

# The Economic Turn in Japan's English-Language Teaching

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## Abstract

In Japan, the economic field has established a system of government in English-language teaching (ELT) by making a chain of hierarchical links, which locate economic elites at the top and language policies influenced by neoliberalism at the bottom. Through this system, the economic field seems to try to re-organize Japan's ELT. What is considered as valuable in this system is the practical, such as communication abilities and high scores on standardized tests. Thus, it is probable that learners focus on the mastery of the practical at the expense of an intrinsic motivation for learning English, but this disregards the roles of ELT as a part of schooling. In this article, therefore, we will examine the economic turn in Japan's ELT, and consider implications for ELT in Japan in the 21st century.

## The Economic Turn in Japan's English-Language Teaching

According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism, which is a theory of political economic practices that insists that human beings are best off by actively introducing market principles into social life, has exercised considerable influence on society to the extent that many social phenomena tend to be interpreted through the economic-ideology lens. Bourdieu (1998) attributes the source of the strength of neoliberal ideologies to their forming a kind of 'great chain of Being', which is a theological metaphor referring to a hierarchical structure where at one end there are the lowest forms of life, and at the other end there is God as the highest perfection. In the neoliberal universe, according to Bourdieu, mathematicians assume the place of God, and popular magazine-turned-economics-specialists find a place at the lowest level. In other words, there are hidden connections between the organizations which apparently work in isolation. What is important is that this chain has produced an effect little short of tragedy. Bourdieu (1998) thus argues that it is sociologists' duty to deconstruct the chain of neo-liberalism and show that the dissemination of the ideology is backed up by the dissemination of power.

What has occurred in Japan's English-language teaching (ELT) since around the turn of the century is similar to the chain of neoliberal ideologies. Many researchers have pointed out that the influence of the economic ideologies appears noticeably in the field of English education, assuming the forms of the abuse of standardized tests at university, uncritical introduction of English into the elementary-school curriculum, and myopic adherence to communication abilities in English (e.g. Erikawa, 2009; Wada, 2004). However, only a few researchers have revealed the way in which the economic field exercises power over the educational field. We see these issues, which might ostensibly look isolated, as a part of what Fairclough (2002) calls "a colonization of other fields by the economic field" (p. 163), through which economic principles hold sway over many facets of social life. Just as neoliberalism makes a sort of 'great chain of Being', so this colonization consists of a chain of hierarchical links, where at the top are the ruling class in the economic field, and at the bottom are educational policies influenced by economic ideologies. Intrinsic motivation for learning English for its own sake was excluded from this chain. This trespasses against the foundational principles of English education as a part of schooling. There is thus an urgent need to deconstruct the mechanism through which the economic field asserted influence over the educational field in the first decade of the 21st century, in order to consider implications for alternative policies in the next decade.

To this end, we will first review neoliberalism, and its historical development in Japan. We will then discuss the relationship between the educational and economic fields, and reveal the mechanism through which the economic field exerts power over ELT. Finally, we will try to restructure knowledge on the politics of language for Japan's ELT in the 21st century.

## **A Review of Neoliberalism**

Beck (1992) offers an original view of the politics of economy. According to Beck, an outline of society is not made solely by the decision of government, but determined by technological and economical development. Beck calls this 'sub-politics', because the fields of technology and economy, as a kind of 'third polity' which belongs to neither political nor non-political categories, take over the mainstay of society. What is striking in sub-politics is that this third polity brings about wide-ranging social change in ways which

are often difficult to recognize.

A form of sub-politics can be seen in the process of globalization, which has recently been a buzzword as a source of the re-organization of society. Globalization was partially caused by technological development (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999), and new technologies revitalized economy on a global scale. What underpinned and was underpinned by such economic development was neoliberalism. Noting the high correlation between the global-scale economic activities and neoliberalism, Giddens (1998) says that “neoliberalism is a globalizing theory, and has contributed very directly to globalizing forces” (p. 14). Neoliberalism is an economic ideology which justifies and promotes that marketplace principles extend to every corner of social life, and neoliberals maintain that everyone can make a profit equally through market mechanisms (Held & McGrew, 2002). Just as sub-politics has far-reaching influence, so neoliberalism spread over social life to the extent that neoliberals say “‘there is no alternative’ - neo-liberalism is something with which we have to live” (Fairclough, 2000, viii).

