Perspectives, Practice and Plurilingual Realities in Japanese Elementary Schools: Implications for Teacher Training

日本の小学校における複言語教育の理念、信念、実践
―教員養成への示唆―

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ABSTRACT

In the 21st century, early foreign language education has garnered much attention around the globe, both in highly multilingual societies, as well as more typically 'monolingual' contexts (西山・大木、2015). Japan is no exception, and, in the 2020 school year, foreign languages (外国語) as a fully evaluated subject became compulsory for the upper grades of elementary schools, while the previously established foreign language activities (外国語活動) were brought forward to the third and fourth grades. Although the implementation of the subject aims to foster high-level productive English language ability (文部科学省、2013), sufficient financial or structural resources have not been invested to achieve this.

While much of the impetus for the formalization of the foreign language subject was a perceived need for an English-speaking populace in response to globalization, there has been considerable resistance to early English(-only) education in the scholarly community (e.g., 鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017), and even amongst policy makers (寺沢、2019), particularly in light of a linguistically diversifying Japan. Alternative approaches to foreign language teaching, including plurilingual approaches, have been proposed, although related research remains largely theoretical, and there has been little investigation of plurilingual education in practice in the Japanese context. Exceptions include approaches such as Awakening to Languages (*L'éveil aux langues*: 大山、2016), inclusive of multiple language varieties, however the majority of these studies, too, have been researcher-initiated endeavours. More thorough examination of plurilingual education as implemented by practitioners themselves is necessary.

On the other hand, teacher training in Japan for foreign languages at the elementary-school level has typically been devoted to English(-only), likely due to a perceived deficit in Japanese teachers' English language ability (cf. Machida, 2016). Despite the possibilities that the elementary context affords for interdisciplinary learning, and for drawing connections with locally important languages (including immigrant languages), foreign language teacher

training, as well as the bulk of policy documents (including the nation-wide Course of Study) treat foreign language in isolation from the rest of the curriculum.

In this thesis, I endeavour to explore plurilingual education in the Japanese context from an emic (participant-relevant) viewpoint, examining grassroots (practitioner-initiated) plurilingual pedagogies in elementary schools, and their implications for training a new generation of teachers. To this end, I engaged in long-term qualitative ethnographic studies, in which I employed various analytical tools to examine the broad questions of what motivates teachers to pursue plurilingual education in a context dominated by traditional language teaching approaches, how they implement their pedagogies, and what learning takes place. While my main focus was on fully-fledged, licensed elementary school teachers, I also devote a chapter to assistant language teachers (ALTs), given the large role they play in foreign language education in Japan.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. In the Introduction, I establish the context for the studies by giving a brief outline of trends in Japanese foreign language education as well as shifts in the nation's linguistic demographics. In Chapter 2, I consider the theory behind plurilingual education, including the concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]), and raise my broad research questions. Chapter 3 follows by outlining my general research stance as well as specific methodologies that I apply across the subsequent studies.

In Chapter 4, I employ visual linguistic autobiographies to examine the personal and professional histories of two elementary school teachers (Kana-sensei and Yuki-sensei) who have come to engage in plurilingual practice. Through an in-depth examination of the teachers' experiences, this chapter discusses the value of plural approaches and the didactics of plurilingualism in/for teacher training, including topics such as the reintroduction of languages that are present in the landscapes of children, such as Chinese or Korean. For the teachers, the question is how schools can reflect on the place of other languages alongside Japanese, the language of schooling, and English, the primary foreign language in policy and in the classroom.

In Chapter 5, I turn my attention to ALTs, a diverse group of language teaching assistants who are described in policy and teacher training documents as monolingual native speakers of English. I employed a demographic survey and conducted classroom observation and interview research with plurilingual ALTs. While the demographic study found that the majority of ALTs have ability in languages other than English and Japanese, and the interviews showed that plurilingual ALTs wish to include a greater range of their repertoires in the classroom, many with sound pedagogical reasons, analyses indicated that representations of ALTs as monolingual native English speakers pose a barrier to this being realized. I argue that there is an urgent need for representations of ALTs to be updated in order to accurately reflect their plurilingual and multicultural realities, so that teachers may be better prepared to capitalize upon them in their classes.

In Chapter 6, I examine the everyday plurilingual practice conducted by Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei. As for an example of Yuki-sensei's practice, I take up an ongoing plurilingual project centred around school lunches, in which the children experience various international cuisine, after having engaged with related languages and cultures through plurilingual videos and museum-like exhibits of cultural artefacts. In Kana-sensei's case, long-term classroom observations were conducted of her plurilingual practice, and how it tied into her school's ongoing peace learning. Analyses of video recordings, photographs, researchers' field notes, learners' journals, and semi-structured reflective interviews demonstrated how both teachers (one a self-described Japanese monolingual) employed plurilingual education to promote transferable skills and nurture a deeper awareness of language and openness to diversity, foster reflexivity, and encourage multidisciplinary engagement through dialogue, hypothesizing, and storying.

In Chapter 7, I carry out a general discussion that considers the sociolinguistic realities of Japanese elementary schools and society as a whole, the plurilingual realities of ALTs recruited to help teach foreign languages, and grassroots plurilingual practice as implemented by elementary school practitioners. The discussion is tied together by the relevance of the studies to teacher training. I come to the general conclusion that macro-level language education policy (in particular, the Course of Study and attendant commentary) in Japan too

readily ignores the multilingual reality of the world, as well as the plurilingual realities of practitioners at the meso- and micro-level, and thereby the potential for multiple languages to contribute to the plurilingual repertoires of children as 'global citizens.' With respect to the participants in this thesis and their practice, I argue that there is a small but demonstrable shift starting, from 'plurilingualism for the elites, to plurilingualism for the masses' (Nishiyama, 2017), and that greater recognition of plurilingualism in teacher training, in macro-level policy, and in research, has the potential to prepare the Japanese populace for a more globalizing world, and for language learning in the world at large.

要旨

21 世紀に入り、早期外国語教育は世界中で注目を集めており、それは高度に多言語の社会だけでなく、典型的な単一言語主義の文脈でも同様である（西山・大木、2015）。日本も例外ではなく、2020 年度から小学校の高学年で「外国語」の教科が必修化され、以前からあった「外国語活動」は小学 3、4 年生に前倒しされた。この政策は、高度な英語の産出能力の獲得を目的とするものであるが（文部科学省、2013）、それに必要な十分な財源や構造的資源は投入されていない。

外国語科目が正式に導入されたきっかけの多くは、グローバル化に対応して英語を話す国民が必要であると認識されたためであるが、特に言語的に多様化し始めている日本では、学術界でも（鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017）、政策立案者の間でも（寺沢、2019）、早期の英語（のみ）教育に対してはかなり大きな抵抗が見られた。それに対する代替手段として複言語教育を含むいくつかのアプローチが提案されてきたが、その多くは理論的レベルに留まり、日本の文脈における実践については十分に吟味されていない。例外として、複数の言語を同時に扱う複言語アプローチである「言語への目覚め活動」（*L'éveil aux langues*： 大山、2016）があるが、この研究もまた、その多くが研究者主導の試みであった。このため、実践者自身によって行われた複言語教育の詳細な検討が必要である。

一方で、日本の外国語教育に関する教員養成ではほぼ英語のみが扱われてきたが、これは日本人教員の英語能力が不足していると考えられているためである（町田、2016 参照）。初等教育では、領域横断的な学習や、（移民の代表的な言語を含め）地域において重要な言語との連携が可能であるにもかかわらず、英語科教員養成や、学習指導要領を含む政策文書の多くは、外国語を他のカリキュラムから切り離して扱っている。

本論文の目的は、日本における英語のみ教育の代替手段としての複言語教育について、エミック（当事者）の視点から、小学校における草の根的な（実践者主導の）複言語教育を検討し、新世代の教師を育成する上でのその意義を探ることである。このため、長期的な質的エスノグラフィ研究を行い、様々な分析ツールを用いて、伝統的な言語教育アプローチが主流の中で、教師が何を動機にして複言語教育を追求するのか、教師らがどのようにその教育法を実践するのか、そしてどのような学習が行われるのか、という幅広い問いを検討した。また、小学校の教諭に焦点を当てるだけでなく、日本の外国語教育で大きな役割を果たしている ALT（Assistant Language Teachers）についても 1 章を割いて論じる。

本論文は7つの章で構成される。序章では、日本の外国語教育の動向と言語的な人口変化について簡単に説明し、研究の背景を明らかにする。第 2 章では、複言語・複文化能力の概念（Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]）を含む複言語教育の背景にある理論を考察し、大まかな研究課題を提起する。第3章では、筆者の全体的研究姿勢と、その後の研究に適用する具体的な方法論を説明する。

第4章では、視覚的言語自伝を用いて、複言語実践を行うようになった2人の小学校教師（佳菜先生とゆき先生）の個人史および職業的経歴を検証する。本章では、教師らの経験を詳細に検討することで、中国語や韓国語など、子どもたちの言語風景の中に存在する言語を再び導入するといった複言語アプローチの価値や、教員養成における複言語教育について議論する。ここで問題となるのは、教師にとって、就学言語である日本語や、教育政策や教室の中の主要な外国語である英語だけでなく、他の言語がどのように日本語や英語と関連しあいながら共存できるのかを問うことである。

第 5 章では、ALT に注目する。彼らは政策文書や教員養成の文書では英語を母語とするモノリンガルとして記述されているが、実際には多様な複言語話者の集合である。この章では言語使用に関する調査と、複数の言語を話す ALT を対象とした授業観察およびインタビュー調査を行った。デモグラフィック調査では、ALT の大

半が英語と日本語以外の言語を操ることができること、インタビュー調査では、複数の言語を操るALTの多くが自分のレパートリーを増やしたいと考えており、その多くが教育的な理由を持っていることを明らかにした。いっぽうで分析から、ALTは英語を母国語とするモノリンガルであるというイメージが、その実現を阻んでいることがわかった。そこで、ALTの表象を複言語・複文化の実態を正確に反映したものに変更し、教師がALTを活用するための準備を整えることが急務であると論じる。

最後に第6章では、ゆき先生と佳菜先生が日常的に行っている複言語実践について考察する。ゆき先生の実践の一つとして、学校給食に関連した継続的複言語プロジェクトを取り上げる。そこでは子どもたちが多言語でのビデオ視聴や博物館のような文化財の展示を通して、世界の給食メニューに関連する言語や文化に触れた後、様々な国の料理を実際に試食する。子どもたちの学習記録をテーマ別に分析したところ、このプロジェクトでの領域横断的な体験学習により、子どもたちは言語や文化に対する探究的姿勢を身につけ、領域横断的な学びが促されることが明らかになった。佳菜先生の実践については、彼女の複言語実践と、学校が継続的に行っている平和学習とがどのように結びついているかについて、長期的な授業観察を元に論じた。また、ビデオ録画、写真、研究者のフィールドノート、学習者の日記、半構造化インタビューを分析し、日本人のモノリンガルを自称する佳菜先生が、複言語教育を用いて、伝達可能なスキルを促進し、言語への深い意識と多様性への寛容さを育み、省察力を養い、対話、仮説、ストーリー化を通して学際的な関与を促していることを明らかにした。

第7章は本論文の総括として、日本の小学校や社会の社会言語学的事実、外国語教育を支援するために採用されたALTの持つ多言語の現実、小学校の実践者が行う草の根的な複言語実践を踏まえた議論を行い、これらの研究が教員養成とどのように関連しているかについても考察する。結論としては、日本のマクロレベルの言語教育政策（特に、学習指導要領とその解説）は、世界の多言語の現実、メゾお

よびミクロレベルにおける実践者の複言語の現実、さらに、複数言語が「地球市民」としての子どもたちの複言語レパートリーに貢献する可能性とを、あまりにも考慮していない。本論文の参加者とその実践については、「エリートのための複言語主義から大衆のための複言語主義へ」（Nishiyama, 2017）という、小さいながらも確実な変化を示すものとみることができる。また、複言語主義を、教員養成や政策、そして研究を考えるためのレンズとして捉えることにより、日本の一般の人がグローバル世界によりよく備えさせる可能性が生まれると論じる。

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Kī mai ki ahau, ha aha te mea nui o te ao? Māku e kī atu, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata

If you ask me what the most important thing in the world is, I will tell you it is people, it is people, it is people

- Māori proverb (translation by Stewart, 2021, pp. 29-30)

I choose to begin my acknowledgments with this proverb because I write this thesis as ongoing work for *he tangata*, people, and this thesis could not have been completed without the support of a great number of people, many named here and some unnamed, too. I owe a debt of gratitude to each and every one of you.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century, early foreign language education has garnered much attention around the globe, particularly in countries and areas outside of the Anglosphere, both in highly multilingual societies, as well as more typically 'monolingual' contexts (西山・大木、2015). Japan is no exception. After foreign languages were first able to be introduced in elementary schools during integrated study periods (総合学習の時間) in the 1998 revisions to the Course of Study[1], *foreign languages activities* (外国語活動[2]) were made compulsory for fifth- and sixth-grade children nation-wide beginning in 2011. As of the 2020 school year, *foreign languages* (外国語[3]) as a fully evaluated subject has become compulsory for the upper grades, and foreign language activities have been pushed forward to the third and fourth grades.

While much of the impetus for the formalization of the foreign language subject was a perceived need for an English-speaking populace in response to globalization (see, for instance, 文部科学省、2002; 2013), there has been considerable resistance to early English(-only) education in the scholarly community (e.g., 鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017), and amongst policy makers themselves (寺沢、2019), particularly in light of a linguistically diversifying Japan (大山、2016).

Resistance to the formalization of the subject came from many different perspectives, including doubt about the long-term efficacy of the subject (植松、2013; Uematsu, 2015), and concerns that that elementary school teachers, historically untrained in the teaching of foreign language, and many lacking English language qualifications, were underprepared to teach the subject (e.g, Machida, 2016). Nevertheless, the subject was implemented, and, despite these criticisms (many of which practicing teachers have shared: e.g., 大谷、2014), foreign languages are now a formal part of the elementary school curriculum.

Although the subject has gotten underway in tenuous circumstances, the implementation of foreign languages at the primary level presents opportunities for innovation and revolution in foreign language education (FLE) in Japan. It is these innovations that this thesis seeks to explore.

---

[1] A legally-binding, top-down curriculum which all schools must adhere to.
[2] 35 lesson hours per year (one hour per week), unevaluated.
[3] 70 lesson hours per year (two hours per week) in which students are graded on performance.

Specifically, the focus of this thesis is on grassroots pedagogical movements that are both cognizant of the multilingual nature of the global world (Forlot, 2018), linguistically and culturally diversifying Japan (清田、2016), and of the holistic learning needs of Japanese elementary school students.

This introduction will serve to give a brief background on the context of foreign language education in Japan, first by problematising *double monolingualism* (二重の単一言語主義：三浦・糟谷、2000), before examining the changing sociolinguistic landscape of Japanese elementary schools, and the potential that this context has to offer for bringing about change in (foreign) language education.

1.1 Double Monolingualism in Japan

Double monolingualism has long been a defining feature of Japanese schools, that is, Japanese is the primary language of schooling and domestic communication, and in foreign language education, English is often regarded as the only 'useful' language (大山、2016; 三浦・糟谷、2000[4]). While other foreign languages, particularly French and German, have been historically important in the education systems of modern Japan (see, for instance, 西山、2017), English has long held a special status[5]. English language classes are compulsory in almost all high school and university entrance examinations, and the secondary school curriculum is designed on this basis. For instance, although a minority of secondary schools offer other foreign languages as a subject, and five foreign language options are offered by the National Center for University Entrance Examinations, over 98% of students opt for English (大学入試センター、2019). As a result, it is difficult to include languages other than Japanese and English in public school curriculums, and

[4] The phrase double monolingualism is also occasionally used to refer to the monolingual/fractional view of *individual* bilingualism (see section 2.1.1). In this thesis, I use the phrase to refer exclusively to the *societal* phenomenon, as defined by 大山 (Oyama) (2016) and 三浦 (Miura)・糟谷 (Kasuya) (2000).

[5] The prevalence of the English language in Japan was heavily influenced by the fact that it was an American Commodore, Perry, that forced the country to open after two centuries of self-imposed isolation. France had previously offered military support at the Edo Shogunate's request during the Boshin War, although, due to the shogunate forces' defeat to its British and American-backed enemies, and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, the influence of the French language in Japan was weakened considerably. On the continuing post-war dominance of English, see 江利川 (Erikawa)、2018.

very few youths have had exposure to other foreign languages before entering university (Oyama & Yamamoto, 2020).

While this emphasis on English is reinforced by government rhetoric surrounding globalization (文部科学省、2002; 2013), the idea that English is the only important foreign language is becoming increasingly less relevant in Japanese schools. While some researchers argue that emphasizing English alone is potentially dangerous, in that it creates a dependence on English language sources for international information (e.g., 木村、2016), and advocate for diversifying compulsory foreign language education in order to develop the pluralistic critical thinking necessary in the globalized era (e.g., 森住・古石・杉谷・長谷川、2016), others (e.g., Terasawa, 2017) point out that the majority of the Japanese population has no practical need for functional English ability beyond the aforementioned entrance examinations. Still others have argued that there is a greater need to develop language awareness (in the Hawkins, 1984, tradition) in light of a plurality of foreign languages entering the school system (清田、2016; section 1.2).

In fact, although the introduction of foreign languages at the elementary school level was primarily motivated by a perceived lack of English ability in the populace, policy makers shared an understanding that the number of lessons (two per week for the foreign language subject, totalling 90 minutes) would be insufficient for the fostering of functional English ability, and thus the subject's primary goal was intentionally phrased as "developing familiarity with foreign languages" (文部科学省、2017c, p. 156). Nevertheless, since the 2008 revisions to the Course of Study, foreign language activities, and as of 2017, foreign language as a subject, have included an addendum that states the target language for acquisition is to be English (文部科学省、2008; 2017c).

In contrast to this double monolingualism in macro-level policy and English-for-globalization rhetoric, the actual globalization of Japanese schools demonstrates a much greater linguistic diversity.

1.2 The Changing Demographics of Japanese Elementary Schools

The linguistic landscapes of Japanese schools are beginning to diversify in earnest. While amongst the OECD countries, Japan has the lowest proportion of immigrants, the number of students with foreign language roots continues to increase, and their languages are varied. Taking 文部科学省 (Monbukagakushō)

(MEXT: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2019) statistics on foreign children who need additional Japanese language instruction as a yardstick, the most prevalent foreign languages in Japanese elementary schools are Portuguese, Chinese, Filipino, Spanish, Vietnamese, English, and Korean (Figure 1.1). These minority languages are not just an immigrant issue; due to a diversification of marriage, amongst other factors, there are over 10,000 children of Japanese nationality in elementary schools who require additional Japanese language support, although statistics on their home languages are not available (文部科学省、2019a).

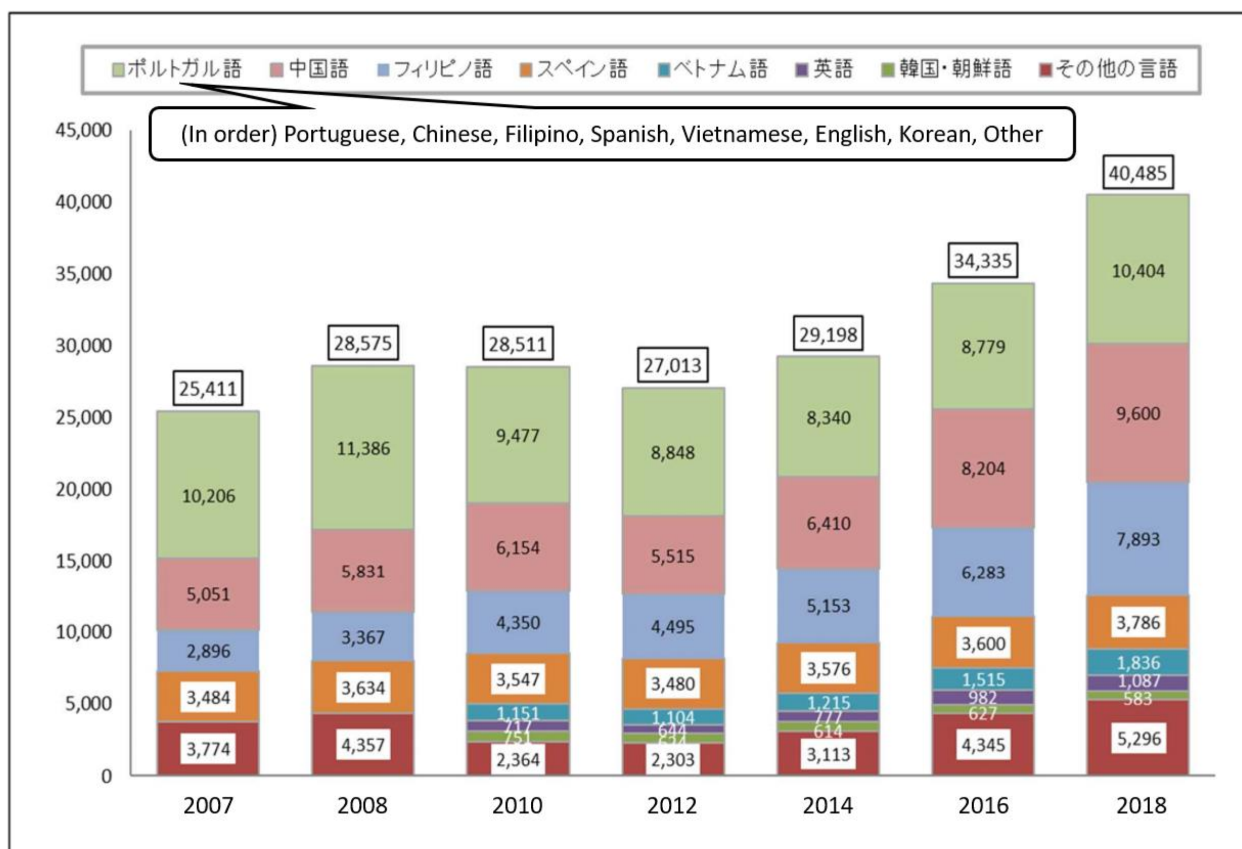

Figure 1.1 Mother tongues of children of foreign nationality that require Japanese language support (文部科学省、2019a, p. 6)

As can be seen in Figure 1.1, English represents a small minority of the foreign languages (2.7% as of 2018) in the elementary school system. Some elementary school teachers are aware of the bias towards English, and how it does not reflect the sociolinguistic realities of their schools (see, for instance, 大谷、2014), as are bilingual language supporters, who work with children of other language backgrounds (大山、2017; 清田、2016).

While in the secondary school context, English has traditionally been a *de facto* required subject[6] due in part to entrance examinations, mentioned above, as entrance examinations are not required for public junior high schools, and less than 10% of Japanese elementary children sit examinations for junior high school (文部科学省、2019b), it is not the mandate of elementary schools to teach examination-oriented English. Thus, while some researchers and policy makers continue to focus on connections between elementary school foreign language education and secondary school English (e.g., 喜多・福井、2017; 文部科学省、2017a), others see the elementary school context as one that is ripe for pedagogical innovation, given its qualitatively different nature to the secondary school context, both in subject names, and the teachers in charge of the subject.

1.3 Homeroom Teachers, not English Teachers

While at the secondary school level, teachers are typically trained in the specific foreign language they are to teach, and usually teach that subject only, elementary school teachers tend to be responsible for most subjects as homeroom teachers (学級担任). Also, given the fact that the implementation of the foreign language subject was a hastily decided process and that many in-service teachers were trained long before the implementation was decided, the majority have not been trained in the teaching of foreign languages (Oyama & Pearce, 2019). MEXT is cognizant of this fact, and thus encourages the use of assistant language teachers (ALTs) to provide language support, (文部科学省、2017e; Chapter 5) in order to make up for a perceived English language deficit, much in line with double monolingual policy.

This stance reveals a potential contradiction in ministry policy. Although, as mentioned above, there was an understanding that the limited hours of foreign language education at elementary schools would not have a genuine impact on the long-term English proficiency of Japanese school children (as attested to in research; e.g., Uematsu, 2015), and the fact that the development of bilingualism requires much more substantial engagement in language *use* (Grosjean, 2010; Netten & Germain, 2014), there is a maintained focus on English skill development in the traditional foreign language education sense (explored in greater detail in Chapter 2), as well as a continued

[6] Only made compulsory in 2002, see 寺沢(Terasawa)、2014; 江利川(Erikawa)、2018.

focus on connecting elementary school foreign language education with secondary school English (文部科学省、2017a).

On the other hand, practicing homeroom teachers must deal with the realities of the classroom that are presented to them, and consider the overall educational needs of their children.

1.3.1 Movements Toward Wholistic[7] Language Education

Cognizant of the fact that entrance examinations are not part of their mandate, and of the sociolinguistic realities that they are presented with, a number of elementary school practitioners have engaged in *pedagogies of resistance* (Bajaj, 2015) in the face of double monolingualism informed macro-level policy:

> なぜ「原則英語」なのか？なぜ隣国の韓国や中国の言語ではなく「英語」にしぼってまなばせなければならないのか？[…]コミュニケーション能力の素地が英語で養われるのか？これまで行ってきた教科教育・教科外教育の様々な場面で、言葉…もちろん子どもたちの母語である日本語を使って子どもたちどうしが互いを理解しつながりあえるように取り組んできたのに、それが子どもたちにとって大事なコミュニケーションじゃないの？
>
> Why ‘English in principle?’ Why do we have to focus on English and not on the languages of our neighbours, Korea and China? What is the reason behind having children communicate in English? […] Are communication skills nurtured in English [alone]? In our core subjects and extracurricular education, we try to help children understand and connect with each other through language... of course, their mother tongue, Japanese, but surely, that is the communication that is important? (大谷、2014, p. 136)

While arguments against English-only foreign language education are prevalent in Japanese academia, it is this problematisation of double monolingualism policy by practitioners themselves, dealing with the daily realities of elementary school education, and how they address this problem,

[7] The use of the spelling ‘wholistic’ over ‘holistic’ is an intentional choice, see section 2.1.2.

as enactors of educational policy at the meso- (institutional) and micro- (classroom) levels that is the core of this thesis.

1.4 Aims and Significance of the Research

Japan has been described as having a rigid, top-down education system (Butler, 2007). While such descriptions belie the complexities of educational realities, such as interactions between pedagogy and policy at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels, or the role of individual teachers as agents not only enforcing policy, but interpreting and delivering it in ways that best suit their learners' needs (Spolsky, 2004), as the Courses of Study are legally binding, it is true that practitioners do have to work within these constraints.

While alternatives to English-*only* education have been proposed by academics, including plurilingual approaches (plurilingualism and plurilingual education will be elaborated upon in Chapter 2), they have in the most part been discussed in theory only; the interpretation and delivery of policy, in light of the issues raised in this introduction, by practitioners *themselves* remains an understudied area. It is my wish to explore how *tous les chemins mènent au plurilinguisme, même au Japon* (all roads lead to plurilingualism, even in Japan – the title, conceived of by Danièle Moore, of one of the papers upon which this thesis is based: Moore, Oyama, Pearce, Kitano & Irisawa, 2020). This exploration will involve addressing the plurilingual realities of practitioners (both Japanese teachers and assistant language teachers [ALTs]).

My research aims were threefold. Firstly, I wished to examine what, in the trajectories of practicing teachers, encouraged them to explore alternatives to traditional foreign language education, particularly pluralistic approaches, in the light of monolingualising policy. Secondly, I was interested in the plurilingual realities of schools that are often overlooked by macro-level policy; both of Japanese teachers and ALTs (who are typically described as monolingual English speakers), and how these realities mesh with both educational policy and classroom practice. Finally, I wished to explore innovative practice itself, especially given the interdisciplinary nature of most elementary school teachers' teaching (typically most subjects), which offers opportunities to connect (foreign) languages with other disciplines.

It was (and is) hoped that the results of these investigations will bring about implications that are of importance to practicing language teachers, language teacher educators, and policy makers, in light of the realities of globalization and its impact on the Japanese linguistic landscape. The

significance of this research, therefore, lies in its giving voice to unheard plurilingual realities, both in self-described monolingual and bilingual teachers, and to their assistants, who may hold a richness of linguistic and cultural heritage that has hitherto been overlooked. Finally, while my focus is generally on the practitioners themselves, it must be stated that this research has been conducted with the future of Japanese youth in mind, and I hope they are (or will eventually be) the main benefactors of the research in this thesis.

1.5 Thesis Outline

I have organised my thesis into seven chapters. In this chapter, I have provided the introduction to my study by problematising the double monolingual paradigm in contrast to the linguistically and culturally diversifying realities of Japanese elementary schools. In Chapter 2, I will explore traditional (second/foreign) language education, and problems within the field, before addressing recent movements towards more pluralistic approaches, including plurilingualism, and their relevance to the Japanese elementary school context, raising five broad research questions that will guide the remainder of this thesis. Chapter 3 begins with a brief introduction of my research stance, after which I outline the methodological framework, data collection, and approaches to analysis that I employ in my studies.

In Chapter 4, I trace the personal histories of two elementary school practitioners who engage in innovative plurilingual approaches to their teaching, and how they both came to develop similar pedagogies despite their very different backgrounds. In Chapter 5, I turn my lens to assistant language teachers (ALTs), first by examining how a plurilingual ALT and his homeroom teacher colleagues navigate the double monolingual paradigm, before questioning representations of ALTs as monolingual native speakers of English, through an examination of their linguistic repertoires and interviews with plurilingual ALTs that focus on their beliefs and experiences regarding the incorporation of their entire linguistic repertoires in practice. In Chapter 6, I return to the above-mentioned elementary school teachers, this time to examine their plurilingual practices, with a focus on *how* they conduct their teaching, and, most importantly, what their children take away from their practice. Finally, in Chapter 7, I summarize my findings and discuss implications for macro-level policy, meso-/micro-level practice, and teaching training. I also make recommendations for future studies.

It is my hope that the research in this thesis will contribute to the greater tapestry of plurilingual practices in Japan and worldwide, and this fresh look at plurilingualism in education will be of interest to both researchers and practitioners, all of whom, I believe, are striving to do the best for all learners.

1.6 Note on Written Conventions

I will be adopting a plurilingual *posture* (Moore, 2018; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020) in the writing of this thesis. Although I will be writing in English, I will occasionally employ Japanese terms where English translations will not necessarily convey the appropriate nuances. For readability, in-text Japanese will be annotated with Japanese ルビ(rubi). Readers may also notice a small amount of French, a language of my doctoral supervisor and two of my co-researchers, and of which I have some partial competence. Sources I refer to will be cited in their original language; in keeping with Japanese conventions, texts in Japanese will be listed first, and subsequently, I will generally follow the guidelines of the American Psychological Association (APA) 6th edition in references, tables, and figures. The 6th edition was adopted to preserve as much as possible the names of individual authors in their cited works. Spelling and punctuation will conform to Aotearoa New Zealand (Kiwi) English.

Also, as will be touched upon in Chapter 3, I attempt to maintain the voices of the participants as much as possible, and thus my translations will usually be preceded by their original statements in Japanese. Furthermore, where I raise potentially contestable criticisms of previous research published in Japanese, I endeavour to include the original text, so that my interpretations may be given due scrutiny. All translations from Japanese throughout the thesis are my own, unless otherwise specified. Translations from French were made with the assistance of my co-researchers, Danièle Moore and Mayo Oyama.

CHAPTER 2 FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND PLURILINGUALISM

In this chapter, I outline the literature on plurilingual education and briefly touch upon interdisciplinary approaches to (foreign) language education. I begin by addressing what has come to be called the cognitive-linguistic/monolingual bias in traditional language teaching (cf. Firth & Wagner, 1997; May, 2014), before considering sociocultural/multilingual views of linguistic competence, influenced by research into bilingualism and communication, that have in turn influenced a variety of approaches such as translanguaging (加納、2016; García & Li Wei, 2014) and plurilingual education (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]). I then attempt to delineate the term *plurilingualism*, which has been used to refer to multilingual phenomena, individual competence, and ideology (Beacco et al., 2007), but also to a theoretical and pedagogical stance (Marshall & Moore, 2013; 2018; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). Next, I briefly consider co-current trends that seek to integrate language education such as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Maths) education, before examining plurilingual education within the context of Japan. Based upon this literature review, I raise the questions that will guide the research covered in the remainder of this thesis.

2.1 Challenges to the Monolingual Bias in SLA and FLE

The discourses of second language acquisition (SLA), second/foreign language education (SFLE), and the TESOL field have traditionally been informed by the linguistic-cognitive view of language acquisition (Lüdi & Py, 2009; May, 2014), which regards language as homogenous and static; isolated knowledge to be acquired, divorced from the realities of actual use. Under the linguistic-cognitive view, the model for the target language is regarded as that of a perfect, monolingual native-speaker, defined by Chomsky as:

> an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or

characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (1965, p. 3).

While it should be noted that Chomsky intended this definition to be a starting point for linguistic theory in a positivistic sense, itself divorced from both pedagogy and actual use[8], the idea had a profound effect on setting standards for language acquisition in educational environments, the aim and benchmark of which has traditionally been the acquisition of such native-like competence (Firth & Wagner, 1997; May, 2014). Critics of the linguistic-cognitive view in SLA argued that Chomsky's influential definition "paralleled, reinforced, and extended Saussure's dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*[9], and maintained the priority of the former over the latter" (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 287). Under this view, named languages are discrete and readily identifiable, non-naturalistic phenomena: Lüdi & Py (2009) use the story of the Tower of Babel and the representation of language within ("the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech," *King James Bible*, Gen. 11:1) as a metaphor for this view, i.e., the "received wisdom that monolingualism represents an original state, intended by God and/or politically legitimised by human beings" (Lüdi & Py, 2009, p. 155). This view conflicts with the understanding of language as naturalistic systems that are a product of interaction between thinking agents, and are evolving; languages are constantly negotiated, and renegotiated, influencing and influenced by the agents that use them and the cultural and socio-political contexts in which they exist (e.g., Fishman, 1964; Hymes, 1964; 1972).

The linguistic-cognitive view of language acquisition, and its impact on the field of language education, served to reinforce early views on bilingualism, such as Bloomfield's; "in the extreme case of foreign language learning the speaker becomes so proficient as to be indistinguishable from the native speakers round him… it results in *bilingualism*, native-like control of two languages" (1933, pp. 55-56, emphasis in original), views that would be overturned by later neuro/psycholinguistic research. In SLA and in SFLE, this view led to the perception of other languages as interferences that get in the way of acquiring the target language, and bilinguals are, as such, "two monolinguals in one person" (Grosjean, 1989, p. 3). This view has come to be called

[8] Almost immediately following this definition, Chomsky states that "a record of natural speech will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course, and so on" (1965, p. 4).
[9] *Langue* referring to individual, named languages as discrete, formalized systems, and *parole* to the *use* (written and spoken) of language in daily life (de Saussure, 2011/1959).

the monolingual (or fractional) view of bilingualism, in which the bilingual is seen as the sum of two (or more[10]) monolinguals, whose languages are discrete systems that do not interact with each other.

The cognitive-linguistic view has informed both SLA research as well as SFLE since the mid-20th century and continues to exert influence (Lüdi & Py, 2009; May, 2014; Kubota & Takeda, 2020). Over the last several decades, however, this view has been heavily criticised by researchers in several different fields, including neuro/psycholinguistics (e.g., Grosjean, 2008), sociolinguistics (e.g., Bloommaert, 2010), SLA (Block, 2007; Firth & Wagner, 1997), and SFLE (Cook, 1999; Conteh & Meier, 2014; Holliday, 2006). These criticisms have also been voiced in the Japanese context, in which the cognitive-linguistic view has provided a historically useful barometer for assessing achievement in a highly competitive, test-oriented education system, but also seen as a barrier to the development of communicative competence (e.g., 若林、2016).

2.1.1 (W)holistic and Dynamic Views of Linguistic Competence

One of the primary critics of the aforementioned monolingual/fractional view of bilinguals as 'two monolinguals in one,' has been psycholinguist François Grosjean, whose work on bilingualism has demonstrated that bilinguals rarely need to apply their different languages in the same situations or with the same interlocutors; "bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different *domains* of life, with different people. Different aspects of life often require different languages" (Grosjean, 2008, p. 23). These domains might entail interactions with parents, children or siblings, distant relatives, work, media consumption, religion, school, friends, and so on.

As different domains call for the use of different languages, so-called 'balanced bilinguals' (the sum of two idealised monolinguals under the linguistic-cognitive view), who have equal ability in their languages across all domains of their lives, are exceedingly rare, or likely even non-existent. Rather, there is usually an uneven distribution of languages, in what Grosjean calls the *complementarity principle*, visualized in Figure 2.1 (over page).

[10] While sociolinguistics often discriminates between bilinguals (users of two languages) and tri- or multilinguals (users of three or more languages), psycholinguistics does not make this distinction, and the term 'bilingual' refers to users of more than one language. Where I use the term bilingual in this thesis, I borrow Grosjean's definition: "Bilinguals are those who use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (2012, p. 4).

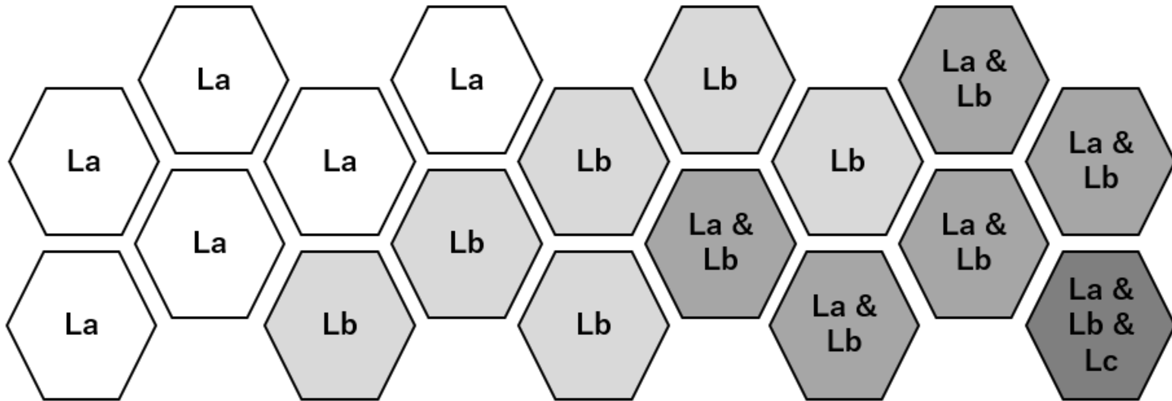

Figure 2.1 The *complementarity principle* (La = first language, Lb = second language, Lc = third language), adapted from Grosjean, 2008, p. 23. The hexagons represent different domains of life, including, for example, work, media consumption, family, friends, etc.

