be welcomed by students while English monolingualism was not well-received by some. This may point to the dominance of Japanese in the students' linguistic repertoire, since it is convenient to hold on to a language of which they have high command while much more effort is needed to separate languages where proficiency levels are lower.

Kanno (2003), in describing *hoshukō* in Toronto, writes:

'hoshuko provided a sanctuary where they could speak Japanese to their heart's content. When dealing with an L2 brings inevitable stress, recourse to one's mother tongue can provide uplifting moments.' (Kanno, 2003: 112)

The *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium also had a similar atmosphere of total immersion, and I felt as if I had stepped into Japan when I was conducting fieldwork at the school. This Japanese monolingualism was also observed in Japanese language classes taught by Kanako and Wataru. Both teachers seemed to be genuinely committed to helping their students catch up linguistically in Japanese, as the prospect of their students' eventual repatriation to Japan made the teachers more sensitive to students' need for Japanese development. This was achieved by the monolingual teaching (Extract 6.4). The school and Japanese language teachers emphasized the integration of their pupils back into the

Japanese mainstream education system, while no efforts were made to support and develop their multilingual repertoires. This was illustrated in how Kanako politely silenced her students, requesting they not speak other languages such as French and Dutch (Extract 6.2). Such actions reflect how languages of immigrant students in Japanese schools are generally and regrettably disregarded (Fujita-Round, 2019; Kanno, 2008).

However, in contrast to students of complementary schools in the United Kingdom who showed resistance to target language only teaching (Tereschenko & Archer, 2015; Wei & Wu, 2009), students seemed to accept the monolingual practice. This conformity is also mentioned in interviews with Wataru (Extract 6.4), as students gradually became accustomed to Japanese-only in the classroom. In this respect, one major characteristic of the students in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium is that they are temporary sojourners as opposed to permanent residents (Sato, 1997; Okamura, 2017). As students needed to prepare for the smooth transition to Japan and its school system, the school is a precious site, at which they can be exposed to and engage in rich interaction in Japanese. Therefore, monolingual teaching in Japanese was apparently well-received by students who enjoyed speaking Japanese.

When Kanako and Wataru were reporting their monolingual Japanese teaching in the interviews, they also highlighted that their teaching was in accordance with the MEXT's Course of Study guidelines (Extracts 6.2 and 6.4). Even though MEXT and the school policy documents do not explicitly recommend a monolingual approach to Japanese teaching (Sato & Doerr, 2014b), there seems to be a tacit understanding among teachers that Japanese-only teaching is a norm. This monolingual pedagogy derives from Japanese language standardization policy which dates back to the late 19th century when "institutionalized enforcement of Japanese as the national language" (Morris-Suzuki, 1998: 27) was a necessary process for nation building (Carroll, 2001; Heinrich, 2012; Yasuda, 2006) and perpetuated the myth of Japan as a linguistically homogeneous country (Dale, 2012; Oguma, 1995). Japanese monolingualism is evident in the emphasis on national language and ethnic identity (Gottlieb, 2005), and, in time, the Japanese language became the central means of nurturing a Japanese ethnic identity. By conducting Japanese monolingual teaching, *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium reproduced and transmitted this nexus between Japanese language and ethnicity prevalent in Japanese schooling and society. This strong sense of 'us' Japanese was further emphasized by having English and French conversation courses taught by native-speaker teachers who

also practiced monolingual pedagogy.

As indicated in the interviews (Extract 6.20 and 6.21) and school websites (Extract 6.15), alongside the common practice of hiring white, native speaker assistant language teachers (ALTs) in Japanese mainstream schools (Borg, 2008; Fujiwara, 2017), the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium also privilege white, inner circle native speakers. These native speaker criteria were also applied to French language teachers (Extract 6.15 and 6.25), and they were assigned by the school to ensure a focus on communication (Extract 6.15 - 6.16 and 6.25). The school perceived these teachers as best suited to developing students' communicative skills through target language only teaching, and expected students to learn standardized, native speaker varieties, and held these up as ideals to be learnt (Extract 6.24). In spite of this emphasis, classroom observations and interviews with non-Japanese teachers of English illustrated how some students were quiet and shy (Extract 6.18), creating a distance between students and teachers. In an interesting contrast, this distance was not observed as much in the French language classrooms, perhaps partly due to teachers' acceptance and judicious use of Japanese (Extract 6.13 and 6.14) which enabled the children to build bridges between languages. Despite these benefits of incorporating Japanese in classroom teaching, the school did not offer Japanese language training to non-Japanese teachers, which could have helped build trusted relationships with students and develop their multilingual repertoires. Furthermore, the school projected non-Japanese teachers as monolinguals, disregarding their multilingual repertoires. For instance, Louise and Elena's Japanese proficiency was not mentioned in school policy documents. It can be inferred that presenting Louise and Elena as fluent Japanese speakers may blur the line between Japanese nationality, language, and ethnicity. Given these findings, one could argue that the school's language education was rooted in dichotomous 'us' and 'them' dynamics that created division between monoethnic, Japanese fluent students and inner-circle, white teachers not proficient in Japanese, which may have allowed students to become aware of their 'otherness' and re-realize their Japanese-ness (Rivers & Ross, 2013).

However, the study also illustrated that monolingual pedagogy was not only implemented institutionally. In fact, many teachers believed that languages should be taught separately (Extract 6.2, 6.4, 6.8 – 6.10), suggesting that having multilingual language teachers does not guarantee that they will teach languages multilingually and value their students' languages. As exemplified by the narratives of Kanako (Extract 6.3) and Alice (Extract 6.11), their monolingual orientation may have emerged and

developed through their monolingual schooling and learning (Extract 6.3 and 6.11), which probably influenced their monolingual pedagogy. Moreover, researchers argue that there has been a strong monolingual orientation in language teacher education (Dewey & Patsko, 2018; Galloway, 2018; Oyama, 2016), with activities such as code-switching and translation being marginalized with students chastised for such practices. While this study did not set out to examine the participants' experience of teacher education trajectory, this is also likely to be the case for language teachers of *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. Additionally, as discussed by scholars (Block & Gray, 2016; Dewey & Patsko, 2018; Ferguson & Donno, 2003; Terasawa, 2020), many language teachers lead very busy professional lives, and do not have opportunity for further formal training in linguistics or teaching for years after their initial qualification courses. Given the challenge of finding time for my data collection and questionnaire data (Extract 5.15), it can be assumed that *nihonjingakkō* language teachers also shared similar challenges. Even though some institutions have started providing teacher training programmes which promote multilingual pedagogy (Higgins & Ponte, 2017; Hino, 2017; Oyama, 2016), the working environment makes it difficult for teachers to have further teacher training that can help them kept abreast of developments in applied linguistics and translate multilingual pedagogy into classroom practices.

Nevertheless, this study also revealed that Japanese teachers of English and French were more tolerant of students' fluid use of languages (Extract 6.5-6.7, 6.13-6.14), which can be attributed to their proficiency in Japanese (except for Emma). Embracing students' languages in classrooms empowered students' multilingual skills that made the teaching more inclusive. This multilingual pedagogy practiced by these two groups of language teachers gives us a sense of hope for changing the dichotomy and its underlying monolingual, homogenous ideologies. Still, throughout the interviews, it was unclear if teachers' acceptance and use of Japanese was grounded on the understanding and benefits discussed in studies on multilingual pedagogy (Cenoz, 2013; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Marshall, 2020; Preece, 2020). One could argue that the teachers' use of Japanese was a last resort, and that the delivery of teaching will not be hampered. This suggests the importance of offering teacher training programmes advocating multilingual pedagogy that acknowledge and embrace the linguistic repertoires of students and teachers.

7.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an interpretive analysis of what language ideologies were circulating in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, and how they shaped the school's language curriculum and practice. By interpretively analyzing the data in relation to relevant literature and the structural background of the research context, several characteristic points stood out.

Firstly, since the school was attentive in protecting and fostering a homogenized, collective ethnicity of students, the school's language education was generally reduced to Japanese and English. Consequently, efforts to promote official language education took a backseat, as French was offered on a smaller scale while other official languages (Flemish and German) were ignored and not included in the school's language curriculum.

Secondly, multiculturalism and multilingualism were recognized only at the macro, national level in the school, overlooking the diversity and hybridity of culture and language. Moreover, multilingual pedagogy was, overall, implicitly problematized among the school and participants. The teaching practice of associating languages with specific countries was informed by the ideology of authenticity and prevalent in language classrooms. Yet, this relationship was at odds with MEXT's English language education policy, imposed via *nihonjingakkō*, which placed emphasis on the usefulness and cosmopolitan nature of English. Similarly, while French was valued for its global prestige, as suggested by the principal, it was treated rather narrowly as the language of Belgium and France. As argued by Woolard (2016), in many cases, a clear-cut division between the ideology of anonymity and ideology of authenticity cannot be applied to languages, and in this research context, there are many overlaps in how English and French were associated.

To conclude, *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium do not appear to foster student pride in their own multilingualism or promoting the view of contemporary societies as linguistically and culturally diverse. Instead, the school carefully micro-managed and reproduced the monolingual, homogenous language ideologies pervasive in MEXT and Japanese society, in the same way as Japanese teachers, students, and parents limited their projection of their future in Japan.

However, my findings also demonstrated that participants have rich multilingual repertoires. Therefore, in my view, the school has the potential to transform the

language curriculum and practice by drawing on alternative language ideologies rooted in ideas of cultural and linguistic diversity as a resource. With this understanding, in the next and concluding chapter, I propose a critique of multilingual education in the context of *nihonjingakkō* and mainstream schools in Japan. I will also summarize research findings by addressing the research questions, outline the contributions and limitations of the study, and make suggestions for the direction of future research.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter, I would like to reflect on my study by returning to and answering the research questions that were set out in the opening of this thesis. As a reminder, these were:

1. What language ideologies are circulating in a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium? How do these language ideologies shape the perceptions of the language teachers and principal at a *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium of the official languages of Belgium and languages taught at the school?
2. How are language ideologies manifested in the *nihonjingakkō*'s language education policy and classroom language teaching?

I first summarize the findings for the first two research questions based on the previous data chapters. Following this, I provide theoretical and methodological contributions of my study. Then, I will move on to implications arising from this study in detail. The research implications mainly relate to the need for language education policy reform that can advance multilingual education in *nihonjingakkō* and mainstream schools in Japan. Accordingly, I argue that these proposals can provide significant contributions to the areas of applied linguistics, particularly for language teacher development and multilingual education. Following this, some shortcomings of this study will be pointed out. By outlining these limitations, I hint at the direction future research arising from this study might take in order to further contribute to the understanding of the language ideologies underpinning *nihonjingakkō* and other Japanese overseas schools, and how these ideologies influence the school's language education policy and practice.

