

The Unchanged Images of English in Changing Japan: From Modernization to Globalization

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English has played a significant role as a symbol of crucial change in Japan and its relation to the world over periods of time; as a symbol of modernization in the late 19th century, a symbol of democracy and recovery after the defeat in WW2, and finally as a symbol of internationalization (*kokusaika*) and globalization in the late 20th century to the present (Lummis, 1976; Kubota, 1998). This paper, drawing upon Gramsci's (1971) hegemony theory, examines the ideologies of English in Japan over the past decade (1990-2008), represented and reproduced in the advertisements of *eikaiwa* (English conversation) schools through a content analysis of over 150 advertisements. Although Japan has experienced tremendous changes both economically and politically since English education was first introduced in the *Meiji* era (1868-1912), this paper shows that the ideology attached to English has hardly changed. Rather, it has been reproduced and reinforced over the century in a form unique to Japan in which it represents Japanese people's strong sense of inferiority to the Western people, namely *gaikokujin* complex. However, this paper suggests that recent changes in international political economy have promoted alternative views to *eikaiwa*, and indicates a possible ideological shift among the Japanese.

This paper examines the ideologies of English in Japan reproduced and practiced over the past century. Although English education has always been a major concern for the Japanese since the opening of the country to outside contact in 1853, it became predominant after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, and even more so in the 1980s along with the emergence of the discourse of *kokusaika* (internationalization).

There are two premises I believe to be important in proceeding with this paper. One is to look at the ideologies of English in Japan on the terrain of the worldwide phenomenon of global English and the hegemony of English (e.g., Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). What is happening inside Japan is merely one aspect of the global dominance of English. Although Japan is unique in several aspects when arguing the dominance of English (e.g., a nation not colonized by the West and one of the nations of the G7 group), its obsession with English and the ideologies of English share similar characteristics to the worldwide hegemony of English. The second premise is to look at the discourse of *kokusaika* and the ideologies of English in the historicity of *durée*, the slow time processes "that are beyond the reach of individuals, the time of social, political and economic systems" (Blommaert, 1999, p. 3). It is a kind of time that we cannot control, or experience in everyday life. *Durée*, a term originally proposed by Braudel (as cited in Blommaert, 1999), enables us to capture the intrinsic historicity and the social nature of language and language use. Thus, this paper is threefold. First I will review the literature surrounding the worldwide dominance of English, and connect the arguments with the dominance of English in Japan. Then, I will present the history of English education in Japan, and show how the unique characteristics of Japan contributed to the construction of the ideologies of English. Finally, I will examine how the ideologies of English are practiced

today in Japan. In order to do so, I will examine the advertisements of *eikaiwa* schools as the apparatus of transcending and reproducing ideologies.

This paper will contribute to the growing number of studies on the ideologies of English, by: (a) bridging between the ideologies of English in Japan and the worldwide controversy regarding the ownership of English; and (b) by adding advertisements as a discursive production of ideology.

The Global Dominance of English

The Hegemony of English

A number of critical educators and researchers in ELT have argued the impact of teaching English worldwide on linguistic and cultural diversity and inequality (Cook, 1999; Oishi, 1990, 1993; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998; Tollefson, 1991; Tsuda, 1990, 1993). They argue that “the dominance of English, promoted by teaching English, has constructed and maintained structural and cultural inequalities in which more resources are allocated to English than to other languages, and in which English-speaking individuals and social organizations benefit more than others” (Kubota, 1998, p. 295). Phillipson claimed that “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (1992, p. 47), and refers to such situations as *linguistic imperialism*.

In contrast, there is another perspective to look at the dominance of English. Scholars such as Crystal (1997) and Davies (1996) argue that the increasing power of English in a global society is a result of the consensus among the oppressed group to learn English. They claim that people learn English voluntarily because English opens the door to modernization and democracy. Davies (1996) asserts that now that colonialism is over, the oppressed groups have free options to either reject or adopt English. He criticizes Phillipson (1992) for ignoring “the possibility that oppressed groups’ common sense is active enough for them to reject English if they so wish” (1996, p. 490). The debates concerning linguistic imperialism apply to the issues of English education in Japan. Japan was never colonized, and it was never forced by the West to adopt English. Since the opening of the country in 1853, Japan voluntarily adopted modernization and English education, in order to protect the country from being colonized. Today, the educational policies, textbooks and advertisements in which ideologies of English are represented are produced by Japanese bureaucrats, politicians, publishers and the English industry without being forced by the West.