Bilinguals activate their linguistic repertoires in fundamentally different ways to monolinguals. At all times, the bilingual has access to their entire repertoire, but may 'activate' or 'deactivate' languages based on their situation or interlocutor. When conversing with a monolingual, a bilingual will often limit the use of their other languages, which would, in that situation, become interferences (see, for instance, Weinreich, 1966). On the other hand, when conversing with another bilingual, other languages are no longer interference but can be brought into dialogue freely, often resulting in completely novel linguistic structures. Different aspects of this phenomenon have been given a variety of labels, including code-switching (Lin, 2017; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Moore, 2002), borrowing (Haugen, 1950; Grosjean, 2008; 2010), code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011), or, more recently, translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020).

While there is considerable debate over the labelling of the individual phenomena of bilingual speech, in the fields of SLA and SFLE, the language use of bilinguals is problematic to the cognitive-linguistic discourse because it challenges the authoritative nature of the language to be learned (and by extension, the 'owners' of that language – monolingual native speakers and researchers and practitioners). Although SLA and SFLE "continue to treat bi/multilingualism as a form of individual aberration and bi/multilingual learners as deficient in relation to monolinguals" (May, 2014, p. 20), this stance is flawed in SFLE, as learners of another language cannot become monolinguals in their target language, and, to reiterate, bilingual language use is qualitatively different to that of monolinguals, as it is not comprised of two entirely separate linguistic systems, but rather "the co-existence and constant interaction of the two languages in the bilingual [produces] a different but complete language system" (Grosjean, 2008, pp. 13-14).

Grosjean and other bilingual researchers would have a profound influence on the development of SLA theory and pedagogical models that subsequently developed in the 1990s (including plurilingualism), and contributed to the disruption of received knowledge in the fields of SLA and SFLE, including learner-as-deficient-user (Firth & Wagner, 1997), resultant native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006; Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018), and languages as separate, distinct, and entirely unrelated systems (García & Li Wei, 2014; although see also Cummins, 2021a;c).

One example of an alternate model of language proficiency resulted from Jim Cummins' concurrent work on bilingual education and the development of the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1979; 1981), which sought to account for significant correlations between conceptual proficiencies and literacy in the L1 and L2 (such as reading ability):

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly. (Cummins, 1981, p. 21)

Echoing Grosjean's idea that bilinguals have a complete language system, Cummins made the distinction between surface features of different named languages (pronunciation, fluency, etc.) and cognitive/academic or literacy-related proficiencies (e.g., reading comprehension) that form a common underlying proficiency. While perhaps intuitive for closely related languages, Cummins' work suggested that this underlying proficiency exists even when the L1 and L2 are distant languages such as Japanese and English, when surface features showed a minimal relationship (Cummins et al., 1984). This concept is represented by the iceberg model in Figure 2.2 (for more detail, see Cummins' work on BICS and CALP: Cummins, 2008).

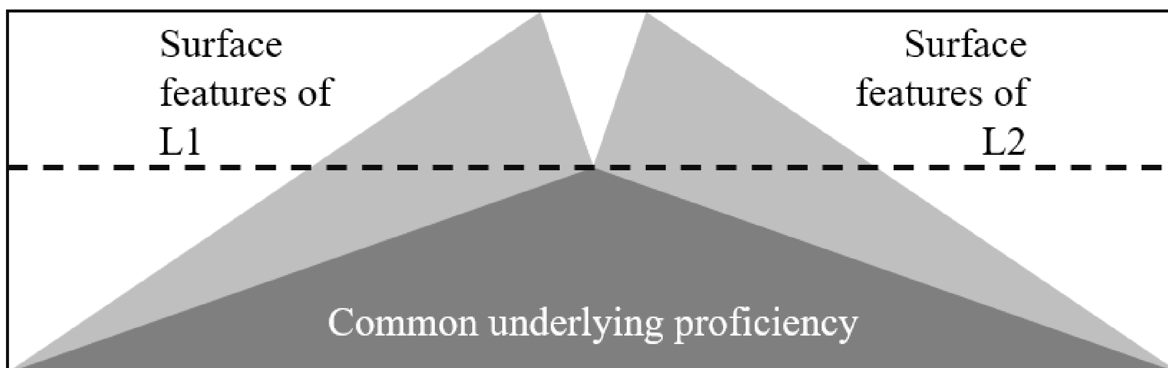

Figure 2.2 Iceberg model of linguistic interdependence (adapted from Cummins, 2005)

Alternative models to describe this complete (or composite) language system have been proposed, such as Herdina and Jessner's (2002) dynamic model of multilingualism (Figure 2.3). Seeking to describe an underlying proficiency in multilinguals, Herdina and Jessner rejected the traditional Chomskyean dichotomy of competence (knowledge of language) and performance (the use of language in concrete situations)[11], again by noting that bilinguals differ qualitatively from monolinguals, i.e., "[in contrast to bilinguals] the native speaker and her/his innate faculties [competence] are necessarily monolingual" (2002, p. 31). Herdina and Jessner's model, shown in Figure 2.3, resonates with Grosjean's idea of a complete language system and Cummins' notion of a common underlying proficiency (the wholistic view of bilingualism).

$$C_1 + C_2 + C_n + CLIN + M \cong MP < p$$

Figure 2.3 Dynamic model of multilingualism, where $C_1/C_2/C_n$ = competence in a particular language; CLIN = crosslinguistic interaction; M = M-factor (emergent property of a multilingual system, M = f (of n), where f = function of; n = number of LS in a multilingual system), MP = multilingual proficiency; p = performance (Herdina & Jessner, 2002, pp. 130-131).

Within this model, the systems of (sociolinguistically) discrete, named languages interact with each other in a (w)holistic way, each contributing to overall language proficiency (MP), reflected in performance (p). While both Cummins' and Herdina and Jessner's models have their limitations and critics within the field of language education[12], they are examples of constructive and influential works that have disrupted models of an idealized, monolingual, native speaker as the benchmark for second or foreign language acquisition.

2.1.2 A Note on (W)holism

The terms 'wholism' and 'holism' have both been used to describe linguistic competence, sometimes interchangeably, although wholism seems more prevalent in discussion on bilingualism, and holism in the SLA literature. Grosjean (1989) favours the spelling wholism to indicate the

[11] Roughly analogous to the Saussurean *langue* and *parole* as internalized within a language user.

[12] Cummins himself describes the iceberg model in figure 2.2 as a "visual metaphor […] illustrative rather than definitive" (2005, p. 7). May (2014) also points out the difficulty inherent in developing evaluative standards in education for multilingual competency.

non-reducibility of bilinguals' languages into a fractional view of bilingualism; i.e., the bilinguals' languages cannot be treated as separate systems. Herdina and Jessner (2002) employ both terms, and provide a useful delineation: "[w]hereas 'wholistic' expresses the preparedness to view [bi/multilingual competence] as a whole and not merely its parts, 'holistic' refers to a specific theoretical position, which, for example, assumes that systems as a whole will have properties their parts cannot be shown to contain' (p.151). In this delineation, Herdina and Jessner treat 'holism' with respect to bi/multilingualism as referring to a systems theory approach to multilingualism, in which, while "multilinguals cannot be explained by monolingual standards and […] multilingualism cannot simply be explained by extended monolingual acquisition models, […] the language systems involved can be interpreted as separate systems. They are also perceived as such by the multilingual speaker." (2002, pp. 149-150). In other words, whereas wholism emphasises the irreducibility of an individual's bilingual competence into distinct categories, holism recognizes the reducibility of an individual's languages into separate, externally labelled systems, with the caveat that, when brought together, the collection of multiple languages will have emergent properties than cannot be explained by investigation of those separate systems alone.

For the purposes of this thesis, I prefer the term 'wholism,' in labelling a pedagogical stance that is 'prepared to view bi/multilingualism as a whole and not merely its parts' – an important aspect of a *plurilingual stance* (see section 2.2.2) towards education that contrasts itself with traditional, monolingual pedagogies. The primacy I give to this term over holism in this thesis is that my focus is on pedagogies and practitioners stances, rather than on language acquisition itself: It may be more useful, when dealing with learners whose trajectories and future language use is unknown, to treat their linguistic repertoires as irreducible. My usage of wholism is therefore not intended to conflict with the delineation above, nor to deny the existence of named languages as having separate existences, sociolinguistically or otherwise. It is simply a pragmatic choice given the topic area of this thesis. I do, however, maintain the spelling conventions of any direct quotations, and interested readers should refer to the original texts for distinctions between the terms.

2.1.3 The Sociocultural Turn: Language-as-Model to Language-User-as-Model

Around the time that ethnomethodological approaches to the study of everyday speech were beginning to break with the Chomskyan tradition of separating linguistic competence and

performance (for instance, work on Conversation Analysis, see Sacks, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; section 3.3.2), Dell Hymes was developing the concept of communicative competence (Hymes, 1972), with the view that language is a social and cultural phenomenon acquired through interaction. Both strands of research would be influential in the sociocultural turn.

While conversation analysis (CA) research challenged the idea that ordinary talk was too "chaotic and disorderly" to be a serious subject of analysis (ten Have, 2007, p. 3), and sought to explicate the underlying order to everyday speech, Hymes' work on communicative competence more directly disrupted the Chomskyan competence-performance dichotomy through ethnographic analyses of talk which demonstrated that communication was an emergent property reliant on both interlocuters, and "dependent upon *both* (tacit) knowledge and (ability for) use" (Hymes, 1972, p. 282, emphasis added, parentheses in original). Hymes' stance that language was a social science, grounded in personal interaction, and not an abstractable pure 'thing' was influential in the communicative model proposed by Canale and Swain (1980), which encompassed grammatical competence (ability to produce grammatically sound utterances), sociolinguistic competence (ability to produce pragmatically appropriate utterances), and strategic competence (ability to solve problems in communication as they rise). Canale and Swain's work had a profound impact on the field of TESOL in particular, in part giving rise to the communicative language teaching trend of the 1990s.

In the field of SLA, however, analyses continued to take as an underlying assumption the idea that L2 users were defective communicators in contrast to native speakers. It was not until the 1990s that the above research, as well as research on bilinguals, would incite a shift in the focus of SLA and SFLE research. Firth & Wagner's (1997) paper was a seminal work in SLA in that it incorporated both CA research and Dell Hymes' (amongst others) views on communicative competence in order to criticize the SLA stance of "prioritizing of the individual-as-'nonnative speaker'/'learner' over the participant-as-language-'user' in social interaction" (p. 286), and argued that much of the research in SLA that focussed on learner errors resulted from such underlying assumptions, leading to research that "prioritizes etic (analyst-relevant) concerns and categories over emic (participant-relevant) ones[13]" (p. 288).

[13] See, for instance Firth and Wagner's (re)analyses of an excerpt from Færch and Kasper (1983) in which they question the previous etic analyses that relegated an L2 user to a deficient status, using a non-native speaker's utterance of "er" to suggest difficulty in communication, while ignoring the native speaker's similar use of "er." (pp. 289-290).

While Firth and Wagner acknowledged the growing number of ethnographic SLA studies that had attempted to integrate both cognitive and sociocultural dimensions of language use and had "begun questioning… fundamental notions of learner, non-native, native speaker, and interlanguage," even amongst such studies, they argued, "most tend to take the formal learning environment (i.e., the S/FL classroom) as their point of departure" (p. 286). Taking classroom interaction as ethnographic data for the analysis of second/foreign language use puts the learner/user in a deficit position within the cognitive-linguistic framework, given that, in contrast to everyday speech in which interlocutors typically maintain equal status vis-à-vis interactional rights (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), the nature of classroom interaction is inherently hierarchal, with the teacher maintaining an elevated status over learners (McHoul, 1978; 1990). Furthermore, in the second/foreign language classroom, use of a second/foreign language "will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces" and "are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way" (Seedhouse, 1996, p. 109, see also Seedhouse, 2004).

Firth and Wagner argued that, in SLA, "it may be more useful to view problems in communication as contingent social phenomena, as *inter*subjective entities, and not invariably as 'things' possessed by individuals" (p. 291, emphasis in original). In arguing for a greater focus on the language *user* as model, rather than language as an abstractable thing in *itself*, Firth and Wagner helped to inspire a rise in ethnographic studies in SLA research that explored links between second language learning and identity through more emic[14] lenses (see, for instance, Block, 2007). User-oriented approaches to language pedagogy were also being developed at the time, some of which will be explored in the following section.

Nevertheless, in the field of language education, the spectre of the 'ideal native speaker' still looms large. While there has been a conscious shift away from the native speaker in the Chomskyan sense, as Kubota and Takeda (2020) point out, in communication-oriented TESOL practice, in particular, there remains "the expectation that learners should eventually acquire competence equivalent to that of an ideal middle-class native speaker of the standardized form of the target language" (p. 7). In Japan specifically, native-speakerism[15] is still a central topic of

[14] See Chapter 3, section 3.1.2 on the distinction between emic and etic stances.

[15] Defined by Holliday, as a "belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (2006, p. 385). While this

concern (see, for instance, Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018), perhaps because, although the separation of languages and the modelling of an ideal native speaker is an artificial heuristic, it nevertheless remains a useful one in competitive test-oriented educational systems in which success is determined based on scores.

While part of the reason for the persistence of the cognitive-linguistic view's influence in SFLE may be related to the difficulty of challenging received knowledge in a specific field[16], sociolinguistics- and user-informed approaches to language education that recognize the interconnectedness of (multiple) languages have been garnering attention in the research, even in traditionally SLA-informed fields such as TESOL (see, for instance, the special issue on plurilingualism in TESOL Quarterly: Taylor & Snoddon, 2013), in what has come to be called the multilingual turn (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014) or multilingual challenge (Jessner & Kramsch, 2015).

2.1.4 The Multilingual Turn/Challenge

With the upswing of globalization in the 21st century, hitherto unforeseen mobility has had a profound impact on sociolinguistic landscapes, and, in turn, the discourse of foreign language education. Advances in communication technology have simultaneously allowed increasingly diverse migrant communities to maintain stronger cultural and linguistic ties to their heritage communities, in a phenomenon occasionally labelled 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007; Lie, Anderson, Hare & McTavish, 2021), while also allowing unprecedented access to foreign language media and discourse communities via digital mediums.

In terms of individual language use, the field of sociolinguistics has begun to recognize a more fluid building of language users 'domains' (see Grosjean, 2008; section 2.1.1, above), and within the field, Bloommaert has pointed out "the fundamental image of language [has now shifted] from a static, totalized and immobile one to a dynamic, fragmented and mobile one," and calls for "emphasizing the focus on mobile resources rather than immobile languages" (2010, p. 197). Such resources are, on the individual level, sometimes labelled 'mobile linguistic resources.'

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definition refers to English language teaching, it can be extended to other languages (such as Japanese: Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018).

[16] See May (2014) for an extended discussion employing the Bourdieuvean concepts of *field* and *habitus*.

In contrast to traditional (read: cognitive-linguistic) approaches to language education, these (mobile) linguistic resources, which Bloommaert referred to as "'truncated' or 'unfinished'" (2010, p. 197) are labelled more positively in multilingual approaches to education. For instance, in plurilingual education, such resources are termed 'partial competences,' and are regarded as valuable "linguistic capital," a set of linguistic resources (or assets) that are employed according to the situation and the interlocutor (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]; p. 20). Lüdi and Py (2009) give a description of these resources:

> Resources do not boil down to a dictionary of prefabricated expressions, as one finds in tourist phrasebooks. They are shaped like semi-organised sets of often heteroclite means, similar to a handyman's toolbox. Some are prefabricated and memorised; others are procedures which create previously unheard utterances, amongst which one also finds heuristic means for the reinforcement of already available utterance resources, or for the development of hypotheses relating to the interpretation of the other language. (p. 157)

Awareness of the variety and value of such resources (or multilingual linguistic capital) has entered the realm of language teaching, particularly as researchers and practitioners have become more cognizant of the fact that learners' trajectories are becoming increasingly unclear in an increasingly diversifying world. A greater emphasis, at least in the literature, has come to focus on developing underlying competences in the face of the uncertainness of learners' future needs – a focus that is true both in SFLE and in broader education (see section 2.4, below).

In SFLE, the multilingual turn has given rise to a number of new approaches. Within TESOL, specifically, approaches such as World Englishes and English as a lingua franca (ELF) have emerged, which recognize that "many of the world's English speakers are not English 'learners' in the traditional SLA sense, but rather multicompetent English users" (May, 2014, p. 10, see also Cook, 2002)," as well as approaches such as translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2012; García & Li Wei, 2014) and plurilingual education (Choi & Ollerhead, 2017; Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]; Grommes & Hu, 2014) in the wider discourse of language education.

Of these approaches, the concepts of translanguaging and plurilingualism have had perhaps the greatest impact on the field of SFLE, and both concepts have entered the Japanese literature (see, for instance, 大山、2019c; 加納、2016; 細川・西山、2010; Nishiyama, 2017). While the two

approaches share a degree of commonality in the multi/trans/plurilingual phenomena that they treat, and both are descriptive, rather than prescriptive concepts, the points of departure of each are historically different when it comes to pedagogy[17]:

1) Translanguaging: First coined in Welsh as *Trawsiethu*, what later become translanguaging was a strategy for the “planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson” (Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012, p. 643). In North America, the term gained prominence in part due to a movement to recognize the language use of bilinguals in educational contexts (García, 2009). While translanguaging theory has since expanded to cover a range of bi/multilingual phenomena in many different contexts, it was “initially developed in an effort to support learning at schools through a […] weaving of languages through the curriculum” (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020, p. 248).
2) Plurilingualism: The term was first coined as *nation plurilingue* (national plurilingualism) as early as 1956 (Cohen, 1956, as cited in 西山 (Nishiyama), 2010), however, it was not until the 1990s that the distinction between multilingualism (the presences of multiple language in societies) and plurilingualism (as an individual’s competence) first began to be drawn, spearheaded by Daniel Coste around 1994 (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020; see also 西山 (Nishiyama), 2010), eventually leading to the development of the notions of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC: section 2.2.1.3). This notion was, from the start, pedagogically motivated, as an effort to “highlight principles of description and *learning objectives* that reflect in a realistic way the communicative behaviors of speakers” (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020, p. 27, emphasis added). The point of departure for plurilingualism was not schools, but rather an examination and description of the behaviours of plurilinguals for learning.

For the purpose of this thesis, I prefer plurilingualism (or, plurilingual and pluricultural competence), as research related to plurilingualism has typically maintained a pedagogical focus, and actively seeks to develop learning objectives; for instance, plurilingualism became a pillar of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*

[17] Translanguaging and plurilanguaging, both concepts of dynamic language *use* have on the surface seemingly subtle, but nevertheless pedagogically significant, differences (see Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020; Piccardo, 2019).

(CEFR: Council of Europe, 2001; see also the *Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures* (FREPA: Candelier et al., 2012; Candelier, Daryai-Hansen & Schröder-Sura, 2012; 原、2019). On the other hand, while translanguaging is also a useful descriptive concept, Conteh points out that "the emphasis of [translanguaging] research has so far been on understanding processes of interaction rather than the pedagogic potential" (2018a, p. 445; see also Conteh, 2018b). The concepts of plurilingual and pluricultural competence in education also do not *a priori* assume bi/multilingualism (either societal or individual), and may therefore be more pedagogically useful in the Japanese context, where few learners or practitioners consider themselves to be bilingual (see Chapter 4).

2.2 Plurilingualism and Plurilingual Education

Returning to Firth and Wagner's criticism of ethnographic SLA as focussing too much on the classroom as a point of departure, as just explained, concurrent efforts in Europe to describe plurilingualism as a competence were doing precisely the opposite by investigating the 'real world' language use of multilinguals:

> The notion of PPC (plurilingual and pluricultural competence) when first introduced was to defend a sociolinguistic view of plurilingual individuals who use two or more languages, separately or together, in different sociocultural domains, for different purposes with different people… the theory is embedded in studies of the ordinary and translingual use of several languages by plurilinguals. We wanted to emphasize that plurilingual speakers rarely have the same fluency in their language use because their needs and uses of several languages in everyday life are always very different (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020, p. 30).

In education, plurilingualism has become an *a posteriori* umbrella term that encapsulates a range of practices, values, and beliefs about language education (Beacco & Coste, 2017), inclusive of methodologies such as Awakening to Languages (*L'éveil aux langues*), Intercultural Approach (*L'approche interculturelle*) Integrated Didactics (*La didactique intégrée des langues*), and Intercomprehension (*L'intercompréhension*), amongst others (see Candelier et al., 2012). Although, as already mentioned, the notion of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC)

predates the Council of Europe documents and the CEFR, it is primarily through these documents that the idea of plurilingualism initially spread to Japan.

Given this relationship to the CEFR, the concept of plurilingualism has engendered some confusion when entering new contexts, and is often conflated with societal multilingualism (section 2.2.1.2), or a European ideology that promotes the learning of three or more languages[18] (see, for instance, an attempt to contextualize the CEFR for Japan by 投野 (2013), who, based on this understanding, seems to regard 'achieving' plurilingualism as unfeasible in the Japanese context[19]). In the next section, I will attempt to delineate some of the uses of the term, plurilingualism.

2.2.1 Plurilingualism as a Multi-faceted Term

Since its inception, and its proliferation through the CEFR, plurilingualism has been used to refer to individual competence (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]) as well as multilingual phenomena and attendant educational ideology (Beacco et al., 2007), but also a theoretical lens (Marshall & Moore, 2018) and a pedagogical stance or posture (Moore & Gajo, 2009; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). In this section, I will attempt to delineate the various usages of the term.

2.2.1.1 Plurilingualism in Contrast to Multilingualism

Plurilingualism, in contrast to societal multilingualism (the presence of multiple languages in wider society), refers to an individual's ability to navigate different languages and interactions with different cultures. Whereas multilingualism as a societal label emphasises the boundaries between named languages, plurilingualism (and pluriculturalism) "stress permeability and porosity of languages and cultures, the dynamic moulding of [an individual's] repertoire, the flow and construction of plurilingual and pluricultural competence" (Piccardo, 2019, pp. 189-190). It is

[18] Part of the issue of this conflation in the Japanese context may be the Japanese translation of the term, 複言語主義, in particular the suffix, -主義. While the English suffix -ism may refer to a state of being (such as bilingual*ism*), or to ideologies (such as Marx*ism*), the Japanese suffix carries strong connotations of the latter (a similar issue occurs in Chinese language translations of plurilingualism, see Moore, 2019).

[19] Note that 投野's version of the CEFR is for English only (the English title of the volume is *The CEFR-J Handbook: A Resource Book for Using CAN-DO Descriptors for English Language Teaching*), a notion heavily criticized by 斎藤 (2017) as being "an impoverished idea, even a blasphemy against the original spirt [of the CEFR]" (p.68).

recognition of this dynamic repertoire of the individual (as a socially situated actor), which underpins the concept of plurilingualism as a whole.

As an individual phenomenon, plurilingualism as used in this thesis is sometimes referred to as 'individual multilingualism' in North American contexts (for a fuller discussion, see Canagarajah & Liyanage, 2012). In education, the distinction between plurilingualism and multilingualism becomes important not only in disambiguating societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism, but also because in education, plurilingualism is not bound to the number of languages at a user's disposal, but rather describes a pedagogical focus on "raising language awareness, encouraging the use of all languages in a learner's repertoire as resources for learning, and promoting intercultural understanding" (Preece & Marshall, 2020, p. 121).

2.2.1.2 Plurilingualism as a Value

Council of Europe documents define plurilingualism as both a *value* and as a *competence*. In the European context, plurilingualism as a value is defined as:

> an educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance, in other words, positive acceptance of diversity: speakers' awareness of their plurilingualism may lead them to give equal value to each of the varieties they themselves and other speakers use, even if they do not have the same functions (private, professional or official communication, language of affiliation, etc.). But this awareness should be assisted and structured by the language of schooling since it is in no sense automatic. (Beacco et al., 2007, pp. 17-18)

This notion is tied to the development of European citizenship in education, with "plurilingual and pluricultural education… and the positive acceptance of linguistic and cultural diversity" as "essential components of democratic citizenship" (Beacco et al., 2007, p. 30). This was not a utopian vision of developing a citizenry in which everyone could use multiple languages with a high degree of proficiency, but rather a pragmatic consideration. Beacco et al. (2007) continue:

> Plurilingualism as a goal for language education policies has wider implications than might at first be apparent: in the Declaration and Programme on Education for Democratic Citizenship of 7 May 1999, the Committee of Ministers stressed that the preservation of

> European linguistic diversity was not an end in itself, [but…] by making education for democratic citizenship a priority for the Council of Europe and its Member states in 1997, Heads of State and Government set out the central place of languages in the exercise of democratic citizenship in Europe: the need, in a democracy, for citizens to participate actively in political decision-making and the life of society presupposes that this should not be made impossible by lack of appropriate language skills. The possibility of taking part in the political and public life of Europe, and not only that of one’s own country, involves plurilingual skills, in other words, the ability to interact effectively and appropriately with other European citizens. (2007, p. 36)

As can be gleaned from this text, the promotion of plurilingualism as a value was not to protect linguistic diversity in itself, but to foster citizens who could function in an already highly multilingual society, tolerant of the diversity that existed.

Plurilingualism as a value is only one facet of plurilingual education, although perhaps the most likely aspect to have different interpretations in different geopolitical contexts. In Japan, an archipelago nation separated from the continent, there is far less linguistic contact than in Europe, and the country is much more monolingual than European nations. In this context, understanding plurilingualism as *only* a value promoted by the Council of Europe has led some researchers to doubt the usefulness of the concept. Take, for instance, 投野由紀夫 (Tōno Yukio)’s definition:

> 複言語主義とは、欧州市民 1 人 1 人が複数の言語の運用能力を持ち、その言語を実際のコミュニケーションに用いることで、お互いの理解を深め、協力しながら社会的な行動を実践する能力育成を目指すことである。また、多様な言語能力により、多くの情報を手に入れる機会を持つことは、社会において成功の機会を得る可能性を高めることにつながるものである。複数の言語の学習を通して生涯にわたって複数言語を学ぶ自律的な学習者をはぐくむことは、結果的に、平和で豊かな社会・市民生活を送ることにつながるとする考え方である。
>
> Plurilingualism refers to the goal of fostering in every European citizen *functional ability in multiple languages*, *and by using those languages in practical communication*, to

> develop a better understanding of each other and to thereby engage in social action cooperatively. Furthermore, having access to a wide range of information in a variety of languages *increases the chances of success in society*. The idea is that the development of lifelong learners of multiple languages through the learning of multiple languages will ultimately lead to a more peaceful and prosperous society and citizenry. (2013, pp. 21-22, emphases added)

This definition appears to refer to plurilingualism as a value (here using the world 'goal'). By emphasizing 'functional ability in multiple languages' as 'increas[ing] chances of success in society,' with no reference to plurilingual competence (section 2.2.1.3), 投野's definition can potentially be read as the teaching/learning of multiple discrete, named languages in the fractional bilingual sense, and thus a simple rebranding of traditional definitions of multilingualism. If understood in this way, it echoes criticisms of some scholars in the North American context, such as Flores (2013), who suggests that "plurilingualism produces the same type of lifelong learning and flexible use of language that is described as crucial for economic development under neoliberalism" (p. 510). Flores continues, "whereas neoliberalism is the continuation of economic imperialism, plurilingualism as currently conceptualized could be part of the continuation of cultural and linguistic imperialism in the service of neoliberal economic interests" (2013, p. 513).

Both Flores and 投野 seem to interpret plurilingualism (as a value) as the aim to produce functional multilingual individuals for the purposes of *economic success*, in the vein of 'neoliberal communication competence' (Kubota & Takeda, 2020), ignoring the emphases placed on language awareness and tolerance:

> Recognition of the diversity of speakers' plurilingual repertoires should lead to acceptance of linguistic differences: respect for the linguistic rights of individuals and groups in their relations with the state and linguistic majorities, respect for freedom of expression, respect for linguistic minorities, respect for the least commonly spoken and taught national languages, respect for language diversity in inter-regional and international communication. (Beacco et al., 2007, p. 36)

Given this understanding, plurilingualism as a value is centred rather around peaceful coexistence in multilingual and multicultural societies, i.e., prioritizing social cohesion over functional communication competences, and attempting to ensure that a lack of linguistic skill does not become a barrier to democratic social participation. For 投野 (Tōno)'s part, his subsequent focus on using CEFR descriptors for English alone, while undoubtedly useful for many practitioners, is suggestive of the double monolingualism mentioned in the introduction to this thesis.

Other scholars provide different interpretations of plurilingualism, and discuss its potential in the Japanese context. For instance, 鳥飼 (Torikai) (2017) provides a delineation between the terms plurilingualism (複言語主義), and multilingualism (多言語主義), and while her specific focus is on plurilingual competence, she addresses the potential for plurilingualism in developing an openness to other cultures, and in overcoming linguistic discrimination. 大山 (Oyama) (2016) argues for the value of *Éveil aux langues* (言語への目覚め活動: Awakening to Languages) as a pedagogical approach inclusive of minority languages in Japan (amongst other pedagogical benefits), and 西山 (Nishiyama)・大木 (Ohki) (2019) have compiled an edited volume, consisting of both original articles in Japanese as well as translations, that focuses on intercultural education and touches upon the important role of plurilingual education in that respect.

Regardless of the specific context, from the point of view of promoting social cohesion through language awareness, plurilingualism as a value is better understood when supported by an understanding of plurilingualism as a competence: A competence that is not bound by specific numbers of languages nor their economic uses alone. In fact, as Piccardo argues in her aptly titled paper *We are all (Potential) Plurilinguals* (2019), it is entirely possible to be a 'monolingual plurilingual[20].'

[20] As this phrasing may be somewhat confusing, I might provide myself as an example of its meaning. I consider myself bilingual in English and Japanese, despite being raised monolingual until encountering Japanese as a foreign language in my late teens. I also employ a small amount of French and Te Reo Māori in this thesis itself, and both have helped me, to varying degrees, to navigate theoretical concepts. However, as I have difficulty producing even quite simple sentences in either language, I would not consider myself bilingual in them – nevertheless, the cultural, communicative, and epistemological insights they have given me are invaluable as 'partial competences' (section 2.1.4). If I were to, hypothetically, ignore my Japanese ability, with these partial competences alone, I would label myself a 'monolingual plurilingual.'

2.2.1.3 Plurilingualism as a Competence (PPC)

Underlying and informing, but both preceding and distinct from, the notion of plurilingualism as a value is plurilingualism as a competence, defined as:

> the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw. (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997], p. 11)

For clarity, I will also provide Beacco et al.'s (2007) definition, given in contrast to the definition of plurilingualism as a value above:

> the intrinsic capacity of all speakers to use and learn, alone or through teaching, more than one language. The ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes is defined in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (p.168) as the ability "to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent[21], has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures". This ability is concretised in a repertoire of languages a speaker can use. The goal of teaching is to develop this competence. (2007, p. 10)

The descriptive concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC) also drew influence from the work of Hymes and Grosjean, amongst others, although from a pedagogical standpoint, it was necessary to come up with "a new term to highlight the *synthesis* of language and cultural resources and competence, rather than just the idea of *many* or *multiple*" (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020, p. 31, emphases in original). This is how plurilingualism does not *a priori* assume

[21] In the original French, and the English translation of the document that preceded the CEFR, which I cite in this chapter, the use of the word 'actor' was an intentional decision. For a discussion of the shift in terminology from 'actor' to 'agent,' see Moore and Gajo (2009).

or require bilingualism in named languages and can equally apply to "individuals who consider themselves monolingual" (Piccardo, 2019, p. 190; see also Chapter 4), and it is this view of competence that informs plurilingual pedagogy.

In education, this wholistic view of plurilingual competence, and of all language users as (potential) plurilinguals, becomes more and more relevant in an increasingly diversifying world, in which learners' trajectories are becoming increasingly uncertain:

> in a world where there is more and more to learn and where established education systems are less and less the sole dispensers of knowledge, it becomes part of the still equally necessary function of these systems to provide individual pupils with methods and instruments enabling them to learn out of school as well (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997], p. 26)

2.2.2 Plurilingual Pedagogies: *Stances* and *Postures*

In light of the above, it is important to recognise that plurilingual (or pluralistic) pedagogies and practices are generally context-sensitive, although they share in common a wholistic view of linguistic competence (PPC), inclusive of the entire linguistic repertoire of the learner. Plurilingual pedagogies seek not to simply add linguistic knowledge of discreet languages to a multilingual 'patchwork,' but to develop the composite underlying competence (which may or may not be 'concretised' in multiple languages in use), through:

> adopt[ing] a synthetic holistic and asset-oriented perspective, which fosters the continuum between family, school and other contexts in language use and learning. In this view, prior and new language experiences interweave in the construction of knowledge. (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020, p. 31)

Plurilingual pedagogies engage learners in the negotiation and mobilizing of diverse (and partial), previously acquired and newly experienced linguistic and semiotic resources in a process sometimes labelled 'plurilanguaging' (see Lüdi, 2015; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020; Piccardo, 2019). Through such behaviour, "pre-existing sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences are both exploited and further developed, and an increased perception of the

specificities of different languages is developed, leading ultimately to an increased ability to learn languages" (Piccardo, 2019, p. 188).

One would be very hard-pressed in this modern era to find any society that is truly monolingual (or even 'doubly' monolingual, particularly in the Garden-of-Eden sense of language, as alluded to by Lüdi & Py, 2009; section 2.1). This is true of Japan, as well, with its wealth of dialects and minority languages such as Ainu and the Ryukyuan languages. Also, touched upon in the introduction, was the growing number of minority immigrant languages in Japan, users of which are becoming more and more common in the elementary school classroom (清田、2016; 文部科学省、2019a), and in society at large, as reflected in urban linguistic landscapes (磯部、2020; 庄司・クルマス・バックハウス、2009). If one adopts a plurilingual *stance* (i.e., a point of view) that recognizes these resources as valuable to language learning, and as potential experiences to be interwoven in the construction of knowledge, then these linguistic (and cultural) resources become essential for building knowledge in the classroom.

To be clear, I am not suggesting that adopting a plurilingual stance requires every specific language in society to be taken up as a target language for acquisition, but rather that, in a plurilingual approach, users/learners are encouraged to think in terms of their wholistic language repertoires, made up of their different languages and varieties, (inter)cultural and linguistic encounters, and to build up those repertoires (or, add to their 'toolboxes' [Lüdi & Py, 2009]). Individual plurilingual pedagogies can thus take various forms; they can be centred primarily around one language (see, for instance, Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020; Slaughter & Cross, 2021), through approaches that compare and contrast two language varieties, such as integrated didactics (Candelier, et al., 2012), or multiple language varieties simultaneously (such as the aforementioned *Éveil aux langues,* 大山、2016; Candelier, 2003; Oyama & Yamamoto, 2020). In essence:

> This holistic view not only disrupts the still deeply rooted language ideologies of nativeness and language mastery; it posits that (1) learners can (better) engage in problem-solving and knowledge construction when they can dip into their entire repertoire of semiotic resources (material, social, cultural) for meaning-making, and that (2) this can potentially be better achieved through navigating several languages, and languaging in a plurilingual mode. (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020, p. 248)

If a plurilingual stance recognizes linguistic and cultural plurality (both societal, and individual in the sense of PPC, defined above) as inherently shared by all participants, then the pedagogical goal is to nurture a plurilingual *posture* as a way of being and thinking, "it is a way of experiencing language(s) and knowledge" (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020, p. 252). Pedagogy with the goal to nurture a plurilingual posture has the potential to be inclusive of other languages in society, including those brought to the classroom by children and teachers, and thereby give recognition to those languages (and cultures) that are not explicitly taken up by national or local curriculums, in a way that is pedagogically meaningful to all participants. Plurilingual pedagogy "focus[es] on the classroom strategies employed by both teachers and learners to raise language awareness and foster intercultural awareness and competence to support learning in the class" (Marshall & Moore, 2018, p. 6).

Thus, while some have argued that plurilingualism is a type of education useful for only highly multilingual/multicultural societies, "it would be restrictive to think such pedagogical strategies can only be valid in contexts of high language and cultural contacts, or the need to revitalize and protect heritage and immigrant languages[22], or to simply resist the overwhelming globalisation of English," (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020, p. 247), which is also, of course, one of the many languages of the world.

2.3 Plurilingual Education and the Goals of FLE in Japanese Elementary Schools

Much of the discourse surrounding FLE in Japanese schools has been on English, specifically, as a foreign language (although see, for instance, 上村、2014; 森住、2013), with a focus on skills in the traditional, prescriptive, sense, and the elementary school Course of Study reflects this. It is therefore important here to address the explicit goals of foreign language education at elementary schools[23]:

[22] Both of which can, of course, be supported by plurilingual education.

[23] The goals for the unevaluated *foreign language activities* are essentially identical, although references to reading and writing are omitted.

外国語によるコミュニケーションにおける見方・考え方を働かせ，外国語による聞くこと，読むこと，話すこと，書くことの言語活動を通して，コミュニケーションを図る基礎となる資質・能力を次のとおり育成することを目指す。

⑴ 外国語の音声や文字，語彙，表現，文構造，言語の働きなどについて，日本語と外国語との違いに気付き，これらの知識を理解するとともに，読むこと，書くことに慣れ親しみ，聞くこと，読むこと，話すこと，書くことによる実際のコミュニケーションにおいて活用できる基礎的な技能を身に付けるようにする。

⑵ コミュニケーションを行う目的や場面，状況などに応じて，身近で簡単な事柄について，聞いたり話したりするとともに，音声で十分に慣れ親しんだ外国語の語彙や基本的な表現を推測しながら読んだり，語順を意識しながら書いたりして，自分の考えや気持ちなどを伝え合うことができる基礎的な力を養う。

⑶ 外国語の背景にある文化に対する理解を深め，他者に配慮しながら，主体的に外国語を用いてコミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度を養う。

Through listening, reading, speaking, and writing activities in foreign languages, the aim is to develop the fundamental qualities and abilities for engaging in foreign language communication in the following ways:

1) To become aware of the differences between Japanese and foreign languages in terms of speech sounds, written characters, expressions, sentence structures, language functions, etc., and, in addition to this understanding, to become familiar with reading and writing, as well as to acquire basic skills in listening, reading, speaking, and writing that can be used in actual communication.
2) To develop the basic abilities required to communicate one’s thoughts and feelings regarding simple and familiar matters, with respect to the purpose and situation in which communication is happening, through listening and speaking, as well as, based upon familiarity with the spoken voice, be able to read while intuiting the meanings of basic vocabulary and expressions, and be aware of word order while writing.

