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Uncovering the Ideologies of Internationalization in Lesson Plans through Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

The Japanese government has made *kokusaika*, questionably translated as "internationalization," a cornerstone of all aspects of education, though the concept is particularly linked to foreign language study. However, official ideologies are not always directly translated into the ideologies present in classroom practice. In order to examine how the ideologies linked to *kokusaika* are or aren't enacted in university English classes in Japan, this project examines a large corpus of lesson plans published between 2011 and 2016 in *The Language Teacher*, the primary journal for the Japan Association for Language Teaching. Using a critical discourse analysis lens along with the tools of corpus linguistics, it was found that even though the issue of internationalization was rarely raised directly, nonetheless the discourse as a whole did perpetuate a number of the attitudes linked to *kokusaika* policy. In addition, a close analysis of lesson plans where the topic was raised provides insight into how specific linguistic and pedagogical choices on the part of the authors and editors can result in widely differing ideological consequences.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, ideology, language policy, lesson plans

Introduction

Arguably, the core of English teaching is helping students acquire both knowledge (lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, etc.) and skills (communicative strategies, general study skills, etc.) related to the English language and its use. However, teaching is never value neutral, so at the same time that we as English teachers are teaching "English," we are also teaching our students about various perspectives on the world, or "ideologies" (while also "learning" the ideologies of our students). While the term ideology is complex and varies in meaning depending on the academic discipline using it, I generally proceed from Hall's (1985) paraphrase of Althusser's definition, which describes ideologies as "systems of representation—composed of concepts, ideas, myths, or images—in which men and women 'live' their imaginary relations to the real conditions of existence" (p. 103). These systems of representation can include any semiotic system, though language is the most

common and probably the most easily accessible for language teachers. These systems can include "official" ideologies that are explicitly enacted by those in power, but are also present in every meaning-making interaction between people, and thus Althusser and Hall (and myself) view ideology as being manifested throughout all institutions, such as churches, workplaces, and, most notably for us, schools.

My research focuses on English language classes as a specific site where we can read the intersection between official ideologies (that is, the principles set out by governments and other high level institutions via policy proclamations) and ideologies as they are enacted in daily life. I believe that teachers are responsible for considering their role in both perpetuating and resisting official ideologies, in that they play a small but not inconsequential role in shaping how students will interact with the world, not just in a practical sense, but in an ideological one. I further take the (explicitly political) stance that teaching is better when it both enables students to critically consider the ideologies implicit in the social systems which they are embedded in, and also promotes ideological stances that decrease systemic inequality, regardless of whether or not the official ideologies of our schools, governments, etc. seek to redress such problems. In this paper, I am specifically concerned with examining how the Japanese government's policies on the topic of internationalization are taken up in English classes, especially at the university level. While this project is explicitly focused on the Japanese university context, I hope that it also provides a model for one method of examining the ideological implications of any teaching context, and especially for analyzing the links between government policies, professional discourse, and classroom practice. Prior to undertaking this analysis, it is necessary to discuss the specific way that the Japanese government characterizes "internationalization" and what educational policies they promote to account for this process.

***Kokusaika*: Internationalization in Japan**

Since the 1980s, internationalization has been a major focus for educational policies, government reports, and, especially, the Course of Study (CoS), which is the Ministry of Education policy generated about once a decade governing all aspects of education in Japan (Hashimoto, 2000, 2009; Kubota, 1998, 1999). The question that the government has been raising is how Japanese education should ensure that Japanese students (that is, future citizens and workers) can assist Japan and Japanese companies in interacting with what is assumed to be an increasingly internationalizing world. In Japanese, "internationalization" is usually represented by the term *kokusaika* (国際化), which is composed of the components country (*koku,* 国) + edge/border (*sai*, 際) + [nominalizing suffix] (*ka*, 化). However, Kubota (1998) and Hashimoto (2000) argue that when the Course of Study and other government documents are closely examined, this so-called internationalization is constructed in a distinctly nationalist way. That is, Japan's policies related to internationalization promote educational practices supporting economic internationalization for Japanese companies and the nation-state as a whole while simultaneously exhorting said citizens (and the institutions which created/are created by

them) to retain an independent, "uniquely" Japanese identity. Both authors link this to the Japanese philosophy and body of writing called *nihjinron*, which Hashimoto translates as "Japanology." *Nihonjinron* proceeds from the idea that Japan is culturally and linguistically distinct from the rest of the world. This builds a strict divide between Japan and the "outside." Thus, as the government developed education policies to make Japanese students more capable of international engagement, there was the need to ensure that students' core Japanese identities remained intact. Hashimoto goes so far as to argue that "internationalization" in Japan is perhaps better described as "Japanization," since the goal was to enable students to be able explain Japan to the outside world and to work with the outside world for practical goals, but always in a way that held the Japanese interlocutors separate and with a stable, core Japanese identity. *Kokusaika* doesn't contain any of the multiculturalism, transnational blending, or cross-cultural understanding that is often associated with internationalization in other (English) contexts.