In response to the argument that the spread of English is due to spontaneous consensus, Kasuya (2000) argues that the voluntary will to learn English by no means excludes the possibility that dominance and inequality affects individual decisions. He stresses the importance of examining how such consensus was made, and why the stratified hierarchy among languages is prevented from becoming a political issue. In order to explain the relationship between spontaneous consensus and inequality, he applies Gramsci’s theory of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemony is “the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group” which is “historically caused by the prestige and consequent confidence which the

dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production” (p. 12). Therefore, hegemony, by creating spontaneous consent, becomes the mainstay of the legitimacy of dominance, as well as the power of creating self-evident common sense (Kasuya, 2000). Hegemony is not supported by the consensus which already exists. Rather, it is the power that can be established by constantly institutionalizing consensus (Kasuya, 2000). Hegemony is not a state of rest, but it is always practiced. According to Gramsci (1971), one of the most powerful means of creating consensus is the standardization of the public sphere by school, church, association, media, discussion, or even architecture. In fact, Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994) argue that the overwhelming power of the cultural capitals such as TESOL, CNN, McDonald’s or MTV support the hegemony of English. The fact that the ideologies of English in Japan are produced voluntarily by the policy makers, publishers and the media is a typical form of how hegemony functions. As Kasuya (2000) argues, it is not appropriate to dispute the critical perspectives against the dominance of English only because the oppressed group voluntarily adopts English.

The Ownership of English

Phillipson (1992) further examines the nature of ELT (English Language Teaching) and reveals how ELT has operated as an Anglocentric ideological agency. He argues that ELT served to maintain the hegemony of the U.S. and Britain over periphery nations by imposing the norm of the centre. “The native speaker fallacy” (p. 195) is an example that has served the interests of the centre by asserting that the ideal English teacher is the native speaker (NS) while lowering the status of local Englishes and nonnative speakers (NNS). He claims that there is no scientific validity that native speakers make better teachers than nonnative speakers, while nonnative speakers are more likely to be better teachers because they have gone through the process of learning English.

The dichotomy of NS/NNS has become controversial in the recent TESOL literature. A number of nonnative educators (e.g., Amin, 1997, 1999; Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Liu, 1999) have documented the discrimination against the nonnative teachers not only in the hiring process but also from students and colleagues. Nonnative professionals are hardly valued as equal to native speakers even though they are highly proficient in English. Braine (1999) claims that nonnative professionals can make contribution to ELT which native speakers cannot make, such as being a role model of the learners of English, or having empathy for the students.

Similar to the dichotomy of NS/NNS, there is the hegemony of white over non-white professional. Amin (1997) argues that despite the sociolinguistic claim that there is no connection between race and language proficiency, ESL students in Canada often assume that English teachers of colour cannot teach as well as white teachers. Referring to Peirce’s (1993) work, she maintains that ESL students have strong attachment to white Canadian teachers because they are the dominant group of Canada. ESL students have strong investments to speak like the white mainstream Canadian because English is not simply a tool but what constructs social identity.

However, the very idea that English is owned by the white native speakers has been challenged. Kachru (1992) has argued that there is no longer one kind of correct English. He identifies different varieties of Englishes across the world which have emerged as a result of

the *nativization* of Englishes in different parts of the world with different languages, cultures, and histories.

Similarly, Widdowson (1996) argues that as an international language, English should be independent from British or American standards, and that native speakers of English no longer own English. He maintains that language learning “should be real in the context of the students’ own world” (p. 386), and that nonnative speaking teachers are capable of achieving this better than native speaking teachers who are outsiders to the learner’s reality.

World Englishes Arguments and the Ideology of Eikaiwa

In this section, I attempt to bridge between the argument of the ownership of English and the ideology of *eikaiwa* (English conversation) in Japan. Lummis (1976), an American scholar with an experience as an *eikaiwa* teacher, criticizes the world of *eikaiwa* for being: (a) racist; (b) native speaker dominant; (c) deviated from the real world because it only provides the worldview of the U.S./Japan dichotomy; and (d) far from the Japanese students’ reality of language use.