3) To deepen understanding of the culture behind foreign languages, and to cultivate an attitude towards communication that is both proactive[24] and considerate of others. (文部科学省、2017c, p. 156)

A reading of these goals with a plurilingual view of linguistic competence is at once suggestive of the potential for plurilingual approaches that align with government policy. I will briefly elaborate on that potential here:

1) Although 'foreign languages' here is intended to mean English[25], the clearly stated 'awareness of the differences between Japanese and foreign languages,' opens the way for reflexive language learning that is conscious of the mother tongue, and of general language awareness, not specific to any named language.
2) While the 'basic abilities required to communicate,' are not well defined, the wording 'with respect to the purpose and situation in which communication is happening' suggests a need to develop both language awareness and intercultural awareness in order to navigate interaction with a variety of interlocutors.
3) Again, even if the foreign language is intended to be English only, an awareness of the fact that many of the world's English users are not native speakers (not to mention that within the Anglosphere there is a diversity of even national-level culture), further clarifies the need for developing greater (pluri/inter)cultural awareness.

It is also worth mentioning here that ministry policy is cognizant of linguistic and cultural plurality, and references the need to address this in the commentary to the course of study:

題材としては，英語を使用している人々の日常生活等を取り上げるとともに，

[24] The original Japanese word, 主体的 (shutaiteki), offers a wide variety of potential translations, including agentive, independent, active, or even subjective.

[25] Recall that, while the language in the goals maintains the term 'foreign language(s)' [外国語], an addendum is included that states "the target language to be taught is, in principle, English" (文部科学省、2017c, p. 164), and the only language explicitly mentioned is English. While schools are allowed to adopt languages other than English as a target language, the implication is that they be taught in a traditional language teaching sense, with another language replacing English.

英語以外の言語を使う人々の日常生活も取り上げることにも配慮することが求められている。世界には英語以外の言語を話す人々も多い。そのことから，世界の人々を理解するには，英語以外の言語を使う人々の日常生活も取り上げることが大切である。

It is necessary to take into account the daily life of people who use English and also take into account the daily life of people who use languages other than English. Many people in the world speak languages other than English. Therefore, in order to understand the people in the world, it is important to take into account the daily lives of people who use languages other than English. (文部科学省、2017d, p. 134)

Finally, within Japan, while foreign languages as a subject have traditionally been taught in isolation, there is a growing interest in integrating (foreign) language with other subjects, an interest shared by MEXT (文部科学省・中央教育審議会、2019).

2.4 Integrated and Wholistic Approaches: CLIL, STEAM, and Plurilingualism

Echoing the sentiment of Coste, Moore, and Zarate (2009[1997]) that closed out the section on plurilingualism as a competence, and which highlighted a growing need "to provide individual pupils with methods and instruments enabling them to learn out[side] of school" (p. 26), discourse in general education has also increasingly recognized the need to respond to diversity in learners' future trajectories, not only in a social/cultural manner due to the ramifications of mobility due to superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), but also in an increasingly technologically diversifying world.

Put simply, traditional knowledge-transfer education has come to be widely regarded as insufficient in preparing learners for life in a future world, the shape of which educators themselves are becoming increasingly unsure. In response, a great deal of attention has recently been applied to integrated, cross-disciplinary learning. The importance of interdisciplinary study is not a new idea, and by far predates industrialized societies. For instance, in the 17th century, Comenius argued that "individual sciences are badly taught unless a simple and general survey is given before. And one ought never to instruct anybody in such a way that he becomes perfect in one branch of knowledge to the exclusion of others" (as cited in Ulrich, 1954, p. 345). This idea is making a

resurgence in response to the positivist, modernist education of much of the 20th century, in which subject boundaries and specialities have been clearly delineated.

While CLIL (Content and language integrated learning; see Coyle, Marsh and Hood, 2010) has gained much attention as one approach to integrating (foreign) language and subject learning (e.g., 柳瀬・小泉、2015; see also Stewart & Perry, 2005), many implementations require a high level of competence in the target language, and thus implementation at the elementary school level in Japan is likely to be difficult. Another interdisciplinary approach that is gaining attention is STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics) learning (文部科学省・中央教育審議会、2019; Babaci-Wilhite, 2019; Harris, de Bruin & Leon, 2018; Khine & Areepattamannil, 2019). STEAM is an approach that seeks to expand upon the work of STEM, by incorporating Arts (meaning fine arts, language and liberal arts, motor and physical arts; Yakman, 2008). Much as in plurilingualism, which emphasizes the interconnectivity of languages (Lüdi & Py, 2009), STEAM seeks to break down the separation of subjects and encourage interdisciplinary knowledge-building through fostering awareness of connections between disciplines and to emphasize the importance of art and aesthetics in disciplinary learning (e.g., Sinclair, 2006). Some studies have examined STEAM with a specific inclusion of plurilingual education as language arts, encouraging the development of transferable skills in multiple languages across arts and science disciplines[26] (Moore, Hoskyn & Mayo, 2018; Moore, 2018; 2021).

As plurilingualism is "fundamentally an interdisciplinary concept" (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020, p. 31), a plurilingual stance may be conducive to promoting interdisciplinary learning in the elementary school context, one of the areas of interest of the research in this thesis. It is also worth mentioning here a presence in elementary schools that could contribute greatly to interdisciplinary language education, but may as yet be underutilised: Assistant language teachers (ALTs).

2.4.1 Assistant Language Teachers: Underappreciated Contributors?

First introduced on a large scale in Japan in 1987, exclusively from the Anglosphere, ALTs began to join elementary schools in an experimental capacity in 2002 (小串、2008). As of 2017, ALTs participate in more than 70% of elementary school foreign language classes (文部科学省、2018).

[26] Plurilingual STEAM is also (more commonly) referred to as PASTEL, from the French *Plurilinguismes, AST (Art, Sciences, Technologie) et Littératies* (see also Oyama, Moore, Pearce & Kitano, 2021 forthcoming).

While ALTs were initially recruited only from the Anglosphere, the ALT population is beginning to diversify both linguistically and culturally, a fact that has gained some attention in the recent literature (e.g., 松本・山本、2019; Mahoney, 2020). Furthermore, as the only requirement for ALTs is to hold a bachelor's degree (in any subject: CLAIR, 2020a), they are not typically trained in foreign language education, but do have backgrounds in a wide variety of disciplinary content. Thus, while ALTs are often portrayed as simply English language assistants (and generally as monolingual native-English speakers: see Chapter 5 for more detail), there is likely untapped potential in their population, both in terms of plurilingual repertories as well as subject knowledge, that could be better capitalized upon for learning in more plurilingual, interdisciplinary classes.

2.5 Plurilingual Education in Japan: A Travelling Concept

"Concepts travel and it is better to know that they travel" (Morin, 1990, p. 154, as cited in Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020). To close off this chapter, I borrow this quote in order to provide some perspective on plurilingualism as a broad concept. Originally a European term, although drawing inspiration from a plurality of research and research contexts, and a multifaceted term at that, interpretations of plurilingualism do not necessarily carry over as-is into new contexts. For instance, recall the discussion on plurilingualism as a *value* – a value that in the European sense is embraced by some scholars in Japan (Nishiyama, 2017), while rejected by others (投野、2013), as in other contexts where it is again approached with concern by some (Flores, 2013), while welcomed by others (Slaughter & Cross, 2021). Each of these scholars has a slightly different understanding and perspective on the concept.

Plurilingualism as a competence, as well, is likely to be interpreted in different ways by different scholars in different contexts. In Japan, much of the original discourse on plurilingualism began at the tertiary level, primarily by French as a foreign language (FFL) researchers and practitioners, who have often raised plurilingualism in arguments for the promotion of French language education particularly in the face of English-only education (e.g., Ishikawa, 2020). Plurilingual education has since developed some prominence at other levels of schooling, in part due to a resistance to English-only, (although inclusive of English: 吉村・南、2016), and at the

elementary school level (岩坂・吉村、2011; 大谷、2014; 大山、2016; 2019b; 吉村・松川、2007; 大山・モーア・ピアース・入澤・北野、2021).

Although plurilingual education is garnering greater interest at the elementary level, some have argued that the hurdle is too high for elementary school teachers who lack knowledge of various foreign languages (although they demonstrate an interest in such approaches if support is given: see Oyama & Pearce, 2019), or that Japanese elementary school children are not prepared to engage with several language varieties simultaneously, as their "exposure to multiple foreign languages in daily life is quite limited" (Koishi, 2012, p. 65).

Part of this perceived difficulty in implementing plurilingual practice may be a result of the lack of plurilingual concepts addressed in teacher training (大山、2019a). Another issue might reside in the nature of the plurilingual literature in Japan: Much of the research on plurilingual practice in Japanese schools has been initiated by university researchers who are either well-versed in plurilingual practices, or have greater access to plurilingual materials (see, for instance, 岩坂・吉村、2011; 大山、2016; 2019b; 吉村・松川、2007).

There is a dearth of research that has examined bottom-up approaches initiated and sustained by practicing teachers themselves. It is this gap that the research in this thesis seeks to address, by investigating how the concept of plurilingualism has appeared in the everyday practices of teachers in Japanese elementary schools. I wish to examine bottom-up, teacher-initiated plurilingual and intercultural education practices, as well as how the teachers came to implement them. I would also address a gap in the literature on plurilingual ALTs, as while much of the recent literature has been concerned with the binary native/non-native status of ALTs (e.g., 杉本・山本、2019; Mahoney, 2020), few have examined a) classroom practice conducted with plurilingual ALTs, b) the extent of linguistic diversity in the ALT population, or c) the beliefs and experiences of plurilingual ALTs involved with foreign language education in Japan.

Through this broad range of foci, the general goal is to demonstrate that plurilingualism is not simply a 'high concept' that belongs to the academic elite, nor useful only in highly multilingual and multicultural contexts, but is a natural state, and potentially a grassroots interdisciplinary approach to foreign language education, and to consider that implications this might have in the training of a new generation of teachers. To this end, I developed the research questions outlined in the final section of this chapter.

2.6 Research Questions

Given the scope of this thesis in examining perspectives, practice, and plurilingual realities in Japanese elementary schools, the research questions are necessarily broad. The first question relates to how practitioners in Japan have come to implement grassroots plurilingual education in their classes:

1. What, in the personal trajectories of language teachers, motivates them to pursue plurilingual education, particularly in a double-monolingual paradigm, dominated by traditional TESOL and native-speakerism discourse?

The first question is explored in Chapter 4. The second and third questions relate specifically to ALTs, and form the core of the explorations undertaken in Chapter 5:

2. Given representations of ALTs as monolingual native English speakers in MEXT documents, how do non-native English-speaking ALTs engage in team teaching at elementary schools?
3. What linguistic resources do ALTs have at their disposal, and how are they used/not used in the classroom?

The final two questions address grassroots plurilingual practice specifically, and most importantly, children's learning. These two questions are addressed in Chapter 6:

4. As a 'fundamentally interdisciplinary concept,' how is sustainable, grassroots plurilingual education implemented by practitioners in Japanese elementary schools?
5. What kind of learning occurs as a result of these plurilingual practices?

After outlining the research methodologies I apply across this thesis, and then examining these broad questions in the following chapters, I will conclude this thesis with a discussion about what implications the studies have for teacher education moving forward.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I outline the research approach(es) and methodologies that I have adopted/applied in this thesis. Broadly speaking, the research is qualitative, localized within the constructivist paradigm, and applies plurilingualism as a lens[27] (Marshall & Moore, 2013; Lin, 2020) to interpret issues raised through ethnographic considerations of the research questions. After providing a brief description of my research stance, and of constructivist qualitative research, I detail the participants in each study and provide a description of the research contexts and the collection of multimodal data. I then describe the various ethnographic approaches I applied to analyses of the data, including polyethnographic qualitative analysis, conversation analysis, and thematic analysis, elements of which are weaved throughout the studies in this thesis. I conclude the chapter with a short discussion of the concepts of validity/credibility, reliability/dependability, and objectivity/confirmability.

3.1 Research Stance

As the broad aim of this thesis, articulated in the research questions of the previous chapter, is to examine grassroots plurilingual practice and plurilingual realities in Japanese elementary schools from a variety of perspectives, I adopt a qualitative research approach within the constructivist paradigm (Section 3.1.2). As educational research, much as teaching itself, is inherently context-dependent, personal, and political (Spolsky, 2004), I also adopt, as much as possible, an *emic* perspective to the analyses of the data (Section 3.1.3).

Plurilingualism, and multiple perspectives, have also been applied in the pragmatics of the research process – the analyses were not conducted by myself alone, but as part of a plurilingual team (see section 3.3.1 for specific details), and the linguistic navigations that the team had to make in exploring, understanding, and explaining observations enrichened the research process itself.

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[27] I.e., in contrast to what might be called a 'monolingual lens,' my analytic focus in not on the developing proficiency in a specific, named language, but rather wholistic learning of languages and around language learning, with the entire linguistic repertoire in mind. This lens "allows researchers to dismantle perceptions of arbitrary boundaries within individuals' linguistic repertoires, and relates to broader issues such as individual agency, knowledge formation, and engagement" (Marshall & Moore, 2013, p. 474).

3.1.1 Qualitative Research within a Constructivist Paradigm

Qualitative research is sometimes said to consist of four major (competing) paradigms; positivist, post-positivist, constructivist, and critical (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). While a full discussion of these paradigms is beyond the scope of this research, a delineation between positivist and constructivist approaches will be useful in explicating the research stance in this thesis, which falls firmly in the constructivist paradigm (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Positivist and constructivist views on knowledge questions (adapted from Figueiredo & Cunha, 2006).

QUESTIONS	STANCE	
	POSITIVISM	**CONSTRUCTIVISM**
ontological questions	**realist hypothesis**	**phenomenological hypothesis**
what can be known?	we can know reality, which is external to us, independent from us, and driven by immutable laws	we know the world by interacting with it in an emergent process that changes knowledge as we keep interacting
epistemological questions	**deterministic hypothesis**	**teleological hypothesis**
what is knowledge?	knowledge is what we learn by exploring the causes of the problems we face	knowledge is what gets us to an intended result
methodological questions	**principle of analytical modelling**	**principle of complexity**
how can knowledge be built?	to explain reality, we must divide each difficulty into as many parts as possible and necessary to resolve it better	we build knowledge by recognizing the world as complex and in constant flux, embodying stability, change, chaos, and order, the whole exceeding the sum of parts and the parts interacting in the shared, emergent and largely unpredictable construction of reality
	principle of sufficient reason	**principle of intelligent action**

	there is no effect without a cause and no change without a reason for change	human reason can transform intelligible representations of the dissonances to which it is confronted by creating responses in the form of “intelligent actions” adapted to reduce these dissonances
ethical questions what is the value of knowledge	**principle of value exclusion** values have no role to play in knowledge construction **principle of extrinsic ethics** ethical behaviour is formally policed by external mechanisms	**principle of value inclusion** values have an essential role to play in the emergent process of knowledge construction **principle of intrinsic ethics** ethical behaviour is constructed by each research in the persistent search for the common good

The constructivist view of knowledge as something that changes through interaction resonates with plurilingualism, which regards an individual’s competence as composite and complex, influencing and influenced by sociohistorical contexts and life histories [28]. Thus, working within a constructivist paradigm also requires that analyses and results are participant-relevant (although are *transferable*, see section 3.4.2 below), suggestive of an emic rather than a (positivistic) etic approach.

3.1.2 Emic v Etic Perspectives

An emic perspective is an approach to analyses of data from the participants’ perspective, as opposed to an etic stance, an external application of theory or perspective to data (typically in a positivistic sense). The distinction between emic and etic approaches to analysis is perhaps best defined by Pike (1967, but see also Markee, 2013):

[28] See also the definition of plurilingual and pluricultural competence, Chapter 2, section 2.2.1.

> The etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system… Descriptions or analyses from the etic standpoint are "alien" in view, with criteria external to the system. Emic descriptions provide an internal view, with criteria chosen from within the system. (Pike, 1967, p. 37)

An emic stance within a constructivist approach informed my choice in having the teacher participants in the research engage in analyses by providing their own interpretations and engaging in dialogue with the research team during examinations of the data collected. This was a particularly important stance to take given the aim of the thesis to specifically examine grassroots, teacher-initiated pedagogies within the Japanese context.

3.2 Participants & Data Collection

More detailed information is outlined in each of the relevant chapters, but in this section, I will give a brief overview of the participants and data collection in this thesis.

3.2.1 Participants

The participants in this broad study were two-fold: a) practicing elementary school teachers and their children, and b) assistant language teachers (ALTs). As the general aims of the research were to uncover plurilingual realities in practice, connections with the elementary school teachers were established through the natural progression of my research: Kana Irisawa (Kana-sensei), a homeroom teacher at an elementary school attached to a university with a speciality in Japanese [国語], with whom I became acquainted after learning about her practice through a research colleague, and Yuki Kitano (Yuki-sensei), who was at the time of research an English/Mathematics specialist and is a licensed secondary school English teacher in addition to her elementary school qualifications. The research team began collaborating with Yuki-sensei after meeting at an academic conference in 2019. Both teachers had been teaching for more than 10 years before we began to observe their practice.

As for the assistant language teacher (ALT) participants, the first participant was Obada (pseudonym), to whom I was introduced by another research colleague I met during my master's

degree programme at Kyoto University. Obada was in his second year as an ALT at the time I observed his classes and had previously completed a master's degree in foreign language acquisition at an educational university in Japan.

Motivated by my preliminary research on Obada's classes, I conducted a survey and follow-up interviews with current and former ALTs around the country (181 survey respondents and 8 interviewees, more detail given in Chapter 5), whom I recruited through personal connections with local boards of education, and by advertising on ALT networking groups on social media. Table 3.2 summarizes the participants:

Table 3.2 Participants

Participant	Role	Type of School
Yuki-sensei	Specialist FLE/Maths teacher	Public joint elementary/junior high school
Yuki-sensei's children (N = 142, 76 boys, 66 girls)		
Kana-sensei	Homeroom teacher	National (attached to a university)
Kana-sensei's children (N =27, 14 boys, 13 girls)		
Obada	Assistant language teacher	Public elementary school
181 ALTs	Assistant language teachers	Various: See Chapter 5

3.2.2 Research Sites & Connections to Research Aims

The research conducted in this thesis was multimodal and involved both on-site observation (Chapters 5 and 6) as well as distance-based research (questionnaires and interviews: Chapters 4, 5, and 6). The distance research was conducted online through Google forms, as well as Zoom interviews, and the on-site observations were as follows:

1) Observation of Kana-sensei's classes: Conducted over a period of two academic years (2018-19, 2019-20) at a national elementary school connected to a university in western Japan. Observations were of Kana-sensei's homeroom class children in *Gengo Bunka* classes (explained in Chapters 4 and 6) during their fifth and sixth grades. Other ethnographic observations included the children's scholastic productions, reflective journaling, and ethnographic photography of the classroom/school ecology.

2) Observation of Yuki-sensei's classes: Conducted over the 2019-20 and 2020-21 academic years at a public joint elementary/junior high school in western Japan, with specific observation of fourth- and fifth-grade children engaging in plurilingual STEAM classes over two months in the 2020-21 academic year. Other ethnographic observations included the children's scholastic productions, reflective journaling, and ethnographic photography of the classroom/school ecology.

3) Observation of Obada's and colleagues' classes: Conducted over three months during the 2017-2018 academic year, during lessons with second- and fifth-grade children at a public elementary school in western Japan. Data collected included informal conversations with Obada before/after the lessons observed, as well as ethnographic photography of the classroom ecology.

Analyses of observations of the classroom ecologies and lesson practices described here correspond to research questions 2, 4, and 5, while research questions 1 and 3 were considered through analyses of other multimodal data, described in the next section and in the subsequent research chapters.

3.3 Multimodal Ethnographic Analysis

A wide range of ethnographic data was collected, which required different forms of analysis to address. Categorization of the types of data collected resulted in the following ten types:

1) Interviews/interview transcripts
2) Researcher/practitioner field notes
3) Video recordings/transcripts of video
4) Meeting minutes
5) Visual biographies
6) Children's reflective journaling
7) Ethnographic photography
8) Email, text message, and other written correspondence
9) Previously published research by the practitioners
10) Questionnaires

The wealth of ethnographic data collected required the use of specific analysis methods in response to the individual research questions raised or the nature of the data collected, including conversation analysis (section 3.3.2), to analyse Obada's lessons, Chapter 5, or thematic analysis (section 3.3.3), for ALT interview responses in Chapter 5 and children's learning in Chapter 6. The remainder of the ethnographic data was analysed following the general principles of polyethnography, outlined in the following section. Given the emic nature of the research, and my own plurilingual stance as a researcher, the multiperspectival analyses afforded by the plurilingual research team were essential, and are described in the next section.

3.3.1 Polyethnographical Understandings: Researching as a Team

Polyethnography, more commonly called duoethnography[29], is a qualitative research methodology in which multiple researchers employ dialogue as an analytical framework. The methodology, initially conceived of by Norris and Sawyer (2004), has been defined as "a collaborative research methodology in which two or more researchers of difference juxtapose their life histories to provide multiple understandings of the world" (Norris & Sawyer, 2012, p. 9). The methodology has come to be applied in the interdisciplinary fields which are central to this thesis; childhood education (see, for instance, Matapo & Leaupepe, 2016), teacher training (Higgins, Morton & Wolkenhauer, 2018), and applied linguistics/language teaching (e.g., Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020; Lowe & Lawrence, 2018; Rose & Montakantiwong, 2018). While Norris (2012) points out that the ethnographical process necessitates adaptation to individual research circumstances, many implementations of polyethnography share the following five aspects (adapted from Olt & Teman, 2019; Lawrence & Lowe, 2020):

> 1) A focus on *currere*: A concept developed by William Pinar (1975), which focuses on the ways in which each person's current skills, abilities, and beliefs are a result of a life history that has served as a form of 'curriculum' during their development. By examining life histories, polyethnographers are able to understand how different events and experiences have acted as a curriculum that influenced their current state.

[29] I employ the term *polyethnography* (Olt & Teman, 2019) over duoethnography primarily to avoid confusion about the number of participants in the analytical process (in the case of this thesis, varying between four and five).

This focus on *currere* is weaved throughout the thesis. In Chapter 4, I focus primarily on how the life histories of the two teachers (Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei) have influenced their plurilingual views and practices, their *currere* explored through both dialogue and artefacts (visual autobiographical narratives). In the first part of Chapter 5, while the focus was more on interaction in the classroom and therefore employed a different approach to analyses (Conversation Analysis: section 3.3.2), this was complemented by informal discussions with the participants. In the second half of Chapter 5, the backgrounds of the participants are explained in as much detail as possible to localize their interview responses. Finally, in Chapter 6, I examine the classroom practices of Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei, which are elaborated upon in reference to their life stories in Chapter 4, but also, crucially, co-interpreted with the teachers themselves. In all of the chapters, I have strived to maintain the voices of the participants, another key aspect of polyethnography:

> 2) Polyvocal and dialogic: Reports are polyvocal with the individual voice of each researcher/author made explicit. Bringing together multiple voices allows for the presentation of phenomena as viewed from multiple angles (multiperspectivity).

The analytic comments that have been penned in each chapter are the culmination of plurilingual discussions and reflections on the multimodal data carried out (in Japanese, French, and English) between myself and my co-researchers, Mayo Oyama and Danièle Moore as well as the participants (in English and Japanese). While the individual voices of the researchers are not necessarily made explicit, this style of writing has been chosen to maintain, as much as possible, the integrity (and primacy) of the participants' narratives (Chapters 4 and 5), as well as their understandings and interpretations of practice (Chapters 5 and 6). Localizing and maintaining their voices explicitly within their individual *currere* is in line with the Bourdieauvian view that "we must relinquish the single, central, dominant, in a word, quasi-divine, point of view that is all too easily adopted by observers" (1999, p. 3). This approach leads to:

> 3) Disrupting metanarratives: Metanarratives adopt the assumption of truth from a single point of view, rather than embracing constructivism (Norris & Sawyer, 2012). Providing multiple voices (Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei) and multiple perspectives (the multiple

members of the research team) allows a more effective questioning of “cultural grand narratives” (Lawrence & Lowe, 2020, p. 12), for instance, the double monolingualism that continues to influence FLE in Japan, and which requires

4) Difference: Within polyethnography, it is typically expected that the authors be different in at least one key aspect related to the study (Norris & Sawyer, 2012).

The differences that engender the multiperspectivity in this study were touched upon above, and came about from the plural nature of the team that conducted the polyethnography: Myself, an Aotearoa New Zealander, bilingual in English and Japanese, researcher and licensed secondary school English teacher; Danièle Moore, a French researcher bilingual in French and English, and a visiting researcher in Japan for several months during 2020, Mayo Oyama, a Japanese researcher bilingual in Japanese, French, and English, and also a licensed secondary school teacher, Yuki Kitano (Chapters 4 and 6), an elementary school teacher who at the time of research specialised in foreign language and mathematics, and is bilingual in English and Japanese, and Kana Irisawa (Chapters 4 and 6), an elementary school homeroom teacher with a background in Japanese subject [国語] instruction, and who describes herself as monolingual. Chapter 5 represents a polyphonic array of participants’ voicings, demonstrating a plurality in languages and cultures amongst the ALT population, localized (albeit briefly) within their histories, in contrast to the homogenous representations of ALTs in the previous literature (Pearce, 2021).

Finally, polyethnography

5) Requires trust: Due to the fact that polyethnographies often require researchers to dig deep into personal histories and reveal and explore experiences, feelings, and emotions, it is essential for the researchers to trust and respect each other.

A relationship of trust was built over the two-year project (for Yuki-sensei, around a year), as we worked together for materials development, observed classes, and the researchers were often active participants in the classes themselves. Our work entailed much correspondence, and engendered friendships, as we exchanged emails regarding materials development as well as research writing, joined training seminars together, and gave feedback on each other’s writing and practices. As my time was more limited for the interviews with ALTs in Chapter 5, verbal agreements were made

between myself and the participants that I would use pseudonyms, and also obfuscate any data that may be able to lead to their identification.

Finally, a point must be made clear about the way I have chosen to represent the data. Polyethnographical accounts (in the auto/duoethnography literature) tend to follow two divergent epistemologies: Evocative ethnography, which presents data as fictionalized dialogues constructed from multiple real discussions (see, for instance, Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2018) in order to convey an "epistemology of emotion, moving the reader to feel the feelings of others" (Denzin, 1997, p. 228); and analytical ethnography, in the "realist ethnographic tradition" (Anderson, 2006, p. 374), which attempts to maintain the integrity of the raw data in line with conventional ethnography. I have chosen the latter approach, maintaining as much as possible the voices of the participants and making explicit when their utterances were first recorded, out of respect to the voices of the teachers, and in respect to a final 'tenet' of some implementations of polyethnography; the reader is "co-participant and active witness," invited to judge for themselves the analyses of meaning in the texts (Werbińska, 2020, p. 272). As the focus of the research was grassroots plurilingual pedagogy, the accompanying analyses are written from a more neutral viewpoint, a compilation of the discussions shared between the members of the research group, with a small number of reactions on part of the interviewers maintained for the purposes of cohesion.

3.3.1.1 Reflexive Polyethnography & Didactic Repertoires

Polyethnography is dualistic in nature: It is both a research methodology, as outlined in the previous section, as well as a type of collaborative reflective practice (Higgins, Morton & Wolkenhauer, 2018). The analyses were therefore consciously conducted from an emic perspective, which also allowed for the teachers to develop a reflexive understanding of their own epistemologies of action and their practices, and how they intertwine with their plurilingual *didactic repertoires*.

Here, the notion of didactic repertoire[30] is borrowed from Cicurel (2011), who, interested in the study of teacher action, defines it as a heterogenous set of knowledge, pedagogical know-how, and models of experiences that support classroom practice and allows us to situate the teacher as

[30] The term didactic repertoire is not widely used in the English literature (although see Craciun, 2010; Bakker & de Vries, 2019). Although a somewhat uncommon term, I have chosen to maintain the nomenclature as I was first introduced to this concept in the French literature.

‘author of actions.’ This didactic repertoire shares qualities with the Japanese concept of a teacher’s 資質 (shishitsu) (roughly, internal resources), often referred to in the literature (see, for instance, 吉村・松川、2007), but rarely clearly defined, although frequently discussed colloquially among practitioners as 引き出し (hikidashi), a teacher’s ‘drawer,’). Here, I adopt Cadet’s (2004) view in lieu of redefining the concept, which explicates a very clear link between the epistemologies of practitioners and the contexts of experience and training within which their repertoires are forged and transformed (or their *hikidashi* made deeper):

> Ces savoirs et savoir-faire se forgent à partir de modèles de références socioculturels (le rôle de l'enseignant dans une société donnée et les représentations qui en découlent) et scolaires intériorisés (tout ce qui a trait au passé personnel de l'apprenant), acquis par expérience, observation et/ou par imitation, et à partir de nouveaux modèles de références théoriques et pratiques de formation professionnelle pédagogique (type de formation suivie et discours explicites tenus dans le(s) lieu(x) de formation) proposés et rendus disponibles durant la formation. L'ensemble des modèles renvoie par conséquent à la notion de culture(s) éducative(s) à laquelle (auxquelles) les étudiants - en tant qu'individus, que citoyens, qu'apprenants - ont été/sont exposés dans une société donnée et à un moment donné
>
> knowledge and know-how are forged on the basis of socio-cultural (the role of the teacher in a given society and the resulting representations) and internalized academic (everything related to the learner’s personal background) reference nodes, acquired through experience, observation and/or imitation, and on the basis of new theoretical and practical reference models for professional teacher training (type of training followed and explicit discourse held in the place(s) of training), proposed and made available during the training. The set of models, therefore, refers to the notion of educational culture(s) to which students – as individuals, as citizens, as learners – have been/are exposed in a given society and at a given time. (Cadet, 2004, pp. 61-62)

The two teachers whose life stories and practices are examined in Chapters 4 and 6, respectively, and are co-authors of the original articles[31] upon which the chapters are primarily based, are veterans in elementary education, a context in which they have both worked for more than ten years, and one in which English has enjoyed a privileged status within the double monolingualism paradigm. While both Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei underwent professional training to become elementary school teachers, as we will see in Chapter 4, their experiences and trajectories have been quite different. However, for both teachers, linguistic and cultural pluralities were largely invisible in the training process, and plurilingual approaches non-existent (see also 大山、2019a; Asaoka, 2019). Nevertheless, both have come to implement plurilingual approaches in their own practice, in language classes and interdisciplinary learning projects, and in everyday classroom life they endeavour to present knowledge from multiple points of view and to offer learners an *experience* of otherness.

As both the teachers (as well as the ALTs in Chapter 5) lacked formal training in plurilingual methods, they resorted to self-training and seeking for themselves the resources they felt aligned with their pedagogical intuitions. Through collaboration with other university researchers, through observation, and collaborative research, the teachers have developed, and continue to develop, their repertoires. Wishing to build up practices based upon sound scientific and epistemological stances, as well as multi-situated know-how, collaboration through participatory action research has become a matter of course for the partners. Here, we understand collaboration in participatory action research as research *with* and *for* teachers, echoed in movements such as Exploratory Practice, which seeks to, among other things, “work primarily to understand classroom life” and “work also for mutual development” (Allwright, 2003, pp. 128-130; see also Hanks, 2017; Hiratsuka, 2016). The action research draws on studies of classroom practice (praxis) and teacher thinking (updating epistemologies of practice; Allwright, 2014; see also Yanase, 2020) and is built on a partnership based on collaboration in both data collection and interpretation through dialogue. The aim of the research is equally as politically oriented (the development of curricula and educational recommendations through the questioning of the metanarratives of double monolingualism and English-only) as it is oriented to professional development, and the growth and transformation of practices, which is expected to have implications for teacher training.

[31] Moore, Oyama, Pearce, Kitano & Irisawa, 2020; Pearce, Oyama, Moore & Irisawa, 2020; Pearce, Oyama, Moore, Kitano & Fujita, 2021.

Collaboration and reflective dialogue, sometimes initiated by teachers, such as Kana-sensei's engagement with plurilingual practice before the researchers' involvement (大谷、2014), or Yuki-sensei's collaboration with other teachers and research communities (安達・阿部・北野・諸木、2019), and sometimes by the researchers who accompany them, facilitate the co-development of resources and reflective observation on them, and are situated in the core of the pooling (and mobilization) of knowledge, which itself is often situated in different places. Here we place particular emphasis on the principles of *intersubjectivity* (understanding is constructed in and through polyethnographic dialogue) and *endo-referentiality* (understanding is constructed with reference to an individual's own system of values) in order to emphasize the fact that the search for meaning develops through interaction and reflexive dialogue, just as these meanings are the result of situated representations of people, filtered by their own systems of reference, values, and experiences.

Having outlined the principles of polyethnography and didactic repertoires that underpin the research in this thesis, the next two sections will outline research methodologies applied to specific data analyses (classroom interaction, ALT interview responses, and children's learning).

3.3.2 Conversation Analysis[32]

Conversation Analysis (CA) was chosen as the methodology to analyse interaction in the classroom between an ALT (Obada) and various homeroom teachers (Chapter 5). CA is a methodology for the analyses of talk in interaction, first developed in the 1960s as an "observational discipline that could deal with the details of social action rigorously, empirically, and formally" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 289). CA is now applied in a wide variety of fields, including education in general (McHoul, 1978; 1990) as well as second/foreign language education (e.g., Wong & Waring, 2010; Waring, 2016), and aims to "describe, analyze, and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life" (Sidnell, 2010, p. 1). As a methodology, CA works on the following set of assumptions:

(1) social interaction is orderly at all points;

[32] Adapted in part from Pearce (2017).

> (2) participants orient to that order themselves – that is, order is not a result of the analyst's conceptions or any preformulated theoretical categories; and
> (3) such order can be discovered and described by examining the details of interaction. (Waring, 2016, p. 45)

As CA attempts to identify and describe the principles that guide spoken interaction, principles that interactants have implicit knowledge of and orient to, it also necessarily takes an emic stance as a methodology; CA does not attempt to code instances of interaction, nor to test or validate external theories. It is, however, a useful tool for describing and analysing interaction, in both everyday situations as well as institutional talk (i.e., situated talk with an external purpose, such as doctor-patient interaction or, indeed, the classroom).

A key difference between ordinary (i.e., everyday) conversation and institutional talk is that in the former each participant has equal rights to conversation, whereas, in the latter, a certain participant has more conversational rights than others. In the case of classroom (pedagogical) interaction, one type of institutional interaction, the teacher has more interactional rights in conversation than the student. McHoul's (1978) seminal study first explicitly identified this dynamic in the classroom, revealing that, for example, the teacher is the sole holder of next speaker-selection rights.

Interaction is likely to be more complex in the team-taught classroom, as there is a greater number of teachers (homeroom teacher and the ALT, the latter of whom may or may not exhibit elevated interactional rights, and whose interaction dynamics are therefore likely to be complex). Furthermore, teacher-student talk in the classroom also has the following unique and influential properties:

1) language is both the vehicle and object of instruction,
2) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce in the L2 will inevitably be linked in some way to the pedagogical purposes which the teacher introduces, and
3) the linguistic forms and patterns of interaction which the learners produce are subject to evaluation by the teacher in some way (adapted from Seedhouse, 1996, p. 109)

A key motivator for adopting CA over other research methods, in particular, to analyse Obada's lessons was the following:

> 1) The data should not be approached with any prior theoretical assumptions, regarding, for example, power, gender, or race; unless there is evidence in the details of the interaction that the interactions themselves are orienting to it. (Seedhouse, 2005, pp. 166-67)

This factor was crucial in choosing to adopt CA, given that the discourse on team teaching with ALTs is fraught with power issues (e.g., Miyazato, 2009), discussions of roles or conflict (狩野・尾関、2018; Hiratsuka, 2013), or issues of race/nationality or 'native speaker' status (杉本・山本、2019; Kano et al., 2016; Mahoney, 2020). Given the plurilingual stance through which I am conducting this research, I did not consider either Obada's bilingualism or 'non-native' status, or the prior research on teacher conflict or power issues as *a priori* concerns in my analyses, and therefore only refer to them when they became relevant in interaction (i.e., the participants, Obada or his homeroom teacher colleagues oriented to them in the data).

Given the focus of this thesis on pedagogy, the CA carried out was not 'pure' CA research, in the traditional sense, but it was rather applied as a tool for description and analysis that was participant relevant, divorced from external theories on 'how team teaching should be,' or power struggles between teachers often reported in the literature (in line with similar research such as Aline & Hosoda, 2006; Butterfield & Bhatta, 2015; Pearce, 2020a; b). The transcription conventions adopted in this thesis are outlined in Appendix A.

3.3.3 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a widely-used qualitative analytic method that originated in the field of psychology and can be "applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches" to research (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 78). The basic procedure for conducting thematic analysis is outlined on Table 3.3, below.

Table 3.3 Thematic analysis procedure

Step	Description
1. Familiarizing	Transcribing data, reading and re-reading data, noting initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the data set, collating data relevant to each other.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts, and the entire data set.
5. Defining/naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	Final analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of extracts, relating back to research questions and literature.

(adapted from Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

One of the attractive features of thematic analysis is its flexibility and applicability to a wide variety of contexts and thereby its malleability in respect to epistemological stances. It is therefore important both that "the theoretical framework and methods match what the researcher wants to know, and that they acknowledge these decisions, and recognize them *as* decisions" (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 80).

In this thesis, I apply thematic analysis to two very different data sets: a) transcripts of interview data conducted with ALTs in Chapter 5; and b) children's reflective journaling in Chapter 6, and the decisions made in the coding processes are made explicit in each chapter. The qualitative difference in the data required different approaches:

1) ALT interview data: As the broad aims of the interviews were to explore the experiences and uncover the beliefs of plurilingual ALTs, particularly those that were likely to be prevalent in the population, it was necessary for me to consider a quantitative aspect: How many ALT interviews would be sufficient? To this end, I applied Fugard and Potts' (2015) formula to determine a necessary sample size of 8 participants (for more detail, see Chapter 5). Once the data had been transcribed, I conducted initial coding and

generating of the themes myself, which were subsequently revised after consultation with members of my research team.