A second relevant aspect of *kokusaika* is that it has a strongly globalist/neoliberal character. This is neoliberalism as described by Davies and Bansel (2007)—that is, an approach to government policy that places economics at the center of all things, both public and personal, and that fuses the success of nations and individuals. The forces of neoliberal globalization have been a key foundation for much of the past 30 years of educational reform in Japan (Amano & Poole, 2005; Newby, Weko, Breneman, Johanneson, & Maassen, 2009; Takayama, 2009).

The links between neoliberalization, *nihojninron*, and *kokusaika* have resulted in specific consequences for language education in Japan. Kubota (2002) argues that *kokusaika* solidified the trend which had begun in the post-World War II era of focusing foreign language education exclusively on English, which she traces in part to the *nihonjinron* tendency to divide the world into "Japan" and "not-Japan," with English playing the part of all that is "not-Japan." In addition, Hashimoto (2011) uses critical analysis of government documents that developed and interpreted formal policy to argue that even though some parts of the CoS explicitly claim to promote an international, multicultural stance, the true intent is to require specifically English language education in almost all circumstances.

Finally, the elevation of English to the status of nearly-solitary foreign language option has not meant a focus on an internationalized or *lingua franca* English. Rather, numerous studies have shown that both Japanese students (Chiba, Matsuura, & Yamamoto, 1995; Matsuda, 2003) and Japanese teachers (Kubota, 1998) believe that English language education should focus on the English of North America and the UK. While this preference is not codified into explicit educational policy, Japanese textbooks, which DeCoker (2002) has called the "embodiement of national standards" (p. xi) are dominated by "Inner Circle" English speakers (Matsuda, 2002). Thus, even the most direct manifestation of internationalization in the curriculum—the mandatory learning of English—is done in a way that reinforces the binary division between Japan and the rest of the world by subsuming all non-Japanese languages into English, and then all English variants into the U.S./U.K. varieties.

In summary, any examination of the role of internationalization in Japanese schools needs to be understood through the specific lens of *kokusaika*, not a more general sense of the word "internationalization." *Kokusaika* represents a commitment to neoliberal economic globalization while simultaneously excluding—and taking deliberate steps to prevent—cultural internationalization. It is also consistent with *nihonjinron* philosophy which draws strict boundaries between the supposedly unique Japanese culture and everything else which exists outside of Japan's borders.

The intent of the present project is to examine how the ideology of *kokusaika* impacts the university language classroom. Policy is never directly manifested in the classroom, as policy is always multi-voiced and the pathway from policy maker to practitioner involves multiple layers of interpretation (Ball, 1993). It is hypothesized that even though Japanese universities have become mostly independent of direct government control under deregulatory policies that have been implemented since the 1990s (Amano & Poole, 2005; Kitamura, 1997), the widely publicized nature of the *kokusaika* related principles as well as their influence on pre-tertiary education will likely impact university education, especially in language classes that are closely linked with intercultural contact.

Methodology

In order to consider the ways in which *kokusaika* impacts language teaching at the university level, this study looks at six years (2011-2016) of published classroom activities drawn from the "My Share" section of *The Language Teacher*, one of two journals for the Japanese Association for Language Teaching (JALT), which is one of the largest professional associations of language teachers in Japan. My Share articles are short (less than 700 word) lesson activities that describe, per the introduction that accompanies this section, "a successful technique or lesson plan you have used that can be replicated by readers." Collectively, these texts act as a discourse—that is, a set of practices that "systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49).