He pointed out that *eikaiwa* schools are proud of the native teachers they hire, but native teachers only means *white Americans*. He criticizes the popular idea held by the majority of Japanese that white American native speakers are the most appropriate teachers because they speak with the *real* English accent. Lummis’ (1976) criticism against the dominance of native speakers in *eikaiwa* is reproduced in the recent arguments among TESOL professionals on the NS/NNS dichotomy, world Englishes (Kachru, 1992) and the ownership of English (Widdowson, 1994). The racist aspects of *eikaiwa* are similar to Amin’s (1997) argument that ESL students in Canada are attached to the white teachers. However, the background of such racism is different. ESL students in Canada are attached to the white teachers because they are the dominant group in Canada (Amin, 1997). Then, why do Japanese people prefer white teachers to Japanese teachers or teachers of colour when the white people are not the dominant group in the Japanese society? In order to understand why Japanese learners of *eikaiwa* are so much attached to white Americans, later in this paper I will discuss the unique history of the relationship between English and foreigners in Japan, and the origin of the inferiority complex with *gaikokujin* (foreigners, particularly Westerners).

The third criticism Lummis (1976) makes is that only two countries, the U.S and Japan, exist in the world of *eikaiwa*. Although other countries are involved sometimes in order to keep fairness, it is only Japan and the U.S which are involved in depth as the *real* countries. He argues that the dichotomy of Japan and the U.S. provides the worldview that English is only used to communicate with middle class, white Americans, and not with those who speak English as an additional language. Furthermore, Lummis (1976) argues that *eikaiwa* is a form of cultural imperialism, in which the contents of *eikaiwa* often take the form of Americans telling how great American society, economy, or democracy are, and Japanese students obediently learning American culture often comparing it with Japanese culture, willing to become like the American. Lummis (1976) claims that because the contents used in the *eikaiwa* lessons are far removed from the reality of the Japanese, *eikaiwa* learners can hardly use English to express their thoughts or emotions. *Eikaiwa* requires the learners to act like middle class Americans, which Lummis (1976) believes to be a hindrance to communication. Lummis’ claim that the gap between Japanese learners’ reality and authentic materials used in

eikaiwa which hinders communicating in English is reproduced in Widdowson's (1994) argument that English learning should happen within students' own world.

The Historical Background of the Ideology of *Eikaiwa*

Japan's Modernization and English

The emergence of the native speaker fallacy and the dichotomy of the U.S. and Japan in *eikaiwa*, however, are natural when the history of English education in Japan and the emergence of *eikaiwa* are considered. Two historical events, the opening of Japan in 1853 and the defeat of Japan in WW2, particularly have exerted cultural impact on the ideologies of *eikaiwa*.

For more than two centuries, from the beginning of the 17th century to the mid 19th century, the *Tokugawa shogunate* closed Japan to avoid the overwhelming influence of the West. With the exception of the trade with China and Holland, Japanese people were prohibited from any contact with foreigners. According to Takanashi and Omura (1975), English was first studied in Japan in 1808 after the dispute with Britain at Nagasaki port, namely the Phaeton Incident. Before then, Japan communicated with the West in Dutch, but the case showed the necessity to communicate in English in order to avoid confusion. However, English was studied solely for national defence in case of more disputes with Britain until the end of the era of *Tokugawa shogunate* in 1868.

In 1853, Perry, an American Commander-in-Chief of the East India fleet, arrived to coerce Japan to open the country for trading. Facing the overwhelming military power of the U.S., the government bitterly decided to open the country. In 1854, the Japanese government signed an unequal treaty act with the U.S. followed by Britain, France, Russia, and Holland. More than 250 years of the *Tokugawa shogunate* era closed in 1868, and the regime was returned to the emperor. This was the beginning of *Meiji* era (1868-1912), and also the beginning of modernization.

The relation between English and the *Gaikokujin-complex* grew during the 44 years of this era. The following is a summary of the history of English in Japan by Ota (1980). In order to absorb western modernization, the *Meiji* government engaged in employing foreign teachers, and dispatched Japanese students to the West. With the exception of German for medical education, all subjects were taught in English throughout junior high school to university. In 1894, the Japanese government became capable of implementing Japanese medium instruction for all subjects. However, the yearning toward English and the West remained deep among the Japanese. Although English became a hostile language during the last period of WW2, the admiration for English and American was rekindled after the defeat of Japan. The arrival of the U.S. military resulted in communication between Americans and Japanese on an individual level. Japanese people, from children to adults, were desperate to speak with the American soldiers. The towns started to become full of English signboards. Japanese people realized that the English they learned at school didn't work in communicating with the Americans, and such a realization led to the boom of *eikaiwa* (English conversation). The boom was phenomenal. A radio English course named "Practical English Conversation" started, followed by another radio course, "Basic English." A book titled *Japan-English Conversation Handbook* became a best seller, selling 3,600,000 books.