8.2 Language Ideologies in the *Nihonjingakkō* in Belgium: Influence on Language Education Policy and Practice

In answer to the first research question on the perceptions of the *nihonjingakkō* principal and language teachers about the languages in the school curriculum and host country, the findings revealed that importance was placed on Japanese and English while the official languages of the host country, Belgium, (French, Flemish, and

German) were viewed as having less value. Japanese was treated unquestionably as the most important language to foster national, ethnic identity of Japanese-ness (Befu, 2001; Sato & Doerr, 2014; Sugimoto, 1999) whereas English was valorized as the lingua franca of the world and as having links to greater educational opportunities (Kubota, 2019b; Seargeant, 2009). Thus, these languages were taught mandatorily at the school across all grades. By contrast, French was only offered as a compulsory school subject until pupils reach Grade 3 (ages 8-9). As a result, the majority of students chose English over French after Grade 4 (ages 9-10), evidencing how the school's French education was not designed to encourage proficiency in French. This provision does suggest that the course was established to demonstrate that the school is at least interested in French, one of a select group of prestigious languages having a global reach, as pointed out by the principal (Extract 5.11). Additionally, Flemish and German were delegitimized, as these languages were not taught in the school and not referenced on the school website or in the brochure. Despite its location in the multilingual setting of Belgium, the school showed little interest in integration into Belgium society. Its attention appeared focused on Japan, since students, parents, and Japanese teachers take it for granted that they will soon return to Japan. Hence, it is understandable that the school reproduces Japan's language hierarchy of prioritizing Japanese and English over other languages (Erikawa, 2018; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019), as Japanese society does not generally see these languages as relevant and valuable. In contrast, locally hired English and French language teachers perceived French as an asset and challenged the English dominance by encouraging students to take French classes. Although these efforts led some students and parents to show increasing interest and engage in French learning, the teachers' French promotion movement was not supported by fellow Japanese teachers and did not change the school's language education and its overemphasis of Japanese and English. In sum, perceptions of language at the school, on the whole, appear identical to those of Japanese society and not much influenced by Belgium's rich, multilingual environment. In understanding this school's entrenched perceptions of language, it is essential to examine its underlying language ideologies from a different angle. This leads to the next section in which I attempt to answer the second research question regarding how language ideologies are manifested in the school's language education policy and classroom pedagogy.

To examine and unpack the language ideologies manifested in the school's language education policy and practice, I employed the twin pillars of the ideology of authenticity and the ideology of anonymity developed by Woolard (2016). As I have shown, her

concepts are pertinent to the interview accounts and school policy documents. The school expected students to become, above all, mainstream members of Japanese society, and promoted the learning and use of Japanese in this regard. Thus, the Japanese language was bound up with the sense of national and ethnic identity, indexing the ideology of authenticity. On the other hand, English was associated with ideology of anonymity, as it was appreciated as a prestigious and international language. Many students and parents perceived that proficiency in English promises to provide success in an increasingly competitive educational market. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, MEXT positioned *nihonjingakkō* as educational institutions to develop ‘global human resources’ who attain high English competency (Kojima, 1999; Sato, 1997). Learning English was emphasized in order to transmit Japan’s uniqueness and significance to the outside world. This policy reflects the *nihonjinron* (Japanese-ness) ideology and *kokusaika* (internationalization) ideology (Hashimoto, 2000; Kubota, 2019b; Liddicoat, 2007b), as discussed in chapter 2. One of the ways in which this nationalistic principle was put into practice in the school was by presenting children with the view of the superiority of Japanese language and culture over English and French (Extract 6.36 and 6.37).

The findings of this study build on Woolard’s work (Woolard, 2016; Woolard & Frekko, 2013) and sheds light on how the ideology of anonymity and authenticity are not simply an ‘either-or’ binary framework, but rather ‘co-constituted’ (Woolard, 2016: 21) within the *nihonjingakkō* school setting in Belgium. In this research context, these two ideologies were intertwined in complex ways on how English and French were perceived and taught. While English and French were tied to neutrality and cosmopolitanism, the school territorialized English in the British context, French in the Belgian context, and covertly connected both with ‘White-ness’ (Kubota & Lin, 2009; Rivers & Ross, 2013), as all of the non-Japanese teachers are white except for Elena whose mother is Japanese. By following the common practice established in Japan’s English education settings of linking English with a specific territory and race (Kubota, 2019b; Lawrence & Nagashima, 2019), the school embraced the native speaker ideal in English and French teaching and regarded native speaker models as the only rightful norm. Even though it is becoming necessary and crucial to interact with English (Jenkins, 2000, 2018; Matsuda, 2017) and French (Blommaert, 2011) speakers coming from many different origins and speaking different language varieties, the school apparently did not have the objective of exposing students to different varieties of English (Bolton, 2018; Kachru, 1990) and French (Battye et al., 2000). Moreover, the

teachers' interview accounts and school website indicated that there was not much reference to standard or vernacular varieties of English and French from other majority Anglophone or Francophone settings, which further trivialized the global status and use of both languages. Relatedly, while MEXT promoted the conception of English as an economic commodity (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012; Duchêne & Heller, 2012) to raise Japan's economic strength (Kubota, 2011c; Nitta, 2019; Takayama, 2008), the school linked languages with stereotypical and essentialized views of culture, that promoted the view of one-language one-nation (Japanese/Japan, English/ the UK, French/ Belgium) and paid little attention to language legislation in Belgium or to multilingualism in the host community.

To protect idealized views of the homogeneity of language and nation, languages were compartmentalized and taught monolingually in the target language. With few exceptions (Extract 6.5 - 6.7, 6.13, and 6.14), the use of multiple languages in the classroom was prohibited in order to prevent cross-linguistic 'contamination' (Portolés & Martí, 2018) which was viewed as unfavorable for language acquisition. Accordingly, language teachers were positioned by the school as monolinguals, and were not encouraged to model their own forms of multilingualism in classroom teaching.

In sum, the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium was the place for students and teachers to feel as if they are schooling in Japan (Fukuda, 2018; Sato, 1997). With sufficient resources and structured learning environment supported by MEXT, the school was successful in reproducing the dominant language ideologies in Japanese society. These findings contribute to the development of the conceptual framework of ideology of authenticity and anonymity put forward by Woolard (2016), to which I now proceed. Methodological contributions of this study will also be discussed by recalling the challenges I faced in the research process and how I dealt with these problems.

8.3 Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

Unlike Woolard's study (2016), which documented how Catalan's authenticity is starting to waver in that the language is viewed as a more fluid and open entity and not solely as a marker of ethnic identity, in the case of my research context, there were no such ideological changes. Japanese continued to resonate as the language belonging to the Japanese, conceived of as a particular national and ethnic group located in Japan, while the official use of Flemish, French and German in Belgium did not exert much

influence on the language dichotomy of Japanese and English. This finding can offer additional insights for our understanding of language ideologies in the age of globalisation. In concluding her impactful work, *Singular and Plural: Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia*, Woolard (2016) drew conclusions about her longitudinal research on language ideologies underpinning Catalan society, providing the following positive outlook:

The twin monoliths of Enlightenment anonymity and Romantic authenticity that characterize linguistic modernity have been buffeted in the current global dispensation. Intellectual elites, community activities, and ordinary speakers in more than one setting around the world now show a "strategic desire to locate resources for a cosmopolitan future in vernacular ways of being themselves" (Pollock, 2000, 623), and to refuse the ideological dichotomy that has sustained language hierarchies in the modern period." (Woolard, 2016: 303-304)

While Woolard is cautious not to over-generalize from her findings in Catalonia, outlining linguistic complexities, contradictions, and contestations which show that there remains a traditional anonymity/authenticity view of languages (see Chapter 3.4), as can be seen, she has taken an optimistic view of language ideological shift as not being entirely unique to Catalonia. However, despite Woolard's optimism, the findings of my study illustrate the tenacity of dominant language ideologies in the education system and ways in which these are maintained by the state and schools. Even though students, parents, and Japanese teachers of the school in Belgium are 'intellectual elites' who greatly benefit from globalisation, they had no or little desire to change the language ideological dichotomy deeply-rooted in Japan since its modernization in the late 19th century (Masiko, 2014; Seargeant, 2009; Yasuda, 2019). Therefore, while Woolard's (2016) conceptualization of anonymity and authenticity is beneficial in understanding language ideologies, my point is that her study underestimates the persistence of language ideologies on contemporary societies, and scholars should be mindful of this aspect when researching language ideologies.

On a related point, it should also be noted that Woolard's authenticity - anonymity distinction is explicitly theorized in the European context (Woolard, 2016; Woolard & Frekko, 2013). And on a similar point, as far as I know, research adopting her theory is mainly conducted in European settings, such as Estonia (Soler, 2013) and Luxembourg (Weber, 2016). These studies also report that a similar ideological transformation is

taking place in both countries in relation to Estonian and Luxembourgish, as these languages are becoming ‘ethnically unmarked’ (Pujolar & González, 2013: 140) and “respectively are valued positively in instrumental and pragmatic terms by ‘new speakers’ of these languages” (Soler, 2013: 161). However, even though my study was also set in a European context, the research findings did not come to a similar conclusion since the research site was the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium where Japanese teachers and students envisioned returning to Japan. While this is not to denigrate Woolard’s theoretical framework, I argue that this shows the importance of context on research employing her conceptualization of authenticity and anonymity. Not taking into account other sociolinguistic contexts might cause “many of us to believe that the white Euro-American knowledge system is normal and natural” (Kubota, 2019a: 12). As discussed in Chapter 3, Fukuda’s (2018) study on the *nihonjingakkō* in Catalonia reveals that the Japanese language continues to locate its linguistic authority in its ethnicity. Similarly, Yang’s (2018) work on language ideologies of Tibetan students at a university in China also argues that the Tibetan language remains a strong defining factor in creating an ethnolinguistic boundary.

In terms of methodological contributions, by being reflective and honestly reporting difficulties and ways I overcame these obstacles in the research process, this study provides guidance for those who are conducting or planning to do research within Japanese overseas schools or similar context. As claimed by scholars (Dornyei, 2007; McKinley, 2019a; Rose & McKinley, 2017), it is unavoidable for applied linguistic researchers to face challenges in the course of data collection and make compromises so that the research can be accomplished, which I have also experienced during various stages of my study (please see Chapter 1.1 and 4.8 for details). To highlight the contribution to methodology, I shall again raise the power structures in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, which had a major impact on the data collection that I had not imagined before the fieldwork.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the principal of the school, Kazuhiko, exercised strict surveillance of my fieldwork, which I had not anticipated. Under his management, not only was I not able to directly send questionnaires to or interview the Japanese teachers, but I was also refrained from contacting them personally. Compounded by my positionality as an outsider researcher who had no prior relationship with the Japanese teachers, these measures taken by the principal posed significant challenges for the study while in the field. Furthermore, I was initially concerned that the accounts given by

Japanese teachers, who were also under the watchful eye of the principal, may have been unduly influenced by the principal. However, reading the following quotes by Mathews (2000) led me to reconsider principal's overinvolvement in data collection as an important finding, rather than a problem:

“Interviews can never be transparent windows into people’s minds, in that all interviews, and all conversations between people, are in some sense performances: we tell ourselves in different ways to different people, in accordance with who we think they are, and how we want them to see us.” (Mathews, 2000: 29)

Indeed, in my case, Japanese teachers had to attend to the principal, which vividly demonstrates how the principal can exert preponderant influence on Japanese teachers. Even though this power relationship may also be the case for other Japanese overseas schools, to the best of my knowledge, other qualitative studies on *nihonjingakkō* (Fukuda, 2018; Mabuchi, 2002) do not discuss this point. Therefore, my argument is that researchers into Japanese schooling, and other educational sites, should pay more attention to the ‘performance’ element in interview data in relation to powerful gatekeepers in the setting, such as the school principal, since it may develop into a key finding beneficial to academia and other scholars.

The need of being pragmatic and flexible in carrying out research also became apparent when the principal suddenly decided not to grant me access to the school (please see Chapter 4.8). To compensate for the lack of data, I redesigned my data collection method and turned to the school website as an alternative data source. As can be seen in Chapter 6, accessing and analyzing these digital artefacts allowed me to understand the underlying language ideologies shaping the school’s language education policy and practice from a different standpoint. Hence, I may have overlooked this resource if I were able to continue ethnographic-oriented investigations through interviews and classroom observations. As such, it is my hope that readers will learn from my transparent reporting of my research trajectory, so that they can also turn a misfortune into a blessing.