Yet neoliberalism did not acquire such a unique position overnight. According to Harvey (2005), behind the global spread of neoliberalism, there was a struggle in which the ruling classes had to defend their interest. Under the Keynesian welfare system after the Second World War, many countries shared the idea that wealth must be equally redistributed with the ruling classes' economic power restrained. The ruling classes could make an adequate profit under the Keynesian welfare system, because the economy enjoyed continuous growth for 30 years after the Second World War. As economic growth had lost its shine in the 1970s, and had only promised a low dividend, however, the upper classes were exposed to a threat to the source of their power, and began to feel the need for collective action to avoid their economic and political degeneration.

Since it was demonstrated by a neoliberal experiment in Chile in the 1970s, which was initiated by US intervention, that neoliberalism brought a huge profit to the wealthy classes, the ruling classes devoted themselves to disseminating neoliberalism in their countries' politics (Harvey, 2005). Thatcherism and Reaganomics in the 1980s were the typical examples of neoliberal policies by government initiative (Bauman, 2000; Harvey, 2005). As a consequence, the uneven distribution of wealth and power has characterized many advanced capital societies since then. As Harvey (2005) says, therefore, “We can...interpret neoliberalization as a political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites” (p. 19).

The impact of neoliberalism as a political project derives mainly from its discursive effect. According to Bourdieu (1991), what politics tries to produce is particular forms of representation of society. If a political action succeeds in molding different forms of representation of the world between social agents to a politically-guided particular representation, this leads to building society in favor of particular groups. Neoliberalism is a type of representation of society, through which the ruling classes tried to break away from Keynesianism and to draw a picture of the world in their favour by acting on the working classes' representation of the world. As a result, neoliberalism may cause “cognitive locking” (Harvey, 2005, p. 114) between social agents, which makes it difficult for them to consider alternatives to the neoliberal outlook on society.

### **Neoliberalism in Japan**

In contrast to the UK and US, which had enforced neoliberal policies in the 1980s, Japan was lagging behind other capitalist societies in its response to neoliberalism, because in the 1980s, Japan rejoiced in an unprecedented economic development in its history. As shown in the fact that Vogel (1979) published *Japan as Number One* at the end of the 1970s, Japan's economic power had become too strong to be ignored by the 1970s. This economic development did not show signs of decline throughout the 1980s, and reached its peak in the Plaza Accord in 1985. The fear that by this accord the strengthened yen would cause a recession in Japan gave an incentive for the continuous enforcement of low-interest policies which resulted in the Japanese asset price bubble in the late 1980s.

As dark signs began to be recognized in Japan's economic prosperity early 1990s, however, the country was driven by necessity to draw up effective policies for economic recovery. Political ambition had to do with the choice of the way for economic reform. It was insisted loudly in the field of politics throughout the 1970s and 1980s that Japan should make international contributions in accordance with its economic position in the world (Watanabe, 2001). Moreover, the experiment in postwar rehabilitation led to Japan giving priority to cementing its alliance with the US. Keeping step with the economic policies that the US had employed met this purpose. Given the economic need and political ambition, Japan set about neoliberalism in the 1990s. Rice liberalization and the easing of restraints in the distribution business are listed as the results of neoliberal

policies of those days (Watanabe, 2001).

What is striking in neoliberalism is the sphere of its influence. Just as sub-politics mainly composed of the economic field boasts its widespread influence, so the influence of neoliberalism is not limited to the fields of politics and economy. Like other countries, Japan has observed neoliberal ideologies in the educational field.

## Neoliberalism in Education

An early sign of neoliberalism in the educational field was seen in *The Frontier Within: Individual Empowerment and Better Governance in the New Millennium* (Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century [PMC], 2000). Many researchers have already examined this document closely, but their analyses focused only on language, overlooking both how the views on language in this policy had been formed and the impact this policy might have on other policies.

PMC (2000) was a policy developed to hammer out the course of action Japan should take for the coming century. Education was seen as essential for further development, and this policy proposed a reform plan for education.

The state has two broadly defined roles to play in education.... the two are compulsory education and education as a service. Present-day Japanese education, however, has conflated the two.... compulsory education should be rigorously implemented as the minimum required of citizens, while education as a service should be left to market mechanisms, with the state offering only indirect support (PMC, 2000, p. 9).