The English radio program called *kamu kamu eikaiwa* became a major hit, and more than 1000 clubs were established by its listeners.

Eikaiwa and the Discourse of Kokusaika

The history of *eikaiwa* and Japan's relation to the U.S. shows that *eikaiwa* emerged as a result of the admiration for the English and the American people and the disparagement of Japan. The ideologies of *eikaiwa* along with the *gaikokujin-complex* remained even after Japan became one of the wealthiest countries in the world. In fact, Japanese people's yearning to speak *eikaiwa* reached its peak during the bubble economy in the 1980s, when the discourse of *kokusaika* emerged, and the ideologies of *eikaiwa* have been accelerated through the discourse of *kokusaika* (internationalization; Kubota, 1998, 2002; Nakamura, 1991, 1992; Oishi, 1990, 1993; Tsuda, 1990, 1993). Now, I shall present the background of the discourse of *kokusaika* in order to examine its relation with English, especially *eikaiwa*.

The Political and Economic Background of the Discourse

The main premise of *kokusaika* is to accommodate the hegemony of the West by adopting the rules assigned by the West. The word *kokusaika* was initially introduced as a way to solve the economic and political conflicts between Japan and the West. In the 1980s, the imbalance of international payments between Japan and the West started to stand out. The Western nations called the imbalance into question, and criticized Japan for its exclusionary market, which made it possible for Japan to make such profits. In the summer of 1985, the Western governments started to appeal to the GATT (General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade) committee that if Japan didn't change its policy, they would submit retaliatory measure acts toward Japan. It was then that the Japanese newspapers and other media started to voice the necessity of *kokusaika*. They claimed that *kokusaika* was the only way for Japan to survive. The Prime Minister at the time, Yasuo Nakasone, proposed a clear vision of promoting *kokusaika*. In the meantime, the public opinion that *kokusaika* was the only route towards justice was produced through the media and politicians (Satsuma, 1995). The belief held by the general public was that *kokusaika* was justice because it promoted fair competition with equal conditions, whereas traditional Japanese policy was restrictive and unfair to the rest of the world.

Impact of Kokusaika on Eikaiwa

Where the background of *kokusaika* is concerned, it is not surprising that the discourse is about the dichotomy of Japan and the West, especially the U.S. Although the ideal meaning of *kokusaika* is the attempt to understand different countries and cultures equally regardless of their power and capitals (Nakamura, 1991; Tsuda, 1993), *kokusaika* implies the preoccupation with the West, and the exclusion of nations other than the West.

Initially an economic and political term, *kokusaika* became a trend word in the 1980s. *Kokusaika-jidai* (the era of internationalization), *kokusai-jin* (international person), *kokusai-rikai* (international understanding), *kokusai-go* (international language), *kokusai-kouken* (international contribution) are words one can still hear and see every day in Japan. Education

was no exception to the trend. According to Kubota (1998, 2002), the Ad Hoc Committee for Education Reform readily included the discourse of *kokusaika* in its policy in 1985. The final report of the committee in 1987 emphasized the importance of communicative English as an international language, as well as the importance of fostering respectful attitudes toward Japanese culture and tradition (Nakamura, 1991). In detail, the new education policy promoted English for expressive purposes, rather than passive purposes (e.g., mastering English grammar or acquiring reading skills; Kubota, 2002). Japan first imported English for a passive reason; that is to import western technology and modernization, over the century. The promotion of expressive English is based on the idea that now that Japan has become the world's most leading economy, it is time to apply English for expressive purposes (Tsuda, 1990). The emphasis on English education was further strengthened in the 1990s. Although English was practically a compulsory subject in junior high and senior high schools, it officially became a required subject in junior high schools in 1998 (Kubota, 2002). In 2002, English education was optionally included in elementary schools, and in 2011, English will become a compulsory subject in grade 5 and 6.

Gaikokujin-complex and Kokusaijin

The Nature of Gaikokujin-complex

Tsuda (1990) argues that as the results of the opening of the country and the defeat of Japan in WW2, Japanese people developed a sense of inferiority toward the Western foreigners (*gaikokujin-complex*). He claims that Japanese people's strong attachment to white native speakers of English in *eikaiwa* is one of the consequences of *gaikokujin-complex*.