Having summarized the findings of the first two research questions and gave an account on the theoretical and methodological contribution of this research, I now turn to the implications of this research. I would like to propose a draft plan for reforming language education policy and language teacher education in *nihonjingakkō* in non-

Anglophone settings, such as Belgium, with the aim of contributing to the literature on language teacher education and multilingual education.

8.4 Research Implications: Developing Multilingual Speakers in Japan

My proposal for reform focuses on the professional development of teachers in *nihonjingakkō* and aims to enrich multilingual education in these schools and give Japanese children the opportunity to develop as multilingual speakers. Even though the language teachers in the research setting were committed and devoted substantial energy and effort in their endeavour to educate the students (Extract 5.13, 5.22, 6.4, 6.8, and 6.13), additional pedagogic education may better equip them to develop their pupils' linguistic repertoires and sense of multilingualism as a resource. Although these reforms are primarily focused on *nihonjingakkō* in non-Anglophone settings as these schools have largely escaped attention of researchers, some proposals have a wider applicability and can be implemented in *nihonjingakkō* in English-majority speaking settings and mainstream schools in Japan. In doing so, it is expected that students and Japanese teachers will continue to engage in multilingual education even after re-entering Japan's school education or transferring to other Japanese schools overseas. The reform plan will be discussed in the order of: (1) language training to teachers, (2) multilingual teacher training programme, and (3) a reform plan for hiring and dispatch policy of teachers and of the language curriculum.

8.4.1 Professional development programmes for *nihonjingakkō* teachers

In this section, I propose a number of recommendations for the professional development of *nihonjingakkō* teachers which aim to foster awareness of multilingual education. As this study has revealed, the principal and language teachers of the school were apparently not given any training in the language(s) of the host country or in Japanese (in the case of the non-Japanese teachers). This was a missed opportunity which, if it had occurred, could have facilitated teaching cooperation and their development of multilingual students. Therefore, first it is necessary for MEXT to provide language programmes in at least one of the host nation's main languages for the *nihonjingakkō* principals and Japanese teachers, and Japanese training to locally hired language teachers. Moreover, the language training should also be given to generalist or subject teachers, as they also teach language while teaching their subjects. For principals and teachers who wish to obtain certification in language(s) of host nation or

Japanese, more detailed and extensive language programme including all 4 language skills can also be offered. In particular, language teachers can benefit from this programme since the language pedagogy places importance on, or shifts towards, communicative language teaching, which was also witnessed in school in Belgium (Extract 6.17, 6.26, 6.31, and 6.33).

Nevertheless, an important point raised by Japanese participants in questionnaires and interviews (Extract 5.12 and 5.15) was that teachers' intensive working experience may make them unwilling to participate in this programme. Furthermore, the principals' and Japanese teachers' prospect of their eventual return to Japan, and locally hired language teachers' likelihood of remaining in the host country may also lead to reluctance to learn additional language(s). Therefore, to make it appealing to teachers, it is also important to address the benefits of the language programme. First, acquiring the host nation's official language(s) can surely aid the principal and Japanese teachers to live daily lives in the host country. And secondly, learning the language(s) of the host country and Japanese can enhance the students' learning by providing them with a more comfortable learning environment. As suggested by Higgins & Ponte (2017) and Otwinowska (2017), teachers who perceive that they benefit from their multilingual repertoires tend to be more open to multilingual pedagogies. Hence, fostering multilingual awareness through language training to teachers is a necessary step to promote multilingual pedagogies in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium. Drawing on research that has sought to open up more spaces for multilingual pedagogies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; García & Sylvan, 2011; Marshall, 2020; Oyama, 2016), I now explain the details of the proposed multilingual teacher training programme.

8.4.2 Multilingual approaches to *nihonjingakkō* teacher education

In suggesting ways to incorporate students and teacher's multilingual repertoires into classroom learning, I turned to existing programmes and courses designed by researchers (Higgins & Ponte, 2017; Oyama, 2016; Portolés & Martí, 2020) who are making efforts to make multilingual pedagogies a common practice in school classrooms. These models helped me construct a tentative professional development programme, which can encourage students and teachers from diverse backgrounds to learn multiple languages together. In addition, support from other researchers who also have expertise in multilingual pedagogies is necessary to adequately implement the programme. Therefore, I also call for MEXT to invite these researchers to work together

to further develop my proposed teacher training programme, which is informed by this study and relevant literature (Galante et al., 2020; Marshall & Moore, 2013; Torikai et al., 2017). With this understanding, I provide an overview of the programme, its aims, and pedagogical practices.

The proposed programme involves two phases, including courses on multilingual and multicultural education, planning of lessons, and teaching practice. As with the language training for teachers, this programme will become a requirement for teachers posted to *nihonjingakkō*. The first phase focuses on gaining understanding and insights from research on multilingualism and multilingual education (Cenoz, 2013; Erikawa, 2018; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Marshall, 2020; Morizumi et al., 2016; Oyama, 2016). In particular, this phase of the programme aims to develop awareness of:

1. Japan's language hierarchy, in which Japanese and English occupy dominant positions (Erikawa, 2018; Fujita-Round, 2019; Honna & Saruhashi, 2019). On the other hand, other languages are disproportionately positioned as less valuable, which fails to reflect and address the multilingual reality of Japan (Morizumi et al., 2016; Shoji, 2019; Torikai et al., 2017).
2. The taken-for-granted assumption in which the standard variety of the language, both for Japanese (Heinrich, 2012; Sato, 2014) and English (Kubota, 2019b; Seargeant, 2009), is perceived as a linguistic norm. Language teaching pedagogy has tended to ignore or even suppress regional varieties of languages. Teachers will be able to value these varieties and incorporate these in classroom teaching.
3. The problems of characterizing cultures as bounded entities within national borders, which has been criticized for its essentialist approach assuming that all individuals are synonymous with national characteristics of culture (Kubota, 2014a; Naka, 2018). Instead, teachers will be able to view cultures as fluid, diverse, and dynamic entities containing a great deal variety among individuals.
4. The consequences of conceiving and teaching languages separately. Teachers will understand that rather than exclusively using the target language and marginalizing the use of other languages, embracing students' multilingual repertoires as part of language teaching has proven beneficial for students' language acquisition and self-esteem (Cenoz, 2013; Cook, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Marshall

& Moore, 2018).

As can be seen, the course is designed on multilingual principles (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; García & Sylvan, 2011; Marshall, 2020; Oyama, 2016), encompassing wide-ranging topics which can encourage teachers to adopt a multilingual viewpoint in the classroom. These courses are led by researchers who are well-informed of multilingual pedagogies, and the courses could be offered during MEXT's short, intensive workshops given to teachers before being sent to appointed *nihonjingakkō* (MEXT, 2020a). For teachers and instructors to continually engage and learn from each other, it is highly recommended that courses be given periodically online after teachers are dispatched to *nihonjingakkō*. As for locally hired teachers, these courses can be provided remotely by MEXT. Once this programme becomes well-established, former teachers of *nihonjingakkō* can also become instructors and programme developers. Having instructors and programme developers who have an intimate knowledge of the trainees' institutional settings and their actual teaching contexts will be beneficial in sharing real issues teachers face in their classrooms.

The second phase begins after teachers start working at the appointed *nihonjingakkō*. At this stage, the programme provides teachers with opportunities to apply what they have learned in the courses to actual classroom situations. As Kumaravadivelu (2012) advises, programmes which also have practical content available for teachers can lead them to reframe their approaches to teaching. Even though teachers may get information on the school and students from courses or fellow colleagues, they are not knowledgeable about their students' linguistic repertoires and the multilingual resources of their students. As a means of building rapport with students and developing multilingual pedagogies, I propose the following practices, which draw on the concept of 'funds of knowledge' (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) which are "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for households and individual functioning and well-being" (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992: 133). By bringing these into the classrooms, teachers can come to know their students and their families, and help students to feel that their linguistic repertoires, including all the languages that these encompass, are fully recognized and valued in the school.

Another proposal is to enrich the linguistic landscape of the school and classrooms by incorporating Japanese, official languages of the host nation, and languages used by

children. Unlike the monolingual signs which may project an exclusionary tone of not valuing languages other than the target language (Extract 6.12), assigning equal status to languages in this way could contribute to the construction of an inclusive atmosphere of respecting and welcoming students' and teachers' rich multilingual repertoires (Georgiou, 2019; Helot & Young, 2006; Lotherington, 2013). Displaying multilingual signs can encourage students and teachers to draw on their multilingualism as a resource for language learning and stimulate linguistic interaction as observed in Extract 6.7, where some students fluidly participated in exchanges in three languages (Japanese, English, and French). In promoting multilingual awareness, it should also be noted that the teachers also bring with them funds of knowledge that may be different from those of the students. Teachers should no longer be regarded as monolinguals, and multilingual teachers are much more commonly found in various educational settings (Copland, Mann, & Garton, 2019; Ellis, 2016; Hirahata, 2014; Kanno, 2008), which also applied to the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium (see Chapter 4.4).

As we can see, by teachers demonstrating interest in the students' multilingualism, students can engage in discursive knowledge production and turning the classroom into inclusive learning space. Once teachers and students establish these trusted relationships, this process of transmitting and exchanging funds of knowledge can also be expanded by inviting teachers of other subjects to classrooms. One important aspect of this programme is that by employing funds of knowledge, it can also encourage teachers to reflect, cooperate, and share their struggles and successes with others who are teaching in the same institution. Thus, having this programme may close the distance between the two groups of teachers, Japanese and non-Japanese in the *nihonjingakkō* setting. Out of this process, teachers may attain a high level of cooperation in teaching, which in my study seemed not to be the case in the team-teaching between Japanese teachers of English and locally hired English teachers (Extracts 6.23 and 6.24). Therefore, this programme has been designed with the aim of fostering collaborative practice that encourage teachers to build on each other's strengths and work together to find effective ways to implement multilingual education in the *nihonjingakkō* setting.

Honoring the linguistic repertoires of students and teachers by creating a multilingual landscape in classrooms and sharing their languages also helps teachers to adopt the multilingualism-inspired pedagogical approaches such as translation (Corcoll, 2013; Wilson & González Davies, 2017) and mediation (Marshall, 2020). For instance, while Sakura's lesson plan, which emphasized the uniqueness of Japanese problematically

reinforced stereotypical views of language and culture (Extract 6.36 and 6.37), her aim of comparing languages warrants recognition and can be developed by incorporating the strategy of *Comparons nos langues* (Galante et al., 2020; Oyama, 2016). *Comparons nos langues* (comparing our languages) is a practice which encourages students to compare grammatical and lexical features of languages, which fosters student autonomy and allows them to be aware of their rich linguistic repertoires. As a matter of fact, even though teachers and students of *nihonjinguakkō* seemed unaware of these multilingual pedagogies, some of these approaches were practiced in classrooms (Extracts 6.7, 6.13, and 6.14). In other words, the school has the foundation to fully adopt multilingual principles and pedagogies drawing on funds of knowledge.

In sum, I have discussed the proposal for a multilingual teacher education programme for *nihonjinguakkō* teachers which aims to raise these teachers' appreciation of multilingualism and helping them to develop multilingual education in the *nihonjinguakkō* setting. However, while the Japanese participants of the program may be pleased and want to implement what they have learned in their former workplace, they may struggle and feel frustrated when they return to their schools in Japan. This is especially likely if institutional norms are monolingual and homogenous. Although I understand that this goes beyond the scope of my research on *nihonjinguakkō*, to have a sustained impact on teachers, attention also needs to be given to developing multilingual teacher education programmes for mainstream schools in Japan. Yet, the programme must not be carried out with a one-size-fits-all approach without recognizing the local educational contexts (Kumaravadivelu, 2012), as it can inhibit the effectiveness of professional development programme. Having discussed the proposed teacher training programme, in the following section, I suggest several changes should also be made in the hiring and dispatch policy of teachers for *nihonjinguakkō*, and in the language curriculum of the school. These reforms can also propel forward multilingual education in *nihonjinguakkō* and mainstream schools in Japan.