2) Children's reflective journaling: Conducted as part of the analyses surrounding Yuki-sensei's practice in Chapter 6, specifically to identify themes in the children's learning, I had a specific target population; the reflective journals of two fourth grade classes (n = 72, 39 boys and 33 girls), and two fifth grade classes (n = 70, 37 boys and 33 girls). As the journals were written primarily in Japanese, I first translated them into English for easier sharing with the research team, and the coding and generating of themes was a collaborative effort from the beginning of the procedure.

While both data sets were analysed from a constructivist viewpoint, the specific approaches taken to the coding of each data set are elaborated upon in the relevant chapters.

3.4 Criteria for Evaluating Research

Within the constructivist paradigm, a number of assumptions are made when engaging in qualitative research, including "a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent co-create understandings, and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures)" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017, p. 56). As such, positivist criteria for evaluating research, such as internal/external validity, reliability, and objectivity cannot reasonably be applied to the evaluation of research. Commonly favoured criteria for evaluation rather include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Table 3.4, below), which I will consider in this section.

Table 3.4 Criteria for constructivist research (adapted from Denzin & Lincoln, 2017, pp. 56-57; 'characteristics' modelled after Lincoln & Guba, 1986)

Positivist criteria	**Constructivist criteria**	**Characteristics of constructivist criteria**
Internal validity	Credibility	Was my engagement prolonged enough to identify saliencies in the situations analysed? Was the data triangulated through different sources and methods, and interpreted by different

		investigators? Were the analyses credible from the perspectives of the participants?
External validity	Transferability	Were the analyses detailed enough to apply all (or part) of the findings elsewhere? Was the data descriptive enough for readers to make that judgement?
Reliability	Dependability	Was the *process* of data collection analyses described sufficiently to explain results as reported?
Objectivity	Confirmability	Were the results as reported sufficiently localized so that the researcher/participants' perspectives are clear to the reader?

3.4.1 Credibility

The criteria for credibility involve prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing (examination by a disinterested professional peer), and member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017), while credibility is also strengthened by a researcher's familiarity with the setting of the research (Charmaz, 2006).

With respect to familiarity with the setting, I was at an advantage to some degree: I had previously been an ALT teaching in the Japanese context for five years, had undergone the teacher training programme during my time at Kyoto University, and was well acquainted with foreign language education theory, and some of the unique circumstances and challenges of the Japanese context. However, I was not necessarily familiar with some of the specific contexts; I had little experience teaching in the elementary school context (see Oyama & Pearce, 2019, which details my limited experience), and I was a licensed *secondary* (not elementary) school teacher. These disadvantages were alleviated somewhat by the prolonged nature of the research, as the ethnographical research was carried out over a period of a year to two years at each of the elementary school sites (several months in the case of Chapter 5, but several years-long interactions with the homeroom teachers), and also by the nature of the research team, which included both more experienced researchers and practitioners than myself (described in section 3.2.1, above, and in greater detail in Chapters 4, 5, and 6).

Triangulation, defined by Flick (2008) as the "combining different types of data on the background of the theoretical perspectives, which are applied to the data" (p. 41), was achieved through the wealth of multimodal data collected (in different schools and classrooms), and the

different analytical methods applied (section 3.3). The polyethnographic approach taken to much of the analyses satisfied the member checks criteria (i.e., analyses were typically prolonged, and at each stage feedback and interpretations from all research members, including the practitioners, were considered). Finally, 'peer debriefing' was satisfied by the peer review process of the individual research papers that make up each of the chapters.

3.4.2 Transferability

Transferability lies in the descriptive detail of qualitative research: In essence, are the analyses detailed enough to apply all (or part) of the findings elsewhere, and are the data descriptive enough for readers to make that judgement? Part of this lies in the providing of 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973, in other contexts referred to as 'rich pictures,' Checkland & Poulter, 2010; Pearce, 2019). While there are no definitive criteria for just how 'thick' descriptions should be, I have attempted to provide as much detail as possible, by referring to the sociopolitical contexts of the research (in the introduction, and touched upon in each individual study chapter), as well as being as descriptive as possible in presenting the data (such as by maintaining the original Japanese alongside my English translations in Chapters 4 and 6). Furthermore, the nature of the research team conducting the polyethnographic analyses has been made explicit both in section 3.3 above, and where relevant in the individual chapters.

3.4.3 Dependability & Confirmability

Dependability and confirmability are intertwined criteria; the former is contingent primarily on the description of the research *process* (but also the product), and the latter on the accessibility and quality of the data. With regards to dependability, the broad outlines of the processes of research conducted in this thesis have been described in sections 3.2 and 3.3 of this chapter, although each individual chapter also outlines the specific processes for the studies concerned. With regards to confirmability, all of the data obtained during the research progress have been digitally stored by the researcher, with metadata allowing for ease of cataloguing. Furthermore, representative or supplementary data has been included in the appendices.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to demonstrate the epistemological stances and the methodologies that I have adopted for this thesis. I began by discussing constructivist qualitative research and emic perspectives in research. The principles behind constructivist qualitative research resonated well with the plurilingual stance that informs this thesis and was chosen to capture, in as much detail as possible, the plurilingual perspectives, practices, and realities of the participants. In the following chapters, I present my findings of the studies, which should be understood in relation to the research questions established in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4 PLURILINGUAL POSTURES

The aim of this chapter is to explore the journeys of two elementary school teachers, through their language biographies, to understand how they became interested in plurilingualism and decided to introduce pluralistic and interdisciplinary approaches, including, but not limited to, *Éveil aux langues* (大山、2016; Candelier, 2003) activities.

After a description of the primary data in this chapter, autobiographical visual narratives, I explore the personal and professional histories (*currere*) of two elementary school teachers, Yuki Kitano (Yuki-sensei) and Kana Irisawa (Kana-sensei) by a) providing background information on the teachers, based upon initial interactions, interviews, and previously published materials on the teachers' practices, and then b) examining the polyethnographic discussions and resulting artefacts; the visual narratives created by the teachers.

As noted in Chapter 2, some researchers have pointed out the difficulty of implementing plurilingual approaches in Japan, citing amongst other reasons the English-only focus in education and the dominance of TESOL methodologies, languages taught in isolation, and the lack of recognition of languages other than Japanese as a potential component of the repertoire of some children and their families. Within this monolingualising context, this chapter questions teachers' epistemologies, and how they support a *plurilingual didactic repertoire* (Cicurel, 2011; Chapter 3), even when one of the teachers describes herself as monolingual. Autobiographical visual narratives are employed both as an analytical tool as well as a tool to support reflexivity and professional development (Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019) and the localizing of the teachers' *plurilingual postures* (Moore, 2018). Their visual narratives are cross-referenced with reflections on their practices (through interviews) in order to illuminate the epistemologies that support their plurilingual didactic repertoires.

The research presented here grew out of the longitudinal materials development project, mentioned in the introduction, which began with Kana-sensei at Nara University of Education Elementary School (入澤、2021) in 2018. In a poster presentation session in Hokkaido the following year (大山、2019b), the research group became acquainted with Yuki-sensei and began to engage with materials development. This particular study grew in part from the desire to learn more about the two teachers' backgrounds and evolved into a commitment by the teachers to

interpret the data alongside the researchers in a collaborative polyethnographic project. Chronologically, this stage occurred near the end of the research presented in this thesis, although here it is presented first to ground the practice explored in later chapters.

4.1 A Polyethnographic Artefact: The Autobiographical Visual Narrative as a Mapping of Trajectories of Experiences

The notion of reflexivity is at the heart of both qualitative research and the teacher training process, and is closely linked to professional identities (Attia & Edge, 2016; Dewey, 1916). Reflective postures encourage teachers to analyse their teaching practices in order to clarify their situated meanings for themselves and their students, cognizant of transformation and (professional) development. Several tools can help support a reflective posture among teachers engaged in collaborative action research. Here, in particular, I focus on the formative self-portrait (the visual biography), with the objective of constructing a self-critical view of the practitioner's journey. The visual biographies revolve around several reflective nodes: a) the initial interviews conducted with each teacher separately, b) the joint discussion in which the teachers crafted their biographies; c) the visual formatting of a map of their trajectories of experience itself, giving rise to d) follow-up discussions to elaborate on their experiences. In addition, e) the keeping of plurilingual researcher's logbooks (both analogue and digital), which included observations and plurilingual discussions as a part of pre-analyses of practices, as well as records of the explanatory interviews of the teachers on their practices, also made it possible to guide certain retrospective questions to (and from) the teachers during each interview stage.

Many researchers have stressed the importance of life histories and narratives in the formative process (飯野、2010; Barkhuizen & Wette, 2008; Barkhuizen, 2016), and of that of language biographies as a reflective experience of plurilingualism, highlighting the importance of working on memory and narrative reconstruction to reflect on one's own relationship to languages, language norms and otherness (Kalaja, Dufva & Alanen, 2013; Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019; Melo-Pfeifer, 2017). These visual biographies, given their artistic element, become an experiential practice that mobilizes the imagination to support and create anew spaces for reflexivity (Melo-Pfeifer, 2019) and for tracing 'paths of multisensory experiences' (Fillol, Razafimandimbimanana & Geneix-Rabault, 2019). According to Castellotti and Moore (2011), these visual narratives are constructed as poly-texts for the study of representations of plurilingualism, combining an

experimentation through the senses with forms of narrative that can provide access to the imagination and enable reconstruction of journeys by the drawing (representing) and (re)telling:

> […] les récits visuels (également 'dessins' ou 'drawings') peuvent s'assumer comme méthode d'accès au système de représentations des enseignants. De par l'usage et la combinaison de différents modes (le visuel et l'écrit), le récit visuel permet la représentation multi-modale d'expériences et de sentiments, situés ou projetés dans le temps (passé, présent ou futur) et dans l'espace.
>
> […] visual narratives (also 'drawings' or 'pictures') can be assumed as a method of access to the teachers' systems of representation. Through the use and combination of different modes (the visual and the written), visual narrative enables the multi-modal representation of experiences and feelings, situated or projected in time (past, present, or future) and space. (Melo-Pfeifer, 2019, p. 590)

Thus, the questions posed to stimulate teacher thinking and feedback, as well as the instructions for producing the visual biographies, were articulated around teachers' initial interest in diverse languages and cultures, otherness, plurilingualism, and ultimately their decisions to integrate plurilingual approaches in their classrooms and, in doing so, to seek to further develop resources for their teaching contexts.

4.1.1 Data Collection

Initial interviews were conducted in Japanese with Yuki-sensei, in early April, and Kana-sensei, early in May 2020[33]. The interviews were conducted in Japanese, and pre-coding was carried out before being translated into English (and occasionally French) in order to conduct analyses within the plurilingual research team. As the research team was comprised of myself (English- and Japanese-speaking), Mayo Oyama (Japanese-, French-, and English-speaking) and Danièle Moore

[33] The interviews were conducted using the teleconference software Zoom, due to the coronavirus pandemic. This, serendipitously, allowed for easy recording of the interviews, which were subsequently transcribed using HappyScribe (https://www.happyscribe.co/) and corrected with reference to the audio.

(French- and English-speaking), it was necessary to navigate several languages while sharing the data, which further helped with analyses as we explored the concepts and themes that arose.

Based upon these initial interviews, a follow-up discussion was held simultaneously with Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei on May 30 (their first meeting, albeit online), in which we asked them to create visual autobiographical narratives. The discussion was again conducted in Japanese, and before the teachers created their visual narratives, both Mayo and I showed our own (very different) visual narratives as examples to guide the process (section 4.1.2). The interview concluded with each teacher giving a verbal description of their visual narratives. These were once again translated into English and French, and discussed by the research group before being written up as a research article (Moore, Oyama, Pearce, Kitano & Irisawa, 2020). The draft of the original article[34] was checked, and approved, by both teachers before submission.

4.1.2 The Researchers' Visual Narratives

Prior to having the teachers create their own visual narratives (sections 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.2.2, respectively), both Mayo and I shared out own creations as an example. As they both likely influenced the teachers' productions, it is pertinent to present them here. Mayo's visual narrative (Figure 4.1, over page), drawn on unlined paper with a variety of coloured pencils, represents her linguistic/cultural experiences in a linear manner, and although crisscrossing the page, is read from bottom to top. Vignettes ① and ② describe her childhood, and how she began to play piano as an elementary student – music plays a large part in the following vignettes, too. She describes how she began learning English as a subject at junior high school in vignette ③, where she becomes enamoured with The Beatles. She notes that English was a strong subject for her, but also that much of her experience was through *The Beatles*, and the language was therefore 'connected to music' (言語が音楽とつながっている). Upon entering university, Mayo majors in linguistics, and begins to study French and German, both of which she again connects to music (French in its rhythmic sound, and German because of composers such as Bach).

Her first formative experience with respect to plurilingual engagement with languages comes in vignette ⑤, in which she spends a total of sixth months in Mexico. Having only briefly studied

[34] Moore, D., Oyama, M., Pearce, D. R., Kitano, Y., & Irisawa, K. (2020). Biographies langagières et EMILE, quand tous les chemins mènent… au plurilinguisme, même au Japon ! *Contextes et Didactiques, 15*(1).

Spanish beforehand, she did not expect to be able to communicate. However, she also reflects that no one expected perfect language use (完璧に話すことを誰一人が期待していない), and were

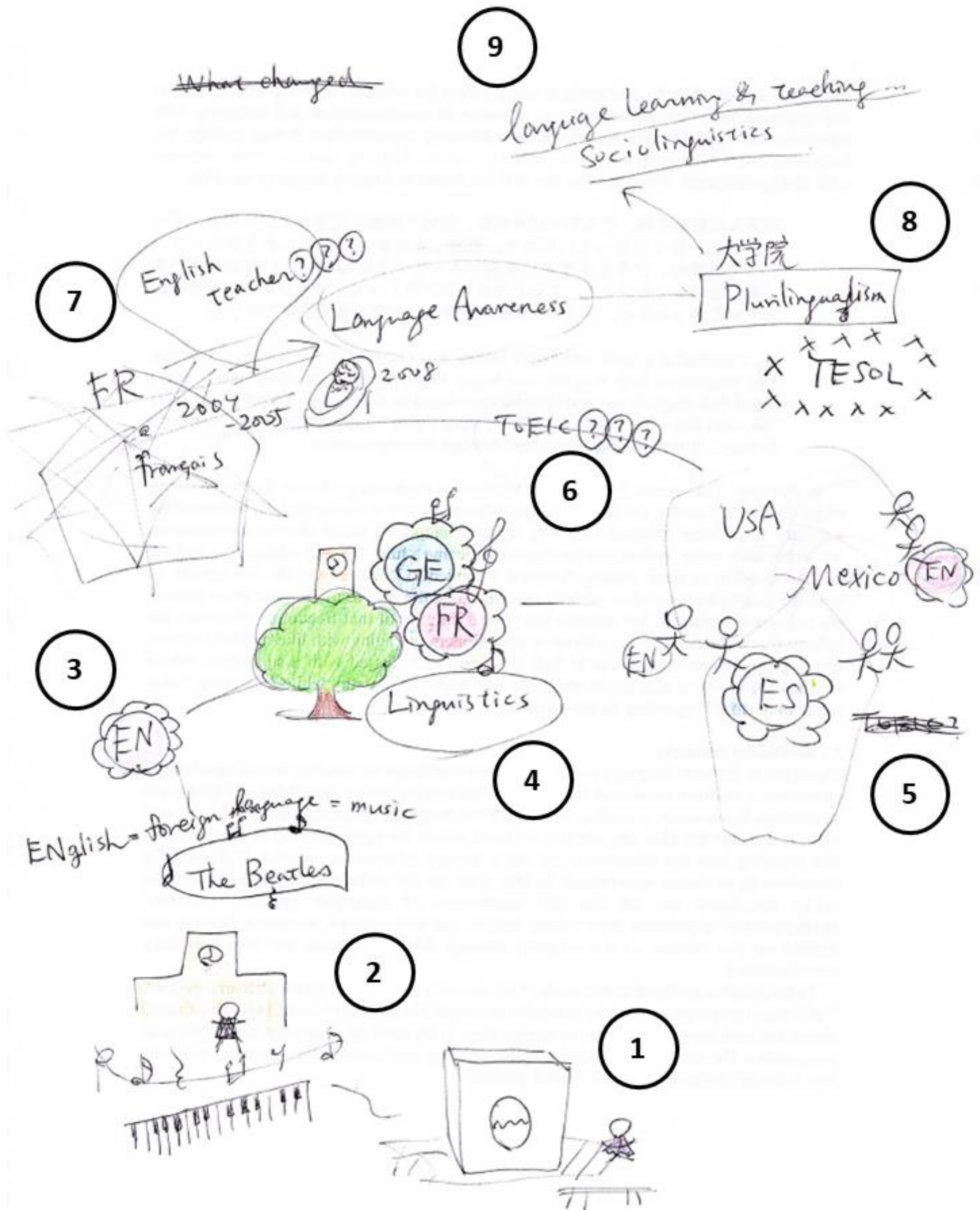

Figure 4.1 Mayo Oyama’s visual narrative

more concerned with communication, which ended up being a mix (チャンポン) of Spanish, English, gestures, and even a little of her French. Upon returning to Japan, she experiences a disconnect between her actual experiences of language use, and language education geared towards tests such as TOEIC®, which many Japanese are required to take (vignette ⑥). After experiencing a subsequent exchange to France, Mayo is increasingly drawn to language teaching, her experiences fuelling an interest in language awareness (e.g., Hawkins, 1984: Vignette ⑦). She obtains her teacher's license, but a desire to teach about *how* languages are used, not just using language (言語を使うだけじゃなくて、どう使うか), after which she discovers plurilingualism, and pursues further study in graduate school, which has led to her work in language learning, teaching, and sociolinguistics today (vignettes ⑧ and ⑨).

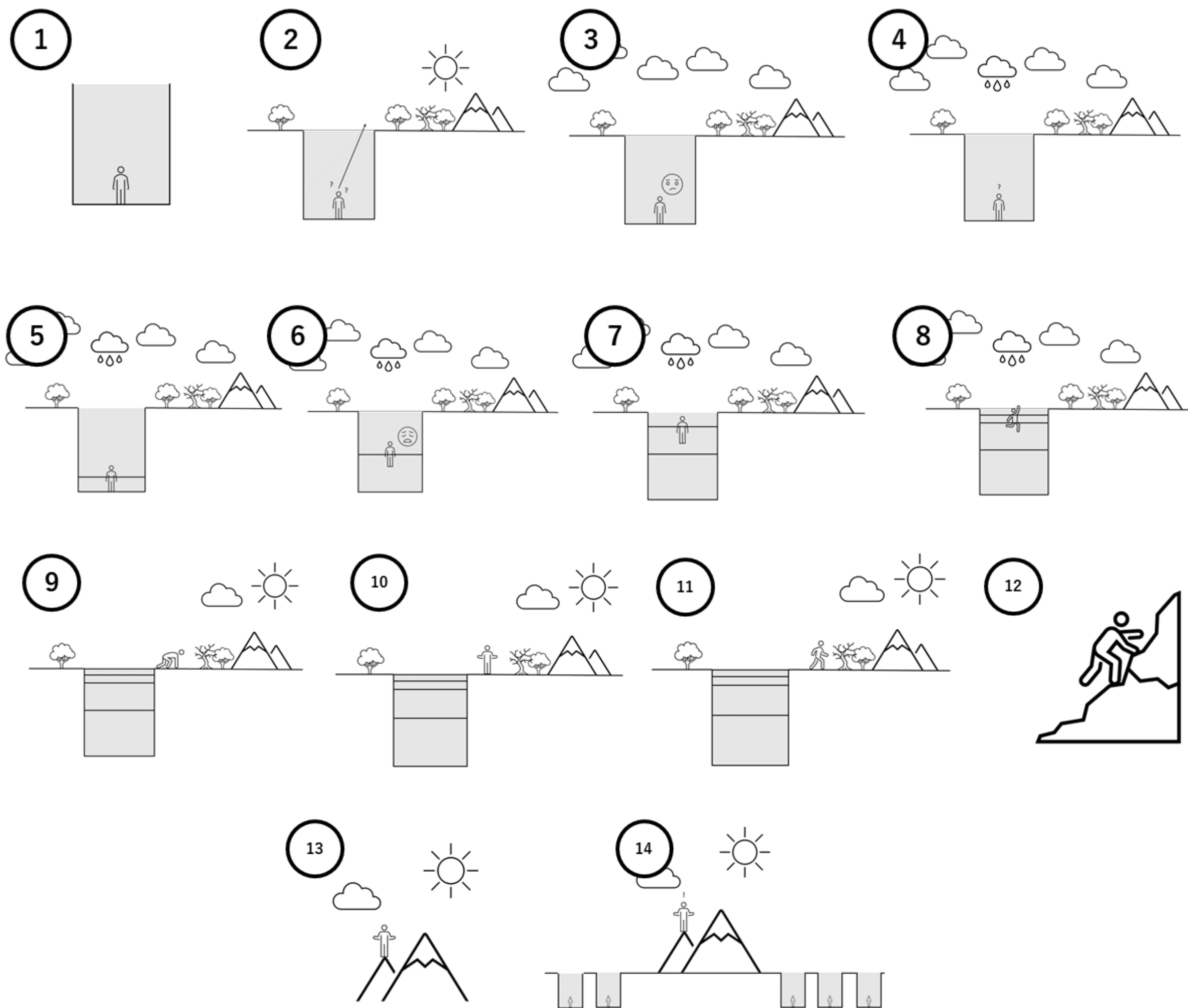

Figure 4.2 My visual narrative

In contrast to Mayo's visual narrative, my own was more cerebral – an abstract representation of languages both as a connection to, and as essential tools for, understanding the world beyond the self (Figure 4.2). Created not on paper, but using Microsoft PowerPoint, it is also linear and consists of 14 vignettes, in the form of a flipbook, and tells a personal story of language learning.

The narrative begins with a metaphorical representation of feeling isolated from 'the outside world' (standing and the bottom of a well: Vignette ①). Beginning to acquire my mother tongue is represented by rain slowly filling the well in vignettes ②～⑤ – not a negative metaphor (I can swim!), but rather as a means to escape the well to better see the wider world around me. Vignette ⑥ includes an exasperated face, representing a developing understanding that my mother tongue alone was insufficient for engaging with the world. This I began to supplement with Japanese, a little French, and a little Te Reo Māori (⑦～⑨), and learning about language and acquisition (in the motif of climbing a mountain: ⑫), before wanting to share these experiences (as a language teacher) with others in the remainder of the narrative (vignette ⑭). The focus of my narrative was less on concrete experiences, but more on a personal view of the importance of languages, and what I felt I wanted to share as a language teacher.

Both visual autobiographies were narrated verbally to Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei while they viewed the images. Immediately afterward, they began to work on their own visual narratives, explored below.

4.2 Epistemologies of Plurilingualism: Differing Perspectives, Interwoven through Plurilingualism

Specific examples of the teachers' practices will be examined in detail in Chapter 6, both in interdisciplinary projects and the implementation of pluralistic methodologies. It is, however, necessary here to briefly describe their practices, which demonstrate a remarkable convergence and inspired the researchers to delve deeper into their histories via their narratives. On the one hand, we noted a pluralization of their daily practices; the use of several languages to construct disciplinary content or the questioning of knowledge from different points of view. Both teachers actively integrated activities co-constructed with the researchers, although initiated by the teachers themselves, not only to provide their children with opportunities to come into contact with other languages and linguistic systems, but also to construct a pluralistic approach to the questioning of

language functions inclusive of Japanese, the mother tongue and home language of the majority of the children, and the language of schooling, within the language awareness (Hawkins, 1984) tradition. The teachers took ownership of the materials, as neither teacher was content to use classic *Éveil aux langues* activities simply imported (for instance, from Kervran, 2006; Perregaux, de Goumoëns, Jeannot & De Pietro, 2003), but rather adapted the activities to their own contexts through discussions with the research team. No activity was implemented without additions or edits made by the teachers; they were the authors of their own classroom practice. The teachers sought to promote experiences of/in languages, shift points of views (or, decentring: Candelier et al., 2012), pluralize, shift representations and imaginations, and to conceive their work of relating as a heuristic of understanding, a way of being and doing (*savoir-faire, savoir-être*: Mompoint-Gaillard, 2011).

Indeed, it is not so much the learning of a specific language (Japanese, English, or otherwise) that is the central issue in the practice of these two teachers. They both navigate the ambiguity in macro-level educational policy (pointed out in Chapter 2), simultaneously rejecting English-only education in the traditional TESOL sense, while also fulfilling their obligations under the top-down goals of foreign language education, "through understanding of how communication in foreign languages works, to develop… the foundational/fundamental qualities and abilities necessary to attempt communication" (文部科学省、2017c, p.156/173; see also Chapter 2). Their educational visions are based upon a reflection of what entails 'foundational/fundamental qualities' and, more profoundly, on shifts of perception through (trans)formative experiences/feelings of languages. For these two teachers, the plurilingual dimension contributes to a shift in the way of being, of the relationship to others (and to 'the other'), and thus to a plurilingual posture (Moore, 2018), conscious and critical, in which children can become actors and authors of their learning.

In view of similar classroom practices, in a context where plural approaches and language awareness are not yet widely known, nor part of initial teacher training, the general aim was to uncover what, in the life courses of the two teachers, had been the triggers that could have led to these innovative practices in their contexts. Both teachers are Japanese, and both have lived in Japan their entire lives. While Yuki-sensei took an early interest in plurilingualism and linguistic and cultural diversity, Kana-sensei describes a quite different experience.

4.2.1 Yuki-sensei: English Specialist with a Plurilingual Posture[35]

Our first teacher, Yuki-sensei, joined the research project partway through the 2019-20 academic year. At the time of the research, she was a specialist teaching foreign language and mathematics subjects, although prior to 2019, she had been a homeroom teacher, and thus has experience in teaching a wide variety of subjects[36]. In addition to her elementary school license, she holds a secondary school license in the English subject. This section will examine interview and visual narrative data to trace Yuki-sensei's trajectory, and the life events (i.e., her *currere*) that have led her to plurilingual practice.

Despite her background in English-language education, Yuki-sensei's classroom is intensely multilingual and multicultural. The classroom is filled with books in a variety of languages (Figure 4.3). These materials are chosen with great care to demonstrate the variety of languages in the world and to break down notions of one nation, one language, such as the idea that only English is spoken in areas usually identified as English-speaking.

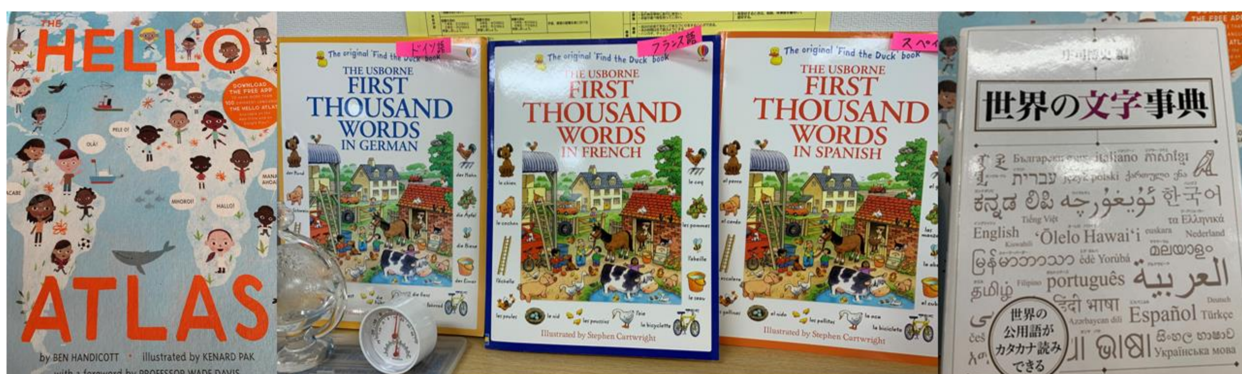

Figure 4.3 Linguistic landscape of Yuki-sensei's classroom[37]

Hello Atlas (Handicott & Pak, 2016; Figure 4.3), for instance, presents greetings and expressions in more than 130 languages, inclusive, but not limited to the geographic Anglosphere, with access to online audio recordings by speakers of those languages. Maps in this book show the

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[35] The description of Yuki-sensei's classroom has been adapted from a paper originally published as *Plurilingual Education and Pedagogical Plurilanguaging in an Elementary School in Japan: A Perspectival Origami for Better Learning* (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020).

[36] A homeroom teacher (学級担任) in Japanese elementary schools is typically responsible for teaching most subjects to one class. Successive changes in curriculum, including the introduction of foreign languages, have seen an increase in the number of teachers specializing in specific subjects, which they teach to multiple classes.

[37] Includes the book series, *First Thousand Words* (by Heather Amery, with illustrations by Stephen Cartwright, Usborne Publishing Ltd), as well as an encyclopaedia of world writing systems, which includes representations of writing systems in the Japanese katakana syllabary (庄司、2015).

names of languages in English and in the language (and occasionally the script) of those languages, including both well-known and rarer languages, languages imported during colonization (such as French/Français in Canada), and Indigenous languages, such as Ojibwe/Anishinaabemowin, Inuktitut/ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ, spoken in Northern Quebec and Nunavut (Northeast Canada), or Cherokee/Tsalagi Gawonihisdi (which also uses a syllabary not shown in the text, ᏣᎳᎩ ᎦᏬᏂᎯᏍᏗ), or Te Reo Māori (Aotearoa New Zealand).

Entering Yuki-sensei's classroom means entering a multilingual and multicultural environment. In addition to the texts, you can see dolls representing children from various parts of the world that children can play with in Figure 4.4 (right). The arrangement is not just decorative; the fact that the children's journals on their experiential engagement with languages and cultures (a child's journal on Thailand tops the pile in Figure 4.4) are situated centrally within this display demonstrates that the children's experiences are directly connected with this wider world.

Some of the artefacts in Yuki-sensei's classroom serve to promote decentring (i.e., the "chang[ing] of vantage points and seeing things in relative ways," Candelier et al., 2012, p. 23), a key competence in the construction and broadening of plural linguistic and cultural repertoires, including a non-traditional map of Japan centred on Toyama prefecture (in contrast to the Mercator projection as typically used in Japan, Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Map centred on Toyama prefecture and the traditional Japanese Mercator projection

4.2.1.1 Experiences of Plurality and Other Languages

During our initial interview with Yuki-sensei, on April 11, 2020, we appeared to uncover two experiences that have shaped Yuki-sensei's long-standing interest in linguistic and cultural

plurality. One of the formative experiences in her trajectory was, as a child, her visits to the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka[38] with her parents, "I guess it was from around the time that the museum opened," Yuki-sensei reminisces, when we ask about her openness to diversity and the roots of her practice:

> その時に父と母とに連れて行ってもらって、「なんて面白いんだ」と思ったと思うんですよ、たぶん５年生ぐらいだったんですけど。[…]何が面白かったかというと、その当時の言葉でジプシー、今は違う言い方ですけど、ジプシーの家馬車を見て、「かわいい！」って思ったりとか。あとね、今はもうできないんですけど、世界各地の楽器が置いてあって、自由に触われるんですよ。自由に触れて、もう、叩きまくってたんですよ[…]それから、やっぱり服がかわいい！いろんな国の服がかわいいと思って見ていたんです。
>
> I think when I was in the 5th grade, my parents took me there. I remember thinking it was just so fascinating. […] I remember thinking the carriages of, we don't call them this now, the gypsies, they were so cute. And, there was a corner where, unfortunately, you can't do it anymore, but there were musical instruments from all over the world, and you could pick them up and play with them, and I remember really bashing them around […] and the clothes, the clothes from various countries were so cute!

Yuki-sensei's expressions and excitement in recalling her past experiences at the museum clearly convey what a remarkable place it was for her. Particularly telling is the *experiential* nature of the museum in those days – her ability to touch and engage with things (something she recreates in her practice: Chapter 6). She also remarks on the *videotheque* facilities, in which she could choose what she wanted to watch, "in those days you couldn't choose what was shown on television, so being able to pick countries I was interested and watch them, it was an amazing system."

Amongst her recollections of the museum, she reflects that since that time, the world languages section has been her favourite:

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[38] 国立民族学博物館, opened November, 1977. http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/

だからたぶん、もともと言語好きなんだろうな、と思うんですけど。そこで何が面白かったっけ、と考えてみると、ええとね、『桃太郎』をいろんな方言で言っているんですよ。それを何回も聞いて、「面白〜い！」と思って聞いてたりとか

I guess I just always had an interest in languages, now, what was interesting to me was *Momotaro*[39]. There was a section where *Momotaro* would be played in a variety of different [Japanese] dialects. I must have listened to that so many times, it was just enthralling.

Interesting is that when Yuki-sensei reflects on her curiosity about languages, the example she refers to is Japanese dialects. The plurality of Japanese dialects, historically not given recognition in the school system (Oyama & Pearce, 2019), may have been part of the key to developing her interest in more languages, further afield. The museum has clearly been a formative place for Yuki-sensei, and she mentions later in the interview that the majority of the plurilingual materials which fill her classroom, she purchases there, "I always go with a full wallet," she says.

When one of the interviewers remarks that it was wonderful of her parents to take her to such a place, she elaborates on her childhood home environment:

実は父は高校の社会の教師でして。なので、わりとそういうの、積極的に子どもに「教育をしたい」というか、「見せたい」っていうのはすごい強くあったみたいで、いろんなところに連れて行ってもらってましたね。

Well, actually, my father was a social studies teacher. He always had a pretty proactive attitude to educating his children about that sort of thing, and always had a really strong desire to show us things, so he took me around to many of those kinds of places.

[39] A very well-known Japanese folk story.

The two interviewers shared a bit of an 'ah' moment, thinking perhaps that we had found the source of Yuki-sensei's openness to diversity, although we did not quite yet realize the wealth of her experience. She reveals that her family is quite diverse, as she tells us about an aunt, married to a Korean man (whom she had met in France) and living in Korea, "so my cousin was a Korean-Japanese *double*… we were a household that received a lot of airmail."

Through observation of her classes, it was clear that Yuki-sensei was both extremely proficient at English, and at English teaching, while also being remarkably open to diversity. Yuki-sensei's openness to diversity was becoming clearer to us, but the source of her deftness at promoting multiperspectivity (Araújo e Sá & Melo-Pfeifer, 2007; Kropman, van Boxtel & van Drie, 2020) and decentring (Candelier et al., 2012) within her classes still eluded us somewhat. As it turns out, her proficiency in English, her openness to diversity, and her focus on multiperspectivity are intricately weaved together throughout her life history. Yuki-sensei, from the time she was a junior high school student, wanted to become a junior high school English teacher, in part because of her experiences in the pen-pal club:

> 私、中学のとき、ペンパル部っていうクラブに入ってまして。海外の人と文通をするっていうのが、まあ建前の、英語クラブみたいなものなんですけど。それで私はずっとフィンランドの子と文通してたんですけどね。「２人目いってみようかな」と思って、ガーナの人だったらタダで紹介してもらえるよっていうのがあったから、ガーナの人とやり始めたら、１通目の手紙で、「ノートを送ってほしい」「鉛筆送ってほしい」、なんとか送ってほしいって、すごくいっぱい「これを送ってほしい」というのが来て。「1通目の手紙でこんな失礼なことある？」って、「あり得ないわ！」とすごい怒っていたら、父が「日本人の感覚としたらそうかもしれないけれども、向こうの人の感覚としたら、それで送ってもらったら、ラッキーぐらいの感じで、送ってもらえなくても別にわかれはしないけどっていう感覚っていうことがあり得るから。日本人の感覚だけで見るんやったらアカン」と。「お前は何のためにそうやって海外と交流したいのか？」と言われて「他の人の感覚を知りたいんじゃないのか」って言われて

> I was in the pen-pal club. We would exchange letters in English with people overseas. For a long time, I had been in correspondence with a girl from Finland. I thought about finding another pen-pal and was introduced to someone from Ghana… Well, in the very first letter was, "I want you to send notebooks, I want you to send pencils," amongst a number of other requests. I was incensed! How could someone be so rude, in their very first letter! It was then my father said to me, "well, to the Japanese sensibility, that might be true. But it's possible that your pen-pal just thinks it would be lucky if you could send them, and won't be put out if you don't. You can't only look at things from a Japanese perspective. After all, why are you writing to pen-pals anyway? Don't you want to learn about others' sensibilities?"

The two interviewers were deeply impressed by her father's reaction, and the lesson he was trying to teach his daughter. Yuki-sensei expressed regret that her father's lesson did not quite sink in for her teenage self, and after struggling with her Ghanaian pen-pal's handwriting, she ended correspondence after two or three letters. Nevertheless, this had clearly been another formative experience in engaging with multiple perspectives.

These experiences would continue to shape how Yuki-sensei engaged with, and wanted to teach, English. She tells of how she entered the literature department at university, and while there, obtained her secondary school English teacher's license. Her road to classroom practice, however, would take a detour during the licensing program. Yuki-sensei reflects on her experience of the student-teaching component of the license at junior high school:

> 中学3年生の英語を担当することになって、それがぜんぜん面白くなかったんです。ぜんっぜん面白くなかったので、「これは私のやりたいことじゃないわ」と。で、その場でもう「やーめた」と思って、勉強もやめて、で、民間企業に就職したんです。[…]ホテルに勤めたんですよ。

> I was put in charge of a third-year class[40] and it was just really, really not interesting. I

[40] Third year at junior high school, the final year before senior high school in the Japanese schooling system.

thought to myself “this isn’t what I want to do.” So, I quit. I quit study and got a job in the private sector. […] I worked for a hotel.