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1962) is one of the first philosophers who claimed such a sense of inferiority. The opening of the country in 1853 led the Japanese people to encounter and communicate with the *gaikokujin*. However, the Japanese were not able to build an equal relationship with the *gaikokujin*. Fukuzawa, the social leader of the *Meiji* era and the founder of Keio University, criticized the Japanese who remained silent, or flattered *gaikokujin* even when the *gaikokujin* behaved outrageously to the Japanese. He claimed such obsequious attitude to be a disease, and named the disease as *gaikoku-kousai-byou* (international relationship syndrome). Fukuzawa claimed that in order to cure this disease, the Japanese should understand that the Japanese and the *gaikokujin* are equal under the concept of human rights, and that Japan should become as modern and industrialized as the West. Japan's success in industrialization, however, could not cure *gaikoku-kousai-byou*. Nakajima (1993), a philosopher, argues that the root of Japanese people's obsession with English is the inferiority complex against Americans and British. He particularly stresses the physical inferiority complex that the Japanese have with the whiteness and the tallness of the Westerners (*gaikokujin*), which leads to the strong attachment to white native speaking teachers in *eikaiwa* schools. He claims that there are strong relations between the linguistic and physical inferiority complex. Nakajima (1993) refers to several Japanese novels which reflect this physical inferiority complex. For example, in one of his best known novels, *Sanshiro*, Natsume Soseki (1908-1973) describes the struggle of the two Japanese young men facing beautiful Westerners in the train as following:

Sanshiro was fascinated. He thought it was a natural result that the Westerners were arrogant if they were this beautiful...The other man stood up and said “indeed, Westerners are beautiful.” Sanshiro didn’t have a word to say so he just nodded and laughed. “We are pathetic,” the man started. “With this face and this weak body, it means nothing even if we beat the Russians, and became a first-class nation. (pp. 16-17; translated by the author)

The comment of the President and Chief Executive of McDonald’s Japan, Fujita, also reflects the *gaikokujin-complex*. He said; “if we eat McDonald’s hamburgers and potatoes for a thousand years, we will become taller, our skin will become white, and our hair blonde” (Love, 1986, as cited in Kubota, 2002, p. 13). Nakajima (1993) argues that the Japanese fashion magazines today are filled with articles on how to make the face look smaller, and how to make the legs look longer. He claims that the physical complex and the linguistic complex are the two sides of the same coin. Nakajima (1993) maintains that no matter how much Japan becomes rich, and obtains the living standard of the West, it will never reach the West. The reason is simple: Japanese are not *gaikokujin*.

Suzuki (1989), a linguist, claims that the Japanese represent an ethnic group which curses its own physical features and its own language. He argues that deep in their minds, the Japanese want to exchange their appearance and their language to those of the West. Ever since the modernization in the *Meiji* era, the Japanese have tried to abolish Japanese and replace it with western languages. For example, in 1872, the minister of education, Mori Arinori, advocated for abolishing Japanese and adopting English as the national language. He claimed English should be the national language because the Japanese grammar and vocabulary were not adequate enough to describe complicated issues. Right after WW2 in 1946, a famous novelist, Shiga Naoya advocated for French as a national language of Japan. He argued that the new Japan was going to be a cultural nation, and French was the appropriate language for the newly born Japan (Suzuki, 1989). Around the same time, Ozaki Yukio, one of the most popular politicians of the time, claimed the necessity of throwing Japanese language away, and adopting English instead (Suzuki, 1989). Although none of the suggestions were accepted by the general public because they were extremely drastic, Suzuki (1989) claims that the flood of loan words from English and French is the reflection of the Japanese’ desire to adopt the Western language. Tanaka (2000) refers to the series of movements to abolish Japanese as “*bogo* (mother tongue) pessimism” (p. 47). He argues that the argument of English as a secondary official language proposed by the former Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo in 1999 is the most recent manifestation of the *bogo* pessimism.

Kokusaijin as a New Model

As the discourse of *kokusaika* became prominent, more people started to learn *eikaiwa* because of the yearning to become a *kokusaijin*, an international person (Nakamura, 1991; Oishi, 1990; Tsuda, 1990). Nakamura (1991) introduces an advertisement of an *eikaiwa* school which says “If you have a dream in English, you are an international person.” He argues that although it is possible to become an international person without having a dream in English, this advertisement is persuasive. *Eikaiwa* plays a role as a panacea for those who want to become *kokusaijin*. Yoneoka’s (2000a, 2000b) studies suggest that the Japanese

people perceive the image of *kokusaijin* as somebody who speaks English, has international connections and knowledge. Although her research shows that not only English but also the knowledge about Japan and the international societies are the factors of *kokusaijin*, English still plays a crucial role. Tsuda (1990) argues that Japanese people's real wish is to become *gaikokujin*. However, since such desire is unrealistic and extreme, a new slogan *kokusaijin* was produced in order to satisfy the desire of Japanese people (Tsuda, 1990).