8.4.3 Changes to the hiring and dispatch policy of teachers and in the language curriculum

On the level of educational implications, the findings of this thesis also suggest that the hiring and dispatch policy of teachers of *nihonjinguakkō* should be refashioned. One of the significant findings of this study is that the *nihonjinguakkō* in Belgium had locally hired foreign language teachers who were fluent in Japanese (Extract 6.13 and 6.14). In

light of the fact that these teachers were able to draw on their students' linguistic resources in Japanese for learning French, it seems salient to recommend *nihonjingakkō* and MEXT include some level of proficiency in Japanese as a condition for recruitment of locally hired foreign language teachers where possible. In this regard, there are positive signs that the number learners and teachers of Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) living overseas has been steadily increasing (Länsisalmi, 2019). The statistics by Japan Foundation (2019), a governmental organization dedicated to international dissemination of Japanese language and culture, shows that the number of JFL learners has increased from 2,356,745 in 2003 to 3,846,773 in 2018, and the number of JFL teachers doubled from 33,124 in 2003 to 77,128 in 2018. This increase is primarily due to the rising popularity of some aspects of Japanese culture such as anime and manga (Japan Foundation, 2019; Shoji, 2013). Given this favorable environment, *nihonjingakkō* and MEXT should seriously consider the benefit of welcoming educators who are competent in the Japanese language.

On a related note, dispatch of Japanese teachers could also be more strategic to maximize educational impact. This research revealed that MEXT posted a teacher who is fluent in German and had studied abroad in Germany, to Belgium (see table 4.6 and extract 6.3). While German is one of Belgium's official languages, it was not offered in the school curriculum. Appointing the teacher to a school in Germany would have optimized her linguistic repertoire, and raised opportunities for bringing benefits to students, teachers, and the local community. Thus, this study indicates that MEXT needs to reconsider its dispatch policy, which it seems could be better thought-out. Furthermore, MEXT could also pay more attention to providing opportunities for overseas postings to Japanese teachers who are serving very linguistically and culturally diverse student populations in Japan. For example, sending teachers working in schools with large populations of Japanese Brazilian immigrant children (Chitose, 2008; Hirakata et al., 2001; Kubota & McKay, 2009) to *nihonjingakkō* in Brazil could be effective. These teachers can learn the official language and socio-educational issues of the host country, and alter their monolingual approach to pedagogy, since they can envision themselves using the language not only while they are teaching in *nihonjingakkō*, but also in their former workplace for number of years. Through such policy reforms, multilingualism and multilingual education can be further promoted.

Finally, this study raised concerns about the foreign language offering in *nihonjingakkō*. As has been discussed, the *nihonjingakkō* in the research did not offer

French mandatorily while Flemish and German were not incorporated in the language curricula, despite the key status that these languages occupied in Belgium. Furthermore, even if some students pursued French learning after Grade 4, it is likely that these students cannot continue to study French after returning to Japan, where French is generally not offered in school system (Honma & Saruhashi, 2019; Mizuguchi & Hasegawa, 2016). Based on these insights, another recommendation arising from this study is that it is desirable for *nihonjingakkō* in non-Anglophone settings to have at least one of the official languages of the host nation as a compulsory school subjects which is necessary for fostering students to be multilinguals. And in order for students to continue learning foreign languages other than English upon repatriating to Japan, the findings of this study suggest that MEXT needs to consider adding more foreign languages as school subjects in high school, and as part of the school entrance examination. As discussed in chapter 2, in modern day Japan, the foreign language available for external assessment at high school and university level is predominantly English (Kunieda, 2017). Considering that students, and especially parents, were attentive to high school entrance examinations (Extract 5.10, 5.13, and 6.4), having pupils' language skills validated in a form of a certificate could motivate them to learn languages other than Japanese and English. Additionally, this may lead students and parents to demand the school to teach official language(s) as a compulsory subject. Nevertheless, there are difficulties in choosing which languages should be included as school subjects and in entrance examinations, as it is impossible to have all languages. In considering this issue, the proposal given by the Japan Association for Language Policy (JALP), an academic society advocating for multilingual education in Japan, is helpful. In a proposal (JALP, 2014a, 2014b) submitted to MEXT, JALP selected 7 languages (Arabic, Chinese, Korean, French, German, Russian, and Spanish) on the basis that these languages have high social status in international society and Japan, and suggested high schools choose one of these options. This proposal might act as a starting point for discussion about adding additional foreign languages as school subjects and school entrance examinations.

Thus far, I have discussed proposals for promoting multilingual education in *nihonjingakkō*, based on the development of professional development programmes related to multilingual pedagogies and second language development. While the literature on teacher education suggests that programmes of this type can be effective in broadening teachers' knowledge of multilingualism and multilingual pedagogy (Higgins & Ponte, 2017; Oyama, 2016; Portolés & Martí, 2020), the enactment could be stymied by multiple

factors. And even if it is implemented it may not be as successful as envisaged. In the following section, I will outline potential limitations, impeding factors and ways to overcome these, and possible repercussions of carrying out the proposed teacher training programme.

8.4.4 Limitations and challenges of the proposed teacher training programme

As indicated in studies (Higgins & Ponte, 2017; Oyama, 2016; Portolés & Martí, 2020), having teacher training programmes may lead to favorable outcomes in teachers' understanding of multilingualism and multilingual pedagogy. However, this research also showed that even after training, some teachers' beliefs on language teaching do not change, and even if they do, they might not necessarily alter their monolingual approach immediately. The limited impact upon teachers' belief as is also discussed in Suzuki (2011) and Hino (2017)'s research, which explored the process and result of student teacher training courses in Japan that aimed to widen student teachers' perceptions of English by demonstrating how diverse English is. Both studies concluded that courses did not exert as much influence as anticipated on student teachers' views about English. Some trainees continued to regard Standard American and British English as the only rightful, normative variety to teach. What is common in the aforementioned works is that all teacher training programmes were short and intensive, and thus trainees had little or no opportunities to apply what they learned to actual classroom situations. Given these findings, to offer teacher training programmes periodically may be effective in reshaping teachers' perceptions of and/or misconceptions about multilingual education. In order to accomplish this, sustained financial support should be offered to fund further training to teachers.

Yet, in terms of teacher training for language teachers, researchers (Kikuchi & Browne, 2009; Steele & Zhang, 2016; Terasawa, 2020) claim that in Japan there is “a severe lack of pre- and in-service teacher training” (Kikuchi & Browne, 2009: 174). This is well represented in MEXT's recent policy of appointing homeroom teachers, who lack English language teaching qualifications and receive little or no formal training, to teach English to primary school students (Terasawa, 2020). The unwillingness to train fully qualified language teachers can also be seen in government's promotion of Japanese language teaching to foreigners, which heavily relies on Japanese native speaker volunteers who have minimal or no official Japanese language teaching qualifications (Hashimoto, 2018a, 2018b; Hirahata, 2014). In sum, these policies indicate the government's lack of

understanding and financial commitment to language education. Indeed, Japan's public spending on education overall in 2016 (4% of GDP) was 0.9 percentage points below the OECD average (OECD, 2019). According to Hamanaka & Yano (2016) and Nakazawa (2014), who analyzed public opinion surveys on governmental funding for education, the government's low expenditure on education can be interpreted as a reflection of Japanese public opinion. Their studies revealed that the majority of Japanese believe governmental funding should be given to other social security areas such as medical care, rather than to education. Moreover, Nakazawa (2014) points out that this is because most Japanese people conceive that only students themselves can benefit from receiving education, overlooking external positive effects that education can bring other stakeholders and society at large. In this respect, education has been incompletely considered and viewed from a public good standpoint. To shift this consensus, voices calling for the need to inject more public funding into education should be heard, including from researchers.

Nevertheless, "researchers rarely communicate with the general public; instead, they usually share their research findings only with their peers through academic publications and presentations." (Kubota, 2018: 99). This failure to share scholarly knowledge with the outside world is also demonstrated in how Japanese academia is overall not interested in influencing education policymaking (Kobayashi, 2018b; Stewart & Miyahara, 2016). By contrast, Japan's business world, notably the *Keidanren*, or Japan Business Federation, have played a major role in influencing Japan's education policy (Nitta, 2019; Takayama, 2008). One such example is persuading MEXT to promote the 'more and earlier' approach to English language teaching (Kubota, 2011c), "as part of a trend to align language education policy with neoliberal economic policies" (Sayer, 2015: 53). Conversely, researchers tend to be reluctant to establish relationships with MEXT and to discuss issues that are already familiar in academia. As a result, scholars are rarely invited by MEXT's special advisory committee on Japan's language education policies (Kobayashi, 2018). On the other hand, an awareness is emerging among Japanese researchers that they should take an 'advocacy position' (Cameron et al., 1992), and they have begun to invite MEXT officials to academic conferences (Stewart & Miyahara, 2016) and started submitting proposals to MEXT (Morizumi et al., 2016). In this way, researchers can continue to engage in active conversations with policymakers. I include myself in such developments and agree that we, as researchers, need to develop our knowledge mobilization efforts so that our voice can reach a larger audience, beyond our academic circles.

By this point, I have discussed the possible limitations of the multilingual teacher training programme, factors which can hinder implementation, and ways to overcome these. However, one caveat that needs to be mentioned is that administering such a programme may unintentionally widen linguistic stratification, whereby students from higher socioeconomic background have greater advantages to learn languages. This class-based inequality is poignantly illustrated in Kanno's (2008) research which examined how access to English language learning is provided unevenly in Japanese schools. In light of the fact that most students of *nihonjingakkō* are from elite backgrounds and share similarities with 'students of the new global elite' (Vandrick, 2011), they will most likely maintain their privileged status after returning to Japan (Goodman, 2012; Kanno, 2003). In this case, strengthening multilingual education in *nihonjingakkō* could serve to reinforce social, educational gap between the advantaged and disadvantaged. And as noted before, most *nihonjingakkō* offer official language courses taught by locally hired language teachers (Fukuda, 2018; Kojima, 1999). These resources are usually not provided in the public school system in Japan, which already indicates that the opportunity to become multilingual is given preferentially to those who enter *nihonjingakkō*. To be clear, this is not to say that pupils from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who attend schools in Japan cannot become multilingual. My argument is that programme developers, instructors, and participants must not lose sight of the role played by language in the reproduction of social inequality (Ricento, 2006). In short, to imagine that simply providing a professional development programme will foster multilingualism is naïve. Institutionalization of additional foreign language classes in the Japanese school system and further support for less privileged students must also be offered.

While the preceding discussion may be rather sobering for those who advocate multilingual education, there is some evidence that change is in sight for language education in Japan. Although the overall proportion of learners remain very small in comparison with English, the number of high school students who are learning foreign languages other than English has increased from 39,057 in 2000 to 44,753 in 2018 (MEXT, 2002; 2019a), despite Japan's longstanding declining birthrate. Likewise, the number of high schools that provide additional foreign language classes expanded from 1,046 schools to 1,301 schools in 2018 (MEXT, 2002; 2019). Even though only about 1.5% of high school students are taking additional foreign language classes (Honma & Saruhashi, 2019), this small sign of change demonstrates that the value of multilingual education is slowly gaining recognition. In a similar vein, researchers have started to address the

importance and benefit of offering additional foreign language courses in Japanese school system (Hirataka & Kimura, 2017; Morizumi et al., 2016; Torikai et al., 2017), and are calling for the need to adopt multilingual approach to language teaching (Oyama, 2016). These tangible instances showing that language education in Japan is moving in the direction of the ‘multilingual turn’ (May, 2013), though at a glacial speed, suggests that multilingual teacher training and raising voices to call for developing multilingual education is worthy of serious undertaking. Having discussed the possible difficulties and consequences of administering multilingual teacher training programme, I now move on to the limitations of my study alongside areas which constitute an important focus for further research.