As mentioned earlier, neoliberalism is the ideology that sees market principles as the absolute standard for many of social activities (Harvey, 2005). The statement above, which represents education as "a service", and claims to entrust education to market mechanisms, illustrates that education could not be freed from economic influence at the end of the twentieth century.

What kind of curriculum did education as a service suppose? PMC (2000) gives the following blueprint:

the primary and lower secondary curricula could be compressed, with three days a week devoted to carefully selected compulsory education; the other two days would be given over to review of compulsory subjects for children who were having trouble keeping up, while children who were achieving well would be allowed to choose freely among scholarship, arts, sports, and other forms of personal cultivation, and specialized vocational education. Using state-issued vouchers, these children could study either at schools or at privately run institutions outside the official school system (p. 9).

From this statement, it appears that PMC (2000) tried to approve of a neoliberal 'haves' and 'have-nots' situation (Cohen & Kennedy, 2000) and to encourage such a disparity through education. The idea that children with high academic performance rather than children with poor scholastic achievement receive the support by the state unmistakably reflects the neoliberal ideology.

The influence of neoliberalism is seen in PMC's views on language as well, which are stated in relation to globalization as follows:

Globalization has progressed beyond the stage of being a 'process.' The markets and media of the world have become increasingly integrated.... Globalization will accelerate the process of diversification, both domestically and internationally.... Globalization has raised a variety of issues for Japan... (p. 3).

From the following, furthermore, it is clear that PMC (2000) sees a particular language as most valuable in the era of globalization:

The advance of globalization and the information-technology revolution call for a world-class level of excellence. Achieving world-class excellence demands that...all Japanese acquire a working knowledge of English—not as simply a foreign language but as the international lingua franca.... This is not simply a matter of foreign-language education. It should be regarded as a strategic imperative (p. 10).

The first excerpt overemphasizes globalization, and the second refers to a relationship between globalization and English. Moreover, it is easily recognizable that PMC (2000)

discusses globalization mainly in terms of the markets, and regards English as a means to deal with global markets. Yet it needs analysis to unpack the ways in which this policy's style embodies neoliberal ideologies.

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001), elites in the fields of politics, economics, and culture have all started to use newly coined words these days. The extravagant use of 'globalization' is such an example. While elites represent globalization as what insures further economic development or a new stage of capitalism, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001), "globalization' is...a 'rhetoric' invoked by governments in order to justify their voluntary surrender to the financial markets and their conversion to a fiduciary conception of the firm" (p. 4).

The excerpts above acquire characteristics of what Fairclough (2006) calls "globalist discourse" (p. 9). This discourse represents globalization as purely economic by reducing multi-facets of globalization to the economic. At the same time, 'globalist' discourse tries to build up an ideal image that capitalism should pursue. As a result, "globalization is governed by 'rules'..., which are simply precepts and prescriptions of economic neoliberalism" (Fairclough, 2006, p. 10). According to PMC (2000), one of these rules is "all Japanese acquire a working knowledge of English".

Rules work as rules when they achieve unity between people. In order to represent a mastery of English as a rule for all Japanese, PMC (2000) employs a linguistic device, which is seen in the second excerpt. This policy represents English "not as a foreign language but as the international lingua franca", and maintains that for all Japanese to master English is "not simply a matter of foreign-language education" but "should be regarded as a strategic imperative". This is called synecdoche, which "replaces the name of a referent by the name of another referent which belongs to the same field of meaning and which is either semantically wider or semantically narrower" (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, p. 44). This textual property serves to construct unity between the receivers of the message by mediating differences. By promoting English from 'a foreign language' to 'the international lingua franca' and from 'a matter of foreign-language education' to 'a strategic imperative', namely, by subliming from the optional to the compulsory, PMC (2000) represents English as a rule all Japanese should follow to survive in the era of globalization.

## **A Review of Japan's Language Policies during the First Decade of the 21st Century**

These neoliberal ideologies in ELT were handed down to the 21st century. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) announced an *Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* in 2002. This was seen as the first strategic plan in the history of Japan's ELT, notwithstanding its faults (Yamada, 2003). To make this plan's objectives clear, the then Minister of MEXT made comments in 2003 in the form of *Regarding the Establishment of an Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* (MEXT, 2003), which showed enormous similarities with PMC (2000).