Naturally, one of the conditions to become *kokusaijin* is to speak English in the American way, and to learn English from white Americans. As I presented earlier in this paper, the hegemony of English and the issues regarding the privilege of the native speakers are discussed worldwide. However, the *Durée* of English in Japan shows that Japanese people's obsession with *eikaiwa* and their strong attachment with white native speakers are based on Japan's unique history of the relationship with the West.

Ideologies of English in Today's Japan

Advertisements and the Hegemony of Gaikokujin

In this section, I would like to present how the ideologies of English are still prominent in today's Japan. Even though the emergence of critical pedagogy has changed the contents of English textbooks and English teaching, the same old ideologies of English are represented and reproduced as far as the advertisements of *eikaiwa* (English conversation school) are concerned.

Gramsci (1971) has argued that hegemony is maintained and constantly reproduced by creating spontaneous consensus, in order to understand the reproduction of *gaikokujin-complex* over the centuries. According to Gramsci, along with church, schools, and the community, media plays a powerful role in creating spontaneous consensus. The advertisements of *eikaiwa* schools, thus, have created spontaneous consensus by constantly representing and reproducing the ideologies of *eikaiwa*. As Tollefson (1991) argues, hegemony is established as a result of "the successful production and reproduction of ideology" (p. 13). Similarly, Dyer (1982) says that advertising is taking over the function of religion by controlling social values. Several researchers have argued that advertising works as an ideological apparatus (e.g., Goldman & Papson, 1996; Hall, 1980; Williamson, 1978). It works so by underpinning "a particular distribution of power in society by representing model identities and idealized images, and by reflecting and constructing social relationships" (Pillar, 2001, p. 156). As Hall (1980) argues, media not only reflects the ideologies held by the dominant group, but is also engaged in the work of fostering consensus of the dominant ideologies. Such a two-way path between ideology and advertising has been further discussed in several studies (Goldman & Papson, 1996, 1998; O'Barr, 1994).

In my study, I follow the theoretical framework of the two-way relationship between society and ideology. Advertising is not merely a passive apparatus of ideologies, but it practices the ideologies in our everyday life. In the same vein, advertisements of *eikaiwa* schools reflect the ideologies of *eikaiwa*, while practicing the ideologies at the same time.

I conducted content analysis (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) of the advertisements from five major *eikaiwa* schools in Japan between 1990 and 2002 from a series of a monthly magazine

Keiko to Manabu, followed by the advertisements of the same five schools on the Internet in 2008. The total number of advertisements I collected from 1990 to 2002 was 154. I labelled each advertisement in the following way; year-school-number. I ordered the schools in alphabetical order and gave a label of A, B, C, D or E to each school. The number is labelled from 01 to the number of the advertisements of each school in the year. For example, if it is the third advertisement of school B in 1993, the label is 93-B-03.

The content analysis of these 154 advertisements showed that the ideologies of English criticized internationally are well represented in the advertisements. For example, the *native speaker fallacy* proposed by Phillipson (1992) which criticized the belief that native speakers are the ideal teachers of English was present, in which 60% of the advertisements with descriptions of the teachers advertised about the native speakers only, whereas 38% described both native speakers and Japanese teachers. Similarly, the hegemony of white over non-white teachers criticized by Amin (1997), Peirce (1993) was prominent in which out of 57 advertisements with pictures of the teachers, 93% had white teachers only, 5% had both white and Asian teachers, and 2% had white, Asian and Black teachers.

These globally shared ideologies of English are intertwined with Japanese people's inferiority complex with the Western people, namely *gaikokujin-complex*. For example, advertisement in 1998 (98-E-05) shows the fear of *gaikokujin*. The headline says; "Why did you choose school E?" The pictures of 16 students of the school, from high school students to elderly students, randomly appear with the positive comments about the school. Three of the comments are in bold font, and the remaining 13 comments are in normal font. One of the comments with the bold letters is by a young boy. He says; "I was frightened by the *gaikokujin* at first, but now I am okay with them." Thanks to the *gaikokujin* teachers, the boy has conquered the fear. However, I would argue that conquering the fear does not necessarily mean to conquer *gaikokujin-complex*. The *gaikokujin-complex* has an impact on several layers in relations to *gaikokujin*. In what follows, I will introduce the advertisements which reflect Japanese people's desire to become *gaikokujin* at the cost of their Japanese identity.