8.5 Limitations and Future Directions

Firstly, the findings of the present study are primarily limited by the relatively small sample size and the fact that the research was carried out in one location in a very short period of time. More in-depth and longitudinal investigation would have been fruitful in understanding the language ideologies manifested in the school. Additionally, further research that replicates the line of questioning in this study, but examine students and parents, would provide insights into what language ideologies these groups hold in relation to languages in the school curriculum and in the host society. This area would be especially significant when conducted in *nihonjingakkō* in non-Anglophone countries, which are generally under-researched. Although such areas are explored by Mabuchi (2002) in Malaysia and Fukuda (2018) in Catalonia, this domain needs more research attention and should be pursued further. Moreover, future research might also explore questions from this study with different Japanese educational institutions overseas, such as *hoshukō*. While there are studies which examined language ideological issues in *hoshukō* in the United States (Doerr & Lee, 2009; 2010; Kano, 2013), a widening of the research horizon to schools in non-Anglophone nations is essential as it can add interesting dimensions.

Secondly, I should raise the point that not carrying out interviews in French due to my lack of competence in the language could have limited French language teachers from comfortably and fully expressing their perceptions and experiences in relation to language. One way to overcome this issue is to conduct collaborative research with scholars who are also fluent in the language(s) of the research context. For instance, team ethnography, as discussed by scholars (Creese et al., 2008; Creese & Blackledge,

2012), would be effective in delving deeper into such issues as “research problems of today demand the varied expertises and skills which only collaborative and multidisciplinary teams can bring.” (Creese et al., 2008: 199). To my knowledge, very little work has been carried out in such a style in the context of Japanese overseas schools (exceptions include Dohi et al., 2017), which suggests that it is a worthwhile methodology for scholars to adopt.

And lastly, it was beyond the scope of this study to include language teaching materials, in particular language textbooks. Although there are large numbers of studies that critically examine both Japanese (Ishihara, 2005; 2009; Ohira, 2001) and English language textbooks (Davidson & Liu, 2018; Horii, 2015; Schneer, 2007; Takahashi, 2014; Yamada, 2010, 2011) used in Japanese mainstream schools, as far as I know, analysis of language textbooks used in *nihonjingakkō* is still relatively scant. As argued by Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger (2015), textbooks are often designed to promote certain government approved language ideologies. This can also be said to be true for textbooks used in Japanese mainstream schools, which are reviewed and approved by MEXT’s Textbook Authorization Council (Ishihara, 2005, 2009; Yamada, 2010). Thus, it can be argued that language ideologies represented in Japanese textbooks are shaped by MEXT. Importantly, *nihonjingakkō* adopt the same textbooks used in Japanese mainstream schools and which are distributed free of charge by MEXT (2019d). In this sense, textual analysis of textbooks could help discern what language ideologies MEXT and the Japanese government consider important for pupils studying in *nihonjingakkō*. Furthermore, probing how language teachers of *nihonjingakkō* interpret language textbooks and utilize them in actual classroom teaching may open up further avenues for understanding what language ideologies teachers have.

Nonetheless, these limitations do not negate the contribution of this study, which offers additional insights for our understanding of language ideologies by presenting and discussing language ideologies of the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, principal, and language teachers that have been little examined to date. It is hoped that the limitations and important areas for further research I provide can prompt researchers of *nihonjingakkō* to continue developing the inquiry and making contributions to academia and language education.

8.6 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis, I have discussed the dominant language ideologies in the *nihonjingakkō* in Belgium, and how these ideologies are manifested in the school's language education policies and practices. I conclude that language ideologies circulating in the school primarily stem from homogenous and monolingual ideologies prevalent in MEXT and Japanese society and which are rooted in the narratives of anonymity and authenticity. As a result, Japanese and English were prioritized over French and other official languages, and teachers generally shared a monocultural and monolingual orientation to language education. After all, the school did not value students' and teachers' multilingual repertoires, as these were not seen as an asset in language learning and teaching. Instead, the language curriculum and practice aimed at assimilation under the assumption that students would return and live in Japan in due course. Nevertheless, some language teachers taught cross-linguistically employing students' languages and demonstrated a certain degree of understanding of students' multiple use of languages in the classroom. In addition, non-Japanese language teachers encouraged pupils to take French, challenging students' tendency to choose English. As such, this study provides a case of language ideologies being contested and negotiated. Evidence such as students' and teachers' rich multilingual repertoires and the growing interest in learning French demonstrates that the school has the potential to set an excellent example of multilingualism and multilingual education, which can offer so many benefits to children, teachers, and the local community. Enriching the school's language education by offering multilingual pedagogy (Garcia & Flores, 2012; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Marshall, 2020) supported by multilingual professional development programmes for teachers, may gradually lead students to recognize and value language diversity as a resource. Finally, as the majority of Japanese in *nihonjingakkō* are migratory and eventually return to Japan (Goodman, 2012; Kanno, 2003), I very much hope that the 'multilingual turn' (May, 2013) will also spread to *nihonjingakkō* in other countries and mainstream schools in Japan over time.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Informed Consent Form in English

Institute of Education, University of London

Consent to Participate in Research

I am Yuta Mogi, a doctoral student of the Institute of Education, University of London majoring education. As a component of a thesis for a doctoral degree, I conduct research. I am asking you to participate in this project because you are a teacher of nihonjingakko in non-Anglophone region(s). The purpose of the study is to learn what kind of image you have on language(s) of Japan and the host country(ies).

Research Description - Activities and Time Commitment: If you participate, I will ask you questions related to your thoughts on kikokushijo and experience at nihonjingakko. Each interview will be about 45 minutes to an hour. The questions will be different for each interview session. Group interviews may also be conducted. All interviews will be conducted in English and/or Japanese. Interviews and classroom observations will be audio recorded for the purpose of transcription, and, with your permission, I would like to archive the recordings for use in thesis and future conferences.

Benefits: I believe that there will be two direct benefits to you in participating in this project. First, having an interview may help develop your understanding on kikokushijo and hoshuko/nihonjingakko. Secondly, this study may also provide a guideline for current, future kikokushijo, and their parents and teachers.

Confidentiality and Privacy: Likewise, no personally identifiable information will be included in the audio format. To further protect your privacy and confidentiality, only I will have access to the audio files, which will be transferred to CDs and secured in a locked file cabinet. All records will be entirely confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in all names (e.g. your name, the place you are living) in the interview data.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the duration of the study and to withdraw your data from the study.

Questions: If you have any questions about this research, please contact Yuta Mogi [REDACTED]

If you agree to participate in this study, please confirm by writing your e-mail address and send it to Yuta Mogi.

Confirmation for Consent:

1. I confirm that I have been told the purpose, meaning and method of this research.
2. I understand that I will be audio recorded during the interview and taking part in the research is voluntary. I am free to withdraw my participation and my data from the study at any time.
3. I confirm that I have been told that any data generated by the research will be anonymised and used only for academic purposes such as thesis, scholarly works, and conference presentations.
4. I understand that the data generated by the research will be securely managed and disposed.

I understand the above information, and agree to take part in this research.

Name: _____

E-mail address: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 2

Informed Consent Form in Japanese

研究の参加同意書

私、茂木悠太はロンドン大学、インスティテュート・オブ・エデュケーション(IOE)で教育学を専攻する博士学生です。博士論文作成につきまして、研究を立ち上げることとなりました。非英語圏にある日本人学校に赴任された先生方を対象に研究に参加して頂きたいと思っております。研究の内容は、先生方が、日本と赴任先の国々の言語にどのようなイメージを抱いているかを調査・研究するものです。

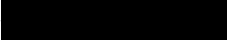
研究の概要：ご協力頂きたい内容とそれに伴う時間： アンケート、インタビューをしたいと思います。帰国子女に対する考えや日本人学校での経験などについて簡単な質問をさせていただきます。インタビューは 30 分ほどになります。グループ形式のインタビューが行われることもあります。インタビューは日本語で行われます。インタビュー内容は録音されます。また、研究の終了後も学術論文または学会での発表のため、ご本人様のご了承を頂いた上で保管させていただきたく考えております。

メリット: この研究にご協力いただけることで、二つほどメリットがあると考えております。ひとつは、インタビューを通して帰国子女と補習校/日本人学校に対する知見が深められると思います。二つ目はこの研究が、現在そして将来の帰国子女とその家族、教師に対するガイドラインになると考えております。

プライバシーと守秘義務: 音声録音において、お名前などご本人様を特定できる個人情報の記録は避けます。録音データは CD に転送されます。CD は錠がかかっているキャビネットに厳重に保管し、管理します。データにある特定できる名称（ご本人様のお名前、居住地など）には匿名が用いられます。

参加の自主性: 研究への参加は完全自主性で、一度同意されても研究参加をご辞退すること、及びデータの消去を請求していただいてもかまいません。

質問: 何かご質問、ご意見ありましたら下記までご連絡ください。

茂木悠太： 

上記全てにご理解ご同意いただけるのであれば下記それぞれにご記入下さい。

参加同意書:

5. この研究の目的と意義、その方法についての説明を受けました。

6. インタビューが録音されることを承認したうえで、この研究への参加が自発的なものであり、いつでも参加を辞退、またデータの消去をお願いすることができるということを理解しました。

7. この研究で得られるデータは匿名化された上で、研究目的（博士論文、学術出版、そして学会発表）にのみ使われることについて説明を受けました

8. この研究で得られるデータが、安全に取り扱われることを理解しました。

以上のことについて理解したうえで、この研究に参加することに同意します。

氏名: _____

メールアドレス: _____

日付: _____

Appendix 3

Questionnaire in English

Questionnaire

Thank you for accepting to participate in my research and sparing your time for this questionnaire. This questionnaire will ask you broadly about your experience on language teaching/learning at nihonjingakko, and your image of languages. Please write freely in your own words and at some length if you wish. Your answers to this questionnaire will be entirely confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in all names in the questionnaire data. The questionnaire data will be only be used for academic purposes such as thesis, research publication, and presentation at academic conferences. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the duration of the study and to withdraw your data from the study.

Name :

Date :

Age : 20s 30s 40s 50s 60s

Sex : Male Female

Teacher's Educational Background

*If you have taught at hoshuko/nihonjingakko more than once, please also include that information.

Name of Hoshuko, Nihonjingakko:

Country:

Years:

Subject:

Grade:

A. Nihonjingakko

1. How did you become teacher at nihonjingakko?
2. What do you think is the role of the teacher of nihonjingakko, particular in language teaching and learning?
3. What do you think is the mission of nihonjingakko?
4. Would you want your children (if you have any) to attend hoshuko/nihonjingakko? If so, why? If not, why?
5. Imagine there is a teacher who will be teaching at hoshuko/nihonjingakko in front of you. Do you have any advice you would like to give to that teacher, particular in language teaching and learning? If so, what kind of advice would you give to the teacher? If not, why not?

B. Languages

Languages You Use:

Languages Learnt Before Teaching at Nihonjingakko:

1. Are you learning the language(s) of the country where your nihonjingakko is based? If so, what kind of method are you using? If not, why not?
2. When you learned that you will be sent to nihonjingakko, what was your image toward the country?
3. When you learned that you will be sent to nihonjingakko, what was your image of

the language(s) of the country?