There were 204 My Share articles published in *The Language Teacher* between 2011 and 2016. However, since I am specifically interested in the links between *kokusaika* and university language classrooms, I excluded articles written by authors whose listed affiliation was a non-Japanese institution. In addition, some of the articles were listed in their "Quick Guide"[1] as being solely for primary or secondary school students; these were also excluded. In total, that left 177 articles, which contained (excluding titles, references, and the "Quick Guide" section) over 99,000 words by 160 distinct authors.[2]

Collectively, these lesson plans represent a portion of Japanese university language teachers' professional discourse, and thus are an important part of the disciplinary tools that shape teacher perspectives on what can or should be done in the classroom. Since they are set out, by the instructions given to the authors and the framing introduction to readers as successful and worthy of replication, in a sense they represent aspects of the collective community's orientation towards ideal language teaching. Since this project operates out of a critical, postmodern perspective, it is neither surprising nor problematic that the attitudes

collectively found in the My Share section towards language learning, internationalization, and other topics are complex, multi-voiced, and even contradictory, as that is presumed to be a characteristic of all discourse regardless of whether it is written by a so-called "solitary individual" or is, like here, the product of hundreds of authors and editors.

The specific critical approach I have taken in this project is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Wodak (2005) provides one of the most widely cited and comprehensive explanations of CDA when she writes,

> CL [critical linguistics] and CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). (p. 5)

Thus, my intent in this project is to undertake linguistic analysis of the My Share texts in order to understand how those texts are linked to the ideologies of *kokusaika*, and to understand how both those ideologies and these texts shape and are shaped by the roles that teachers and students can play with respect to both language learning and larger systems of systems of power, governmentality, ideology, and identity.

The specific set of techniques that I employed are based on Baker's (2008) iterative analytical process that cycles between the use of computational tools[3] (corpus analysis) to look for broad trends and close textual analysis of specific examples. As Baker explains, using corpus linguistics leads to more confidence that findings are not solely the result of cherry-picked examples, while close textual analysis makes sure that the actual phenomenon discovered are interpreted from within the context in which they appear. For my project, I began with the broad question of "How are the ideologies of internationalization and/or *kokusaika* represented in this corpus?" I first addressed this through an examination of the lexical frequency of various internationalization related terms, described in the first section of the results below. However, prior to beginning the project, I had no specific plan beyond that. That is, Baker's iterative approach is to begin with broad questions and (usually) very general, corpus-wide inquiry, but to allow the results of each specific investigative technique to trigger further questions and guide the development of more specific questions to provide deeper insight. I detail the specific steps that I took below in the results section, along with providing explanations for why I made the research choices I did.

Results

Direct References to Globalization and Internationalization

Since *kokusaika* plays such a large role in the discourses surrounding education in

Japan, it was hypothesized that there would be a fair number of direct references to the themes in the corpus. Thus, the first step taken was to use the corpus tools to measure the frequency of the terms "international / internationalize / internationalization" and "global / globalize / globalization." Only the base forms appeared in the My Share articles, with "international" appearing 3 times, and "global" appearing 8 times. Though this seems small, frequency measurements need to be compared to a reference corpus to determine if the target terms appear more or less commonly than they do in general English usage (Mautner, 2016). Since the My Share corpus includes works by authors from a variety of countries and uses multiple English variants, I compared the results to frequency counts from three reference corpora: the Corpus of Contemporary American English (520 million words), the British National Corpus (100 million words), and the News on the Web corpus (4.1 billion words). A compilation of the data can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequencies of Key Terms in Various Corpora

Term	COCA	BNC	NOW	My Share
international	200	217	404	30
internationalize	.17	.01	.08	0
internationalization	.66	.62	.24	0
international*	201	218	404	30
global	98	35	276	91
globalize	.088	0	.06	0
globalization	8.8	.4	3.5	0
global*	107	35	279	91

Note. All frequencies are listed as instances per million tokens. "international*" refers to the combined frequency of "international" + "internationalize" + "internationalization", and likewise for "global*". Frequencies for all reference corpora were gathered from the online corpus search tools found on the BYU corpora website (Davies, n. d.).

The international/global terms are significantly underrepresented in the My Share corpus relative to the three reference corpora (with the exception of "global" as compared to the BNC). Thus, despite the importance of this term in the discourse of Japanese education and the central role that language instruction plays in implementing *kokusaika*, the My Share authors neither frequently focused activities on explicitly "international" topics, nor used focused the arguments in favor of the activities (generally found in the Introduction and Conclusion sections of the articles) on the importance of "internationalization."

Given the low frequency of these terms, it wasn't possible to engage in further large-scale quantitative analysis of the corpus at this stage. Instead, the next step taken was to look in close detail at each the articles in which these terms appeared. The goal was to obtain a more precise understanding of what the authors meant when they used these

terms, and what this implied about the role of internationalization with reference to language learning. In addition, I hoped that this would provide guidance for other directions to take the analysis (one of which I took and is described below in the sectin "Nationality and language"). One instance of each word was removed from analysis, since one ("vox pops international") refers to the name of a company/web series, while the other ("global reference") is a linguistics term unrelated to *kokusaika*.