Examples Reflecting Desires to Become Kokusaijin

First of all, I will present an advertisement which reflects the ideology that any white English speakers (*gaikokujin*) have the ability to turn the Japanese into a *kokusaijin*, an international person. An advertisement of School D in 1997 (97-D-01) shows four white teachers, two females and two males chatting with each other. The headline above the teachers says; "We are with you." Below the headline, it says in a smaller font; "The high quality lesson that makes you a *kokusaijin* is waiting for you." *Kokusaijin* is not about having an open mind for the international society. As Nakamura (1991) and Tsuda (1990) argue, becoming a *kokusaijin* is to model *gaikokujin*. The *gaikokujin* is an international person even if he/she is a monolingual English speaker.

The next advertisement represents the desire to assimilate oneself to the *gaikokujin*. An advertisement of School E in 2001 (01-E-08) describes a young Japanese female thinking in English. She is stopping in front of a boutique. The following English words are coming out of her; "Wait a minute...this might be it! I have been looking everywhere for a jacket like that! Ok, what should I do? I don't really have any money left after those boots...ooh, I love that cut and colour...Oh, why not! It won't hurt to just try it on..." On the bottom of the

detailed descriptions about School E, it says; “By experiencing the real foreign language with joy through the conversation centred lessons by *gaikokujin* teachers, you will naturally acquire English. Someday, you will be thinking in English without noticing.”

This Japanese girl can be diagnosed as *eikaiwa-holic*. Tsuda (1990) provides an example of a young Japanese woman staying with an American family in the U.S., which presents the terminal symptoms of *eikaiwa-holic*:

The aim of this home stay was not only to improve my *eikaiwa*, but also to learn the American ways of life through my host family. To acquire the real English...I got rid of Japanese in my head and replaced it with English. When I speak to myself, when I write a diary, when I speak to a dog...everything in English! (*The English Journal*, as cited in Tsuda, 1990, p. 145; translated by author)

The difference between the two is that the woman in the advertisement is in Japan, whereas the *eikaiwa-holic* woman is in the U.S. However, School E claims that the school reproduced the same environment as studying abroad by collecting *gaikokujin* teachers of Americans and British origins. Instead of through the host family, the students of School E learn the *gaikokujin* ways of life through their *gaikokujin* teachers, and become willing to think and speak to themselves in English. Although the passion for mastering *eikaiwa* thoroughly is in a way to be respected, I would argue that there is something morbid about such an attitude. Placing the *gaikokujin* as the model of life, the students of *eikaiwa* are happy to replace their mother tongue (Japanese) with English. Indeed, as Suzuki (1989) remarks, the Japanese are a group of people who disparage themselves for their language and body.

Finally, I will present an advertisement which reflects the relation between *eikaiwa* and the physical yearning to become *gaikokujin*. An advertisement of School A in 2001 (01-A-02) shows a manga-type illustration of three students with different goals, a young businessman, an office girl, and a female college student. The headline says; “Is it true that our dreams will come true if we learn English at School A?” Below the headline, an illustration of the three students appears with their goals beside each face. The businessman says; “There is a chance of getting promoted now but I need to get high TOEIC score...I need to raise my score by 100 points!” The office girl says; “Fluent *eikaiwa* (acquired at an *eikaiwa* school) and flawless body (acquired at a beauty-treatment clinic). With the minimum money and time, I want to cultivate myself.” Then, finally the college student says; “I really want to study abroad! But I am worried because I have only been studying English through the textbooks.” Under the illustration, it says; “The short cut to your goals. School A has the best system.” Then, the three students with a *gaikokujin* teacher appear, happily learning *eikaiwa* together. This is a happy ending advertisement, in which all of the three achieved their goals. To my great surprise, all of the three students have blue eyes. The businessman and the college student have light brown hair, and the office girl has greenish hair. The colour of the eyes, the eyebrows and the skin are exactly the same as those of the *gaikokujin* who has blonde hair. The reason I can tell the teacher is *gaikokujin* is the tall nose and the two eyebrows close to each other, which look different from the students who have almost no nose and the eyebrows far from each other. The shoes of the businessman are black, and the shoes of the two girls are black and grey. The tie of the businessman is dark brown. This means that the illustrator used blue for the eyes even though it was possible to use black, grey or brown. In fact, the

businessman looks very similar to a British actor, whose picture as the image character of the school is on the bottom of the advertisement. The same hair colour, the same eye colour and the same (even lighter) skin colour.