Here, the interviewers were not very surprised by Yuki-sensei’s reaction. Given the exam-focused nature of secondary English education mentioned earlier, we could easily picture the type of exam-centred yakudoku 訳読 (a Japanese variant of the grammar-translation method; Gorsuch, 1998; Hino, 1988) class that she was required to teach. Given her evident interest in plurality, and with foreign language both as a means of communication and engaging with otherness, this type of class must have been intensely demotivating. Despite abandoning teaching as a career path (for the time being), it was perhaps not surprising that she chose the hospitality industry, one in which she could continue to engage with foreign languages. Nevertheless, she still felt drawn to English language teaching:

> ホテルに勤めてね。でもやっぱり何か、初めて出会う英語っていうのは、ずっとやりたいなって思っていたので、転職しようかな、どうしようかなって、[…]その後ね、どうも小学校に英語が入ってくるらしい、というのを聞いて「お、私のやりたいこと、これじゃないのかな」って。でも小学校の免許は持っていなかったので、[…]大学の通信教育で取って
>
> So, I worked at a hotel. But I kept feeling like I wanted to work with, you know, first encounters with English, and began to think about changing jobs. […] and I heard that English was going to be introduced to elementary schools. I thought, “oh, isn’t this what I want to do?” So, since I didn’t have an elementary teacher’s license. […] I took the license courses through correspondence.

In this way, Yuki-sensei found herself teaching at elementary schools. For the majority of her elementary career, she has been a homeroom teacher, meaning that she was teaching a variety of different subjects including Japanese, social studies, mathematics, etc. In her early years, before foreign language became a fully-fledged subject, she said she had the freedom to teach classes “however I wanted to.” While over the last decade, as ministry textbooks have been steadily

introduced, and "the pressure to do what other schools are doing" has increased, her practice has "lost a little bit of that freedom." However, she reflects that through meetings with other practitioners, engaging with like-minded teachers and finding different pluralities in their practices, and blessed with a supportive school administration, she is able to introduce her own brand of plurality while also doing "what needs to be done" regarding top-down language policy.

4.2.1.2 Yuki-sensei's Visual Narrative: Otherness Within the Self

In creating and sharing her visual narrative, it is a more sinuous path that Yuki-sensei traces, portraying her relationship to languages, plurilingualism, and otherness in a significantly different way to the preceding interview (Figure 4.5, over page). Here, it is no longer so much that 'the other' is thematized as different, but rather her experiences of otherness within the self that becomes salient, in a much more personal examination of her own history. Her relationship of otherness in contrast to both children and adults is predominant, manifesting itself in different ways in the nine vignettes she uses to paint her linguistic and cultural history.

Yuki-sensei's trajectory is read from the bottom to the top, in a play of symbols and colours, musical notes, exclamation and question marks (which signify, she tells, her discoveries), stars, black and white or colour drawings, comic strip bubbles, objects and characters, and black or coloured arrows indicating to a greater or lesser extent the importance of the vignettes, combined in a pictorial and narrated composition.

The first of Yuki-sensei's vignettes represent the self as 'the other'; Yuki-sensei's family, unlike many other families, celebrates Christmas in the Christian tradition[41] (represented by the tree with coloured bobbles), even engaging in carolling (the candle and hymn book):

> うちの祖父が、祖父とかあと伯父がキリスト教の牧師やってるんですよ。なので基本的にキリスト教なので、キャロリングとか、アドベントを盛大にやったりとかね、正月はどうでもいいけどクリスマスは盛大にやるっていう家の中 、小さい頃から 「よそとは違うよね」っていう感覚がすっごい強くあったんですよね。

[41] Practicing Christians represent only around 1.5% of the Japanese population as of 2018 (calculated from statistics of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, 文化庁、2018, p. 35).

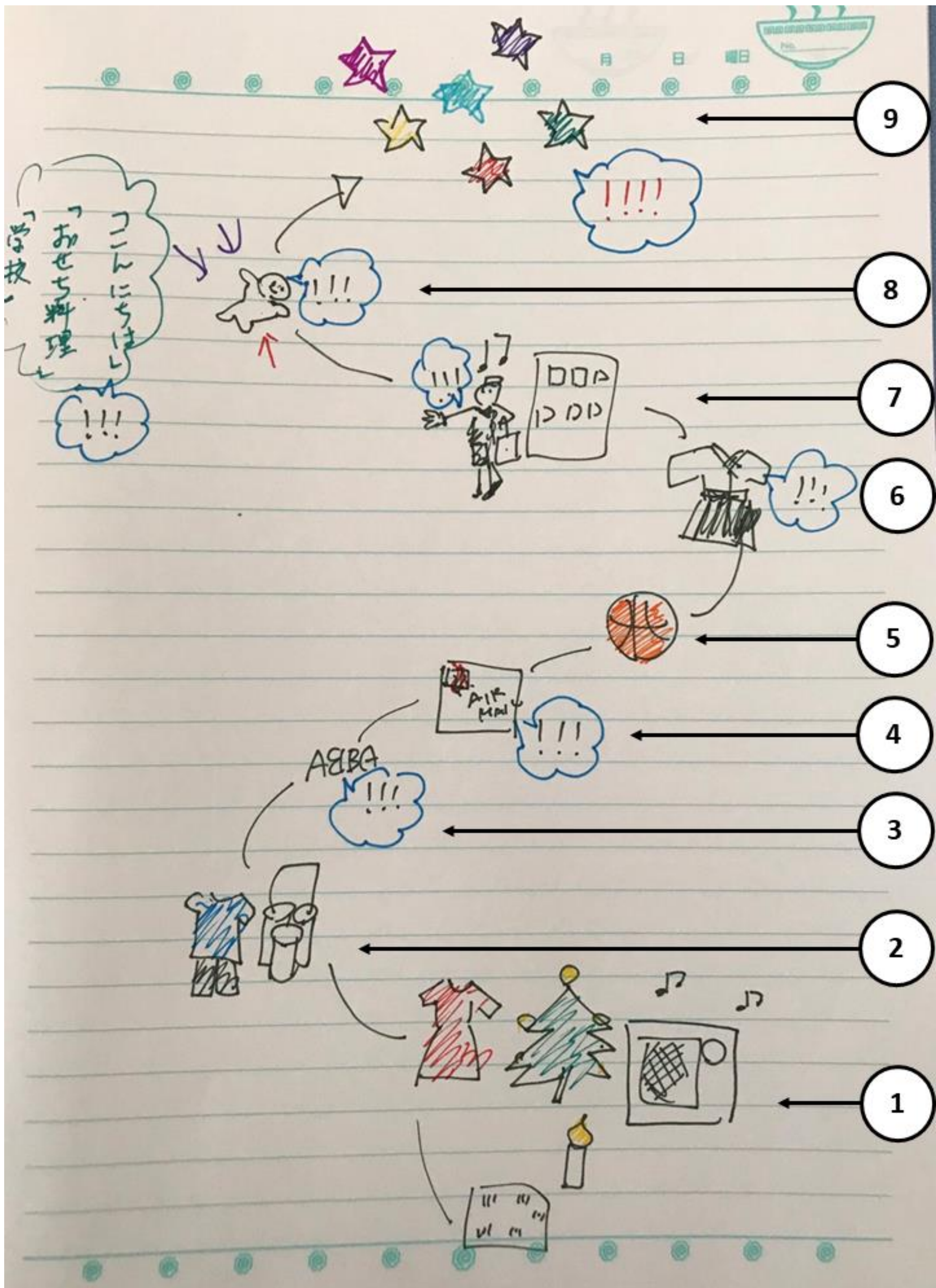

Figure 4.5 Yuki-sensei’s visual autobiography

> My grandfather and my uncle are Christian pastors. So, we were essentially Christian, and we did carolling and observed the advent. We didn't care about New Year's, but we celebrated Christmas in a big way. So ever since I was little, I had a very strong feeling that I was different from the others.

This feeling of being different from her peers is a thread woven through Yuki-sensei's visual biography; her family listens to radio programs introducing different cultures (recall that her father is a social studies teacher) and her mother wore the red dress to attend ceremonies at school, in stark contrast to the more reserved, traditional *kimono* of other mothers. She remembers "constantly feeling like a minority" (そんなおうちなので、常にマイノリティー感をずーっと持ってた), a feeling upon which she reflects somewhat ambivalently, remarking that it was "kind of cool, but also kind of embarrassing" (なんかカッコいいような気もするけど恥ずかしいし).

The second vignette again focuses on the difference between the young Yuki-sensei and her classmates at elementary school. Her school has what was called 標準服 (hyōjunfuku) (standard attire), which was not quite a uniform, but was encouraged for school events. Her father's attitude to this was that "it's just a recommendation, not a rule[42]," and Yuki-sensei often wore different clothing. Even her pottles for washing her brushes in arts and crafts were different from others, assembled from empty aluminium cans by her mother. Yuki-sensei summarizes these three vignettes as follows:

> マイノリティーだけど、この色みんなと違っても、使えるわね、と。ちょっと恥ずかしいという、日本人独特 の同調圧力を感じながらも、過ごしていけなくもないぞ、というようなことを感じながらいてたんです。

> I was a minority, but I thought, even if the colour is different from everyone else's, I can still use it. I felt a bit of that uniquely Japanese pressure to conform, but at the same time, I felt like I could handle [being different].

[42] A non-traditional attitude, in stark contrast to the "uniquely Japanese pressure to conform," mentioned by Yuki-sensei below.

Vignettes ③ and ④, accompanied by blue bubbles filled with three exclamation points, signify two influential experiences for Yuki-sensei. The airmail (vignette ④) represents her experiences in the pen-pal club, and the other international mail that her family received, both detailed in the previous section. Vignette ③ illustrates when she won an ABBA record in a lottery at her local supermarket, with a lyric book attached in English, which was her first experience engaging directly and individually with a foreign language:

> ABBA のレコードが当たって嬉しい！と思って聴いたけど、もちろん英語なので全然わからず。でもなんか、ローマ字を習っていたので[…]面白いなと思って、物凄く何回も聴いて、何回も何回も聴いているうちに、こうやって英語って読むんだなと
>
> I was really happy to win the ABBA record, and listened to it, but, of course, being English I couldn't understand a thing. But, because I had learned the roman alphabet[43] […] I thought it was really interesting, and after listening to it over and over and over again, I got the sense of 'oh you read English like this.'

This first experience with English resonates with her desire to work with "first encounters with English" in her classes, and the way she implements linguistic and cultural plurality in her lessons, inclusive of Japanese, encouraging her pupils to be creative in their approaches, and to become aware of the links between languages and writing systems and to develop a curiosity for multilingualism (plurilingualism) in them (explored further in Yuki-sensei's practice in Chapter 6).

Vignettes ⑤ and ⑥ represent the clubs that Yuki-sensei joined in high school and university. In high school, she joined the basketball club, wishing to do something shared by the majority. In university, she joined the *aikido* club:

[43] The roman alphabet is typically learned in Japanese subject (国語) lessons. This is explored further through Yuki-sensei's practice in chapter 6 (see also Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020).

日本の伝統みたいなのが、 結局あまり知らずに育った家庭なんですよ。初詣も行かない、おせち料理も作らない。そういうのを知らない家庭だったので初めて 「日本てすごい」 と 「素晴らしい」という、ちょっと外国人的な感じで文化を体験しました。

I grew up in a household where I didn't learn much about Japanese traditions. We didn't do *hatsumode*[44], or make *osechi ryōri*[45]. I didn't know about those things, so, [joining aikido] was the first time I really felt "Japan is amazing" or "wonderful," kind of how a foreigner would experience Japanese culture.

Vignette ⑦ features, for the first time, a self-representation of Yuki-sensei, in her uniform in front of the hotel at which she worked after university, a professional experience that allowed her to meet many foreigners. The musical notes refer to an encounter that particularly marked her: Aretha Franklin stayed at her hotel. She recalls the discovery of black American music, and the importance of the English language for her work, but also a world of smells and scents that she associates with this period: "the smells were surprising!" (匂いにびっくりして). She had previously touched upon this in a text message after the initial interview:

そこでいろんな人に会ったのも大きかったなと。いろんな国のお客さん。それぞれが大事にされていること、食文化、人との距離感、声の大きさ、匂い、外国から来て戸惑う日本の当たり前など、実際に直接会って話す中で、日本にいながらにして多文化と触れ合ってたと思います。

I think it was important that I met a lot of people there. Guests from different countries. I met and talked with people from many different countries, and was intrigued by what they held to be important; their values, food cultures, distance maintained between people, the volume of their voices, smells, and things that are common in Japan that are confusing to

[44] 初詣、a traditional first visit of the new year to a shrine.
[45] お節料理、traditional Japanese dishes eaten over the New Year period.

people from other countries. I was able to experience a multicultural world within Japan. (text message, April 12, 2020)

Vignette ⑧ marks a new important turning point in her life; Yuki-sensei, now married to a partner from a very traditional Japanese family, is expecting a baby, and commits a cultural faux-pas when her mother-in-law offers to give her a 腹帯 (haraobi) (a type of maternity belt given on a certain day during the fifth month of pregnancy, primarily as a ritual prayer for safe delivery, rather than for practical purposes). Not understanding the significance (Yuki-sensei makes a rare, and humorous, code-switch in this part of the interview, "what is *haraobi*?"), she turns it down, saying that she already had a maternity belt, and mentions her mother-in-law's disappointment. She describes her experiencing culture shock with her husband and his family, not sharing with them the codes of Japanese culture.

It is this discovery, associated with the experience of being a young mother that, from that moment on, cemented her desire to become an English teacher for children in the early stages of learning and led her to return to professional studies to become an elementary school teacher. The colourful stars, accompanied by four red exclamation marks in a blue bubble, mark a new world, and the opening up to polycentric points of view brought about by encounters with different people.

As mentioned above, Yuki-sensei is very active in academic and practitioner research circles, and she concludes by touching on her experiences with them, and the multiperspectivity her encounters have engendered:

いろんなことをされている先生に会って、いろんなことが、いろんな視点があるっていうのを教えるのが、教育じゃないの、そういう経験をさせることが教育じゃないの、これから必要なのってこれじゃないのって気付いて今まで勉強しているんです。

Meeting a lot of teachers doing different things, I realized, isn't education about teaching that there are many different perspectives on different things? Isn't it important to have the children experience that? Isn't that what they'll need going forward? And so, I continue to study and learn.

4.2.2 Kana-sensei: Japanese ‘Monolingual,’ but Plurilingual Teacher

Our second teacher, Kana-sensei, while equally as active in self-study and in communities of practice, has had a more ‘typically Japanese’ experience than Yuki-sensei, which will be explored in this section.

Kana-sensei joined this research project early in 2018. At the time of the research, she was head of the 言語(Gengo)・文化(Bunka) (literally, Languages and Cultures) subject, her school’s unique implementation of the foreign language subject (see Chapter 6 for details), and homeroom teacher for a third grade class (at the time of the preliminary interview, May 1, 2020, her sixth-grade class, whose practice we examine in Chapter 6, had just graduated). Before coming to her present school, Kana-sensei had taught at five other elementary schools in her home prefecture in southwest Japan, both as a subject specialist (in maths and Japanese) and as a homeroom teacher:

> 講師時代は１年目中学校で国語を教えていて２年目小学校２年生の担任になって３年目算数の専科になってすごい。２年生から 6 年生までのダンスを教える先生になって４年目と５年目は特別支援学級の担任をしていてイロトリドリです。でも学校講師から小１年ずつ学校は変わってたんですけどその分いろんな学校を知れたりとか、いろんな経験をさせてもらえたのもたぶん大きかったかなっていう。
>
> In my first year, I taught Japanese at a junior high school, my second year I was a homeroom teacher for second grade at elementary. In my third year, I taught maths to second through fifth-grade students, and in my fourth and fifth years, I was homeroom teacher for a special needs class. As a non-tenured teacher, I changed schools almost every year, but because of that, I got to learn about a lot of different schools and gained quite a variety of experiences.

In contrast to Yuki-sensei’s foreign language classroom, Kana-sensei’s is a more ‘typical’ homeroom class. The materials that adorn the rear shelf of the classroom are mostly in the Japanese language, and many relate to peace learning or citizenship education and social justice (for instance,

the book on the Japanese constitution, 日本国憲法, Figure 4.6: left), although there is an awareness of the world beyond Japan, represented by a text on the former Uruguayan President, José Alberto Mujica Cordano (世界で一番貧しい大統領のスピーチ, *Speech by the World's Poorest President,* くさば、2014). The children's artwork representing contemporary conflict in the international community (i.e., between Iran and the United States in Figure 4.6) also displays, in a similar way to Yuki-sensei's classroom, that the children are directly and experientially connected to the wider world (not only through representations but also interaction, as elaborated upon in Kana-sensei's peace learning practice in Chapter 6).

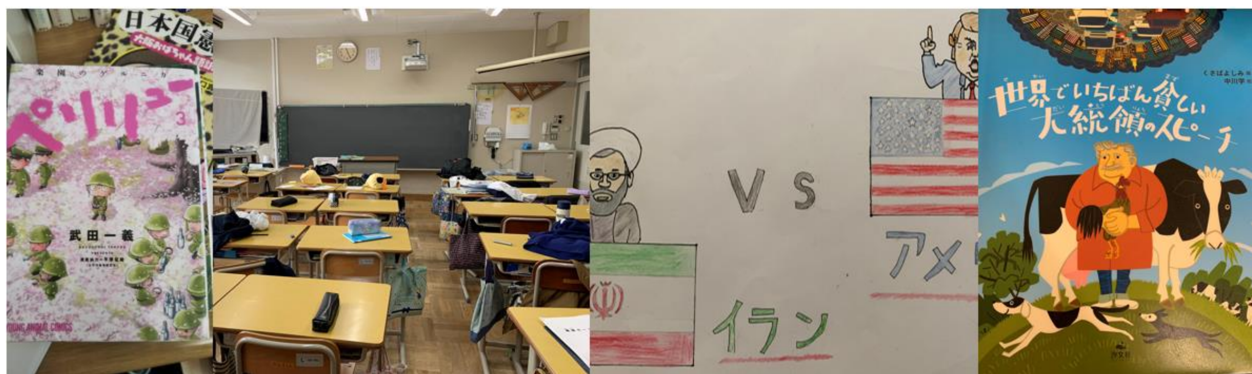

Figure 4.6 Books and posters in Kana-sensei's classroom

The materials in Kana-sensei's classroom reflect her approach to teaching and her interest in peace learning based upon dialogue, understanding, and multiperspectivity. The way she conducts her classes reflect these values; her classes are student-centred, and consistently involve examination and hypothesis building, debate, and discussion between the children.

Kana-sensei's teaching style values both the experiential and engaging with otherness. In her *Gengo Bunka* classes, she does this by incorporating multiple languages, inclusive of Japanese, through *Éveil aux langues* (including activities adapted from Oyama 大山、2016; Kervran, 2006; Perregaux, de Goumoëns, Jeannot & De Pietro, 2003) and other pluralistic activities (for instance, Ōtsu 大津・Kubozono 窪薗、2008), although her focus on hypothesizing and co-construction of knowledge is a stance that she maintains throughout her subject and interdisciplinary instruction. While Kana-sensei's practice itself will be explored in Chapter 6, her care in promoting co-construction of knowledge through dialogue is exemplified in her thoughts regarding Japanese subject learning:

子どもたちがなかまの中で主体的に学べる授業を積み重ねることを大切にしていきたい[…］このような学びは、学ぶ題材に価値がないと生まれないと考えている。価値がある題材は、子どもたちの心を揺さぶり、意欲を引き出す。

I want my lessons to be accumulative experiences, in which my students can learn proactively with and amongst their peers […]. Learning through these connections, while expressing one's own individuality. I don't think this kind of learning can happen if the materials lack value. Worthwhile materials both rouse students, and draw out their desire to learn. (入澤、2014, pp. 11-12)

4.2.2.1 Path to Teaching and Experiences with Language

Our first interview with Kana-sensei, two years after we had begun to work together, was multi-faceted, and began with questions about her peace learning initiatives. After having asked her about some of the artefacts in her classroom relating to her peace teaching, we wanted to delve more into her background. We knew that Kana-sensei had already taken an interest in plurilingual practice, and was conducting it in her classes since before we had met. We therefore asked simply, how did you become such a teacher (どうしてそんなふうな先生になられたんでしょうか)?

一つは私うちの父が医学部の教授なんですけど。田舎で医学部の教授の娘って言うから、うちの母はもう医者にするしかないと思っていて…うちの母がとった手段は進学塾にちっちゃいときから入れるっていう。そこで 4 年生から進学塾に行って、バリバリのお受験を含めて、そういう教育をせなあかんって思って教育を受けてきたんですよね。

Well, my father is a professor of medicine. As a daughter of a medical professor in the countryside, my mother thought, "I have to make her a doctor." And so, what my mother did was, when I was still a little girl, she enrolled me in a cram school. From fourth grade, I started going to cram school. I thought I had to study that way, basically cramming for exams, and that's the education I got.

Both of the interviewers expressed surprise, not having known about Kana-sensei's parents. But her recollection of 塾 (juku) (cram schools) aroused vivid imaginings of the rote-study image of Japanese education (recall the *yakudoku* lessons from Yuki-sensei's teacher training experience). While perhaps in what some may call a more privileged position than others, it seems that Kana-sensei had quite a traditional experience of the Japanese education system, one of studying for exams in order to progress to the next stage of education. Early in her education, her *juku* experiences paid off, as she recalls, "at that time, my grades were almost all five[46] except for physical education. I was 'the gifted childe'" (そんな時に私は成績はもうほとんど体育以外はオール５みたいなので、勉強ができる子として生きてきたんです).

Upon entering high school, Kana-sensei's experiences of schooling changed quite significantly, and would have a profound influence on her pedagogical epistemology, something that weaves through her visual narrative, below. Like the majority of Japanese students, one of the subjects she had to study was English. As she had previously described herself as monolingual[47], we asked what her feelings about English were, and what her experiences with English had been like:

> 英語はしゃべれないですね。でもだから中学校卒業までは英語はすごいできたんです。テストもほぼ 100 点やし。でもそれはテストのために覚えていたもの、同じような問題を解かされて覚えたから、結局定着してないというか[…]英訳するのだって上手やったけど、それがしゃべる力につながってるかというとそこは繋がってない[…]それがなんで私の身にならなかったのかって言ったら、もうしゃべる機会がないとか、しゃべろうと思わないとかもあるかもしれないですけど、一つはやっぱり思考しながら獲得したものではないっていうところが大きいかなと思っていて。
>
> Yeah, I can't speak English. But up until the end of junior high school, I was really good at it. Full marks on most tests. But that was because I was remembering [the content] for the tests. They were all the same kind of problems, so I just had to memorise them. It

[46] At Japanese elementary schools, grades are typically given on a 5-point scale, with five being the highest.
[47] I recalled from a previous materials development meeting sometime in late 2019.

didn't really stick, and so in the end, English wasn't something that I used [...]. I was good at translating into English, but it never really connected to speaking ability […]. Why didn't it become something real to me? I guess I had no chances to speak, or never really thought to speak. It wasn't something that I acquired through *thinking*. I think that was a big reason.

It seems that Kana-sensei's self-described monolingualism is closely tied to speaking. She remarks that she had no opportunities to, or never thought to, speak in English. But there is a deeper reflection here; to Kana-sensei, English was not something 'real' for her (身にならなかった). Studying English was just what she needed to do to pass the tests, "I knew things like the word order was different, but didn't really think about it, it was just like, 'OK then'" (語順が違うとかそういうのは分かってたけど本当に考えて獲得したことではなくて、ふーんっていうレベルで). To Kana-sensei, the need for conscious thought has since become an essential element of learning (and teaching) that encompasses not only foreign language, but is at the core of her pedagogical epistemology, and is weaved throughout all of her subject lessons:

やっぱ何でも、なんの授業でもやっぱり思考しながら獲得していった知識でないと自分のものにならないかなと思って、それが結局今の日本のそういう子を受験システムの中ではそういう学びっていうのは何かこうまどろっこしくて役に立たない学びみたいに、短期的に見て判断されちゃうんで長期的に必要なことがそぎ落とされてる。現場でそぎ落とされてると思うので、その辺は何か自分の中でもそうかなっていうふうに思うので・・・だから英語を学んだときに。他の言語と比べたりする発想って全然なくて、なんか私が自分で学んできた感覚で言うと日本語とすら比べてなかったとんですね。

I guess anything, any class, if you don't acquire knowledge through concerted thought, then it doesn't really become yours. I guess that's one issue with the entrance exam system in Japan, the study is dull and not useful. [Students are] judged on short-term product, and what's important in the long term is kind of forgotten about. At schools, that's what seems to happen, and I think that's what I went through, too... So, when I studied English,

it didn't ever occur to me to compare it with other languages. In fact, I don't think I ever even really compared it with Japanese.

In Kana-sensei's experience, any kind of learning requires concerted thought, but also *voicing* that thought. This is evident in all aspects of her practice, through which she constantly encourages debate, discussion, and reflection (see Chapter 6), and comes from her own experiences of failure in learning, which form a central theme of her visual autobiography.

4.2.2.2 Kana-sensei's Visual Narrative: Taking Ownership of Knowledge

While Yuki-sensei had chosen to trace her life trajectory on lined paper from a school notebook, Kana-sensei chose a sheet of unmarked white paper to draw a comic strip, paradoxically much more linear, and very much inspired by Japanese manga (Figure 4.7, over page). Reading first from bottom to top, then from left to right, Kana-sensei's visual narrative is entirely in black and white.

Kana-sensei's visual narrative contains much more text than Yuki-sensei's, accompanying all of her nine vignettes, sometimes in bubbles (representing her personal thoughts), sometimes unbound (descriptions of recalled fact/and or relationships) or a banner representing a pivotal moment in developing a plurilingual posture; the introduction of English to elementary schools (vignette ⑨).

Vignette ① begins early in Kana-sensei's life, at kindergarten. The lines are a traditional Japanese manga motif for anxiety, and Kana-sensei reflects that she couldn't speak very much (しゃべれない子だった), describing herself as being "maybe situationally mute, I couldn't express myself" (場面緘黙みたいな感じだったのかなと思うんですけど、なかなか自分が出せないような、子どもでした).

Vignettes ② and ③ show Kana-sensei at elementary and junior high school, where she excelled when "all I needed to do was raise my hand and give the expected answers, for which I was praised" (決まった答えなら言えるというか[…]勉強はできたので手を上げて発表して褒められる).

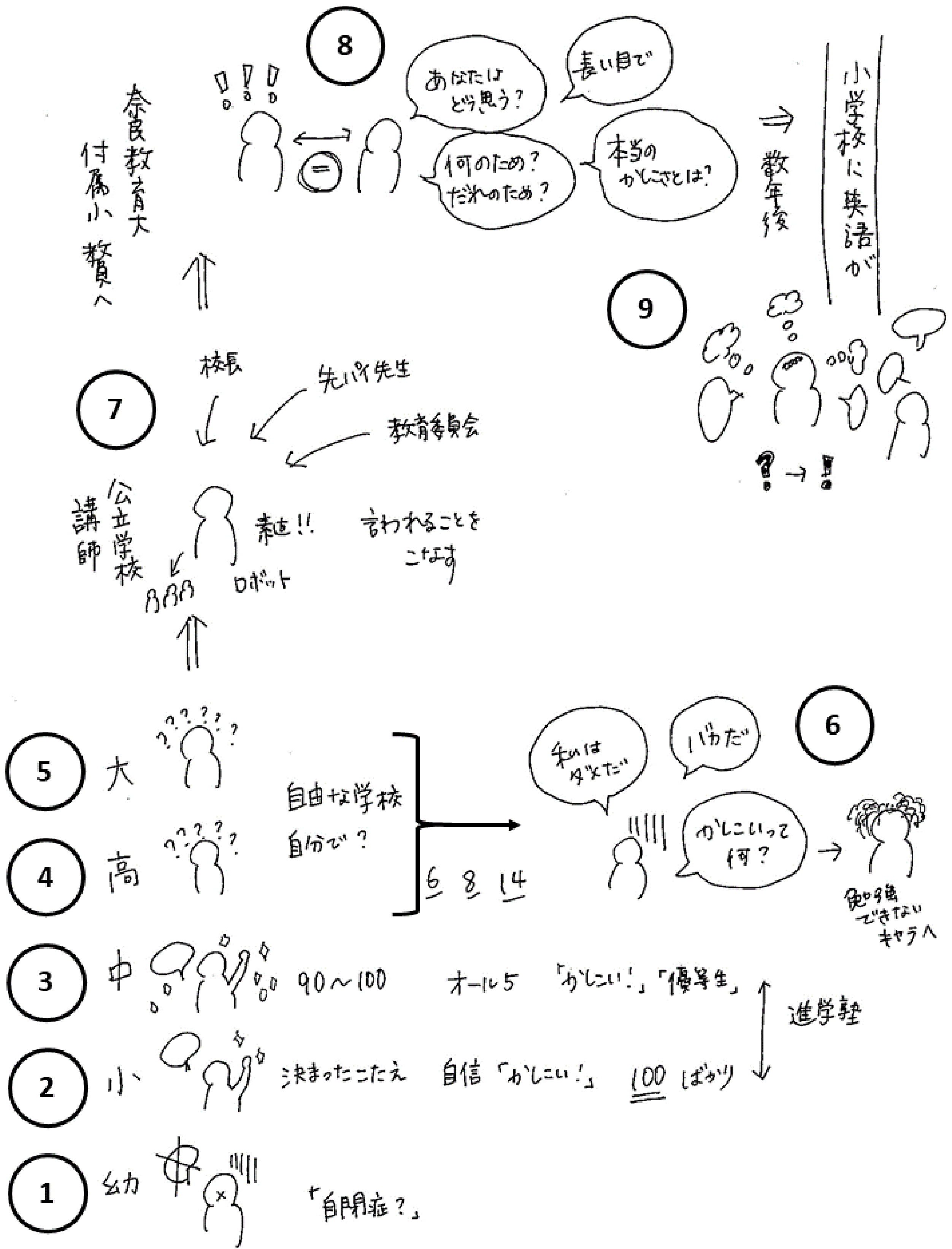

Figure 4.7 Kana-sensei's visual autobiography

A turning point for Kana-sensei, one that deeply affected her, came when she entered high school. With her *juku* experiences and her top grades throughout elementary and junior high school, she was able to enter the top high school in her area:

> 高校で地域で一番賢い学校に行ったら、「自由な校風」で。今まではみんながやることを教えてくれて、それをこなして勉強ができる子だったのに、「自分でやれ」って言う自由な学校に行ってしまって。やり方もわからへんし[…]勉強ができない。高校ではもう 100 点満点のテストが 4 点とか 6 点とか良くても 10 なん点みたいな生活になって。「私、勉強できひんや」、「今までできたのに」、「バカなんだ」とかだんだん自信がなくなっていって最終的に勉強できないキャラを演じることで高校と大学のときは金髪に染めてみたりしました。
>
> So, when I went to the top school in the area for high school, well it had kind of a 'free culture.' Up until then, I was the 'kid who could study,' by doing what everyone told me to do, but then I went to a school that told me to do things on my own. I didn't know how [...] I couldn't study. In high school, I would get 4s or 6s out of 100 on tests, maybe 10 at best. I started to lose confidence in myself, thinking "I can't study," "I was able to do it before," "I'm stupid," and so on, and eventually, I decided to adopt that kind of 'dropout' persona – I dyed my hair blonde in high school and college.

Kana-sensei's feeling of confusion and frustration when having to think for herself is palpable in the visual narrative, represented by the question marks above the heads of vignettes ④ and ⑤ (high school and university). Again, there is a sense of anxiety represented in vignette ⑥ before she decides to play the Japanese equivalent of the stereotypical 'dumb blonde' (勉強できないキャラ). She had mentioned this struggle in her previous interview, and that, with the help of her *juku* teachers, she had 'just somehow' made it into university. She also recalls:

> 大学４回の時に担当の研究室の先生が変わったんですけど、その先生が結構しっかり見てくれたというか、「ちゃんと自分の言葉で、もう１回自分の言葉で

書いてこい」って、書いてこさせて。[…]でも、すごい言語化を、とにかく考えたことを、しゃべらせる。毎回書いてこい、みたいな。「何かを書いてこい」みたいな。４回生で当たったときに、やっと自分で表現できるというか、「自分で考えて表現することが大事だな」「私に足りなかったのはこういうところ」って学んで、「先生が求める答えを探すのはうまかったな」と思ってだけど、答えを求めてくれる人がいなくなったときに、自分がなかった。

When I was in my fourth year at university, my supervising professor changed, and the new professor paid close attention to me, or rather, he told me to go back and write things down in my own words. […] He made me verbalize everything I was thinking, and every time we met it was, "go and write something." When I hit that spot in the fourth year, I was finally able to express myself, or rather, I learned that it was important to think and express myself, and that was what I had been lacking. I had been good at finding the answers to my teacher's questions, but when I didn't have anyone expecting set answers, there was nothing to me.

Here, Kana-sensei reflects that she had no sense of personal identity. In contrast to, but also resonant with, Yuki-sensei's sense of being in the 'minority,' and how this guides her pedagogical practice, this lack of self that Kana-sensei experienced, not only once (she returns to this below), continues to influence her teaching.

In vignette ⑦, Kana-sensei has become an elementary school teacher in her home prefecture. In our initial interview, it was at this point one of us asks, "was your mother okay with you not becoming a doctor?" To which Kana-sensei laughingly replies, "well, I was terrible at sciences…" So, Kana-sensei becomes a teacher. As mentioned above, for her first five years of teaching, she shifted between schools, and despite her previous experience of finding her own voice in her fourth year of university, she describes herself in those first years as being robotic (ロボット, vignette ⑦). She recalls that she was good at just doing what she was told by her principal, by senior teachers, and the board of education (上から言われることをやるのが先生」だと思い込んで、校長先生や先輩の先生や教育委員会に言われることを素直に受け取って、それを実際教室でどうするかなっていうのが私の教員生活).

A critical change is represented in vignette ⑧, with the emphatic use of three large exclamation marks, as Kana-sensei joins the school where she currently teaches:

> 今までは「言われたことをどう教室に返すか」だったのが、みんなが私はイコールで扱ってくる。「あなたはどう思うの」っていうことをすごい聞かれるようになって。今まで私がどう思うかなんてこれまでの人生で全然聞かれることがなく... まあ、聞かれてもそれが実現することはなくて、言うだけだったのが、本当に実現するというか、そういう「個人」をめちゃめちゃ求められるようになって
>
> Up until now, it was 'how do I do what I've been told in the classroom,' but now everyone was treating me as an equal. They started asking me a lot of questions like, "what do you think?" I had never been asked what I thought before in my life, and... Well, even if I was asked, what I said never eventuated. But now, I am expected to be a genuine 'individual.'

The school has a culture of discussing and debating students' needs, and collaborative decision-making between teachers on what kind of learning they wish to promote when implementing pedagogical approaches. Kana-sensei reflects that "the kind of thing I was expected to answer is, 'what is best for the students in the long term,' that kind of essential question. And so, I began to think a little for myself." (「長い目で見る」とか何のためにそれをするの」 とかそういう本質的な話をする職場に行って、そこから自分がちょっと考えだすようになった).

As a plurilingual practitioner, the introduction of English (or rather foreign languages, as she, and her school, rejects English-only pedagogy;大谷、2014) into the curriculum marks a decisive turning point in Kana-sensei's career (vignette ⑨). The introduction of foreign language requires unprecedented pedagogical innovation and derails her practical know-how and teaching ideologies. It is necessary to produce new tools, to think of new ways of doing things, to redefine the norms and aims of her teaching, and to invest in new practices that break with previous practices. In the final vignette, we see Kana-sensei looking up, grappling with foreign language education, struggling both with the how, and more importantly, the *why*. She is accompanied by other characters who are questioning, engaging in the collaborative dialogue of her school that helps

shape a collective epistemology (the school's collective response to the introduction of foreign language is examined in detail in Chapter 6, section 6.2.4.1). In Kana-sensei's visual, the inclusion of foreign languages is represented as emancipatory (in spite of a strong initial reluctance to teach them), encouraging collaboration and reflection on practices, while also opening the door to other languages and cultures (and reflection on Japanese):

> 数年後に外国語が小学校に来るっていうときにいっぱい考えていっぱい話をしたりして本当に必要な のかな。「いらんな」という。「この形じゃないな」っていう話をみんなでしてすごく考えてた。「本当にやる なら子どもを賢くするならどういう方法があるのかな」っていうのをみんなで探っていて 「それちゃうやろう」 というのが確信に変わっていた。
>
> A few years later, when foreign languages were to be introduced, we thought a lot about it, and talked a lot about it, and wondered if it was really necessary. "It's not," was one thought. Or "not like this[48]." While we were thinking about, "if we are really going to do this, how can we make it intellectually meaningful for the students?" feelings of "no, not this," turned into conviction [for pluralistic practice].

Kana-sensei's biography and the story she tells with it is cerebral. She clearly traces the obstacles she experienced in her own schooling as the thread that weaves through her approach to teaching. She reflects in her first interview, retrospectively an amalgamation of both her experiences as a learner and her experiences as a thinking teacher, at her current school:

> 学校の教員になってから、だんだんそういう自分が受けてきた教育とか。子どもたちが置かれてる状況、習い事の嵐とか、そんな社会状況とかいろいろ考えるうちに、本当に子どもに必要な力って何なのか、を考え出したのかなと思います。

[48] A reaction to English-only in the Course of Study, see Chapter 6, section 6.4.1.2.

> After I became a teacher, I began to reflect on the education I had received, and on the children; the enormous amount of work they have to do, and the social conditions in which they live. I started to think about what kind of knowledge my children really needed.

Her pedagogical innovation is thus driven by an effort to avoid reproducing for her students the inordinate feeling of failure linked to an over-competition towards excellence in an educational system that she experienced as, if not robbing her of personal identity, at least not promoting her cultivation of it. The developments linked to the introduction of foreign language become a trigger for reflexivity, the deployment of new collaborative and multidisciplinary practices, and the adjustment of professional gestures; these new modalities support the transformation of values and conceptions of the teaching profession, and contribute to broadening her subject teaching. She analyses her own academic failure through her unpreparedness to think critically for herself: Her excellence when learning was based on memorisation and repetition, and loses its foothold in a time when teaching is expected to promote greater autonomy, collaboration with peers, creativity, and the ability to raise questions, interpret information, understand different points of view and alternative systems of thinking, to solve problems in a reasoned manner. For her, the challenge then becomes to equip her students with these skills and attitudes, which go far beyond the accumulation of broad encyclopaedic knowledge (recall Coste, Moore & Zarate 2009[1997] on schools' needs to respond to diversification in knowledge, Chapter 2).