4. Has your image of the country changed since you came to the country? If so, how did your image toward the country changed? If not, why not?
5. Has your image of the language(s) of the country changed since you came to the country? Is so, how did your image of the language(s) of the country changed? If not, why not?

C. Language(s) Environment and Education in Nihonjingakko

Language(s) Taught at Nihonjingakko:

Language(s) that You Use at Nihonjingakko:

Language(s) that Students and Parents Use at Hoshuko/Nihonjingakko:

1. Do you think that students of hoshuko/nihonjingakko should learn language(s) of the country that hoshuko/nihonjingakko is based? If so, why? If not, why?

If there are any questions and/or comments on hoshuko/nihonjingakko, languages, and this study, please feel free to write it down.

*This study also invites teachers' and principals' participation (face-to-face and/or Skype interviews and e-mail correspondence) in order to understand your experiences and thoughts of language teaching/learning at nihonjingakko. Would you like to participate in interviews and e-mail correspondence?

Yes No

The interviews and e-mail correspondence will be based on the answers to this questionnaire. If you wish to change or add some points, please do not hesitate to tell me in the next interview and/or e-mail correspondence session. For more details, please contact me at [REDACTED]

Thank you for taking the time to answer this questionnaire.

Institute of Education (IOE), UCL

PhD in Education

Yuta Mogi

Email address: [REDACTED]

Appendix 4 Questionnaire in Japanese

アンケート

今回はお忙しい中、博士論文のためのアンケートにご協力して頂き、ありがとうございます。アンケートでは、先生方のご経歴、言語教育や言語学習経験に対する考えについて教えて頂ければ幸いです。ページ数はお気になさらず、スペースを自由に使ってご返答ください。このアンケートで得られたデータは匿名化された上、研究目的（博士論文、学術出版、そして学会発表）にのみ使われることとなります。なお、アンケートへのご協力は皆様の自由意思によりますので、回答なさらない場合にも何ら不利益は生じません。回答後、データの消去を請求していただいてもかまいません。

日付（西暦）： 年 月 日

年代： 20代 30代 40代 50代 60代

性別： 男性 女性

先生のご経歴と学校について

*過去にも派遣を経験された場合は、その情報も記入して下さい。

所属する日本人学校名：

国名：

勤続年数（西暦）： 年 月 ～ 年 月

科目：

対象年度：

A. 日本人学校について

1. 日本人学校で教えることになったきっかけを教えてください？

2. 日本人学校における、先生の言語学習、言語教育についての役割は何だと思われますか？
3. 日本人学校のミッションは何だと思われますか？
4. 先生のお子様（いらっしゃらない場合は、もし、いらっしゃる場合を仮定して）を、補習校、または日本人学校に通わせたいですか？もしそうであれば、補習校か日本人学校どちらに通わせたいですか？理由をお聞かせ下さい。もし、そうでなければ、その理由をお聞かせ下さい。
5. 今後、補習校、または日本人学校で勤務する先生方へ「言語学習・言語教育」について何かアドバイスを聞かれた場合、どのような助言をなさいますか？

A. 言語について

先生が使用する言語：

先生が日本人学校へ派遣されるまで、学習していた言語：

1. 今現在、派遣先の国の言語を学習していますか？その場合はどのように、学習されていますか。学習されていない場合は、その理由をお聞かせください。
2. 派遣先が決まった時、その国に対し、どの様なイメージを抱いていましたか。
3. 派遣先が決まった時、その国の言語に対し、どの様なイメージを抱いていましたか。
4. 派遣国で暮らし初めた後、その国に対するイメージに変化はありましたか。あれば、どの様な変化ですか。無ければ、その理由をお聞かせ下さい。
5. 派遣国で暮らし初めた後、その国の言語に対するイメージに変化はありましたか。あれば、どの様な変化ですか。無ければ、その理由をお聞かせください。

B. 日本人学校での言語環境と言語教育について

日本人学校で指導/学習する言語：

日本人学校で先生が使用する言語：

日本人学校で生徒と保護者が使用する言語：

1. 日本人学校の生徒が現地の言語を勉強、習得するべきだと思いますか？そうであれば、その理由をお聞かせ下さい。そうでなければ、その理由をお聞かせ下さい？

日本人学校における言語教育や言語学習、または本研究に関する質問・コメント等ございましたら、下記にご記入下さい。

本調査では、先生方の日本人学校における言語教育に関するご体験やお考えをより深く理解するために、インタビュー（直接お伺いする、またはスカイプ）やEメールでの質問にご協力いただける先生方を募集しております。インタビュー（直接お伺いする、またはスカイプ）やEメールでの質問にご協力して頂けますか？

はい

いいえ

このアンケートの回答をもとにインタビューやEメールでの質問を行います。もし変更したい点や補足したい点がありましたら、お手数ですが、インタビューやEメールで教えて頂ければ幸いです。詳しくは、XXXXXXXXXXまでお問い合わせください。

お忙しい中、アンケートにご協力くださり大変ありがとうございました。

インスティテュート・オブ・エデュケーション(IOE)、UCL

PhD in Education：博士課程（教育学）

Yuta Mogi: 茂木悠太

Email address: XXXXXXXXXX

Appendix 5 Organized Dataset

1st Fieldwork (Summer 2015)

Participants	Questionnaire	Classroom Observation	Interview	Group Interview	E-mail interview
Kazuhiko	X		X		X
Kanako	X			X	X
Wataru	X			X	X
Sakura	X			X	X
Shinichi	X			X	X
Mary	X	X		X	
Katherine	X	X		X	
Alice	X	X		X	X
Diego	X			X	X
Emma	X	X		X	X
Louise	X			X	X
Elena	X	X		X	X

2nd Fieldwork (Fall 2016)

Participants	Classroom Observations	Interview	E-mail Interview
Principal		X	
Kanako	X		X
Wataru	X		X
Sakura	X (TT)		X
Shinichi	X (TT)		X
Mary	X (TT)		
Katherine			
Alice		X	X
Diego			X
Emma			X
Louise		X	
Elena			X

TT=Sakura and Shinichi Team Taught with Mary

Outside the Fieldwork (Autumn 2015 to Winter 2016)

Participants	E-mail Interview
Principal	
Kanako	X
Wataru	X
Sakura	X
Shinichi	X
Mary	
Katherine	
Alice	X
Diego	X
Emma	
Louise	
Elena	

Appendix 6

Interview Questions

Some Questions for individual face-to-face interviews

Interview Questions (1st Visit)

1. Can you tell me your story of coming to nihonjingakko in Belgium?
2. Can you tell me about the mission of nihonjingakko in Belgium?

Interview Questions (2nd Visit)

1. Can you tell me your languages learning experience? (Principal, Louise, and Alice)
2. In the previous group interview, you mentioned that you studied in Japan? Can you tell me your story of studying in Japan? (Louise)
3. Did your language learning experience influence your language teaching? (Alice)

Some Questions for group interviews

Interview Questions (Japanese teachers)

1. Can you tell me your story of coming to nihonjingakko in Belgium?
2. What kind of advice would you give to teachers who would like to teach at nihonjingakko?

Interview Questions (non-Japanese teachers)

1. I observed your class a moment ago, and I found that it was all in English/French? Can you give me your thoughts on using only the target language?
2. When I was observing your classrooms, I felt the focus was on communication. And there were many activities. Can you tell me your teaching style and its aim?

Appendix 7

Fuller Transcripts

Truncated Parts are Underlined

1. Extract 5.13: ‘We have been told by parents. English becomes stronger.’ (Y1: group interview with Sakura and Shinichi) (Y: Yuta, SA: Sakura, SH: Shinichi)

57. Y: それで、ベルギーを何故選んだのかといいますと、ここは、フラン
58. 語も教えているということ。
59. SA: [フランスは]選択ですけどね。小1、小2は、フランス語は必修で
60. [生徒が]習っているけど、小3から中3までは英語とフランス語は選
61. 択になっている。
62. SH: 親のニーズは英語[を子どもらに学んでもらう]。
63. SA: 特に、歳が上がるにつれ。やっぱりどこで帰るにしろ、一番近い将
64. 来は高校受験なのですね。私は言語学者じゃないけど、言語学的
65. なポジションとしては、どの言語を学んだとしても言語を学ぶとい
66. うそのプロセス自体は結局、後で英語を勉強したいとなっても絶対
67. 活かされると思っているけど。
68. SH: やっぱり、マイナー・ランゲージになればなるほど、そういうふう
69. になる[親が他の外国語ではなく英語を選択する]。[生徒が]親から
70. フランス語ではなく英語を選ぶよう言われているので。僕たちとし
71. てはその現地語を学んでもらいたいということはある。でも、保護
72. 者のニーズを支えるというのも一つの役割。それに、やっぱり親も
73. [生徒]もここにいる方って、大体、3年スパンで[日本へ]変えられる
74. 方が多いので。ここに永住するとかではない子が多いので。そうい
75. う意味では[フランス語を学ぶ]メリットが少ない。
76. SA: 日本の受験システムが変わらない限り、この傾向は変わらないと
77. 思う。(暗いムード)

57. Y: So, the reason why I chose Belgium is because here, this school also teaches
58. French language.
59. SA: But it [French] is elective. For first and second grade, French is mandatory
60. and [students] learn French, but from third grade to third year in junior high,

61. English and French are elective.
62. SH: Well, the parents' needs are [for their children to learn] English.
63. SK: Especially when they get older. No matter when you return to Japan, in the
64. near future, there is the entrance exam. Although I am not a linguist, from the
65. linguistic point of view, no matter what language you learn, the process of
66. learning a language itself will definitely come in use when students wish to
67. learn a language after on.
68. SH: You see, as the language becomes more minor, it becomes like this [parents
69. choose English instead of other foreign language(s)]. [Students] are told by
70. their parents to choose English and not French. For us, we would like
71. students to learn the local languages. But there are parents' needs and one of
72. our tasks is to support their needs. And people here, including parents [and
73. students] usually return [to Japan] within 3 years. It's not like students will
74. reside here permanently. Considering this, there is not much benefit [of
75. learning French].
76. SA: Unless there is no change to Japan's school entrance examination, I think
77. this tendency will not change. (**Gloomy atmosphere**)

2. Extract 5.18: 'I am a firm believer that if you live in a country you should make the best effort to learn their language(s)' (1st E-mail interview with Alice) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

107. Y: Can you tell me your story of learning languages? Where, when, why, and
108. how have you learnt these languages?
109. A: English is my mother tongue – I grew up in English. My both parents are
110. English speaking. At school I learned French and German from the ages of
111. 11-12 years old. I stopped learning French at the age of 13 in order to
112. concentrate on German. I went on to take a German GCSE (General
113. Certificate of Secondary Education) – when I was 16- and an A-Level
114. in German – when I was 18 years old. After that, I studied at *British
115. University. I read German and Spanish with Tourism, this was a four-year
116. course. I also I went to Spain on an Erasmus semester. I chose Spain above
117. above Germany because it was my weaker language. When I moved to
118. Belgium I couldn't speak Dutch. I wanted to be able to speak, read and
119. write it to ensure swift integration into Belgium. I didn't want to rely on
120. anyone else to always have to translate or interpret for me, nor for friends to

121. always have to speak English just for my benefit. Lots listening to the radio,
122. speaking, making mistakes, and watching TV. I also knew that I would have
123. to learn French again – for professional and practical reasons. For two years I
124. followed evening classes. I also learned by practicing at work, listening to
125. radio, reading the newspaper and speaking when out and about. These are
126. things that I still do now. I am a firm believer that if you live in country you
127. should make the best efforts to learn their language(s).