Ironically, this advertisement shows that no matter how much the colour of their bodies changes, the Japanese will never become *gaikokujin* unless they change whole bone structures (e.g., the distance of the eyebrows and the nose). However, the three students are happy because they have become close enough to the model of *kokusaijin*. Close enough, indeed.

Since now in 2008, the five schools were no longer putting advertisements regularly on *Keiko to Manabu*, the monthly magazine from which I collected the advertisements between 1990 and 2002, I collected the schools' advertisements from their web page. Surprisingly, the images of English that the schools projected remained the same. White teachers are still predominant in the advertisements of the five schools. For example, 4 out of 6 teachers introduced in the website of School A, 4 out of 4 of School B, 11 out of 14 of School C, 15 out of 20 of School D, and 9 out of 9 of School E were white teachers. School A carries a picture of two white male teachers, with a headline "reliable teachers." In terms of the ideal interlocutor, school C has an illustration of a female *eikaiwa* student talking to a blonde blue-eyed man, receiving attention from two white women at a cocktail party. One can argue that Lummis' (1976) criticism of *eikaiwa* that the expected and ideal interlocutors are middle class white Americans is still prominent in today's *eikaiwa* world.

Conclusion

In this paper, I attempted to elucidate the ideologies of English in Japan in the dynamism of time and space. Japanese people's experience with English in the historicity of *durée* shows that ever since the opening of the country in 1853, the Japanese have dealt with the ambivalent sentiments to the West (e.g., love-hate, fear-worship and win-lose), which are intertwined with the history, politics, and economy of power inequality. At the same time, such history which is unique to Japan is inextricable with the worldwide dominance of English criticized elsewhere (e.g., Phillipson, 1992), and there are many aspects of the dominance of English shared by both Japan and the world (e.g., native speaker fallacy, white dominant).

In the era of global economy, more Japanese started to see English as a commodity. This is well manifested in the drastic increase in the selling of business English textbooks (1st Flow Consulting, 2002). The main customers are middle age businessmen who have anxieties about losing their posts or jobs along with their companies' restructuring. Young university graduates looking for jobs are also keenly aware of the commodification of English. More Japanese companies are starting to ask for TOEIC (Text of English for International Communication) scores of candidates on the employment applications. TOEIC scores are also required for promotion in some Japanese companies. Although Japan is an EFL country where most people live exclusively in Japanese, the business world is becoming more of an ESL environment. Globalization of the business world has made it inevitable for Japanese companies to deal with foreign companies and consumers. The commodification of English, however, has not yet neutralized the ideology of English. The images of *eikaiwa* distributed through the advertisements of the five *eikaiwa* schools have not changed from what Lummis (1976) criticized 32 years ago, and the consumers are still buying such images. The burst of

the bubble economy and the prolonged recession have not resulted in a decline of *eikaiwa* business. As long as the students buy the images of *eikaiwa* projected by the *eikaiwa* schools, there is little chance that the images will change.

However, even though the ideologies of *eikaiwa* remain the same, I find that alternative views have been growing. There are increasing chances of interacting with non-Westerners in English, particularly Chinese and Koreans in the business world due to the economic rise of non-Western countries. Although Japan has been paying attention mainly to the West in its external relations, the presence of Asian countries is getting stronger especially in business (JETRO, 2003). Increasing numbers of Japanese people are studying Mandarin and Korean. The sales share of the language learning software of the Nintendo DS show that while English has 86% of the share, Chinese has gained 12% of the share (BCN Ranking, 2006). The popularity of Chinese and Korean movies and TV programs has grown dramatically to the extent of becoming a social phenomenon.

I assume the growth of such alternative views may lead to a gradual shift from *gaikokujin-complex*, which is a reflection of Japanese people's obsession with the West since modernization. In addition, the U.S. economy, which was glorified after the burst of bubble economy in Japan producing even stronger denial of Japanese-ness and its necessity of *kokusaika*, is now experiencing a serious depression. Also the rise of China as a super power is contributing to the shift away from viewing the world only as a dichotomy between the U.S. and Japan. Moreover, the historical election of a non-white man as President of the U.S. may trigger a change of the stereotyping image of English speakers.

We may have to wait, however, for another *durée* in order to witness the change of language ideology in Japan.

Note

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