Observation of Kana-sensei's practice shows an atypical class where students, at each stage of collective construction of knowledge, are encouraged to collaborate, discuss, construct hypotheses, question others and themselves, and develop a practice of investigation of and experimentation with knowledge. In her language classes, this has primarily been achieved by pluralistic approaches such as *Éveil aux langues* (入澤、2021), and the influence of other plurilingual stances (see 大谷、2014; 泉本・岩坂・吉村・大谷、2014). Her reflection in the first interview, that, despite resistance to the implementation of foreign language, she is glad that she engaged with it (だから今思えばやらんでいいやってほっとかなくてよかったなと思います), shows that in the end, it is less plurilingualism itself that motivates her practice than what plurilingualism enables her to construct in her students; a way of engaging with the unknown, of constructing hypotheses and confronting different points of view, of weaving links through a critical reflexive process, and of collaborating in order to learn. Kana-sensei reflects that it was the following stance

that encouraged her to engage with foreign language, rather than reject it, and has led to her current, and developing, plurilingual posture (Moore & Gajo, 2009; Moore, 2018):

> 外国語を学ぶっていうのは英語が話せるとかそういう話ではなくて人間形成であり社会形成であるみたいな話を聞いたことがあって何かそのときに、「あーめっちゃあたしたちがやりたいこととマッチするな」
>
> I heard someone say, "learning a foreign language doesn't mean just being able to speak English, it's about personal identity development, social development." I thought, "hey, that really fits with what we want to do!"

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 All Roads Lead to Plurilingualism, Even in Japan

Through both the discussions and the visual narratives, Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei paint strikingly different pictures. Yuki-sensei's narrative is colourful, non-linear, complemented by descriptions given in both her initial interview the joint interview in late May, and covers senses of touch, and smell (五感に関するものが多い)[49], as she traces both her cultural experiences and engagement with language throughout her life, in her family life, her schooling, and her career, and how the desire to share these experiences colours her pedagogical practice. Kana-sensei's black and white narrative is more cerebral (すごく認識論的な見方で展開していく)[50], focussed on the self (other characters only appear when she joins her present school), and makes more use of written text to describe feelings of anxiety and both her struggles and successes in her schooling. Kana-sensei's trajectory is told through an almost exclusive focus on schooling, and reflecting on, through text, the way in which her educational experiences have influenced her pedagogical epistemology, and how she wishes to foster in her learners, both through language and subject teaching, the critical thinking and openness to multiple perspectives that was conspicuously absent for much of her own experiences of schooling.

[49] Interviewer's impression.
[50] Interviewer's impression.

While the artistic styles adopted by the two teachers may have been influenced by the interviewers' example visuals (one in colour, with plentiful use of text, and focusing on relationships and linguistic encounters, one in black and white, focused on the self, and with no text), their stories are both rich and unique, and serve to localize their plurilingual postures within time and space both for themselves as practitioners, as well as for the researchers and readers. Simultaneously, the teachers' stories give a unique insight into how different trajectories can lead teachers to plurilingualism, even within the monolingualising constraints of macro-level education policy.

4.3.2 Reflexive Practice: Disrupting Metanarratives by Localizing Plurilingual Postures

The starting point for the polyethnographic discussions in this chapter was the observation of similarities between the two teachers, who were not initially aware of each other[51], in classroom practices; an interdisciplinary approach to subject and language teaching, the integration of plural approaches, particularly *Éveil aux langues* (Candelier, 2003), and the promotion of multiperspectivity through engagement with different languages and cultures in everyday classroom life. We thus sought to find out, with the teachers themselves, through examination of their personal and professional backgrounds, what had led to their shared rejection of English-only education in the traditional TESOL, fractional bilingual sense (May, 2014; Chapter 2), and to implementing their innovative practices. Practicing, without having been specifically trained in them, interdisciplinary and plurilingual approaches, what repertoires of experience and knowledge did they link to their epistemologies of education and their foreign language practices?

In addition to polyethnographic discussions, we chose visual autobiographical narratives as a tool to support a reflective posture focussed on the teachers' personal and professional development (Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019), cross-referenced with interviews and collaborative dialogues (Norris & Sawyer, 2012; Lawrence & Lowe, 2020) for explication and clarification. These different modalities made it possible to contextualize and support consideration of the teachers' trajectories, by providing richer descriptions of the teachers' *currere* (Pinar, 1975), as well as multiple opportunities to return to them and compare, enrich and clarify them, while supporting an analytical gaze and a reflective posture.

[51] As teachers engaging in plurilingual practice are in the minority, many are not aware of each other – this point is returned to in the general discussion in Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.1.

Through the two visual narratives, we see how the shifting relationships and interactions with languages and cultures, as well as the teaching profession itself, has moulded the teachers' professional identities and didactic repertoires (Cadet, 2004; Cicurel, 2011). For Yuki-sensei, it is essentially her experiences of otherness, both within the self and society at large, inside and outside of school, that have influenced her path. Kana-sensei, on the other hand, represents a solitary learning environment, strongly linked to traditional ideals of academic success in the Japanese context, and her experiences of failure in her own schooling shape her teaching practice. Regardless of the positive or negative evaluations retrospectively applied to these experiences by the teachers, it either is the presence or absence of experiences and feelings, and senses auditory, olfactory, visual and tactile, that legitimise, in each of the teachers, their desire to create for their children a learning environment in which the experience of otherness and the fostering of multiperspectivity in learning takes precedence over the accumulation of encyclopaedic knowledge.

For each of the teachers, the encounter with the new ideas brought about by plurilingualism offers forms of reconciliation with their ideals (experiential and dialectic) of the teaching profession by legitimising, in their eyes, classroom practices that are often distorted in the eyes of their colleagues and parents (Kana-sensei reflects in her initial interview that "the parents aren't really interested in *Gengo Bunka*. They're most concerned with whether or not we're doing English," and recall that Yuki-sensei mentions the "pressure to do what other schools are doing," see also Terasawa, 2017). This reconciliation allows them to move from a transmissive posture traditionally favoured at schools to an approach to the classroom in which students interact to co-construct knowledge and situate themselves as co-investigators, where reflexive experience and experimentation form the central nodes of learning.

Multimodal (self-)analyses, focusing on the form and content of visual narratives and the dialogues they generate, here between teachers and researchers and between the two teachers, provide a shared space for reflection on actions, relationships with the school norms, relationships with others in the construction of knowledge, and investment in polynorms (linguistic and cultural), decentring (Candelier et al., 2012), and tolerance of ambiguity. Above all, we note in the teachers, as conversations were generated, an increasingly assumed research posture (the teachers and researchers continue well beyond the interviews and the production of the visual autobiographies, and correspond by postal letter, text messages, and emails, and join training seminars together).

They assume and contribute distinct voices to the co-interpretation of their trajectories and the analyses of their classroom practices.

The crossing of polyphonic and polysituated points of view also marks a gradual shift from the initial joint action research project (collaborative materials development between teachers and researchers, see, for example, Oyama, Pearce, Irisawa & Obata, 2019), and ethnography of the classroom (mainly assumed by researchers observing and proposing co-adapted resources for the classroom) to a collaborative polyethnography (Adamson et al., 2019; Lawrence & Lowe, 2020), in the course of which meaning is reconstructed through the dynamics of reflexive dialogue for making sense of experience (Norris & Sawyer, 2012) and collaboration in the research process. It is this polyphonic stance that also makes it possible to question certain ideologies concerning languages and their teaching, as well as the positioning of expertise and participation in the process of research on teacher thinking and the development of professional identity (Tjandra, Corcoran, Gennuso & Yeldon, 2020). Thus, for these teachers, "the process is not about retelling the past, but about finding meaning and reconceptualizing the past" (Tjandra, Corcoran, Gennuso & Yeldon, 2020, p. 85), in a way that acts upon the present and the future, and serves to disrupt metanarratives such as the importance of English-only education and the need for teachers to have a high level of proficiency in foreign languages in order to teach them (Machida, 2016; Oyama & Pearce, 2019).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter asked the *how* and *why* of the plurilingual practices (including *Éveil aux langues*) of two elementary school teachers with very different pasts and trajectories, in relation to their life experiences and professional training. Through a focus on the *currere* of the two teachers (Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei), we studied, with them, their representations of plurality, examining through polyethnographic discussions (conducted in Japanese, and discussed later in Japanese, French, and English), and their autobiographical visual narratives, questions of 'how did we get here?' and 'why take an interest in plurilingualism in the Japanese context?' For each of them, it is in the disorientation, in the denormalization, and in the distancing and reflexivity offered by plurilingual approaches that they seem to find themselves and localize their pedagogical epistemologies. These teachers use a variety of family, local and international languages (i.e., "adopting a holistic and asset-oriented perspective, which fosters the continuum between family, school and other contexts in language use and learning," [Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, 2020, p. 31;

Chapter 2]), whether or not they are present in all of the children's daily lives, in addition to Japanese and English, which are the target languages of their learning, in order to support access to knowledge in a critical, rather than encyclopaedic, manner.

The collaborative polyethnography sought to elucidate what resources these teachers assign as the mainsprings of their professional development and pedagogical epistemologies, and what nodes of experience they highlight in their professional trajectories that have led them to seek, in classroom practice, to remobilize them in order to foster, among their students, experiential encounters with otherness through pluralizing the processes of learning (of languages and knowledge).

The chapter also discussed the dual nature of the autobiographical visual narrative as a reflective tool for professional development (Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019) and its role in localizing *plurilingual postures* (Moore, 2018; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020) for teachers. Here the plurilingual posture is defined as a way of being, doing, and thinking; a way of investing in and weaving together experience and understanding of languages and knowledge; a way of positioning oneself in plurality and otherness:

> […] la posture plurilingue marque une nette rupture avec une vision didactique selon laquelle les langues sont clairement identifiées/identifiables, posant au contraire comme centrales leurs relations et le fait qu'elles s'entre-nourrissent, dotant les apprenants d'un capital sociocognitif original et utile qu'il s'agit de faire fructifier par l'action pédagogique.
>
> […] the plurilingual posture marks a clear break with a didactic vision according to which languages are clearly identified/identifiable, positing, on the contrary, their relations and the fact that they nourish each other as central, endowing learners with an original and useful sociocognitive capital that must be brought to fruition through pedagogical action. (Moore, 2018, p. 76)

Reflexive writing and drawing support the entry into a research posture for teachers who must go through a reflexive journey of defamiliarization of their experience. In order to take ownership of their experience, they must be able to put it at a distance, talk about it, and draw the threads of

meaning from it in order to interpret, understand and share it. These forms of heuristic narratives, here both visual and verbal, weave the knots of transformation and voice taking (Cummins, 2021b forthcoming). As Fillol, Razafimandimbimanana and Geneix-Rabault (2019) argue,

> Accompagnée d'un processus d'écriture réflexive qui participe au (re)positionnement personnel et professionnel de l'enseignant, la créativité enclenche des expériences en termes d'explorations, de mises en dialogues, de regards croisés, de narrations artistiques et, au final, de réinventions de soi.
>
> Accompanied by a reflective writing process that participates in the personal and professional (re)positioning of the teacher, creativity triggers experiences in terms of explorations, dialogues, cross-examination, artistic narratives, and, ultimately, self-reinvention. (p. 121)

Finally, this chapter makes it possible to discuss, in the Japanese context, the value of plural approaches and the didactics of plurilingualism in/for teacher training in order to reintroduce, in classroom teaching, languages that are very present in the landscapes of children, such as Chinese or Korean (大谷、2014), and to foster a new relationship with otherness. For these teachers, the question here is how schools can, in their daily lives, reflect on the place of other languages alongside, with, and in relation to, Japanese, the language of schooling, and English, the primary foreign language in policy and the classroom, in this critical questioning of otherness. This question also entails consideration of how the teachers can contribute, through languages, to the intellectual development of the children in their classes, whose future language use is both unknown and unknowable.

Polyethnographic analyses of the narrated autobiographies of the teachers who cross-referenced their practices revealed how these teachers ultimately use plural approaches as a pedagogy of resistance (Bajaj, 2015; see also Chapter 6) to an education policy that they consider to be overly confining. Their rejection of abiding *only* to macro-level all-English policy, in light of their consideration of their children's needs, and localized within their personal and professional *currere* echoes Spolsky's (2004) argument that policies exist in practice, and are complex social entities that are also influenced by grassroots practice. Here, the two teachers, while working within the

constraints of macro-level policies, constantly seek ways to employ their plurilingual postures in their teaching, and are authors of their own practice, both fulfilling, but also enriching and giving localised meaning to those broader policies.

In this sense, plurilingualism and plurilingual education are seen as part of an 'emancipatory process' (Fillol, Razafimandimbimanana & Geneix-Rabault, 2019) for these teachers. Similarly, in a context in which the potential for plurilingual practice has been discussed primarily from an etic viewpoint (see Chapter 2), the assumption of voice by the practitioners here has not only allowed them to develop deeper understandings of their own plurilingual postures and pedagogical epistemologies, their voices on paper (here, in this thesis, and in the journal *Contextes et Didactiques*, as originally published [Moore, Oyama, Pearce, Kitano & Irisawa, 2020]) allow for both a 'theorizing up and down' (Allwright, 2014) from their grassroots movements situated within a social and political landscape. It is hoped that their voices, bearing the seeds of transformation (pedagogical, and of professional identities), will contribute to making a more fertile field for more grassroots plurilingualism.

CHAPTER 5 PLURILINGUAL ASSISTANT LANGUAGE TEACHERS

This chapter considers another invested, albeit often transient, party involved with foreign language education in Japanese elementary schools: Assistant language teachers (ALTs). First introduced on a large scale in Japan in 1987, exclusively from the Anglosphere, ALTs began to join elementary schools in an experimental capacity in 2002 (小串、2008). The steady introduction of foreign languages have seen ALT numbers increase, and as of 2017, ALTs participate in more than 70% of elementary school foreign language classes (文部科学省、2018) and come from a wide variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the exact extent of which is not well known, and is part of what this chapter will examine.

The rationale for including more and more ALTs in elementary school classrooms stems from the fact that the introduction of foreign languages itself was a hastily decided policy, and many teachers feel unprepared to teach them (Machida, 2016). Recent MEXT reports show that less than 1% of elementary homeroom teachers hold English qualifications at a level considered to be desirable for the teaching of English at the secondary level, i.e., equivalent to the pre-1 level of the STEP Eiken (文部科学省、2016a). It is in order to make up for this perceived English deficit that MEXT encourages the use of ALTs[52] (文部科学省、2017a), a stance that echoes double monolingualism (大山、2016; 三浦・糟谷、2000; see Introduction).

The ALT system has not been without its problems. Recent research suggests that many ALTs feel underutilized, or not "considered to be a part of the school community" (狩野・尾関、2018, p. 123). ALTs are often relegated to providing simple pronunciation models, sometimes referred to as 'human tape-recorders' (Kano et al., 2016). On the other hand, there are reports of ALTs left to conduct entire classes on their own (Ohtani, 2010). Japanese homeroom teachers (HRTs: 学級担任) often struggle with team teaching, partly due to the fact that materials for Japanese teachers and those for ALTs contain contradictory information regarding teachers' expected roles (Hashimoto, 2011).

[52] Most ALTs have no training in foreign language education, or education in general (Ohtani, 2010). Indeed, the only requirement for eligibility in the JET Programme is that the applicant holds a bachelor's degree, in any subject (CLAIR, 2020a).

While ALTs were initially recruited only from the Anglosphere, the population has diversified both linguistically and culturally, a fact that has gained some attention in the recent literature (e.g., 松本・山本、2019; Mahoney, 2020), although to my knowledge, no prior studies have investigated a) team-teaching practice with non-native ALTs as it happens in the classroom or b) the extent of linguistic diversity in the ALT population, inclusive of languages other than mother tongue(s).

In this chapter, after providing a brief history of the ALT system, I conduct an ethnographic investigation of a non-native English-speaking ALT's practice, considered, with reference to the previous literature, in respect to macro-level policy aims for foreign language education and ALTs' roles within, addressing both linguistic and cultural aspects of teaching.

This is followed by a demographic survey of the ALT population to establish an idea of the existing linguistic and cultural diversity in the population, after which I present analyses of interviews conducted with several plurilingual ALTs with the aim of articulating their beliefs and practices in the foreign language classroom. The chapter concludes with implications for teacher training, and an argument for abandoning the native/non-native binary view of ALTs, but rather considering them as plurilingual actors (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]) in the classroom.

5.1 A Brief History of ALTs

5.1.1 Large-scale Introduction of ALTs

While team teaching with assistant language teachers dates back to at least the 1950s (McConnell, 2000), ALTs were first introduced in Japan *en masse* through the JET Programme in 1987, in which 813 assistants were invited from English-speaking countries[53], primarily the United States, to assist Japanese teachers of English at secondary schools. The programme was not initially conceived of as an education strategy but was proposed by the Ministry of Home Affairs as part of their *Initiative for International Exchange Projects* (国際化推進自治体協議会、1987). The aim was twofold; for the Ministry of Home Affairs, it was seen as a means for local governments to internationalize, and for the incumbent Nakasone cabinet, the programme was presented as a show of goodwill to the Reagan administration (McConnell, 2000).

[53] 35 Coordinators for International Relations (CIRs) were also recruited, leading to a total of 848 participants in the inaugural year (江利川、2018).

Initial implementation of the programme was problematic, as MEXT[54] was given less than a year to prepare for the ALTs' arrival, and "at no time were discussions held with the textbook oversight committees or other groups that shaped the larger structure of English education in Japan" (McConnell, 2000, p. 46). From a pedagogical standpoint, the haphazard nature of the programme was criticized at the time, with some education researchers suggesting that "successful team teaching was nothing more than a fluke" (若林、1989, p. 13). To the present day, while the programme has been generally well received, confusion about each teacher's role remains one of the most commonly cited issues with team teaching in the literature (e.g., 狩野・尾関、2018; Hiratsuka, 2013; 2014; Kano et al., 2016; Mahoney, 2004; Miyazato, 2009).

Perhaps coincidentally, at the time the JET Programme was conceived, English education in Japan was undergoing a communicative reform. The Course of Study in effect at the introduction of the JET Programme had, for the first time, included in its objectives the phrase "to develop a positive attitude towards *expressing oneself* in English" (文部省、1981, np, emphasis added). This communicative language teaching reform lent itself to *ad hoc* rationalizations for ALTs as catalysts for 'genuine' communication, including, "the presence of native English speakers in the classroom sets up situations in which English can be used as a living language" (和田、1989, p. 2). The dual political/educational nature of the large-scale introduction of ALTs continues to influence the roles of ALTs as represented in educational policy today.

5.1.2 ALTs' Dual Role and Present Representations in Policy

In contrast to the ad hoc educational rationalizations about their roles, ALTs were never intended to be just language assistants. The stated goals of the JET Programme were, and remain, to "promote grass-roots internationalisation at the local level," and ALTs were to simultaneously "participate in international exchange work and be involved in foreign language education" (CLAIR, 2020b, np): i.e., ALTs are also expected to be 'cultural informants.'

In elementary schools, where ALTs were first introduced in 2002 (positions were filled not only by JET Programme participants, but also privately-hired ALTs employed by dispatch companies, and also ALTs directly hired by local boards of education [小串、2008]), they are ostensibly to

[54] At the time, the Ministry of Education and Science (文部省). For readability, I use MEXT to refer to this preceding organization as well.

fulfil the same dual role. The *Guidebook for Foreign Languages Activities and Foreign Language*, a resource for Japanese homeroom teachers, includes a definition of the roles of both teachers in the classroom (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Expected roles of each team teacher (文部科学省、2017b, pp. 109–110).

Roles expected of the HRT	• Observe students' understanding while progressing the lessons • Alongside the ALT, demonstrate how to conduct activities • Pick up on students' comments and noticing, and have the ALT reply with easy English • Make the ALT repeat, or adjust the speed of, remarks in English for the students to listen to • Conduct shared evaluation, and in reflective tasks, praise the students' noticing
Roles expected of the ALT	• Alongside the HRT, demonstrate how to conduct activities • Introducing life and culture of their home country relevant to the current unit, and learn about the students' country through interaction • Pick up on students' comments and noticing directly, or with the assistance of the HRT, and reply with easy English and gestures • Repeat and have students listen to the correct native-speaker pronunciation • Engage in conversation with the students using English they have learned • Conduct shared evaluation, and in reflective tasks, praise the students' skills

According to the guidebook, in team-taught classes, the use of English (the only foreign language referred to) seems to be mostly a role of the ALT, while the HRT appears to have a more managerial position, perhaps owing to a greater ability to communicate with students (Japanese use by ALTs is not mentioned at all). Similarly, the only reference to ALTs in the Course of Study is that HRTs should "devise lessons with the help of native speakers and local human resources with English capability" (文部科学省、2017c, p. 162/177). Very little mention of ALTs' roles as cultural informants is made, despite the guidebook's reference to ALTs' "very existence [being an] embodiment of foreign culture" (文部科学省、2017b, p. 108). In all related ministry documents, ALTs are consistently portrayed simply as 'native speakers of English,' ostensibly

endowed with the language expertise necessary to supplement the local Japanese teachers.

Over the decades since team teaching was introduced, ALTs have received considerable attention in the research literature. Wakabayashi (若林、1989) pointed out that "[not being trained in teaching,] it is entirely unreasonable to have ALTs instruct English as a foreign language," and argued, in order to better capitalize on ALTs' experience, that, "for the time being, since they are foreign youth from English-speaking countries, we should have them teach music, physical education, social studies, or mathematics in English" (p. 15). Sakuma (佐久間、1997) proposed that Japanese students teach the ALTs Japanese, through English, and in doing so simultaneously engage in both English practice and cultural exchange. Pearce (2020a) has suggested that meaning-focused lessons incorporating cultural information encouraged greater engagement in children, and argued that "it may be more pedagogically meaningful to consider the ALT as primarily a cultural informant, rather than an English language expert" (p. 147).

While Wakabayashi (若林、1989) and Sakuma (佐久間、1997) focused on the importance of drawing connections between subjects, Pearce (2020a) emphasizes the role of cultural education within foreign languages lessons. Although differing somewhat in their targets of inquiry, these suggestions resonate with current movements in the literature regarding CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning, see, for instance, Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010), STEAM approaches (e.g., Babaci-Wilhite, 2019; see also Chapters 2 and 6), intercultural education within foreign language teaching (Candelier et al., 2012), and plurilingual education (e.g., 岩坂・吉村、2012; Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]; Marshall & Moore, 2018).

However, the Course of Study and related documents do not reflect the research literature. Firstly, there is no mention of connecting foreign languages and other subjects, and for instance, in the aforementioned guidebook, there is very little information given about what should entail lessons that include ALT's "information on the life and culture of their home country" (文部科学省、2017b, p. 110), or how it might be connected to the goals of the foreign language subjects. This can be problematic given homogenous representations of ALTs as native speakers of English, when in fact, the ALT population is steadily diversifying. Curiously, little of the prior research takes into account this diversity amongst ALTs, or how ALTs might contribute to non-linguistic aspects of children's learning. These aspects will be explored in section 5.3, below.

5.1.3 Linguistically and Culturally Diversifying ALTs

ALTs are no longer only native speakers of English. The JET Programme, which initially invited only ALTs from the so-called 'inner circle' (Kachru, 1985) countries, expanded its scope beginning in the 1990s, and now invites participants from 57 countries[55]. The JET Programmes is also no longer the only source of ALTs; many are now hired directly by local boards of education, or by dispatch companies, and are thus not restricted in terms of their home countries. This has led to an increase in the number of non-native English-speaking ALTs (杉本・山本、2019; Kano et al., 2016; Mahoney, 2020). Previous research has shown that more than a third of ALTs at elementary schools report a mother tongue other than English (Table 5.2), and a similar number are from countries not traditionally considered to be in the 'inner circle' (上智大学、2017).

Table 5.2 Mother tongues of ALTs at elementary schools (adapted from 上智大学、2017, p. 9)

Language	English	Other	Unknown	Total
Number	421	150	5	471

The diversification of ALTs is expected to increase. As Japan has been in a recession spanning several decades, the salary for ALTs has changed little since the introduction of the JET Programme. Inflation and rising wages in the Anglosphere have led to this salary becoming less and less attractive to participants from traditionally English-speaking countries. In a recent survey of ALTs' motivations to come to Japan, while no Anglosphere participants mentioned the salary, it was regularly raised as a motivating factor for participants from the Philippines (杉本・山本、2019). Thus, as it becomes more difficult to attract ALTs from the Anglosphere (at least, from a financial perspective), it is likely that the demand for ALTs will be met by greater numbers of assistants from other regions.

Despite the fact that ALTs are becoming increasingly multilingual and multicultural, there is little clarity on how to proceed with team teaching with these diverse ALTs, and, as far as I am aware, no previous research has focused on culture-centred lessons with ALTs from non-English speaking countries. Furthermore, no previous studies have examined the entire linguistic

[55] A minority of Chinese-, French-, German-, Korean-, and Russian-speaking ALTs are also recruited to teach those languages, although ALTs from outside of the Anglosphere typically teach English.

repertoires of ALTs, inclusive not only of mother tongues but also other languages, important elements in an individual's plurilingual repertoire.

This chapter will explore these gaps in the literature. The following section (5.2) will examine how a non-native English-speaking ALT manages (or is managed) in his role as both a language assistant and a cultural informant. Section 5.3 consists of a two-part study which sought to a) establish the existing linguistic diversity in (or, the plurilingual realities of) the ALT population, and b) examine the beliefs of plurilingual ALTs regarding their roles in education, both as linguistic supporters and intercultural educators. Following this is a discussion of common issues, raised in the preceding sections, which influence teachers' beliefs and inform their practice, in section 5.4.

5.2 Team-teaching Practice with a Non-native Speaker of English[56]

5.2.1 Data Collection and Class Content

In this section, I will examine team teaching practice conducted between three HRTs and a native Arabic-speaking ALT from the Middle East, whom I will call 'Obada.' Conversation Analysis (CA; see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2), was chosen to analyse interaction in the classes. It is an emic approach that endeavours to explain interactional phenomena within their contexts, and therefore "it is not relevant to invoke power, gender, race, or any other contextual factor unless and until there is evidence… that the participants themselves are orienting to them" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 166). Here, too, Obada's status as a non-native English speaker will not be considered an *a priori* factor for analysis (nor is it relevant in terms of the plurilingual stance applied to this thesis). Rather, the analysis will focus on aspects of teacher-teacher and teacher-child interaction, and on the content of the lessons themselves, although it is expected, given representations of ALTs in the literature, that Obada's non-native (or potentially non-Anglophone) status will become a salient feature.

The data for this study were collected between November 2017 and January 2018 at an urban elementary school in the Kansai area. A total of three classes were video recorded, transcribed,

[56] Adapted from an article originally published as 隠された多様性—非英語圏出身の外国語指導助手（ALT）とのティーム・ティーチング (*Hidden diversity: Team teaching with ALTs from outside the Anglosphere*, ピアース、2021a).

and analysed. Information on each class is shown on Table 5.3, below. Any names that appear are pseudonyms.

Table 5.3 Information about Obada's team-taught classes

Date	Grade	Class objectives	Class content
Nov. 2017	5	1. Learn countries' names 2. Ask and say where you want to go	Introducing/practicing English country names/flags, "Jeopardy"-style quiz about countries, practice of key phrases "Where do you want to go" and "I want to go to…"
Dec. 2017	2	1. Learning about Christmas	Practicing Christmas vocabulary, ALT-led PowerPoint explanation of Christmas, Q&A with ALT about Christmas
Jan. 2018	5	1. Pronounce school subject names 2. Asking subjects that people like	Introducing/practicing English subject names, rhythm game to practice pronunciation, quiz about school subjects, practice of key phrases "What subject do you like?" and "I like…"

In the data analysed, Obada took on the role of language assistant for two lessons, and the role of cultural informant for one, in which he delivered a lesson on Christmas. Using representative extracts, the classes will be examined below.

5.2.2 Obada as Language Assistant

The classes in which Obada acted exclusively as language assistant involved activities such as quizzes on vocabulary, and the introduction and/or eliciting of target phrases. The classes were led by the HRT, and Obada would join in for model dialogues, or to give model pronunciations.

The first class centred around introducing English country names and the key phrases "Where do you want to go?" and "I want to go to ~". Extract (1) details the introduction of the phrases:

Extract (1) [20.11.2017]

((Maiko and Obada together introduce the target phrases early in the lesson))[57]

```
01  HRT:  oka::y please listen okay >obada-sensei ga nani wo
```

[57] LL: Multiple children (L= Learner). L1: Specific child.

02 *itteiru ka*< *kikitotte ne* ((tr: listen and understand
03 what Mr. Obada is saying))
04 ALT: ((gazes toward HRT)) () ((nodding)) okay? <whe:re do
05 you want to go>
06 HRT: <i want to go to Italy:>
07 ALT: ((gazes toward class)) okay good ((raises finger))
08 one more time one more time ((gazes toward HRT))
09 where do you want to go
10 HRT: <i want to go to Italy:>
11 LL: italy italy ((a few LL raise hands))
12 HRT: *hai* ((tr: yes)) ((gestures towards L))
13 L1: *(doko) ni ikitai desu ka* ((tr: where do you want to
14 go?))
15 HRT: in engli::sh
16 ALT: how do you say that again in english
17 L1: °*doko ikitai*° ((tr: where do you want to go))
18 HRT: engli::sh
19 L1: mo ikkai ((tr: one more time))
20 HRT: ((gestures towards L with hand raised))
21 L1: >*mo ikkai*< ((tr: one more time)) one more ti:me
22 ALT: okay <where do you want to go>
23 HRT: ((gestures towards L with hand raised))
24 L1: where do you want to go
25 ALT: o::h very good [nice] ((clapping))

In this extract, the HRT (Maiko) has finished introducing the pedagogic context by line 01, where she directs the children to pay attention to Obada's English. In lines 05 and 06, Maiko conducts a brief model dialogue with Obada, who suggests repeating the dialogue in line 08. In line 12, Maiko concludes the model dialogue by gesturing towards a child (L1) whose hand is raised. Here, the child is expected to ask the question in English, but rather provides the Japanese equivalent. Through lines 15 to 20, Maiko prompts the child to repeat the English phrase 'Where do you want to go?' and L1, understanding her intention, requests another presentation of the model. The fact that Obada repeats the model independently following L1's request, and that Maiko allows him to do so (rather than responding herself), is a demonstration that in conversations with Obada, the ALT, speaking English is the norm.

There seems to be an implicit understanding that, although it is perfectly possible to converse with Maiko in English, it is more desirable to have an English conversation with an ALT, simply because the ALT is there. On the other hand, throughout the lesson, Maiko alone exercised the right to nominate new pedagogical contexts, or shift tasks within them (e.g., shifting from showing

the model dialogue to having the students engage in practice). This division of roles is consistent with the description in the guidebook (文部科学省、2017b), which clearly describes ALTs as language assistants, and HRTs as the lead teacher.

Extract (2) occurred later in the same lesson, and is an example of Obada leading practice of the target phrase with the students:

Extract (2) [20.11.2017]

((After prompting by Maiko, Obada leads practice of the target phrase))

```
01  ALT:  where do you want to go ((raises hand, gazes to L1
02        who is raising her hand)) [yes]
03  LL:                             [where] do you
04  L1:    to finland
05  ALT:  u:::m ((to L)) °i want to go to°
06  L1:   i want to go (0.1) to (0.1) finland
07  ALT:  okay good ((gesturing to L with raised hand)) where
08        do you want to go
09  L2:   i want to go to(0.3)  e::h (0.1) america
10  ALT:  good okay
```

In Line 01, Obada prompts a response from the students by asking the question "Where do you want to go?" Superficially, Obada is carrying out the role of "engaging in conversation with the students using English they have learned," (文部科学省、2017b, p. 111). However, examination of the feedback offered by Obada in line 05 shows that he is not engaging in 'genuine' conversation in order to communicate meaning, but rather eliciting 'correct' production of the target phrase. Although the child (L1) offers a semantically correct response to the prompt in line 04 ('to Finland'), the objective of the lesson is to produce the phrase 'I want to go to,' and thus Obada (albeit somewhat hesitantly) provides corrective feedback, before praising the student's production of the full target phrase ('okay good' in line 07). This type of interaction (IRF: Initiation, Response, Feedback) is common in the second-language classroom, typically when the focus is on producing linguistically correct utterances, rather than meaningful interaction (see Seedhouse, 2004). Here Obada is not actually engaging in conversation, but rather is having the children do drills[58].

[58] I am not suggesting that drill activities have no place in the language classroom. If the MEXT document's reference to "engag[ing] in conversation with the students" is intended to mean formal, modelled interaction, then Obada is fulfilling one of his roles as ALT here commendably. Nevertheless, some rationalizations for the ALT system have suggested that the presence of ALTs 'to engage in natural conversation' (Wada, 1994, note also that Wada was critical of drills). However, as we can see here, and in similar research (e.g., Butterfield & Bhatta, 2015; Lee, 2015;

In the first class (Extracts (1) and (2), above), Maiko deferred to Obada for all model pronunciations. In the second class, the HRT, Masahito, was more proactive in using the English language, typically providing the model pronunciations himself when introducing new words. In this class, Obada was therefore relegated to a bystander role for extended periods, joining in for group activities and in model dialogues with the HRT. Despite Masahito's proactiveness in this lesson, we can see in Extract (3) that he also makes an effort to have Obada fulfil his role as language teaching assistant. The goal of the class was to 'learn the names of English subjects'[59].

Extract (3) [17.01.2018]

((Masahito is introducing English class subject names using picture cards))

```
01  HRT:  °muzukashi ne kore ha° ((tr: this one's difficult))
02        ((hanging card on blackboard)) ato de nja  Obada
03        sensei ni hatsuon wo oshiete moraou  ((tr: Let's have
04        Mr. Obada teach us the pronunciation later)) ((holds
05        up card))
06  LL:   e::
07  HRT:  () mina kono aida hitomoji futamoji san°moji°
08        kakizome shita yo ne: kore ha ne: ((holds up card))
09         (.) calligraphy ((tr: everyone wrote one, or two,
10        or three characters recently for kakizome60, right?
11        This is calligraphy))
```

Noteworthy about Extract (3) is that in lines 02 through 03, Masahito attempts to devise a role for Obada. Immediately prior to this extract, Masahito had been pronouncing the names of English subjects fluently and accurately by himself, i.e., he became a speech model for the children. However, when a word that is somewhat difficult for Japanese speakers to pronounce (calligraphy) appears, he remarks to the children, "Let's have Obada-sensei teach us the pronunciation later" (although he subsequently pronounces the word himself, "calligraphy," in line 05). When Obada gave his model during drill practice later in the lesson, Masahito was standing amongst the children and engaging in pronunciation practice with them.

This extract, as well as the subsequent drill practice by Obada, gives credence to the expectation

Pearce, 2020b), the presence of ALTs in the classroom is not in itself a sufficient condition for natural conversation in the target language to occur.

[59] Other activities in the class included a warm-up song, and various games to remember the new vocabulary and practice pronunciation.

[60] *Kakizome* (書初め) is a Japanese tradition in which auspicious characters for the year are written in calligraphy style in the New Year.

that ALTs should deliver to model ('correct') pronunciation and scripted dialogues in collaboration with the classroom teacher, even when the classroom teacher alone is fully capable of doing so alone. This raises the question of why ALTs are necessary for such lessons, and suggests that their presence might better be capitalized upon in other ways.

The two lessons in which Obada participated as language assistant were primarily comprised of practice drills, to which the children generally demonstrated a proactive attitude. However, when we examine the content of the foreign language conversations that took place in the classes, we can see that the exchanges between Obada and the children are superficial demonstrations of linguistic form, not 'natural conversations' conducted to communicate meaning (a phenomenon also common in secondary school lessons with ALTs, see Pearce, 2020b). Prior research (e.g., 狩野・尾関、2018) has pointed out and criticized the frequent substitution of ALTs for tape recorders, and the date here lends further credence to that criticism. These two lessons themselves are not particularly problematic, if they were intended to be the formulaic practice of target phrases and words. However, the lessons clearly did not capitalize on Obada's bilingualism (or plurilingualism), that is, the fact he is a daily speaker of English amongst other languages, and in the case of Masahito's lessons, the need for the 'correct' model in itself appeared to be an ad hoc rationalization for Obada's presence in the classroom.

As mentioned earlier, Pearce (2020a) suggested that including more cultural elements in lessons with ALTs may be more pedagogically meaningful, based on the observation that students were more engaged in culture-centred lessons than in lessons that focused solely on linguistic forms. At least theoretically, this has been further substantiated here, albeit from the point of view of Obada's limited involvement in the lesson, rather than the children's engagement. The next section will examine a class in which Obada acted primarily as a cultural informant.

5.2.3 Obada as Cultural Informant

In the second class, the HRT, Yoshie, relegated herself to a bystander role for most of the lesson, although occasionally interjected to confirm information with Obada, who delivered the greater part of the lesson as a PowerPoint-based lecture. The content was related to Christmas, its history, and Christian tradition, as well as to modern American Christmas customs. I was present to observe the lesson, which was an unusual experience, as I had learned in a previous informal discussion that Obada had never celebrated Christmas himself, nor had ever been to America. Yoshie had

apparently asked Obada to give a lesson related to Christmas, and she may not have been aware of his background. According to Obada[61], he simply prepared the content in accordance with Yoshie's wishes, and had searched for the PowerPoint materials he used on the internet.

While, as a visitor to the school I was able to find time to discuss with Obada his heritage and his previous experiences with the English language, it seems that Yoshie had not had a similar opportunity. The main reason for this was likely Obada's employment structure; he only visited this school during lesson times and returned to his office at the local Board of Education as soon as his scheduled classes were over. There was thus no time for out-of-class interaction for Yoshie and Obada, save through email; communication regarding class content was conducted via e-mail or planned by either Yoshie or Obada alone, and shared in the moments before classes began.

The flow of the second lesson was as shown on Table 5.4:

Table 5.4 Flow of the lesson

Activity	Obada/Yoshie's Roles	Time (mins)
Greetings/Warm-up (song)	Obada: Greeting/Preparing PowerPoint/Singing English song Yoshie: Greeting/Singing English song	5
Lecture on Christmas	Obada: Deliver a lecture on Christmas based on PowerPoint materials Yoshie: Giving extra explanation on difficult topics	25
Q&A	Obada: Answering students' questions Yoshie: Facilitating interaction between Obada/children	5
Cool down (song)	Obada/Yoshie: Singing English song	10

After concluding the opening greetings and warm-up, Obada began his introduction of Christmas. As can be seen in the transcripts, most of this information was conveyed in the Japanese language, rather than English. Obada typically opened each sub-topic (such as Christian traditions, turkey dinners, or advent calendars as in Extract (4), below) with display questions to the children, and then proceeded to deliver cultural information based upon the PowerPoint slides. At the start of the lesson, the children were engaged, eagerly offering answers to the questions. Perhaps due

[61] In a personal conversation after the lesson.

to the amount of information, or the lecture-style presentation, however, the children's attention began to waver midway through the lesson.