Recently, globalization in various fields of the economy and society has advanced rapidly. Transfers of information and capital across national borders as well as the movement of people and products have increased.... international economic competition has intensified entering a so-called period of "mega-competition".... In such a situation, English has played a central role as the common international language in linking people who have different mother tongues. For children living in the 21st century, it is essential for them to acquire communication abilities in English as a common international language (MEXT, 2003).

As seen above, MEXT (2003) overemphasizes globalization, and represents it reductively as economic. In addition, this policy represents English as a means to cope with global markets, and calls it "the common international language". This shows that MEXT (2003) took over neoliberal ideologies from PMC (2000).

What needs to be pointed out regarding MEXT (2002) is that this policy shares a number of ideas with a plan proposed by the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (JFEO). JFEO was a comprehensive economic organization composed of companies listed on the First Section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange, and had considerable influence on state affairs through ample financial resources (Erikawa, 2009). JFEO felt a necessity for developing human resources to cope with globalization, and saw education as the ground for it. This organization then proposed a plan in 2000, in which it claimed to introduce competitive principles to education (JFEO, 2000). Like PMC (2000), this plan



saw English as essential for globalization, and discussed the reform of Japan's ELT. What is striking regarding JFEO (2000) is that, as Erikawa (2009) says, there are startling similarities between this plan and MEXT (2002). The economic and the educational fields reached agreement on the matters of ELT in that both fields would encourage developing communication abilities in English, introducing English into the elementary-school curriculum, using standardized tests widely to assess English abilities, and employing English proficiency as a requirement for hiring and promotion. Erikawa (2009) thus concludes that a plan proposed by the economic field at the end of the 20th century gave the basic tenets of ELT to language policies in the 21st century.

Policies in the second half of the first decade of the 21st century illustrate Erikawa's (2009) idea. For example, the Meeting on Educational Rebuilding (2008a, 2008b, 2008c) gave the following concerning ELT.

In order to cope with globalization, teaching English as an international language has been advanced rapidly in Asian countries...and European countries.... Japan also needs to immediately grapple with the reform of English education such as the implementation of English education at elementary school (Meeting on Educational Rebuilding, 2008a, p. 2 [translated by the authors from the Japanese original]).

As shown above, the meeting discusses ELT in terms of globalization. The meeting then refers to the use of standardized tests between primary and tertiary levels.

in order to be truly internationalized, ...the English-language education in Japan should be strengthened by clearly setting a target for achievement in each of the steps between elementary school and university with the use of TOEIC [Test of English for International Communication], TOEFL [Test of English as a Foreign Language], the EIKEN Test in Practical English Proficiency [an English-language test administered by a Japanese non-profit organization], etc (Meeting on Educational Rebuilding, 2008b, p. 15).

Furthermore, the meeting argues the need for communication abilities in English.

Closely watching how English education is actually carried out in the future, review

should be made on the contents and methods of English education...from the viewpoint of having students acquire a certain fluency in daily English conversation by the time they graduate from upper secondary schools (Meeting on Educational Rebuilding, 2008c, p. 16).

As these excerpts show, the meeting makes a reference to globalization, the implementation of English education at elementary school, the wide use of standardized tests, and the development of communication abilities in English. This demonstrates that the Meeting on Educational Rebuilding (2008a, 2008b, 2008c) took the same line as MEXT (2002).

In 2009, furthermore, MEXT announced a comprehensive plan for the reform of ELT for the purpose of effective implementation of ELT at elementary school. The gist of this plan is summarized as follows.

In the midst of globalization in the fields of economy and society, in order for children to survive in the 21st century, they need to acquire communication abilities in English as the international lingua franca. This is a critical issue for the future of children as well as for the further development of our country (MEXT, 2009, [translated by the authors from the Japanese original]).

An educational plan announced around the end of the first decade of the 21st century shows a close correlation with a plan proposed by the economic field around ten years ago. Different as these policies might look at first sight in terms of ostensible foci, they are the same in that economic ideologies have underpinned them for a decade.