*For the university name, pseudonym created by the researcher is used to protect confidentiality of the participant.

3. Extract 6.3: '[I] basically used only German' (2nd E-mail interview with Kanako) (Y: Yuta KN: Kanako)

Extract 6.3: '[I] basically used only German' (2nd E-mail interview with Kanako) (Y: Yuta KN: Kanako)

16. Y: ドイツではどのようにドイツ語を勉強していましたか？
17. KN: 大学で第二外国語でドイツ語を選択し、英語が苦手であった私は、
18. せめてドイツ語は習得したいと思いました。大学のドイツ語の先生
19. に勧められたことや、近くに「ゲーテ・インスティテュート」があ
20. ったという環境も要因しています。交換留学生として、日本の大学
21. の試験を受けて、ドイツの大学へ留学しました。ドイツで出会った
22. 日本人とは日本語を使いました。ただ、その他の人たちとはいつも
23. ドイツ語でした。ドイツ語だけの方がドイツ語の習得になると思っ
24. ていました。ですので、ドイツでは基本ドイツ語しか使いません
25. でした。

16. Y: How did you learn German in Germany?
17. KN: I took German as a second foreign language at university, and I was not good
18. at English, so I wanted to at least acquire German. I was recommended by
19. my German teacher at the university and that The Goethe Institute was near
20. the place also played a part. As an exchange student, I took the university
21. exam in Japan and studied abroad in a university in Germany. I used

22. Japanese language with Japanese people who I met in Germany. But, to other
23. people, I always used only German. I thought that using only German will
24. be better for acquiring German. So, basically, I used only German when I
25. was in Germany.

4. Extract 6.11: 'The classes were all taught in Spanish' (1st E-mail interview with Alice) (Y: Yuta, A: Alice)

92. Y: Can you tell me your story of learning languages? Where, when, why, and
93. how have you learnt these languages?
94. A: When I was studying Spanish and German at university in the UK, we were
95. always taught in the target language, never in L1. We had access to language
96. labs to perfect our accents and intonation. During my studies, I went to Spain
97. on an Erasmus semester. All classes were taught only in Spanish. You learn a
98. a language quickly when thrown in to the deep end!

Appendix 8
Summary of Classroom Observation

Summary of Classroom Observation (English team-taught with Japanese and non-Japanese teacher)

<u>Teacher Name</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>	<u>CLT</u>	<u>Activities</u>
Sakura & Mary	Junior High 2	21	Some	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The class listened to an American song. Sakura instructs students to write down a word that comes to their mind while listening to the song. 2. Students write down the word on the blackboard. 3. Students present example sentence using the word they wrote on the blackboard. 4. Class sings the song several times.
Shinichi & Mary	Junior High 1	12	Some	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Whole class interview to researcher. 2. Students work on the task in the textbook, which is to make a school homepage in English. 3. Students debate the contents of the website in English and Japanese. In this

				<p>activity, the class did not use any electronic devices such as laptop or tablet.</p> <p>*Since this classroom observation, I have checked if there is the school homepage which students created. I was not able to find the website, and it seems that the purpose of this activity was solely to learn English.</p>
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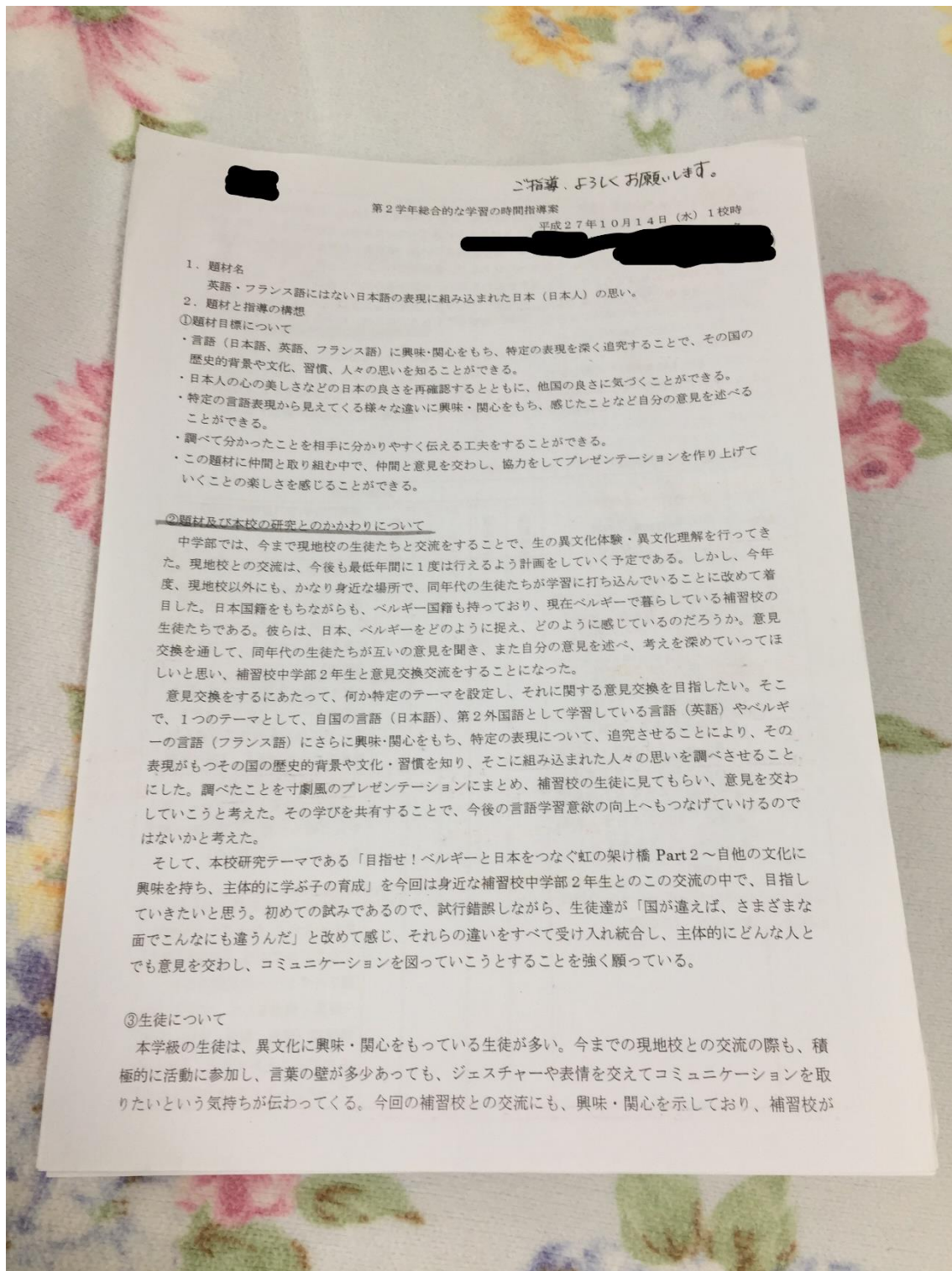
Summary of Classroom Observation (Japanese teachers of Japanese)

<u>Teacher Name</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>	<u>CLT</u>	<u>Activities</u>
Kanako	Primary 1	21	Some	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Whole class interview to researcher. 2. Kanako read aloud picture book to students. 3. In pairs, students take turns reading a passage from the textbook.
Wataru	Junior High 2	21	None	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In pairs, students took turns reading the passage from the textbook. 2. Each student read the same passage in front of class. 3. Students handwrite the passage independently and silently. Wataru advises students to follow the

				example given in the textbook. Wataru collects the drafts to add his own written feedback.
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Appendix 9

Sakura's Full Lesson Plan Page 1



Appendix 9

Sakura's Full Lesson Plan Page 2

提示してくれたプレゼンテーション（不思議な国日本）をいくつか見て、「あっ、日本のこんなところに関心があったのか」、「普段何も考えずに当たり前のように過ごしていたから、そのような点に関して不思議に思わなかった」と、すでに様々な発見や驚きを感じている。補習校の生徒たちと普段は会えないため、グーグルドライブを利用し、インターネット上で、意見を交わしあうことができるようにした。どの生徒も補習校の生徒たちとたくさん意見を交わし合い、交流を進めたいと感じている。補習校の生徒たちが、日本語で書き込みすることが、自分達と同じように簡単なことではないということを知り、自分達が準備するプレゼンテーションも、相手に理解してもらうためには、様々な工夫をしていかないとけないということも感じている。

この題材を通して、仲間と話し合い、自分とは違う考えに触れたり、自分の考えを発信したりしながら、他者の意見を聞き自分の考えを深めていくことの楽しさを感じてほしい。また、言語を深く追究することにより言語習得の楽しさを感じてほしい。そして、さらには、様々な文化的背景をもった同年代の生徒たちと、特定のテーマに関して意見を交わし合い、異文化理解に対する意識が向上することを大いに期待したい。

3. 指導計画（15時間扱い、本時10/15時間）

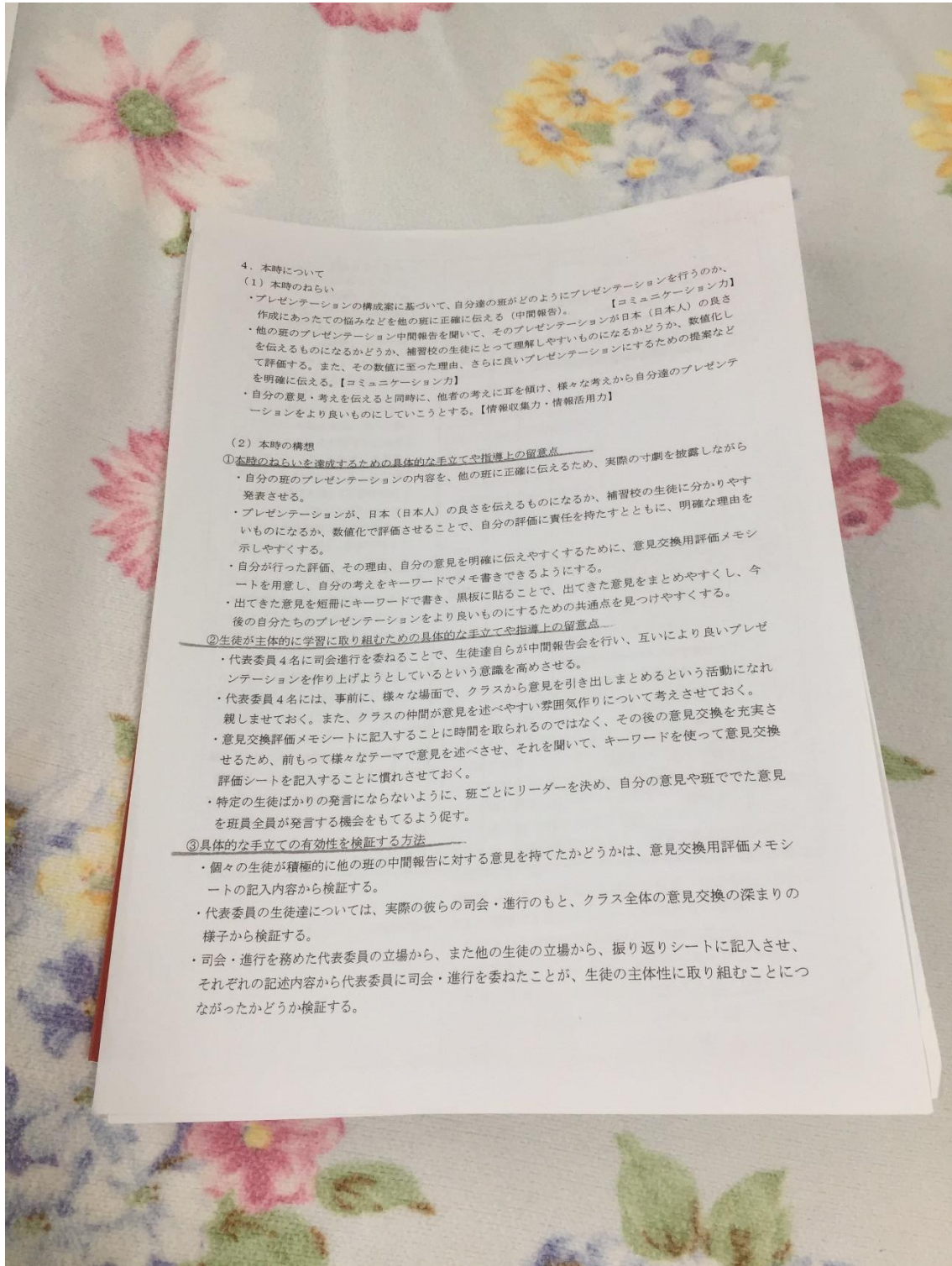
時間	学習活動・内容	評価の計画				具体的な内容【評価の方法】
		課題設定力	情報収集力	コミュニケーション力	情報活用力	
1次 4時間	☆日本語、英語、フランス語の独特の表現を探し比べる。 （1時間） ☆その独特の表現から見えてくるその国の文化・習慣・人々の特徴を調べる。（2時間） ☆日本人の特徴・特質について考える。その特徴・特質をいろんな角度から考え直す。 今まで調べた日本語の独特の表現に、それらの日本人の特徴が表れているか考える。 （1時間）	◎	◎	○	◎	・調べ学習のテーマをしっかりと把握し、検索するためのキーワードを考えようとするができる。 【観察】 ・個々の調べ学習において、様々な検索キーワードを入れながら、テーマにあった内容の情報を収集することができる。【調べ学習メモシートの記述内容】 ・注意力が散漫することなく、集中して個々の調べ学習に取り組むことができる。【観察】
2次 5時間	☆プレゼンテーションの構成案を作る。（3時間）	○		◎	◎	・調べたことを班員に伝え合い、まとめながら、伝える内容を整理することができる。【観察】【構成案ワークシートの記述内容】 ・班員と協力をして、プレゼンの構成案（解説、実演、比較）を組み立てることができる。【構成案ワークシートの記述内容】【観察】