Of the remaining eight articles (though there were nine instances of use, one article used the word "global" twice), three of them use the terms only in passing—that is, internationalization is not at the core of the activity. For example, one article talks about an activity for teaching vocabulary related to "global warming," but the activity focuses on a technique for teaching and learning vocabulary, and any other vocabulary theme could have been substituted with the article/lesson remaining identical. Following is a detailed analysis of the remaining five articles. The analysis is presented in pairs—2 pairs from within this group of five, plus one pairing an activity using the "international" terminology and one not using it. The pairings were chosen to demonstrate contrasting approaches to the way internationalization is used within this corpus.

Passive Acceptance versus Active Engagement

The first pair of activities both focus on environmental topics. The first includes a list of benefits of the activity in the conclusion section, one of which is to "raise awareness of global issues." In this activity, students make a poster presentation about an endangered animal. Students present to each other, but may not ask questions or otherwise engage in discussion. Also, the points that the students can cover are strictly limited and focus on only simple details about the animal, with no more than a sentence fragment or two to mention why the animal is endangered. The consequence of these limitations is to naturalize the endangered nature of these animals and silence a consideration of the ways in which students are indirectly complicit in that endangerment—that is, the ways in which the everyday behavior of people in first world countries like Japan contributes to habitat destruction and predation. The students will describe and hear described a large number of animals, learn that they are endangered, and learn some basic facts about them, but there will be no discussion about what can be done to alter this situation or what they are currently doing that is indirectly causing the endangerment. The teacher, in exercising their institutionally and socially granted authority to determine what can and cannot be discussed in the classroom, thus normalizes a status quo stance towards a globalized world in which endangered animals are an inevitability, and for which individuals do not bear responsibility.

The second activity, in contrast, begins with the direct claim that personal resource use in Japan (using the pronouns "we" and "our" to include not only the author and her students, but also the readers) is "excessive" to a "shocking" extent. In this activity, students learn relevant grammar and vocabulary (this is where the "global" term occurs, in

the phrase "global hectares"), have an introductory conversation about environmentalism, and take an online quiz to measure their ecological footprint. Then students and teachers together engage in a discussion about why they use so many resources, the consequences of this behavior, and possible steps that everyone can take to reduce their resource consumption.

In contrast to the first activity, the second has students directly examine the link between their personal behaviors and the global environment. Additionally, the author argues that the students will likely be "primed to discuss environmental issues" because of concerns at the time of writing about electricity use following the 2011 Fukushima earthquake and tsunami. The first author does not provide such a justification; rather, he promotes the activity on the grounds that it is enjoyable and meets four specific education goals, one of which is the aforementioned intent to "raise awareness of global issues." Perhaps even more telling is that the list of four educational objectives sits immediately before (and is thus balanced by) a separate statement which says, in reference to an optional follow-up essay assignment, "As a teacher, I found my students' essays to be much more interesting to read than what they produce for most other writing tasks." Just as the first activity is extremely teacher-centered in terms of what the students are allowed to discuss and thus what subject positions they can take, so too is the potential benefit to the teacher portrayed as being at least as important as those which the students receives. In contrast, students not only have a lot of control over how the second lesson proceeds, the author attempts to position herself much closer to her students, in that her own ecological footprint becomes part of the subject of discussion. The primary roles that the first author portrays the teacher as playing in the classroom are as a grader and as a model presenter, not as a co-participant—just as the students receive no feedback, neither are they able to interact directly with the teacher's presentation, and so the teacher stands separate from and above the students. Thus, the difference in the way students approach international problems—in the first activity, as passive witnesses, and in the second, as active participants who plan specific actions to help solve these problems—is mirrored in the way the students in the first activity are passive recipients of teacher instruction while students in the second are co-learners and problem solvers working in conjunction with their teacher.

Why Learn English?

The second pair of activities demonstrate a contrast in the potential uses for English in an internationalizing world. The first presents a business English activity closely aligned with the neoliberal aspect of *kokusaika*, in that it places the welfare of students' future employers (and, by extension, the Japanese economy) at the center of English language learning. In this activity, students are asked to imagine themselves as employees at a company that wants to conduct a "major international project" with "foreign clients." Students have to use their smartphones to find three local entertainment sites to take these foreign clients to in order to make them more amenable to engaging in the project. That is, the students aren't asked to engage in English with non-Japanese people to generate

multicultural awareness or further any personal goals or interests; rather, the entire purpose is the advancement of their employers' business interests. This commodification (that is, the transformation of something into a commodity) of both students' language ability and local cultural sites along with the complete neglect of the students' own needs or desires are treated as entirely natural and reasonable. There is no space within the lesson for students to question this goal or the means taken to achieve it. This is equivalent to the way that *kokusaika* is usually represented—not as a policy to be debated, but an inevitable, natural description of the world.