## **The Relationship between the Economic Field and ELT**

Why did the economic field have such an influence on ELT? Erikawa (2009) argues that this resulted from the economic field's attempts to nurture promising human resources for companies. JFEO (2004) maintained that equal educational opportunities brought about the homogenization of educational content that disregarded an individual student's ability, and proposed the creation of a competitive learning environment. JFEO then directed its criticism at ELT. For the member companies of JFEO, many of

whose stocks were held by foreign capital, it was urgent to cultivate individuals with communication abilities in English (Erikawa, 2009). From the viewpoint of the economic field, however, ELT had not contributed to meeting such a need. Through plenty of contacts in politics and a powerful source of funds, therefore, JFEO sent its directors to government-related educational councils for the purpose of fulfilling its request (Erikawa, 2009). As a consequence, the policies announced by MEXT during the first decade of the 21st century bore many resemblances to the proposals advanced by JFEO.

Given this background, it is understandable that globalization was represented reductively as economic, and that the policies announced during the last decade adhered to the development of communication abilities in English. Moreover, the uncritical use of standardized tests in the educational field may have to do with the historical fact that TOEIC was developed by the Educational Testing Service to meet the request by the economic field and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry in Japan, which felt the need for a new type of test to assess English abilities necessary for business settings (McCrostie, 2009). Erikawa (2009) gives it as further evidence to back up the close relationship between the economic field and ELT that in a forum to discuss an *Action Plan to Cultivate "Japanese with English Abilities"* (MEXT, 2002), a subcommittee meeting was held to consider what kinds of English abilities companies request. As Erikawa suggests, MEXT may play a role as a subcontractor of the economic field.

### **Locating the Economic Turn in Japan's ELT in a Broader Social Context**

While the discussion above seems to have demonstrated the economic turn in Japan's ELT, this phenomenon can best be understood by locating it in a broader social context, because this leads not only to understanding the whole picture of Japan's ELT, but also to giving an insight into the whole of the educational field. Just as state policies address globalization, so it is a nature of the state that has to do with the matters of ELT in the era of globalization. Bourdieu defines the state as follows.

the ensemble of fields that are the site of struggles in which what is at stake is...the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence, i.e., the power to constitute and to impose as universal and universally applicable...within the boundaries of given territory, a

common set of coercive norms (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 112).

According to Bourdieu, what exists in society is objective relations between positions which are independent of social actors' wills. There is a certain type of 'capital' in a 'field' whose value is shared tacitly by the agents in the field (e.g. financial resource in the economic field, academic background in the educational field, and inspiration in the artistic field). The positions that are occupied by different agents who have different amounts of capital set up a hierarchical network, which works as a kind of magnet to form a given field. Although a society is made up of different fields, each of which has its own autonomous system of rules, they interlock in part, and form 'a kind of "meta-field"' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 18). Bourdieu calls it 'the field of power' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 18), and defines it as a place of struggle in which the ruling classes try to change the exchange rate among different forms of capital to enhance the value of their own capital by diminishing the capital value of their rivals. The ruling class which won the struggle in a given field can monopolize symbolic capital, through which it strengthens the value of its capital further, and by extension, its control over other fields. In other words, a state is driven by the ruling class in the most dominant field through its symbolic capital.

Which field is the most dominant field? While Bourdieu says that the economic field does not necessarily have the final say on everything, at the same time he admits that it exerts leverage over many areas of advanced capital society (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Among other things, according to Bourdieu (1998), the financial market that champions neoliberalism exercises its influence all over the world to the point where it makes nation-states yield their sovereignty. Accordingly, it is probable that a state and its constituent fields are run by the economic field. As a result, as seen in Japan's ELT, the educational field has been unable to maintain its autonomy against the economic field in recent years.

### **What Is at Stake by the Economic Turn?**

Polanyi (1957) argues that the market economy, which developed through the 19th century and came to an end early in the 20th century, was a unique system in that unlike old economic systems, it was independent of society, and was seen to have a self-regulating ability. He called the market economy 'satanic mill' (Polanyi, 1957, p. 33), by which

traditional values, ties between individuals, and ways to integrate human beings and nature were all ground into pieces. While the recent economic trend assumed the revival of the market economy, what was ground by the new 'satanic mill'?

When we focus on the matters of language, what is at stake seems to be intrinsic motivation for learning the target language. According to Bourdieu (1979), once the economic fabric of a country develops, it turns into an autonomously working system, which requires individuals to acquire a predisposition to economic efficiency. Bourdieu calls this predisposition 'habitus', which is internalized in social agents as a system to produce certain types of schemata which guide the agents' behaviors for their interest in the field in which they live (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). If learners acquire a neoliberal habitus, it may lead them to behaviors which go against the principles of language learning.