Extract (4) [11.12.2017]
((Part-way through American Christmas customs, Obada introduces advent calendars))[62]

01 ALT: okay advent (.) christmas *no advent* ((tr: the advent
02 of Christmas)) ((gestures to slide)) ()˚yes˚(1.1)
03 ((gesturing to days on a picture of an advent
04 calendar)) <one> (0.1) <twenty four> *nande nijugo*
05 *nai*? ((tr: why no twenty five?))
06 LL: *E*? ((exclamation of surprise))
07 ALT: why
08 L1: *e wakaran* ((tr: I don't know))
((11 lines omitted))
09 ALT: so countdown to christmas okay so this *futsu no*
10 *karenda ja nai* ((tr: this isn't a regular calendar))
11 (0.6) boxes ((gestures to dates on calendar))
12 L2: *akete chokoreto wo morau yatsu* ((tr: the one
13 with chocolates when you open it))
14 HRT: *sou sou sou* ((tr: that's right))
15 ALT: ((to observer)) daniel do you do this in america?
16 OBS: a:[::h] yes we do
17 ALT: [>advent calendar?<] ˚that's cool˚

In this extract, the children are engaged with the content, reacting to Obada's question with surprise in line 06 and interested bemusement in line 08. A few lines later, L2 displays her knowledge of advent calendars, to which Yoshie offers positive evaluation in line 14. Of key interest in this extract is what occurs in the following lines, in which Obada turns to the observer (me) to address the question, "do you do this in America?" Obada seemingly relinquishes his status as cultural informant, or perhaps tires of one-way delivery of information, and requests input from the 'western' observer. Obada's lack of authority on the subject of Christmas once again became evident during the question-and-answer time near the end of the lesson. Extract (5) is an example of one child's question:

Extract (5) [11.12.2017]
((Obada invites questions after he has concluded his lecture))

01 ALT: *christmas no koto de nanika shitsumon ga aru?* ((tr:
02 does anyone have any questions about Christmas?))

[62] OBS: Observer (Author).

```
03          ((raises hand)) okay () kite kudasai ((tr: please
04          ask))
05  L1:     ((raises hand))
06  ALT:    yes ((gestures to L1))
07  L1:     kurisumasu tte sa:: ((tr: about Christmas…))
08  ALT:    un ((tr: yeah?))
09  L1:     nande sa kurisumasu purezento (santa san ga) okutte
10          kureru no? ((why does Santa send presents?))
11  HRT:    nande kurisumasu purezento ga aru no?- ((tr: why do
12          we have Christmas presents))
13  ALT:    kore ha o(.)iwai shiteiru kara ((tr: because we are
14          celebrating))
15  L1:     oiwai? ((tr: celebrating?))
16  ALT:    dare no saki? (0.9) dare no tanjobi? ((whose -
17          [I said it] before - whose birthday is it?))
18  L2:     [iesu sama] ((tr: Jesus))
19  ALT:    dakara (.) kodomotachi ha yorokobu kara (0.1)
20          morattara ((tr: so the children will be happy,
21          if they get [presents]))
22  L1:     (to HRT) e:to sore te sa (0.4) yorokobu tame ni sa
23          (0.2) yorokobu tame ni: yatteru no? ((tr: um… so, so
24          to make them happy?))
```

In this extract, L1 asks why Santa sends presents (lines 09-10), and Yoshie rephrases the question to the qualitatively different "why do we have Christmas presents?" in the following lines. While it is not clear why she changed the question, it is possible that she did so to make the interaction easier to understand for other students in the class, or perhaps to provide Obada with a simpler question to answer. Obada picks up on this generalized question with an evasive response, "because we are celebrating," that does not actually answer the question; there are many events in the West, the U.S., and Japan that are celebrated without exchanging gifts, and thus "because we are celebrating" is not a sufficient explanation for either the initial question, or Yoshie's rephrasing of it. L1 seems unsatisfied with this answer and requests clarification from Obada in line 15. In response, Obada asks, "Do you remember? Whose birthday is it?" After L2 clarifies "Jesus," in line 18, Obada presents further information, in "so children will be happy," an answer seemingly unrelated to the information given in response to the child's initial question[63]. The previous answer of "because we are celebrating Jesus' birthday" is not a sufficient clue to unravel the mystery of 'why we receive gifts on someone else's (Jesus') birthday,' particularly for children who have

[63] In actuality, while there are several proposed explanations for the tradition of present exchange at Christmas, the connection to Christianity is unclear (Collins, 2010).

(likely) only experienced receiving gifts on their own birthdays. Unsurprisingly, L1 displays a continued dissatisfaction with the response by requesting further clarification from Yoshie in lines 22-23. Here, Obada is no longer functioning as a cultural informant.

Two other children asked questions after this extract: a) “how does Santa carry presents from Finland?” and b) “how does one become Santa Claus?” Neither of these questions was directly related to the content that Obada introduced, but seemed to be based upon the children’s prior knowledge. It is impossible to know how well the children understood the content of Obada’s lesson, but regardless, by this point, their concentration was wavering considerably, as can be seen by the children’s gaze in Figure 5.1.

According to the MEXT guidebook, one of an ALT’s roles is to introduce “life and culture of their *home country* relevant to the current unit” (文部科学省、2017b, p. 110, emphasis added), and as such, regardless of the general *linguistic* emphasis on English as the target language to be acquired, there is no compelling reason to cover only Anglocentric cultures in classes that focus on culture. If this lesson was to take advantage of Obada’s own cultural experiences, as a bilingual, and as a native Arabic speaker with Middle Eastern heritage, what kind of lesson might have been possible?

Figure 5.1 Children’s gaze during question and answer time

Yoshie might have engaged in a dialogic lesson with Obada, perhaps by beginning with a question such as “It’s almost Christmas. Do you celebrate Christmas in your home country?” As the Middle East is predominantly Muslim, Obada might have replied that not many people celebrate Christmas in his country. This would open up several potential avenues for the lesson,

including “Does your country have any important festivals like Christmas?” or “Do you exchange presents at all?” Beginning with these questions would allow Obada to share information about his heritage, while also providing a more active role for Yoshie. In such a lesson, Obada would be more adequately equipped to answer the children’s questions, as they would likely relate more directly to his own cultural experiences. Obada also would have been able then to achieve what MEXT advocates for ALTs in team-teaching; that ALTs “very existence is an embodiment of different culture” (文部科学省、2017b, p. 108). Given that previous research has established that active HRT involvement is essential for maintaining student engagement (狩野・尾関、2018; Aline & Hosoda, 2006; Pearce, 2020a; b), this type of lesson may have been more pedagogically meaningful to the students (other potential avenues for introducing ALTs’ linguistic and cultural repertoires through STEAM approaches will be explored briefly in Chapter 6).

Of course, there is no problem with Obada’s including aspects of American culture, for instance, or other cultural elements outside of his own country of origin or personal experience. However, the pedagogical significance of having Obada (or ALTs in general) representing, or being asked to represent, that culture as their own, or as ‘generally foreign,’ is dubious. In such cases, a better approach may have been if he had compared cultural aspects to his own culture, or engaged in investigative inquiry into foreign culture alongside the children[64].

Furthermore, since Obada is a speaker of Arabic, he might have included some Arabic language, such as greetings, in connection with festivals from his own culture. This inclusion of another foreign language would be more representative of Obada’s plurilingualism, and quite appropriate for *foreign language* lessons, in line with the MEXT goals for the subject:

> Through understanding of how communication in foreign languages works, to develop […] the foundational qualities and abilities necessary to attempt communication. (文部科学省、2017c, p. 156)

Here, instead of using English exclusively, and thereby reinforcing the impression that ‘foreign language = English,’ it may be better to employ the diversity of ALTs not only in terms of culture, but also language, in order to convey a more accurate representation of the world’s diversity in the

[64] Investigative inquiry is a key part of STEAM education, and its relationship with plurilingualism and foreign language education will be explored in Chapter 6.

classroom. Unfortunately, in this case, Obada's Middle Eastern background, both linguistic and cultural, was not capitalized upon. Rather, the lesson may have even reinforced the stereotype that 'foreigners = people who celebrate Christmas.' Whether intended or not, in this lesson, Obada's actual cultural and linguistic repertoires were hidden away.

While it is hasty to generalize from a singular instance of practice, such cases are likely not uncommon. As mentioned earlier, previous research has pointed out that a third of ALTs at elementary schools have backgrounds outside of the traditional Anglosphere (上智大学、2017), and it is thus easy to imagine similar situations in other team-teaching contexts. The lesson examined here resulted from Yoshie's request to Obada to teach a class on Christmas – a request that might have been motivated by generalizations of ALTs as homogenous, native speakers of English (and by extension, informants of Anglophone culture; see Holliday, 2006) in materials for teachers.

Other factors that may have led to such practice will be considered in the discussion at the end of this chapter, although the oversimplified depiction of ALTs in macro-level policy and teacher materials is clearly problematic. Unfortunately, as of yet, no large-scale research has addressed the linguistic and cultural diversity of ALTs, and representative figures of ALTs' linguistic and cultural diversity are not available. The next section of this chapter seeks to address this particular gap, while also examining the reported practice and pedagogical beliefs of plurilingual ALTs.

5.3 Plurilingual Realities of ALTs[65]

The aim of the study presented in this section was two-fold. First, an online demographic survey was conducted to form a general picture of ALTs' linguistic repertories (See Appendix B for the full questionnaire). For this purpose, participants were recruited via personal connections, boards of education, and Facebook groups for ALTs. 181 present and former ALTs responded (122 female, 56 male, and 1 nonbinary; 2 declined to say), of whom 88% (n = 159) were presently employed as ALTs at elementary schools. Second, follow-up interviews were conducted with 8 respondents currently employed at elementary schools, who reported access to languages other than English

[65] Adapted from two articles, the first originally published as *Homogenous representations, diverse realities: Assistant language teachers at elementary schools* (Pearce, 2021), and the second 小学校の外国語指導助手（ALT）はモノリンガルか―単一言語教育に従う複言語話者の位相― (*Plurilingual Speakers within a Monolingual Education Paradigm: Are ALTs at Elementary Schools Really Monolingual?,* ピアース、2021b).

and Japanese, in order to investigate their experiences and pedagogical beliefs. Section 5.3.1 will outline the results of the demographic survey, and analyses of the follow-up interviews will be reported in section 5.3.2.

5.3.1 Demographic Survey

Perhaps due to the method of data collection, JET Programme participants are overrepresented in the data at 47% (see Table 5.5, below), whereas JET ALTs only account for roughly a quarter of the total ALT population (文部科学省、2016a)[66]. As the primary goal of this exploratory research was to gain a general idea of ALTs' linguistic repertoires, this discrepancy was considered acceptable[67].

Table 5.5 Employment types of ALTs surveyed

Type of Employment	Number (Percentage)
Hired by a private/dispatch company	60 (33%)
Directly hired by board of education or by school	29 (16%)
Recruited under the JET Programme	85 (47%)
Other	7 (4%)
Total	181 (100%)

5.3.1.1 Native Languages

In regards to native languages, English was the self-reported mother tongue of 94% of respondents (n = 169), including 23 native bilinguals (English and another language: Figure 5.2, over page). This figure differs somewhat from previous research, in which around 30% reported native languages other than English (Sophia University: 上智大学、2017).

[66] Of the ALT population, recent figures show that volunteers (including Japanese nationals) comprised around 41% of ALTs, dispatch companies around 26%, JET Programme participants around 18%, and direct-hire ALTs, around 15% (文部科学省、2016a). During the survey, I reached out to four major ALT dispatch companies for assistance in distribution. One company responded with a refusal, and the other three did not reply. While I understand the right of the companies to refuse cooperation, given that ALTs are involved in public education, this inaccessibility to information is problematic.

[67] In fact, given that non-JET ALTs show a greater diversity in mother tongue and country of origin (上智大学、2017), it is likely that diversity in ALTs' linguistic repertories is even greater than the results reported here.

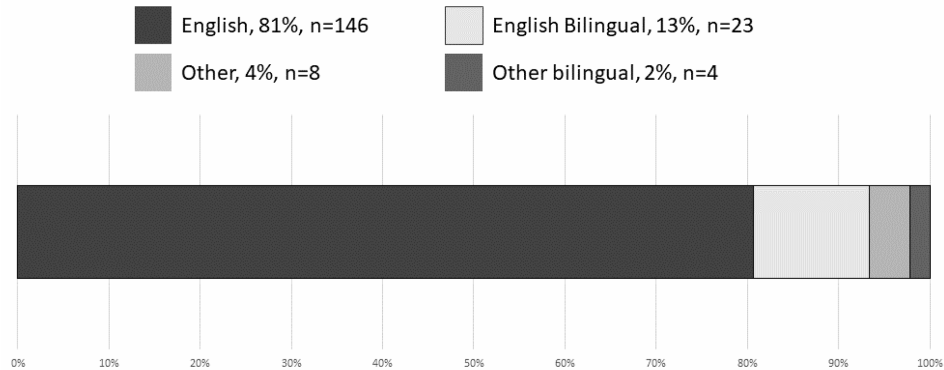

Figure 5.2 ALTs' native languages

This discrepancy may be due to differences in the sampling methods mentioned above, but also because the previous study only reported discrete languages and did not discriminate between bilingual and monolingual native speakers (for the full responses, see Appendix C).

5.3.1.2 Japanese and Additional Languages

Despite the lower figure of other native languages, results regarding Japanese ability were consistent with those reported in the Sophia University (上智大学、2017) study. Almost all respondents (n = 179) reported some degree of Japanese ability (Figure 5.3). The ALT population is, at the least, clearly not monolingual.

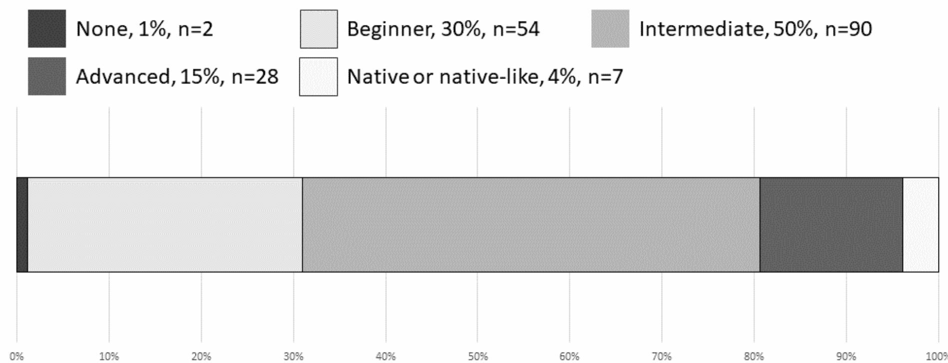

Figure 5.3 ALTs' Japanese ability

The previous study (上智大学、2017) did not address ALTs' additional languages, which showed a surprising degree of diversity. In this study, only 44% (n = 79) reported having no other language than Japanese and English. Regarding ALTs' knowledge of other languages, 32% (n =

58) reported one other language, 15% (n = 27) reported two, and 9% (n = 13) reported knowledge of three or more other languages (Figure 5.4). Self-reporting of ability in each language varied from beginner to native-like (Appendix C).

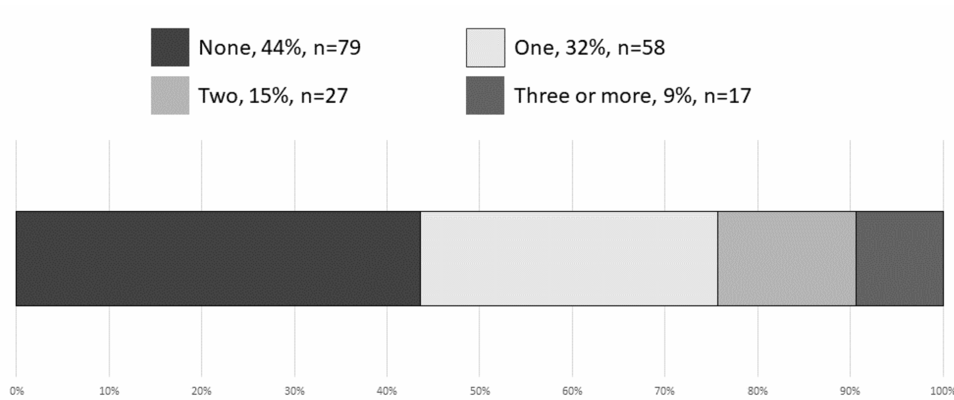

Figure 5.4 ALTs' additional languages

5.3.1.3 Use of Japanese in Lessons

Regarding use of Japanese, responses varied considerably, from 'always' to 'never,' although nearly half (48%, n = 87) of respondents used Japanese either 'occasionally' or 'frequently' (Figure 5.5).

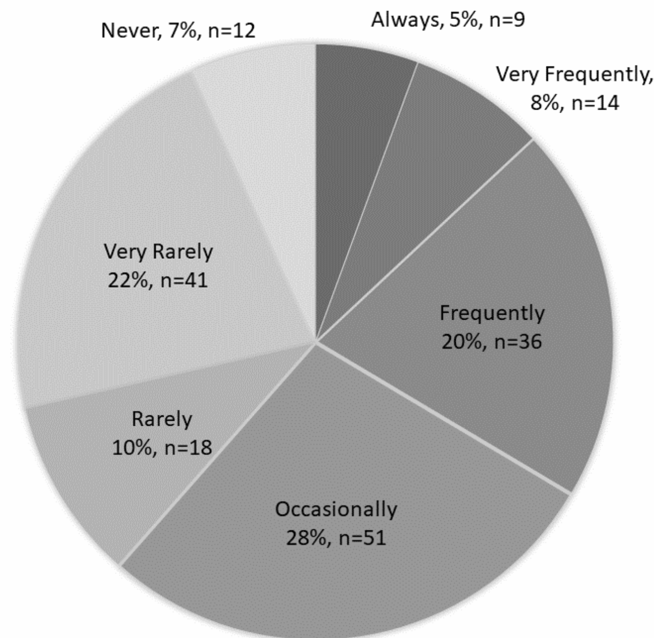

Figure 5.5 'How often do you use Japanese in your lessons?'

In the voluntary open-ended question, 19 respondents elaborated on their use of Japanese. From these responses, for most ALTs, Japanese use appeared to be a personal choice. Four respondents stated that they adjust their use of Japanese based on the students' school year, typically using more Japanese for younger children. Four others specified that they use Japanese for complex instructions or to ease communication. Two respondents emphasized the importance of Japanese-use by ALTs for communication with children in the classroom; "using a little Japanese in class combats the social block that many Japanese people seem to have developed against foreigners as someone automatically difficult to understand," and "keeping their interest and the doors of communication open is important enough to justify using some Japanese, since refusing to 'meet them halfway' often results in anxiety and giving up attempts to communicate." Two respondents indicated that Japanese use was forbidden by their dispatch companies, one of whom stated:

> We're instructed by our company not to use Japanese at all (or I would probably use more). That said, it's sometimes necessary for me to repeat myself in Japanese quietly for the HRT's benefit, [or] use Japanese to explain hard concepts to students, such as past and present-tense [sic]. Largely use Japanese to help the students understand complex grammar patterns.

As both language management research (Lüdi, Höchle Meier & Yanaprasart, 2016) and our respondent above have shown, overt policy does not necessarily reflect how interactants actually employ their languages. Given research on the effectiveness of L1 use in the EFL classroom (e.g., Shin, Dixon & Choi, 2019) over approaches such as target-language only (Galante et al., 2020), as well as plurilingual theory (Chapter 2), the legitimacy of forbidding ALTs from using Japanese is pedagogically dubious, and may serve only to reinforce in the minds of both young learners and HRTs the idea that 'foreigners = monolingual English speakers,' a counterproductive conception considering the multilingual reality of the globalized world (Forlot, 2018), and certainly one that runs counter to the Course of Study commentary that emphasizes understanding of users of different languages (文部科学省、2017d). It seems that at least some ALTs are cognizant of this counter-productiveness and reject policies that artificially limit their language use.

5.3.1.4 Use of Other Languages in Lessons

In regards to the use of other languages in the classroom, no respondent replied with 'always,' and only four responded that they include other languages 'frequently' or 'very frequently.' While 17% (n = 30) stated that they incorporated other languages 'occasionally,' the majority, 81% (n = 147) of respondents replied that they used other languages in lessons 'rarely' (n = 34), 'very rarely' (n = 65), or 'never' (n = 48).

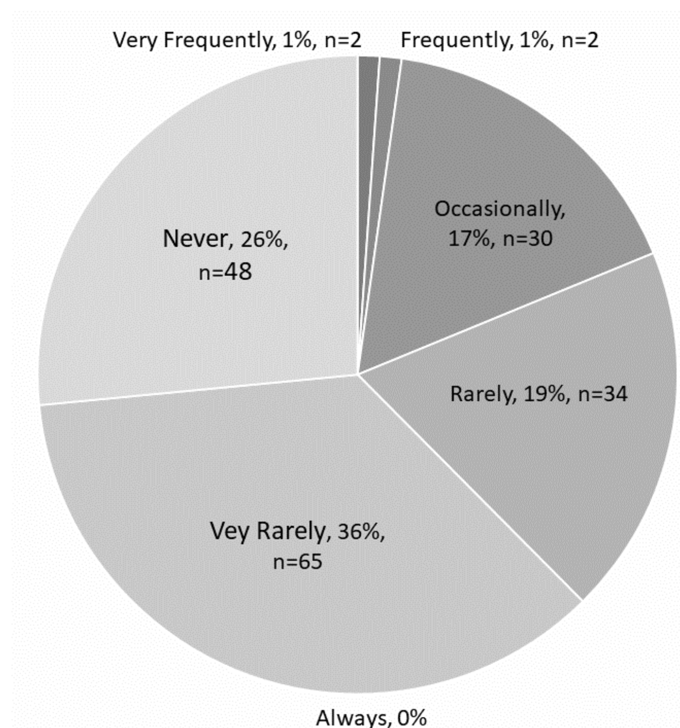

Figure 5.6 'How often do you include languages other than English or Japanese in your lessons?'

Amongst the volunteered information, 16 respondents referenced other-language use. Introduction of other-language greetings or numbers/counting seemed to be common (six responses) whereas four respondents stated that they introduced words from other languages only if they appeared in the textbook. Some gave more in-depth reasons for their use of other languages:

> I often use other foreign languages to get kids interested in foreign languages and cultures. I try to help kids realise that outside of Japan, there is a lot more than English speaking countries, and that each country is unique.

> I think it's important to expose children to many different cultures and languages, so sometimes I find it interesting to talk about Spanish numbers or something like that.

Here, the ALTs displayed an understanding of, and a desire to share, the multilingual and multicultural reality of the globalized world. One respondent expressed a disappointment in the lack of HRT enthusiasm for the inclusion of other languages:

> I teach greetings in multiple languages in our lessons about other countries. I also teach the song *Feliz Navidad* in December. I feel this is too surface level, and I'd like to do more. I wish HRTs would encourage this more too.

This lack of enthusiasm on the part of HRTs may be a result of the portrayal of foreign language at elementary schools as early English education (e.g., 寺沢、2020; 西山・大木、2015; 湯川・高梨・小山、2009), and of representations of ALTs as monolingual native-English speakers in Japanese-language documents. As plurilingual approaches have shown the potential to increase recognition of minority languages and create more inclusive classes within the Japanese context (Oyama & Pearce, 2019), they may also provide an avenue for including ALTs' other languages. This could potentially alleviate the persistent use of ALTs as 'human tape recorders' by giving ALTs a more active and varied role in the classroom. In turn, it might also help to reduce feelings of underutilization and isolation that ALTs often feel (狩野・尾関、2018).

Unfortunately, of the two respondents who indicated they used other languages 'frequently,' neither volunteered additional information. However, having established that ALTs have a remarkably diverse range of languages in their repertoires, follow-up interview research on how those languages are (or are not) included in lessons, as well as ALT attitudes towards their incorporation, was subsequently conducted, the results of which are discussed in the following section.

5.3.2 Plurilingual ALTs' Beliefs and Practices

Semi-structured interviews of about one hour each were conducted as an exploratory study into the experiences and beliefs of plurilingual ALTs, with the primary goal of establishing themes that were prevalent amongst the population. Employing Fugard and Potts' (2015) formula, a sample

size of 8 interviewees was determined to be sufficient to establish a theme prevalence of 70% (adjusted to 35% under the assumption of a 50% likelihood of an individual making reference to the theme). Data on each participant is shown on Table 5.6 (names are pseudonyms):

Table 5.6 Interview participants

Name	Sex	Years ALT	Home country	Location	Native language	Other languages (self-reported level)
May	F	3	Philippines	Kyoto	Tagalog	English (native-level), Japanese (intermediate)
Josh	M	11	United States	Iwate	English	Japanese (native-level), Romanian, French, Spanish, Korean (beginner)
Célia	F	2	France	Tokushima	French, English	Japanese (intermediate), Spanish (advanced)
Luuk	M	5	The Netherlands	Kanagawa	Dutch	Japanese (advanced), English (native-level)
Angel	F	3	Singapore	Kumamoto	English	Japanese, Mandarin Chinese (advanced), Korean (intermediate), French (beginner)
Martin	M	22	United States	Okinawa	English	Japanese, French, ASL/JSL (intermediate), Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Swedish (beginner)
Logan	M	12	Canada	Fukui	English, Ukranian	Japanese, French (intermediate), German, Spanish (beginner)
Zain	M	5	United States	Nagano	Italian, English	Japanese, German, Spanish (advanced)

The data were transcribed, and Thematic Analysis was conducted according to the procedure outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006; Table 5.7, below; see also Chapter 2). In an attempt to increase objectivity, a cooccurrence network was generated using KHCoder (Ver. 3. beta.01) and referred to during coding. Coding itself was conducted using MAXQDA 2018.

Table 5.7 Thematic analysis procedure

Step	Description
1. Familiarizing	Transcribing data, reading and re-reading data, noting initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the data set, collating data relevant to each other (KHCoder implemented in this stage).
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts, and the entire data set.
5. Defining/naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	Final analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of extracts, relating back to research questions and literature.

(adapted from Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

5.3.3 Findings and Analysis

Analysis of the data led to the development of 254 discreet codes, which were collated into five general themes: Roles; English; Other languages; Culture; Pedagogical beliefs. The following sections will provide descriptions of codes for each theme, representative examples, and general trends in the interviews.

5.3.3.1 Roles

The *Roles* theme generated the greatest number of codes (103), and all ALTs referred to their roles, both as perceived and in actual classroom practice. Most centred around planning lessons, or which

teacher took the lead in classroom practice. Descriptions and example codes are shown on Table 5.8:

Table 5.8 Roles codes, descriptions, and examples

Codes	Description	Examples (Respondent)
Expectations/ Planning	How the ALTs understand what is expected of them, and how they plan lessons	I prepare everything myself. I have the HRTs help me […] if there's an activity where it's not easily explained in English for their level. (Célia) They expect me to come and have fun with the kids. (May) My BOE has given us lesson plans for all of the books, so we don't really actually have to do very much in terms of l thinking about the process. (Angel)
HRT as T1	HRTs are generally supposed to be the lead teachers	Normally the HRT is the T1 now and I am the T2, the assistant. Again, it depends a bit on the teacher. Sometimes I am taking a more forward role, sometimes a more supportive role. (Luuk)
ALT as T1	Often the ALTs take up the lead teacher role	I kind of had to take charge of the English lessons. Some teachers were at the back of the classroom, weren't really doing team teaching or they outright say, "I can't do English." (Angel)

In terms of expectations and planning, the responses were varied, although many remarked upon the difficulty in planning, due to working arrangements such as visiting individual schools only once per week (this was also a problem for Obada, who visited the school in the previous section on average only three times per month). Three mentioned holding planning sessions via

messaging services such as LINE, via email, or "if there is enough time, in the week before the next class."

The codes *HRT as T1* and *ALT as T1* showed a greater degree of uniformity. All of the longer-term ALTs (10+ years) remarked that while they had previously taken on the lead (T1) role, there was a recent shift to having the HRT take the T1 position. This is in line with MEXT policy, which expects HRTs to be the lead teachers (文部科学省、2017b), and with prior research on team teaching which has shown that, due to the ALTs status as assistant, they are unable to assume the role of full teacher without the HRT's assistance (e.g., 狩野・尾関、2018; Aline & Hosoda, 2006; Miyazato, 2009; Pearce, 2020a).

Four of the ALTs noted that this shift was in part due to MEXT-produced lesson plans. While all participants stated that they still occasionally take the lead role in classroom practice, the general content of the lessons was entirely up to the HRT; all eight ALTs remarked that "it depends on the teacher." HRTs' status was referred to again under the themes *Other Languages* and *Culture*, where some ALTs noted an inability to introduce other languages or cultures due to the HRT's desire to stick exclusively to the textbook or pre-prepared MEXT lesson plans:

> Some teachers want to follow the lesson plan to a T. MEXT gives plans for all the lessons, so some teachers do just follow that. As an ALT, I have to follow the teacher. (May)

5.3.3.2 English

The theme *English* refers to English teaching in classroom practice. The codes for this theme were somewhat limited, with a total of 23 codes (five of the participants discussed technical aspects, and three, World Englishes). The technical aspects mostly revolved around speaking (modelling) English. One ALT, May, mentioned writing, although intimated that she was hands-off for the writing component: "in the last 10 minutes, maybe the teacher will have a ready piece of paper for the students to write one key sentence that they learned that day."

With regard to World Englishes, there was a degree of awareness of different varieties amongst the three ALTs that mentioned them (Célia, Angel, and Martin). Martin referred to his municipality's hiring of non-native ALTs as conducive to addressing this diversity; "…they're not native English speakers. But their English, obviously, is excellent. I mean, German, Italian, South Africans, are non-native English, and Nigerian."

Table 5.9 English codes, descriptions, and examples

Codes	Description	Examples (Respondent)
Technical aspects	ALTs engage in speaking tasks and vocabulary, but little grammar, writing, or reading	There is a lot of like modeling conversation, trying to show them a real-life natural speed conversation with the teacher. (Angel) In terms of small talk, that's something that they've been really bringing into classes for the last couple of years. (Josh)
World Englishes	ALTs are cognizant of English varieties	…trying to get them to realize that there's not just one English because, like, sometimes I'll read a word and I'm like, is this how it sounds? (Célia) I really love pointing out to the students that there are many different Englishes, so please don't worry about having to copy and sound exactly like me as an American. (Martin)

5.3.3.3 Other Languages

Other Languages was comprised of 58 codes, and was referred to by all ALTs, as I asked them specifically whether they include their other languages. Table 5.10 outlines the codes for this theme:

Table 5.10 Other languages codes, descriptions, and examples

Codes	Description	Examples (Respondent)
Own languages	ALTs actively make use of their own languages when possible	Sometimes, because I know Dutch, I will put a bit of Dutch, just to make them just think how to how do you make that 'g' sound? Or bits of German, because I can

		still speak enough to give an impression, or French. (Luuk)
Classroom languages	References to other languages in the classroom	There was one student who was half Japanese and half Senegalese, I believe, […] the HRT brought it to the surface that, you know, his family speaks a language that's not Japanese and not English. (Logan)
Other languages	General references to languages other than English	If there was a lot of lesson to cover, maybe they wouldn't ask those extra things, and teach them how to count in Tagalog, how to count in French. But maybe if there's a lot of time and they're very open-minded, maybe they would. Not everyone. Again, it depends on the teachers. (May)
Textbook	The textbook occasionally includes other languages	Sometimes only a little bit is also part of the textbook. That's why it's called *gaikokugokatsudo*, even though it's really just English classes. But I know that at the start of the book, they start with the greetings of different countries and the flags. It's still very basic. (Luuk)

Seven participants mentioned specific details of their own foreign languages, with the exception being Logan, who explicitly stated "the way I present myself is as a Canadian, as a monolingual Canadian," (although he acknowledges the value of other languages, touched upon in section 5.3.3.5 below, and that occasionally other languages were brought up by the HRTs). However, only three ALTs (Luuk, Martin, and Zain) mentioned that they take the initiative to introduce their languages, whereas May, Angel, and Célia said it depends on the teacher or the textbook (in Martin's case, he mentions that his school is supportive of introducing sign language, both ASL and JSL into lessons, and some of his colleagues do the same).

Two participants (May and Logan) made reference to the languages of the children in their classes. For May, at her school "there are a lot of people with Filipino, Chinese, and Korean parents," and also a "French student who transferred to the school." She mentions, however, that any foreign language other than English taken up is once again, up to the HRT, and remarks also that "I think it depends how much time we have to play." This reference to other languages being objects of 'play' rather than study is an intimation of the hidden curriculum (double monolingualism); English is the only useful language as a target of study[68]. Logan made a similar comment about the rarity of other languages being included in learning, referring to a half (or *double*, to borrow Yuki-sensei's phrasing) Senegalese student (see Table 5.10, above):

> a poster at the back of the class [the child] created had some phrases and how to read them in Japanese. Maybe they were phonetic. And [the HRT] encouraged the students to try them out with that student, which I've yet to see in any other classroom.

In general remarks about using languages other than English, four of the participants (Josh, Luuk, Angel, and Zain) mentioned the importance of the textbook, of whom all but Zain stated that they only introduce other languages when they are included in textbook lessons, comments that were consistent with the inclusion of other cultures:

> The beginning unit is learning to say hello in different languages. I've been exposed to probably 10 or 15 different ways of saying hello from these textbooks […] like *boa tarde* or, *namaste* […] or whoever was the *nicchoku* would have to come up with something different, and so they would say, like, *zdravstvuyte*. OK. Now, what were those languages? And I'd say, oh, that's Portuguese, Hindi, and Russian. (Josh)

Six made reference to the fact that they would like more opportunities to introduce other languages, and five tied these into their pedagogical beliefs (section 5.3.3.5, below).

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[68] This is not intended to disregard the importance of play in foreign language learning. In this context however, the use of 'play' to refer to other languages was in contrast to implied 'real business' of studying English (see also Hiratsuka, 2013).

5.3.3.4 Culture

Culture was comprised of fewer codes (33) than *other languages*, although a greater number of references were made to culture than to the teaching of English as a specific foreign language. This perhaps shows a cognizance on the part of the ALTs of their roles as cultural informants, which has been addressed in the previous section, and several times in the literature (狩野・尾関、2018; Miyazato, 2009; Pearce, 2020a). References to both their own and other cultures (including Japanese) are described on Table 5.11:

Table 5.11 Culture codes, descriptions, and examples

Codes	Description	Examples (Respondent)
Self	ALTs often demonstrate their own culture through self-introductions	…this is a scene of, you know, Christmas, and guess what country it is? And so I can then use the countries that I've lived in as sort of the staple of that. (Josh)
Other cultures	ALTs are aware of, and try to include, different cultures	I talk about *Cinco de Mayo* and how it's celebrated in both South America and as well as in America, because we celebrate it very differently. (Célia)
Textbook	The textbook has (minimal) cultural content	With the *Hi Friends* textbook, like the older textbooks, it was just like a lot of pictures, not a lot of content. (Angel)

While the codes on *other languages* included many references to the ALTs' own linguistic repertories, culture tended to be more generalized. A quote from Josh perhaps illuminates some of the reason for that, as ALTs' self-introductions seem to lose appeal over time: "…you lose a little bit of that, like, newness of introducing your culture."

All eight ALTs made references to the importance of exposing children to a variety of cultures. Angel, for instance, pointed out:

> […] an important part of this is just being there as a foreigner. Kind of helping little kids realize that there is a whole wide world outside of Japan. And I guess, question their assumptions, and realize that not all foreigners look like people in the textbook. I guess, raise interest in my home country and other places in the world.

As with *other languages*, in classes, bringing up other cultures was typically the prerogative of the HRT. Interestingly, extracurricular activities also came into play with culture, as four of the ALTs mentioned 'English boards' that they have on display in their schools, upon which they display information about languages and foreign countries. All four stated that they include greetings or seasonally relevant words from a variety of countries, as well as information about different cultures, suggesting that ALTs potentially have more freedom to include linguistic and cultural diversities in extracurricular activities.

5.3.3.5 Pedagogical Beliefs

Finally, *pedagogical beliefs* was comprised of 37 codes, and illuminated some of the pedagogical epistemologies of the participants, including their representations of language and culture in Japan, ideas about language acquisition for young learners, and beliefs about the goals of foreign language education in Japan, examples of which are shown on Table 5.12:

Table 5.12 Pedagogical beliefs codes, descriptions, and examples

Codes	Description	Examples (Respondent)
Representations	ALTs often see Japan as monocultural and closed off	The way in which students in Japan conceptualize the idea of someone who is multilingual, they're not familiar with who and what those people might be and why. (Logan) I think it's monolithic. Some Japanese people have the idea that foreign equals American and foreign equals white America. And I want that to change. (May)

		There's so little exposure to different languages in Japan. And that's one of the big issues, I think in this country. (Luuk)
Learning	ALTs have varying knowledge and opinions about young learners	The thing with language is that the earlier they start, usually the more they retain, because you kind of like by the age of like twelve. Around there is kind of like where your brain kind of just stops taking in as much. (Célia) I've read in language acquisition, a very important thing is the sounds you hear at a very early age because otherwise, you become deaf to certain sounds. (Luuk)
Goals	ALTs have a variety of beliefs about the goals of FLE in Japan, and how and what to teach	The goal is not really to teach them English, but to make them excited to learn English in the future. (May) [including other languages] would give students a concept of something beyond maybe their reach. Which I find they maybe struggle with, when they're thrown into the deep end, into English education. (Logan)

All but Josh made reference to perceived monoculturalism and monolingualism in Japan, and a desire to overcome that by introducing more diversity in the classroom. Amongst these, some tied them into textbook representations of foreigners as "blonde-haired and blue-eyed" (Martin; see also Angel's comment in section 5.3.3.4), which echoed comments made about representations in the culture theme, reflecting importance placed on the diversity of languages and cultures (although recall that Logan represented himself as a 'monolingual Canadian'), and is in line with references to the understanding of diversity in MEXT policy (文部科学省、2017d), as well as calls in applied linguistics against essentializing foreign culture (for instance, Kubota, 2002; Holliday, 2018).