The second activity not only identifies a fundamentally different purpose for learning/using English, but also, in an optional extension, has students critically question that purpose. Students watch English videos made by a Japanese YouTube creator. Students then work in groups to design, produce, and upload a video to YouTube. In the extension, written specifically for more advanced students in an elective Media English course (as opposed to the majority of articles in the corpus which are geared towards students in compulsory courses), students also discuss "copyright law for images and video, creative commons licenses, online privacy, benefits and drawbacks of digital communities, and global English as it relates to online content creation." Thus, students are not only learning and using English to engage in intercultural communication, but also engaging in critical discussion about what it means to live in an internationalizing world and to have English be at the heart of that world.

The fact that the additional discussion in the "YouTube" activity is an extension for higher level students might point to the reason why the first activity in this pair doesn't include critical analysis of the business situation—perhaps the first author has decided that focused, business-oriented English is more appropriate for his students' level than a critical discussion would be. Similarly, in the first pair of activities, perhaps the "endangered animal" teacher perceives his students to be at a lower level then the "ecological footprint" author perceives hers to be, thus leading to the strictly regulated activity in the former and the open-ended discussion in the latter. However, even if we take this to be the case, we should still be concerned about activities which raise potentially complex or ideologically charged topics and then treat them on only a surface level. Otherwise, as in the "international project" activity, we are complicit in the neoliberal agenda. As Steger (2005) notes, one of the six core claims of the ideology of globalization is that "globalization is inevitable and irreversible" (p. 18). Such inevitability doesn't occur by chance, but is, rather, a product of discourse, including both the discourse of the classroom and that of professional academia, treating it as always already occurring.

One final point of comparison between these two activities: as with the "endangered animals"/"ecological footprint" pair, there is a significant difference in how these authors promote their activities. In the "international project" activity, the author begins slightly "outside" of the classroom, saying, "Students use smartphones to conduct daily research in their native language." In the conclusion, the author also notes that smartphones are becoming increasingly important in students lives. Other than that, however, everything revolves around the value of using smartphones in English classes,

such as for increasing self-motivation and decreasing the tendency to translate. The "YouTube" article, on the other hand, spends almost a full paragraph discussing the increased opportunities for international communication afforded by social networking sites like YouTube. Overall, about 8% of the "international project" text is classroom-external, while about 15% of the "YouTube" text is classroom-external. While this difference may be due to chance, we saw an even more extreme version of this difference in the first pair in that the "endangered animals" activity had no sense of context at all, while the "ecological footprint" was connected both to recent events and to international issues. It may be that teachers more concerned with the wider world and the students' roles in it may also be the ones more likely to encourage students to engage in critical analysis (or vice versa), though this would require further analysis that is outside of the scope of the present investigation.

Internationalization within Japan

The last activity that uses the word "international" does so in the phrase "international students in Japan." In this activity, the teacher invites non-Japanese students to class to talk with Japanese students in English. Interestingly, there is a second lesson in the corpus with a similar activity, but which does not use the term "international." Rather, the other article refers to international students as "U.S. students doing a short-term study abroad." Finding this pair of activities which used significantly different terms with different implications prompted a more detailed analysis comparing the two lessons (which I label the "international students" activity and the "U.S. students" activity).

First, it is important to clarify that this difference is not an inconsequential, arbitrary lexical choice—the "U.S. students" authors consider the U.S. (native-speaker) identity to be so important that they say that if no U.S. students are physically available[4] the teacher should use "Skype or some other online conversation system" to contact a U.S. university. This clear privileging of native-speaker input is not surprising, given how widely held such a prejudice is language learning, but it is nonetheless disappointing given the significant effort taken in the last several decades to recognize the equal or greater value of non-native teachers (Holliday, 2013). This elevation of so-called "native speakers" to a higher level worthy of special treatment is not only mismatched to the reality of international English use, it also harmfully situates non-native speakers such as Japanese students in a position of permanent deficiency.