As noted above, neoliberal ideologies held sway over every field in Japan's society during the first decade of the 21st century. In this neoliberal climate, English was seen as a means to cope with globalization represented reductively as economic, and English proficiency was measured largely, if not totally, in terms of availability for business. The learning of language becomes most successful when learners are intrinsically motivated to learn the target language (Brown, 2001). Given the contexts above, however, it is not surprising that learners are engaged with the learning of English through instrumental motivation only for the side benefits the learning of English may bring, because "People are 'pre-occupied' by certain future outcomes inscribed in the present they encounter only to the extent that their habitus sensitizes and mobilizes them to perceive and pursue them" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 26).

## **Educational Implications**

This article has focused on a structural aspect of education, but this does not mean that individuals' agency is helpless against the structure. By changing the exchange rate among different forms of capital, it is possible for individuals to enhance the value of their own capital and to change their field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Individuals can further work on social structure by expanding their social network (Giddens, 1984). However, as Bourdieu says, since socialization, through which social agents acquire a sense of values in a given society by being exposed to its social structure, is inevitable for many individuals, social structure has a deterministic character towards individuals (Kato, 2002).

In order to deconstruct the structure of education, it is by no means useless to keep in mind that education could be a symbolic violence by imposing cultural arbitrariness through power (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). What this drastic idea tries to say is that education has a potential for reproducing ruling classes' ideologies by working upon learners' perceptual and evaluative schemata. When education succeeds in building a bridge between social structure and learners' schemata, particular ideologies are reproduced over the generations. The ruling economic class is able to have access to education owing to its capital strength and political power, and therefore, it tries to bring harmony to the relationship between economic environment and learners' psychology through education.

Japan's ELT might experience this symbolic violence in the 21st century. English proficiency is assessed in terms of availability for business, and this may have an effect on the way of learning English. According to Bauman (2001), a new way of learning has recently raised its value in terms of adaptability to post-modern worlds. Following Bateson (1972), Bauman explains that there are two types of learning. One is proto-learning, or first degree learning, which refers to the contents of what learners try to learn. The other is deuterio-learning, which has to do with the style of learning. In other words, deuterio-learning means 'learning how to learn' (Bauman, 2001, p. 124), and without this second degree learning, proto-learning only leads to rote memorization lacking the capacity to adapt to changing contexts and to look ahead into a way towards the achievement of a goal. These two types of learning are considered to be a consequence of human evolution (Bateson, 1972). By contrast, what Bauman (2001) calls 'tertiary learning', which has been seen as valuable in recent years, may have 'pathogenic consequences' (Bauman, 2001, p. 124). In the midst of fluid social circumstance in post-modern worlds, the true value of this third degree learning lies at 'learning how to break the regularity, how to get free from habits and prevent habitualization, how to rearrange fragmentary experiences into heretofore unfamiliar patterns while treating all patterns as acceptable solely "until further notice"' (Bauman, 2001, p. 125). To put it differently, tertiary learning refers to re-organizing fragmented knowledge and experience flexibly for temporal profit, discarding consistency, regularity, and systematicity.

What we observed in Japan's ELT in the first decade of the 21st century may be the application of tertiary learning to the learning of English. Promoting the development of communication abilities in English and the use of standardized tests at school may guide

learners to temporal profit at the expense of the systematicity of learning. Like any type of learning, language learning must have a certain systematicity through which learners can acquire the required constituents in organic ways. If focusing on the acquisition of communication abilities and achievement of high scores on standardized tests promises no small profit in terms of learners' careers, however, it is not surprising that learners try to gain temporal profit by sacrificing the consistency, regularity, and systematicity of learning. Given that learners may sense certain future profit inscribed in the present (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), tertiary learning in ELT will lead to distorting the learning of English, and by extension, how education should be.

## Conclusion

Promoting communication abilities in English, introduction of English into the elementary-school curriculum, and the use of standardized tests could be effective for the learning of English. However, these work only after considering what constitutes communication abilities, what should be taught at primary education in light of the continuity between elementary and junior high schools, and what standardized tests try to assess. Without regard to these issues, no language policies will be useful for learning English. For the teaching and learning of English in the second decade of the 21st century, therefore, Japan's ELT should free itself from economic principles, and consider the ways in which learners can be intrinsically motivated to learn English.

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