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	☆構成案にもとづいて練習をする。(2時間)				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・他者の意見を聞くとともに、自分の考えを積極的に伝えることができる。【観察】 ・構成案にもとづいて練習しながら、プレゼンの詳細を考えることができる。【観察】 	
3次 2時間	☆中間発表をする。 (本時1/2時間) (2時間)		◎	◎	○	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・自分達のプレゼンの内容を正確に他の班に伝えることができる。【報告の内容】 ・他の班のプレゼンを聞いて、目標にしていた2大項目に関して、数値化で評価するとともに、その評価をした理由、アドバイスを正確に伝えることができる。【意見交換の様子】【意見交換用評価メモシート記入内容】 ・今後の共通の課題を見つけることができる。【意見交換のまとめの様子】
4次 4時間	☆アドバイス等を受け、シナリオ・台本を完成させる。(1時間)	○		◎	◎	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・今までにでたアドバイス等を組み込み、班で協力をして最終のシナリオ・台本を完成させることができる【班での話し合い・練習の様子】 ・補習校の生徒が理解しやすいように視覚的なものを工夫して準備することができる。【観察】 ・二班ごとに協力をしてビデオ撮りをする。【観察】 ・互いの完成作品を見ながら、他の班が工夫をした点に気づくことができる。【ワークシート記入内容】
	☆小道具等、プレゼンに必要な物の最終準備をする。(1時間)					
	☆プレゼンテーションをビデオ撮りする。(1時間)					
	☆全員でビデオ視聴を行う。(1時間)					

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4. 本時について

(1) 本時のねらい

- ・プレゼンテーションの構成案に基づいて、自分達の班がどのようにプレゼンテーションを行うのか、【コミュニケーション力】作成にあつたでの悩みなどを他の班に正確に伝える（中間報告）。
- ・他の班のプレゼンテーション中間報告を聞いて、そのプレゼンテーションが日本（日本人）の良さを伝えるものになるかどうか、補習校の生徒にとって理解しやすいものになるかどうか、数値化して評価する。また、その数値に至った理由、さらに良いプレゼンテーションにするための提案などを明確に伝える。【コミュニケーション力】
- ・自分の意見・考えを伝えると同時に、他者の考えに耳を傾け、様々な考えから自分達のプレゼンテーションをより良いものにしていくとする。【情報収集力・情報活用力】

(2) 本時の構想

① 本時のねらいを達成するための具体的な手立てや指導上の留意点

- ・自分の班のプレゼンテーションの内容を、他の班に正確に伝えるため、実際の寸劇を披露しながら発表させる。
- ・プレゼンテーションが、日本（日本人）の良さを伝えるものになるか、補習校の生徒に分かりやすいものになるか、数値化で評価させることで、自分の評価に責任を持たすとともに、明確な理由を示しやすくする。
- ・自分が行った評価、その理由、自分の意見を明確に伝えやすくするために、意見交換用評価メモシートを用意し、自分の考えをキーワードでメモ書きできるようにする。
- ・出てきた意見を短冊にキーワードで書き、黒板に貼ることで、出てきた意見をまとめやすくし、今後の自分たちのプレゼンテーションをより良いものにするための共通点を見つけやすくする。

② 生徒が主体的に学習に取り組むための具体的な手立てや指導上の留意点

- ・代表委員4名に司会進行を委ねることで、生徒達自らが中間報告会を行い、互いにより良いプレゼンテーションを作り上げようとしているという意識を高めさせる。
- ・代表委員4名には、事前に、様々な場面で、クラスから意見を引き出しまとめるという活動に慣れておく。また、クラスの仲間が意見を述べやすい雰囲気作りについて考えさせておく。
- ・意見交換評価メモシートに記入することに時間を取られるのではなく、その後の意見交換を充実させるため、前もって様々なテーマで意見を述べさせ、それを聞いて、キーワードを使って意見交換評価シートを記入することに慣れさせておく。
- ・特定の生徒ばかりの発言にならないように、班ごとにリーダーを決め、自分の意見や班で考えた意見を班員全員が発言する機会をもてるよう促す。

③ 具体的な手立ての有効性を検証する方法

- ・個々の生徒が積極的に他の班の中間報告に対する意見を持てたかどうかは、意見交換用評価メモシートの記入内容から検証する。
- ・代表委員の生徒達については、実際の彼らの司会・進行のもと、クラス全体の意見交換の深まりの様子から検証する。
- ・司会・進行を務めた代表委員の立場から、また他の生徒の立場から、振り返りシートに記入させ、それぞれの記述内容から代表委員に司会・進行を委ねたことが、生徒の主体性に取り組むことにつながったかどうかを検証する。

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(3) 本時の展開と評価			
時間 (分)	学習活動・内容	教師のはたらきかけ ・子どもの反応	指導上の留意点 (○) 評価 (〔評価の観点〕・方法)
6分	1. 課題をつかみ、その方法・流れを再確認する。	<p>1 補習校の生徒に見てもらおう プレゼンテーションの内容を報告し、今回目標としていた2つの項目が達成できるものになるか検討し、意見交換をしたいと思います。</p> <p>・今回のプレゼンテーションの2つの大きな目標は何ですか。</p> <p>①日本（日本人）の良さが伝わるものにならう。 ②補習校の生徒にとりて分かりやすいものにならう。</p> <p>・報告した班に対する評価は、意見交換用評価メモシートを使って行ってください。</p>	<p>○意見交換の司会・進行を代表委員の委ねること、またその理由を伝える。(自分達でこのプレゼンテーションをより良いものにしてもらいたいから。)</p> <p>○報告した班に対する評価の仕方・練習は、事前の授業で済ませておき、本時は確認だけにとどめる。</p>
補習校に向けてのプレゼンテーションの中間報告をし、目標の2項目を達成できるプレゼンテーションになるか、意見交換をしよう。			
16分	2. 2班が中間報告を行う。 ※ひと班の報告会に費やす時間は、報告5分以内、聞く側のメモ書き終了は報告後3分以内、意見交換8分。	<p>2. ここからの進行は代表委員さん達にお願いします。 《生徒からの意見》</p> <p>・寸劇が面白くて、寸劇のおかげで内容が分かりやすい。 ・日本語と英語、日本語とフランス語の違いがよく分かるそこから、国民性の違いもよく伝わってくる。 ・解説が複雑で補習校の生徒たちが理解できるだろうか。</p>	<p>【コミュニケーション力】 自分達のプレゼンの内容を正確に他の班に伝えることができる。(報告の内容)</p> <p>【コミュニケーション力】 自分の考えや意見を持ち明確に伝えることができる。 (意見交換用評価メモシートの記入内容、意見交換での発言、代表委員の報告会の進め方の観察)</p>
16分	3. 4班が同じように中間報告を行う。	<p>・○○という表現は補習校の生徒が理解しづらいのでは。 ・日本（日本人）のどんな良さを伝えたいのか分かりづらいなあ。</p>	<p>【情報収集力】 他者の考えに耳を傾けることができる。(聞く姿勢)</p> <p>○報告した班にも自分達の報告の振り返りをさせる。</p>

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7分	<p>4. 中間報告会を振り返って、出てきた意見を整理し、全体に共通して言えるアドバイス、今後の工夫すべき点を再確認する。</p>	<p>4. (代表委員) 2班に対する意見交換の内容に再度注目し、どの班のプレゼンにも共通して言えるアドバイスについて考えたいと思います。</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ・日本(日本人)の良さの提示の仕方の工夫。 ・補習校の生徒が理解できるよう解説の内容の提示の仕方にもっと工夫が必要。 ・寸劇はもっとおおげさに演じる方が分かりやすい。 <p><u>(代表委員) 今日出た意見から、次回報告する班は、どういう所を自分達で改善したいですか。</u></p>	<p>○机間指導をしながら、意見交換用評価シートを見ていき、良い意見には、チェックを入れるなどして、意見交換で積極的に発言できるように促す。</p> <p>○出てきた意見は、代表委員が短冊にキーワードで書き黒板に貼るよう前もって指導しておく。</p> <p>○黒板に貼ったキーワードを使って、話を進めていくよう代表委員に前もって指導しておく。</p> <p>【情報収集力・情報活用力】 共通のアドバイスを整理し、自分達のプレゼンに活用することができる。</p> <p>(代表委員の進め方の観察、生徒の発言の内容)</p>
5分	<p>5. 本時の振り返りを行う。(振り返りシート記入)</p> <p>※自分の意見を伝えることができたか、他者の意見を聞けたか、代表委員の司会はどうか、今日の報告会は楽しかったかなど、5段階評価で自己評価し、理由を書く。</p>	<p>5. <u>今日の中間報告会を振り返って、良かったこと、うまくなかったことなど感じたことを振り返りシートに書いてみましょう。</u></p>	<p>○さらに良いプレゼンテーションを協力して完成させたいという意欲を高めるための教師の気づきを伝える。</p> <p>【振り返りシート記述内容】</p>

【見ていただきたいところ・ご指導いただきたいところ】

- ・このプレゼンテーションを寸劇風に完成させることに生徒達が興味・関心を示しているかどうか。
- ・2つの重点目標をまず数値化して評価し、そしてその理由を述べることが、自分の評価に責任を持たせ、プレゼンテーションに対する意見を分かりやすく明確に伝えることにつながったかどうか。