In addition, the power dynamic between the Japanese and international students is quite different in the two activities. In the "U.S. students" activity, the U.S. students interview the Japanese students, asking them questions about Japan, Japanese culture, and Japanese perceptions of the U.S. Since the interviewer in a interview dyad is inherently privileged over the interviewee (as the interviewer is the one who determines the general course of the conversation such as when a topic is exhausted and when new topics can be begun), this places the Japanese students in a subordinate position to the U.S. students.[5] On the other hand, in the "international students" activity, the teacher provides a set of

discussion questions that all participants discuss together. While this preserves the standard teacher-student power hierarchy, at least it doesn't also reinforce the very harmful binary of "native speakers as leaders, non-native speakers as followers" so prevalent in much of the discourse surrounding language teaching and learning.

Finding this difference triggered a small side investigation to determine whether or not there was a regular preference for native speakers or native-like English across the corpus. Happily, a corpus search revealed that there is not. The term "native" (and variations) occurs only 15 times. Five of them come from the "U.S. students" activity discussed here. Another six referred to the students' native language (i.e., Japanese). Only two of them use "native" in a privileging way: one idealizes the idea of "native [reading] speed," and another calls high level returnee students "near-natives." Finding such a small number of instances where native speakers were privileged was surprising and hopeful, and may reflect a choice on the part of the authors and/or editors to explicitly move away from what Holliday (2013) calls the "sustained, tacitly held cultural chauvinism" that places native teachers (and thus native speakers) above non-native teachers.

Nationality and Language

Seeing the author of the "U.S. students" activity orient not towards a general international focus but rather to a specific nationalist one led back to a whole-corpus question: What locations and nationalities appear most frequently in the corpus? Using the part of speech tagger in KH Coder to identify all proper nouns, a list of all nouns that identified a specific place, nationality, or language was compiled. Since the names of many languages are the same as the demonyms (e.g. *Japanese* people and the *Japanese* language), the words were hand-checked to determine which category they fell into. There were 176 references to locations or nationalities in the corpus; of those, 101 (61%) referred to Japan/Japanese (nationality)/places in Japan, and 65 (39%) referred to non-Japanese places or nationalities. This heavy emphasis most likely indicates that the author-editors believe that their primary audience are other teachers in Japan, even though JALT has members living outside of Japan and *The Language Teacher* is available internationally via an online archive. This interpretation arises in part because one of the most frequent ways that Japan shows up in the corpus are in phrases like "Japanese university students are…." Such claims are primarily of value to other teachers in Japan, and wouldn't be expected to appear as frequently if the target audience were more international in nature.

While confirming the target audience is important, when considering the issue of internationalization in the corpus, it is more interesting to look at which non-Japanese locations and nationalities were included. If the corpus were aligned with a truly international ideology, we would expect to see a wide variety of locations and nationalities, though possibly with an emphasis on the local East Asian context. However, as Figure 1 indicates, this was not the case—rather, a highly disproportionate number of the references are to the U.S./Americans. Furthermore some of the non-U.S. examples are themselves directly linked with the United States. For example, all four instances of "Vietnam" are

from a single article, and refer to the movie *Good Morning, Vietnam*, a U.S. movie about the U.S. experience in the Vietnam War. The overrepresentation of the United States in this corpus matches up with the earlier discussed preference among both students and the Japanese educational system for U.S. English (Chiba, et al., 1995; Kubota, 1998; Matsuda, 2002, 2003).

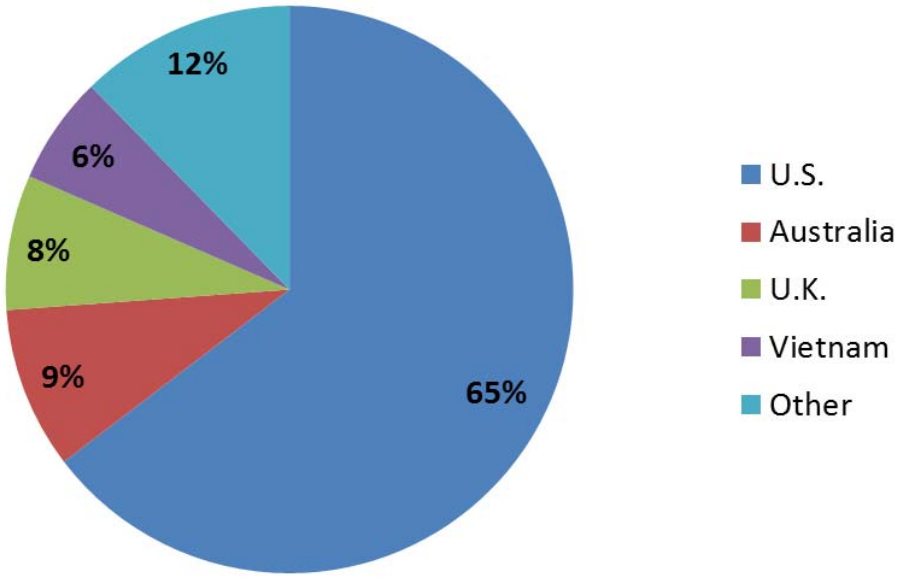

Figure 1. Non-Japanese Locations and Nationalities in the My Share Corpus

The same focus on the U.S. can also be seen looking at what I broadly termed "cultural items"—that is, movies, books, holidays, websites, etc. While categorizing these was more subjective than counting nationalities and locations (for example, while YouTube is a U.S. based company, I classified it as "international" due to its worldwide use), roughly 37% of these items were from Japan, 37% were from the U.S., 17% were trans- or inter- national, and only 9% were from specific non-U.S., non-Japanese locations.

The other major type of proper noun in the corpus connected with the issue of internationalization is language. The proportion of languages mentioned in the corpus is shown in Figure 2. To most members of JALT, the fact that nearly 80% of the language references are to English and over 97% of them are to either Japanese or English would probably be so unremarkable that it wouldn't even be noticed, since JALT publications and meetings are so strongly English-biased as well.[6] Technically, however, JALT is the Japanese Association for *Language* Teaching, not English teaching. In other words, JALT and the My Share corpus reflect and help recreate the equivalence between "foreign language education" and "English education" discussed earlier that Hashimoto (2011), Kubota (2002), and Matsuda (2002) found in government language education policies. Even the other languages in the corpus appear strictly in service of the goal of learning

English—Japanese is usually brought up to explain either how to make use of Japanese in English language classes or to point out differences between Japanese and English that may challenge Japanese learners of English; Greek and Latin appear in a single article that talks about learning English word roots; and French appears in a lesson where students use English to teach a little bit about an elective language, if they take one.

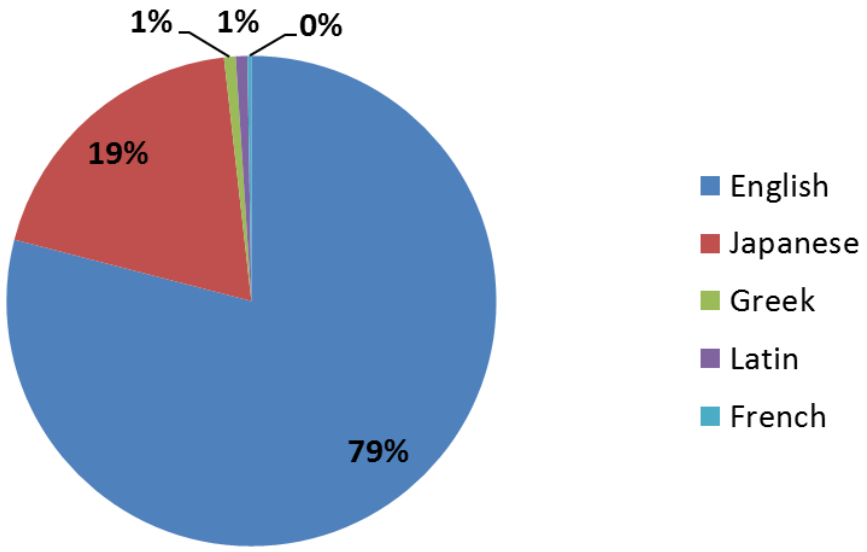

Figure 2. Languages in the My Share Corpus

Conclusion and Discussion

The goal of critical discourse analysis is to examine how discourse is implicated in systems of power and ideology. In the present case, the question was to what degree a corpus of lesson plans published in Japan and designed mainly for Japanese language teachers reflected, contributed to, and/or resisted the Japanese government ideology of *kokusaika*. On a macro-level, the corpus seems to conform to *kokusaika*, especially with respect to the way non-English, non-Japanese languages are nearly erased. Furthermore, the English-world is strongly associated with the U.S. Even though no individual author may have intended such a message, the consequence of the overall corpus is to reaffirm the *nihonjiron* philosophy that divides the world into two places: Japan, and the Outside. The ability to locate dispersed but present ideological implications of a large body of text is one of the advantages of adding corpus analysis to more traditional linguistic techniques commonly employed in critical discourse analysis.

There is, however, little direct mention of the *kokusaika* agenda in the corpus. In some of the cases where internationalization is explicitly discussed, a *kokusaika* agenda is reaffirmed. In the "endangered species" activity, students are introduced to an international problem, but the problem is located fully external to their own lives, in the same way that *kokusaika* calls for students to have the language tools to engage with the world without

actually becoming a part of it. The "international project" activity naturalizes neoliberalism and the commodification of students and local cultural activities. It is worth noting that there are several other articles in the corpus which don't use the terms "international" that also centralize the role of capitalism and business, such as an activity that involves "buying" and "selling" words to make sentences, and games that use "money" as the scoring mechanism. As in the "international project" activity, capitalism and business-first ideologies aren't so much promoted as they are assumed to be the natural background against which student lives must be conducted.

There are also cases of resistance to *kokusaika*. The "YouTube" activity asks students to question what it means for English to be the international language, and positions students as being able to engage in international communication for their own personal benefit. The "ecological footprint" project argues that Japanese students are not just observers of global phenomenon, but are themselves taking actions that have global consequences. Lastly, the "international students" activity, when placed against the "U.S. students" activity, shows how small linguistic choices by authors and editors can lead to fundamentally different subject positions for the students and can imply fundamentally different ideologies.

As discussed above, it may be that some of the differences between some of the activities/articles that were examined in detail may be the consequence of deliberate, pedagogically motivated choices made by the authors related to what they believe their students needed to learn and what level of English is most appropriate for said students. For teachers like myself who are concerned with presenting lessons that may have ideologically harmful implications, this may mean that it is better to only tackle potentially troublesome topics when students are already at an appropriate linguistic level, rather than treating the issues in too shallow a manner, which, as shown in some of these activities, leads to implicit support for, and naturalization of, the status quo. Another issue worth considering (and which will be explored more fully in future research) is what steps the volunteer editorial staff of *The Language Teacher* should take to ensure that the activities they publish avoid particularly problematic ideological representations in the text.

This paper explores only one aspect of ideology in this My Share corpus. Future research will explore other ideological issues and student/teacher identity, especially by developing a more comprehensive schema of the justifications that the authors use to argue that their activities will be helpful in the classroom. The entire field of lesson activities is under-researched (perhaps even un-researched), and yet is worth further investigation, since these types of activities are found not only in publications like *The Language Teacher* but also on numerous websites offering activities, worksheets, and other materials that teachers can use to supplement or replace formal curricula. If these materials are widely being used by teachers (and anecdotally, I would suggest that they form an important part of both the teaching process and the disciplinary process of helping non-teachers take on the identity of teacher) the ideologies that they promote and resist may have important consequences for how English is taught and thus, ultimately, how students view the world through the lens of English language learning.

Notes

1. The "Quick Guide" is a section found in all My Share articles that states, in a bulleted list, brief facts about the articles; specifically: keywords, learner English level, learner maturity, preparation time, activity time, and materials.

2. Several authors published 2-3 different articles during this time period, and several articles were co-authored by two people.

3. For this project, I used two tools: KH Coder, developed by Koichi Higuchi (available at http://khc.sourceforge.net/en/), and AntConc, designed by Laurence Anthony (available at http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/).

4. A very likely possibility, given that less than 1.2% of all foreign students in Japan come from the United States (Japan Student Services Organization, 2016).

5. To attempt to be fair to the author, I want to add a note of hesitation to my analysis here. The reason I say that the interview is unidirectional is because all but one of the example questions given are from U.S. speakers to Japanese speakers. Furthermore, the benefits to the two groups of students are listed quite differently: the U.S. students are said to gain better awareness of the local culture, while the Japanese students gain experience in being able to communicate with (not normally available) native speakers. However, one question from the pre-interview questionnaire is ambiguous, since it asks, "Have you ever interviewed a native English/English-as-a-Second-Language speaker before?" So, it is possible that the authors intended both sides to take turns being the interviewer. If that was their intention, it was very hidden, since that one question is the only indication of a possibly bidirectional interview, and many of the other questions only make sense coming from the U.S. side. Even if that were the case, , the weight of providing a large sample of U.S. to Japanese questions and none for the other direction, along with the imbalance in benefits, still strongly privileges the U.S. students over the Japanese.

6. For example, while *The Language Teacher* invites publications in either English or Japanese, only 5 out of 126 major articles in the 2011 to 2016 period were written in Japanese.

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