Of the eight participants, only two made reference to concepts in language acquisition theory (Célia and Luuk: Table 5.12), with the former referencing critical period concepts, and the latter the importance of exposure to a variety of sounds, a topic that has been given recent attention in the literature (see, for instance, Bice & Kroll, 2019).

Finally, half of the participants tied their knowledge of languages into how they perceived the goals of foreign languages at elementary schools, and while none specifically referenced plurilingual practices, their comments echoed some of the principles behind plurilingual practice for young learners, including methodologies such as Awakening to Languages (*Éveil aux langues*: 大山、2016; Candelier, 2003). Two representative comments follow:

> It would be nice to introduce more languages to the students. They don't have to master all of them, but it would really help increase their general knowledge or interest in different languages for when they do want to learn a foreign language. (Angel)

> I don't think that it's about teaching language. It's about teaching the methods behind learning a language. I think that's what we should be doing. We should be fostering curiosity, we should be fostering language acquisition skills, not teaching the language. Because their brains now are wired to learn how to learn things. We shouldn't just tell them this is a foreign language, it's English, and this is how you say 'me' in a different language, but that's what we're doing right now. (Zain)

5.4 Discussion

In several places throughout this thesis, it has been pointed out that MEXT recognizes the importance of languages other than English, as well as cultures beyond the Anglosphere (文部科学省、2017d). Despite this recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity, however, depictions of ALTs as monolingual native speakers of English remain the norm in the Course of Study and teacher training documents, perhaps a remnant of legacy policy in which ALTs were recruited exclusively from the traditional Anglosphere (McConnell, 2000).

The aim of this chapter was to examine how representations of ALTs impact practice, and also to attempt to determine the linguistic and cultural diversity in the ALT community. The demographic survey conducted as part of this chapter paints a far more diverse picture of the ALT

community than their monolingual representations, as more than half are bilingual, although fewer than 20% responded that they apply these resources regularly in the classroom.

In this chapter, I first investigated the practice of one plurilingual ALT, Obada, from a traditionally non-English-speaking country and a non-native speaker of English, as he took on both the role of language teaching assistant and cultural informant in the classroom. While some studies have begun to examine the situations of non-native English-speaking ALTs (for instance, 松本・山本、2019; Mahoney, 2020), they have not fully explored the issues surrounding ALTs from non-English speaking countries participating in the classroom as cultural informants, nor has any prior research (as far as I am aware) addressed the full linguistic repertoires of ALTs beyond their mother tongues or their potential applications in the classroom.

In the case analysed in Section 5.2.3, Obada was asked to teach a lesson on Western (mainly American) Christmas culture, something far removed from his own cultural experience. In other words, neither his own cultural knowledge nor his plurilingualism, was given any consideration. This type of teaching is at odds with the MEXT's proposal for the role of ALTs to share information about their home countries (ill-defined as the role is).

Following the analyses of Obada's classes, I conducted interviews with a number of plurilingual ALTs, who reported similar situations; while many of the ALTs displayed plurilingual stances (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020) and encouraging openness to the inclusion of multiple languages in their lessons, their ability to do so was often restricted by HRTs wishing to follow MEXT-prepared lesson plans or textbooks that have only extremely surface-level introductions of other languages and cultures. This is not necessarily the 'fault' of their HRT colleagues: HRTs are simply not being given sufficient tools to capitalize on the richness of their ALTs' linguistic and cultural resources.

In the remainder of this discussion, I would like to further explore some of the factors that have led to such an unsatisfactory situation, including a) the lack of coverage of team teaching in teacher training programs, and the limited resources about ALTs that are easily accessible to teachers, b) problems arising from ALT employment patterns, and c) one-sided representations of ALTs as monolingual native English speakers in teacher materials, an underlying issue from which the aforementioned problems have arisen.

5.4.1 Teacher Training

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, MEXT encourages team teaching with ALTs to make up for a perceived deficit in Japanese homeroom teachers' foreign language (specifically English) ability (文部科学省、2017e). Despite the ministry's stance, however, and the fact that ALTs are present in over 70% of classes conducted at elementary schools (文部科学省、2018), team teaching with ALTs is rarely included in teacher training programs[69]. Similarly, while educational practicums are a compulsory component of the teacher training program[70], many aspiring teachers complete their practicums without ever experiencing collaborative teaching alongside ALTs (松本、2020; Asaoka, 2019[71]).

Furthermore, as many in-service teachers received their training before the decision was made to introduce foreign languages into the elementary school curriculum, a large number have not been trained in foreign language teaching at all. As a result, for most teachers, their first opportunity to interact with ALTs is in the classroom itself. Given this lack of attention to team teaching in teacher training, combined with the representation of ALTs as monolingual native speakers of English in materials for homeroom teachers, situations like Obada's, in which he delivered a lesson as an authority on Western Christmas traditions, or Logan's, who in spite of his bilingualism felt the need to represent himself as a 'monolingual Canadian,' are likely all too common. It is not difficult to imagine how this lack of information for HRTs has led many teachers to believe that 'ALT = resource for English and English-speaking cultures.'

Finally, reflecting on Masahito's lesson with Obada, for those teachers who are competent in English use, it is difficult to rationalize team teaching with an ALT in purely a language assistant capacity in the sense of traditional language teaching classes. Given these factors, it is not surprising, although unfortunate, that some teachers begin team teaching at schools without any

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[69] While top-down Ministry of Education guidelines do exist in terms of what subjects should be compulsory for trainee teachers, individual universities have traditionally maintained a large degree of freedom regarding the content of those classes (岩本、2011). As such, some universities may well have team teaching components. There is a lack of wide-scale surveys on the implementation of team-teaching training, although a review of related literature (e.g., 松本、2020; Asaoka, 2019) seems to suggest that it is rare. However, as MEXT has been advocating for the uptake of team teaching in teacher training programs since 2017 (Hiratsuka & Okuma, 2021), it is likely that there will be greater consideration of team teaching with ALTs in future teacher training.

[70] One of the shortest in the world. Elementary school teacher trainees are expected to undertake a practicum of four weeks. There is, however, a strong culture of post-employment training and continual professional development.

[71] I myself have also undergone the teaching practicum (albeit for secondary schools). While my practicum did include one hour of team teaching, of the 30-odd students at my university who took the practicum in the same year, only around 5 others experienced something similar.

understanding of *why* they are doing it (even in secondary-school contexts, where team-teaching with ALTs has been the norm for over three decades: 松本、2020).

5.4.2 ALT Employment Situations

The lack of information on ALTs in teacher training is compounded by the employment style of many ALTs at elementary schools; most are assigned to the Board of Education of the municipality in question, and only visit the schools during class hours (上智大学、2017). Furthermore, most teach in multiple schools, and are thus only able to visit individual schools a few times a month (this was true of Obada, who visited the school where the practice took place on average 3 times per month, and of all 8 ALTs who responded to the interviews, many of whom also taught at junior high schools).

Given the fact that HRTs typically do not have open periods, and thus little opportunity to talk to ALTs directly outside of class time, they simply do not have the necessary time to discuss and learn about ALTs' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, academic backgrounds, specializations, or thoughts on teaching practice. Previous studies have pointed out that "many ALTs… do not get information regarding their school mission, lesson planning, and curriculum" (Ohtani, 2010, p. 43), but the same can be said of HRTs; they do not get sufficient information about ALTs. This situation was illustrated somewhat by Célia's recollection of her introduction at one school:

> So, I still laugh at this, but my vice principal was introducing all of the teachers, because there're new ones. And when she introduced me, I don't know how she got all of her stuff mixed up, but she told them that I was British. She said that I speak Portuguese among many other languages. And I was like, what? So, I went up to her just like, "you know, [I'm] French."

In Yoshie and Obada's case, it was likely this employment arrangement, amongst the other factors discussed here, that led Yoshie to ask the 'foreign culture informant' to teach a class on Christmas, simply because Christmas was drawing near, without any particular consideration of Obada's cultural background. Célia's anecdote further suggests that such situations are not isolated.

5.4.3 Representations of 'The Foreign as American' in Schools

Underlying the above two factors is the consistent representation of ALTs as monolingual native English speakers. As has been referenced several times through this thesis, Japan is characterized by double monolingualism (大山、2016; 三浦・糟谷、2000), in which English is seen as the only useful global language, and therefore ALTs are 'naturally' English speakers. Because English as a foreign language in Japan has historically been centred on American English (see 江利川、2018), the school curriculum has also historically reinforced a hidden curriculum of 'foreign language = (American) English.'

This hidden curriculum has not been without its effects: Japanese children sometimes use the word 'English' as a synonym for 'foreign language,' even when they are aware a particular foreign language is not, in fact, English (Oyama & Pearce, 2019). Similarly, for a long time, "[the word] 'American' (Amerikajin) [has been] a synonym for gaijin [foreigner] for many Japanese[72]" (Stuart, 1987, p.4). Although there is no overt reference to either 'western culture' or 'America' in MEXT documents relating to ALTs, they certainly continue to demonstrate double monolingualism in the equating of foreign countries with the English-speaking world (see also Holliday, 2006; Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018). As long as the representation of 'ALT = native English speaker' persists, many classroom teachers will not be given the opportunity to become aware of ALTs' diversity of language and culture.

These representations of ALTs could potentially have a negative psychological impact on the ALTs themselves. As mentioned earlier, there are ALTs who feel that they are not accepted as part of the school (狩野・尾関、2018; Ishihara, Carroll, Mahler & Russo, 2018). This could be due to a variety of factors, such as the employment situations mentioned above (and others beyond the scope of this thesis), but at least for non-native English speakers and ALTs from countries outside the traditional Anglosphere, being portrayed as 'American' or as 'native-English speakers' surely cannot help to engender feelings of being included, or fulfilling a necessary role. For Obada, unable to capitalize on his Middle Eastern heritage or experiences as a user of English as a second language himself (his plurilingualism), it would not be surprising if he felt underutilized at his schools. This is unfortunate, given that previous research on foreign language activities has shown

[72] I have also had five years of experience as an ALT, although at the secondary level. There I was often asked questions about 'America' and being 'American,' despite the students knowing well that I was from Aotearoa New Zealand. I recall one instance in which I pointed this out to a student, who replied, "oh yeah, I know, but you know… America just means foreign country."

that HRTs are often willing to include greater diversity in their lessons, and view ALTs as playing an important part in that: "if the lesson focuses on aspects of language, and with the support of an ALT, I think I could give it a go" (HRT questionnaire response, Oyama & Pearce, 2019, p. 79).

While some previous studies have advocated for the role of ALTs as cultural informants (佐久間、1997; Pearce 2020a; b), or capitalizing on their other-subject specialities (for instance, 若林、1989), these studies have not taken into account plurilingual ALTs[73]. In the analysis of Obada's cultural lesson in section 5.2.3, I proposed a lesson that could make use of his plurilingual and pluricultural background. The interviews conducted with other plurilingual ALTs in section 5.3.3 touched upon both culture and language, but in summary here I would like to focus on the language aspect in a little more detail.

Some research has indicated that exposure to multiple languages has a positive effect on the learning of specific languages in monolinguals (Bice & Kroll, 2019) and much of the previous literature has argued the pedagogical benefits of including a greater variety of languages and cultures in the elementary school foreign language classroom (岩坂・吉村、2012; 鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017; Candelier, 2003; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020) and the need for this to be taken up in teacher training (大山、2019a; 吉村・ヤング、2016). As such, there is a strong argument to be made for the inclusion of ALTs' other languages in the classroom. While the Course of Study for elementary schools state that the target language to be learned is "in principle, English" (文部科学省、2017c, p. 165/178), this is not intended to *exclude* other languages. Although it has been cited previously in this thesis, it is important here to recall MEXT's recognition of the importance of diversity in the companion volume to the Course of Study:

> Many people in the world speak languages other than English. Therefore, in order to understand the people in the world, it is important to take into account the daily lives of people who use languages other than English. (文部科学省、2017d, p. 134)

[73] Although from a language acquisition perspective, some researchers have called for the proactive recruiting of non-native English-speakers (e.g., 山岡、2008)

5.5 Conclusion

If foreign language practice in elementary schools is to raise awareness of languages and cultures (inclusive of, but not limited to, English and the Anglosphere), then non-native English speakers and ALTs from traditionally non-English speaking countries have the potential to be extremely valuable contributors. Of course, making full use of an ALT's linguistic and cultural resources is not an easy task, especially given the hurdles such as employment situations mentioned above. One possibility briefly touched on above was the *Éveil aux langues* (Awakening to Languages) approach.

Éveil aux langues differs from traditional language teaching in that the aim is not to acquire the language being taught, but rather to present multiple languages simultaneously in order to foster children's metalinguistic knowledge through observation, comparison, and hypothesizing. Initially developed and implemented in Europe, one large-scale study demonstrated that children who experienced Awakening to Languages activities performed significantly better than those who did not in the following areas: interest in diversity, openness towards the unfamiliar, motivation for the study of language, and ability to discriminate between and memorize phonemes (Candelier, 2003).

Éveil aux langues may be one way to include ALTs' other languages in a manner that is not "too surface level," but encourages genuine learning, and HRTs have been shown to be open to the approach (Oyama & Pearce, 2019). It can also potentially enable ALTs who use languages other than English to make fuller use of the languages that they know, as well as to capitalize on their cultural backgrounds. The fact that there is a remarkable degree of linguistic and cultural diversity in the ALT population, but that ALTs are often are forced to teach essentially as 'human tape recorders' (狩野・尾関、2018), hide away their bilingualism and represent themselves as monolingual, or spread monolithic stereotypes of Western (American) culture, essentially deprives children of chances to interact with and learn about globally diverse realities.

Éveil aux langues is just one methodology that profits from a plurilingual view of language competence. Other, broader approaches also exist, such as interdisciplinary, investigative approaches like plurilingual STEAM (or PASTEL; see Chapter 6), which, if more widely implemented, alongside a re-envisioning of the role of ALTs, could help to realize early visions of interdisciplinary team teaching with ALTs such as Wakabayashi's and Sakuma's (佐久間、1997; 若林、1989) while also helping to fulfil the aims of foreign language education at elementary

schools. Such approaches may be implemented regardless of an ALT's native/non-native status; in fact, this re-envisioning of ALTs would necessitate a move away from the pedagogically empty binary of native/non-native, and adopting a view ALTs as plurilingual and pluricultural actors (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009[1997]), who bring a different and complex plurilingual and pluricultural repertoire to the classroom, and who may contribute to learning in a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic ways.

Taking advantage of the diversity of ALTs may help to break away from the double monolingualism and stereotyping of foreign cultures problematised in this thesis, and I hope that ALTs will become more and more able to contribute to foreign language education in Japan in this way. However, in order to realize this expectation, it is essential for both teacher training programs and teacher materials to show an awareness of, and to emphasize, the diversity of languages and cultures in the ALT population, and to continue to probe for richer, more inclusive, and more pedagogically meaningful approaches to collaboration in the foreign language classroom.

The next chapter will finally examine grassroots plurilingual practice, and while the examples addressed do not overtly include ALTs, it is hoped that the practice might help to stimulate thought into how ALTs might contribute in broader ways to language education in elementary schools.

CHAPTER 6 PLURILINGUALISM AND STEAM

This chapter is the second of the two polyethnographic studies in this thesis, the aim of which is to explore plurilingual education as implemented by practicing elementary school teachers in Japan. In this chapter, we examine the unique practices of Yuki-sensei and Kana-sensei, whose plurilingual *postures* were introduced in Chapter 4, and revisit why, but more importantly examine *how*, they conduct plurilingual education while simultaneously fulfilling the mandate of the Course of Study.

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, calls have been made to introduce a greater variety of linguistic and cultural plurality in the foreign language classroom (e.g., 木村、2016; 鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017). These calls have not been entirely unheeded, as MEXT pays lip service to languages and cultures beyond the traditional Anglosphere in policy documents. Nevertheless, little top-down information is provided for teachers as to how other languages or cultures should be incorporated into lessons, essentially leaving teachers to devise their own grassroots approaches, as the two teachers in this chapter have.

In this chapter, I first examine the 'School Lunches Project,' an ongoing, year-long plurilingual/intercultural practice initiated by Yuki-sensei, which incorporates elements of STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics) learning to help foster decentring and multiperspectivity (Araújo e Sá & Melo-Pfeifer, 2007), an openness towards otherness, and a reflexive view of language and culture. In the second half of the chapter, I focus on the specially implemented subject 言語(Gengo)・文化(Bunka) (Languages and Cultures), of which Kana-sensei was the department head at the time of the research, and how she draws on elements of STEAM education to forge connections between children's learning of Japanese, foreign languages, and peace learning in her classes.

Building on Chapter 4, which examined the construction of the two teachers' plurilingual didactic repertoires (Cadet, 2004; Cicurel, 2011), this chapter has the broad aim of demonstrating how grassroots plurilingual approaches may be implemented through a consideration of the teachers' pedagogical philosophies, preparation and implementation of their practices, and, of course, the children's multimodal learning that resulted. While the practices examined here did not directly involve ALTs (although several were involved in materials development for the school

lunches project), considerations of how they might contribute to plurilingual STEAM education will also be discussed.

6.1 The 'School Lunches' Project: A Plurilingual/Intercultural STEAM Endeavour[74]

6.1.1 Foreign Language Education, Intercultural Learning & Folkorization

As the discourse on plurilingualism within the Japanese context reflects, foreign language education globally has been undergoing a shift away from the native-speakerism paradigm of the 20th century towards more inclusive, wholistic pedagogies influenced by plurilingualism (Chapter 2) and trans/plurilanguaging (大山、2019c; 2020; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), a rejection of target-language only pedagogy (e.g., 鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017; Galante, et al., 2020), and increasing awareness of the value of experiencing a variety of languages and cultures.

While the call for including greater diversity in materials often necessitates the introduction of different linguistic and cultural practices in the classroom[75], doing so also runs the risk of 'folklorizing' the languages and cultures entailed. For the purposes of this first section, I borrow McDowell's (2010) definition of folklorization, "to remove traditional expressive culture from an original point of production and relocate it in a distanced setting of consumption" (p. 182). This action in itself cannot be entirely avoided, as, particularly for young learners, geographically removed languages and cultures are necessarily relocated to a "distanced setting of consumption." This understanding has not been overlooked in the literature, and there is debate about the concept of folklorization as a natural human practice in various fields (see Hafstein, 2018). However, in language education, specifically, the concept of folklorization has historically been attributed to the delegitimisation of minority languages (see Fishman, 1987), and is contemporarily described as the process of "denot[ing] the use of 'local' languages in irrelevant domains, thereby denying them access to meaningful areas of contemporary life" (Yamamoto, Brenzinger & Villalon, 2008, p. 63), which is considered particularly damaging in the revitalization efforts of indigenous languages.

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[74] Adapted from a paper originally titled *Plurilingual STEAM and school lunches for learning? Beyond folklorization in foreign language and intercultural education* (Pearce, Oyama, Moore, Kitano & Fujita, 2021).

[75] Although see Holliday (2018) for interesting intercultural educational alternatives that do *not* require the introduction of specific cultures.

In Japan, which has its own share of indigenous languages, such as Ainu and several Ryukyuan languages (not to mention its wealth of dialects, and the plurality of minority foreign languages mentioned in Chapters 1 and 5), the trivializing process of folklorization, in this context, the delivering of titbits of cultural or linguistic information in pre-packaged formats, runs the risk of contributing to the delegitimisation of languages (and language varieties) and cultures other than those explicitly promoted in the curriculum – not only minor languages, but also other global languages. This can be problematic in essentially hiding away the languages other than English in society, both of the children and the language assistants there to help teach them.

The consequences of hiding away languages (and cultures) were raised in Chapter 5, through analyses of Obada's practice, and it was also been pointed out that ALTs will sometimes conceal the fact that they speak other languages or identify with multiple cultures, and portray themselves as monolingual native speakers of English, ostensibly in order to fulfil the 'English expert' role they feel is expected of them (recall Logan's testimony). Within the ALT community, this is sometimes referred to as playing the 'dancing monkey,' or acting like a "stereotypical *gaijin* [外人: foreigner]" (Menard-Warwick & Leung, 2017, p. 15), and it is possible that such circumstances have contributed to conceptions amongst young learners such as 'foreign language = English,' 'one country, one language,' and 'foreign = American,' which have been reported elsewhere (Oyama & Pearce, 2019; Chapter 5).

The question that plagues practitioners (and researchers) is how to approach inclusive instruction while avoiding pitfalls such as essentialization and folklorization. Much as approaches such as *Éveil aux langues* incorporate multiple languages simultaneously as objects of inquiry and examination, there is potential for a similar approach to teaching about cultural practices, through experience and reflection. In other words, teachers might take a stance of not delivering information *about* culture but creating opportunities for children to collaboratively *experience* languages and diverse practices and beliefs. Plurilingual STEAM approaches may help to create such opportunities.

6.1.2 Plurilingual STEAM: Promoting Collaboration between Silos

Introduced briefly in Chapter 2, STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics) is an integrative approach that seeks to connect the subject-specific silos[76] in K-12 education for more *w*holistic learning. STEAM seeks to expand upon the work of integrative STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), by incorporating arts (meaning fine arts, language and liberal arts, motor and physical arts) in breaking down the artificial separating of subjects by emphasizing their interconnectivity and encouraging interdisciplinary learning through an understanding that the arts are "important to the overall creation of knowledge and well-rounded citizens" (Yakman, 2008, p. 15).

Within the language arts, specifically, the wholistic view of STEAM learning resonates with plurilingualism in that both seek to address the divide in (somewhat) artificial silos; in STEAM, between subjects, and in plurilingualism, between named languages. While both concepts recognize the important epistemological divides between subjects (Yakman, 2008), or the social realties that separate named languages (Marshall & Moore, 2018; see also Cummins, 2021c), both seek to make connections between these silos to foster w/holistic learning: Engagement in plurilingual STEAM can help foster children's knowledge of language and culture by capitalizing on other subject knowledge that they have already acquired, and engaging in analyses of multiple languages and plurilanguaging (Lüdi, 2015; Moore, Oyama, Pearce, & Kitano, 2020; Piccardo, 2019) can foster reflective understandings and help children to consider new knowledge from multiple situated perspectives.

In the first practice of this chapter, the project intended to bring foreign language, a subject typically taught in isolation (大山、2019a), into a place of greater relevance to the children's lives, by connecting the foreign languages with something all elementary child share: School lunches.

6.1.2.1 Connecting Isolated Silos: *Shokuiku* and Foreign Languages

Japan is well-known for the quality of its school lunches, which have a long history, dating back to the late 19th century. School lunches in Japan are not simply served to children, but form an important part of their learning, in what has come to be called 食育 (shokuiku), or "education to promote

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[76] Individual subjects in isolation, "primarily revolving around the divisions of mathematics, science, language arts and social studies" (Yakman, 2008, p. 6).

knowledge about and awareness of food and one's diet" (Kojima, 2011, p. 49). *Shokuiku* has been enshrined in law since 2005, and many elementary schools employ nutrition teachers (栄養教諭), including one of the participants in this study, Emiko Fujita (Emiko-sensei). It is expected that "*shokuiku* for children will have a great impact on their physical and mental growth and on their character formation" (Kojima, 2011, p. 50), an ideal that resonates with Yakman's (2008) stance on STEAM education for the development of 'well-rounded citizens.'

Children in Japan are not simply passive receivers of *shokuiku*, but are actively involved in the process, assisting in preparing and distributing meals to their classmates. *Shokuiku* thus forms an integral part of the social fabric in Japanese schooling, with one of the key ideals being that children eat together. It is also relevant to note that children share their lunches in the classroom, which potentially legitimises the educational aspect of *shokuiku*, as it happens where the children do their learning. Extended learning in *shokuiku* includes aspects such as studying food production and where food comes from, as well as history education, with some schools serving school lunches (給食) once a year in the same manner they were prepared when introduced in 1889 (佐藤、2018). *Shokuiku* education also addresses concepts widely considered important in nutritional education, including food choice (Bisogni, Connors, Devine & Sobal, 2002), and the connections between food, identity, and cultural practices (Johnston & Longhurst, 2012; Kong, 2015).

Despite the inherently interdisciplinary (and multicultural) nature of *shokuiku*, it is often taught in isolation from other subjects, much as foreign languages have been in the Japanese curriculum (although see Kanda, et al., 2012[77]). While many other subjects in elementary schools (such as physical education or social studies, for instance) encourage interdisciplinary study and reflection on connections between subject silos, this has traditionally not been the case for either *shokuiku*, or foreign languages (若林、2016).

The potential for a plurilingual STEAM approach, bridging *shokuiku* and plurilingual language education to promote experience and engagement in learning, while curbing the essentialization of other cultures, is what the school lunches project in this article sought to achieve.

Essentialization (or folklorization) cannot be entirely avoided in the classroom, as pedagogic materials are by necessity chosen and curated by the practitioners and are therefore influenced by their individual beliefs. However, this may be somewhat alleviated by the collaborative production

[77] A project in which international *shokuiku* exchange between Korean and Japanese children was carried out. Note, however, that the language in question was again, English only.

of interdisciplinary materials, in which the focus is on multiple subjects rather than simple 'cultural information' alone. It may also be possible to limit the potential for children's internalizing of essentialized descriptions through more investigative approaches.

6.1.3 The Research Context

6.1.3.1 A School Invested in Collaboration and Ongoing Plurilingual Education

The project took place at a public joint elementary/junior high school in the Kansai region. The school emphasizes interdisciplinary learning through collaboration; teachers and students from all levels of the school regularly engage in collaborative work, both within specific school subjects and in interdisciplinary learning. Teachers are also encouraged to engage in the wider community, including academia, through which the research team became acquainted with Yuki-sensei, one of the leaders of the project.

As touched upon in Chapter 4, Yuki-sensei was at the time of research a specialist teacher of mathematics and foreign language education, and she weaves plurilingual practice throughout her foreign language classes (see also Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). In this section, I will examine how she and Emiko-sensei collaborated with each other and other teachers, and with researchers, community members, and language assistants outside of the school to develop lessons centred on the children's experiencing of diverse culinary cultures, including inquiry-based learning through plurilingual video and textual materials, as well as cultural artefacts, in order to promote openness to diversity, and cultivate reflexivity and engagement.

6.1.3.2 Overview of the Project

In the school lunches project, over the period of one year, children would try cuisine representative of diverse social identities once a month, which was connected to their learning in foreign language classes. The country/language choices were chosen in part to encourage questioning of common (often hegemonic) sociolinguistic representations such as one-country-one-language, to be inclusive of local and indigenous languages, and to show languages in contexts different to those they are usually related to, such as English in Gambia and Spanish in Peru (see Table 6.1, over page). This chapter will focus specifically on one month's practice (November 2020: Aotearoa New Zealand).

Table 6.1 Schedule for the plurilingual school lunches project

Month	Country introduced	Food experienced	Languages represented
Apr	Indonesia	Nasi goreng	Bahasa Indonesia
May	Canada	Poutine	French (Quebecois)
Jun	France	Cake salé	French (Français)
Jul	Gambia	Benachin	English/Local languages
		(summer break)	
Sep	United States of America	Country Captain	English
Oct	Peru	Lomo saltado	Spanish (Español)
Nov	Aotearoa New Zealand	Kumara soup	Te Reo Māori
Dec	Việt Nam/Vietnam	Pho ga (phở gà)	Vietnamese (Tiếng Việt)
Jan	ราชอาณาจักรไทย/Thailand	Pad Thai (ผัดไทย)	Thai (ภาษาไทย)
Feb	Sverige/Sweden	Pytt i panna	Swedish (Svenska)
Mar	日本/Japan	Chirashizushi (ちらし寿司)	Japanese (日本語)

6.1.3.3 Rationale and Materials: Storying the Food

Prior to the school lunches, an hour of class time was allotted for learning about the cuisine's country of origin. Three plurilingual activities were included in the lessons: 1) watching a video prepared by Japanese-speaking bilingual collaborators; 2) examining picture books; and 3) engaging with cultural artefacts in museum-like displays.

As the ultimate goal of the project was to engage the children in a storying and multisensory experientiation of food from around the world, the associated learning materials were prepared with that intention. Yuki-sensei reflects on the rationale for the materials:

> 子どもは大人以上に食べ物に対して保守的です。食べたことがないものに対しては強い拒絶反応を示す場合が多いんです。あらかじめその国についての情報を得て、その国の人がそのお料理に対しての個人的な思い出、美味しくて大好きだということを聞くこと、その国のものを実際に手にとってその国を感じ、

自分に引きつけて感じることで、「食べるのが楽しみ」と思えたことが、非常によかったと思っています。

Children are more conservative with food than adults, and often reject things they haven't had before. By learning about the country beforehand, hearing people's personal memories of the food and how much they loved it, actually holding the objects from the country in their hands, and feeling them, they get a sense of the country. It's really great when they begin to look forward to trying the food. (Text message, December 2020)

Yuki-sensei specified general content to be included in the videos, although collaborators had a great degree of freedom regarding the specifics. The content she requested was interdisciplinary, and covered various aspects of STEAM, including geography/topography, natural sciences (wildlife, climate, flora), local histories and languages, as well as, for the reason given above, personal memories related to the specific cuisine (storying lived experiences).

Each video was prepared by a volunteer; collaborators from Yuki-sensei's extended community, including myself, research colleagues, international students at my university, and ALTs at schools around the country.

Figure 6.1 Screenshots from the video materials

In this way, the project's learning was not confined to the school: For instance, following the production of the Aotearoa New Zealand video (Figure 6.1), I spent time with students at my university devising the content of the videos on Vietnam and Indonesia, and mentoring them on how to use digital tools to produce the video[78].

Preparing the display artefacts was a similarly collaborative effort. Yuki-sensei relied on artefacts lent or donated by other staff at her school, children's parents, and the wider community, including the Nasca pottery in the Peru exhibit (Figure 6.2, below) which were donated by Takashi Hamada, CEO of an educational game development company with whom she had become acquainted through Facebook (see also 大山・北野・濱田、2021). For the Aotearoa New Zealand materials, items such as currency were donated by children's parents, a postcard collection by another teacher at the school, and various other realia including passports, *pounamu* (jade) jewellery, and Māori language/bilingual picture books lent by myself and other members of the research team.

The displays were intended to be interactive, and the children were able to not only visually examine the items, but also pick up and handle them (sometimes even wear them, as in the case of *áo dài* dresses from Vietnam or the *pounamu* necklace).

Figure 6.2 Museum-like displays (left: Peru, right: Aotearoa New Zealand)

[78] The video materials were produced using Microsoft PowerPoint, Audacity 2.3.3 for audio editing, and Wondershare Filmora9 for video editing and production.

Finally, although the core subjects of the project were nutrition (*shokuiku*) and the foreign languages subject, learning was not confined to these alone. As first- and second-year children do not have foreign language classes, the displays were set up in the corridors outside of class time so that the younger children might also engage with the objects (Figure 6.2, left). Figure 6.3 shows separate displays by both the home economics teacher and the school librarian; the school as a whole was invested in the project. This collaboration further helps to demonstrate to the students that these cultures and languages are acknowledged by the school, and not simply curiosities of the foreign language classroom.

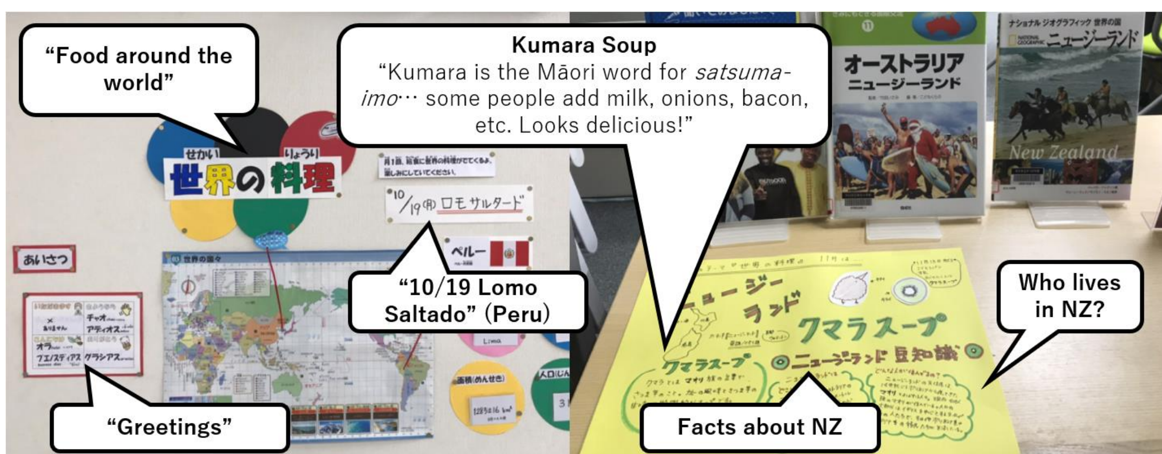

Figure 6.3 Collaborative displays (left: home economics teacher, right: librarian)

In the one-hour lesson prior to the school lunches, time was set aside for the children to watch the prepared video and to examine the picture books and other cultural artefacts. The children were not given any specific instruction as to what aspects of the videos or items they should pay attention to, and they were thus free to examine what interested them.

The children were expected to complete structured reflection sheets (Figure 6.4, over page), which included space to take notes on the videos, what the children noticed about the picture books and the cultural artefacts, and a space to summarize their discoveries of the day (in the same way a local museum offers reflection sheets to support engagement). Reflection sheets, one type of journaling, are common practice in Japanese schools, and Yuki-sensei's children engage in reflection sheets after every lesson.

For the school lunches project specifically, the sheets were filled out after the lesson prior to experiencing the cuisine, and it was their second time engaging in journaling specific to the project,

after the prior lesson on Peru[79]. No specific instructions vis-à-vis content were given, other than the general categories shown in Figure 6.4:

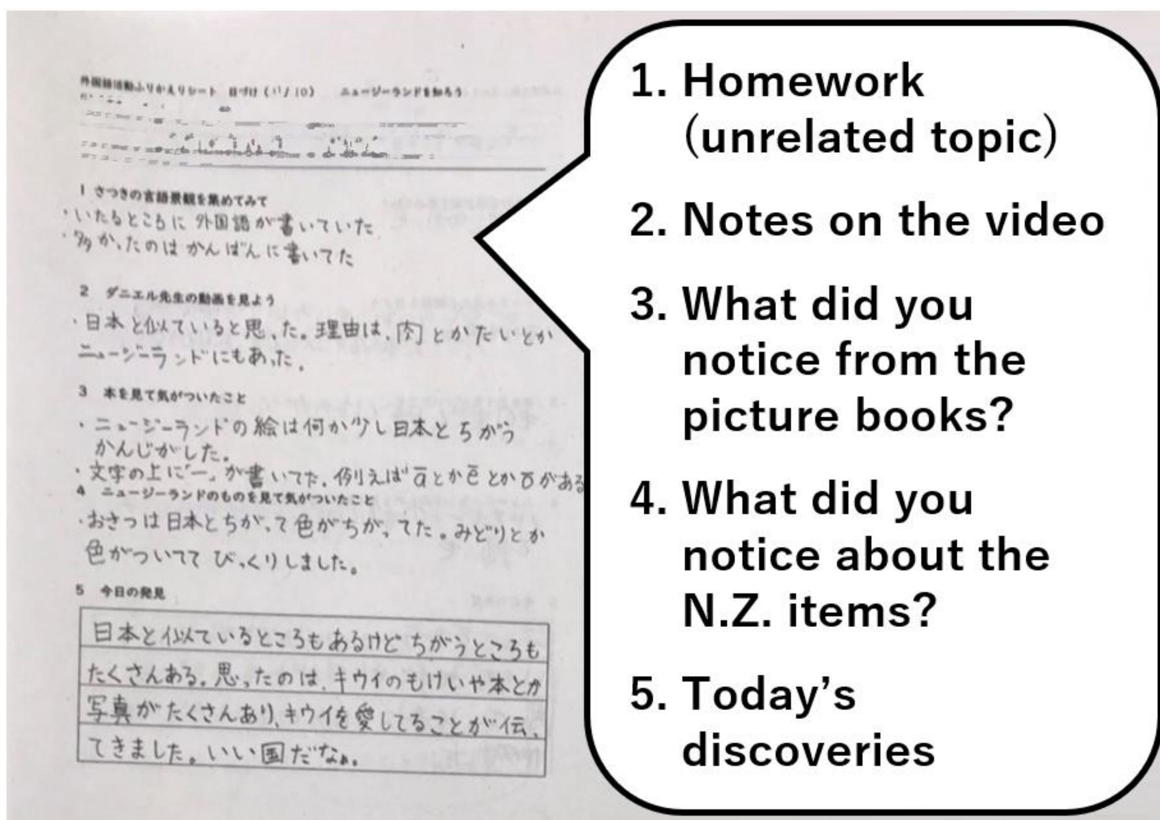

Figure 6.4 Targeted reflection sheets

6.1.3.4 Research Design and Participants

The participants in this study included Yuki-sensei and nutritionist teacher, Emiko-sensei, two fourth grade classes (n = 72, 39 boys and 33 girls), and two fifth grade classes (n = 70, 37 boys and 33 girls). Multimodal data collected include visual documentation of Yuki-sensei's classes, video recordings, field notes, minutes from materials development exchanges, numerous personal interactions including text messages and interviews with Yuki-sensei, as well as the children's reflection sheets.

This variety of ethnographic data allowed the research team to document: (1) the children's engagement in plurilingual STEAM learning (through video and photographic recording of the practice), (2) interaction and hypothesizing by the children (through video recordings and Yuki-

[79] Due to school closures resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, the start of the project was delayed until October.

sensei's field notes), (3) the children's reflective journaling, and (4) retrospective reflections on the practice through interviews with Yuki-sensei. Subsequent interpretation of the ethnographic data is collaboratively constructed between the researchers and the teachers, which allowed for differently situated perspectives, while thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; see also Table 3.3, Chapter 3) was used to qualitatively code the children's reflection sheets.

6.1.4 Findings and Discussion

As mentioned above, Yuki-sensei maintains a plurilingual stance in her lessons (reported in detail in Moore, Oyama, Pearce, & Kitano, 2020), and her children are thus used to engaging with unknown languages and cultures. Yuki-sensei herself video recorded the children's interactions with the picture books and displays, totalling around 17 minutes[80] between the two classes, extracts from which will be examined below. The video recordings were supplemented by ethnographic photography of the children's engagements with the materials.

Thematic analysis of the structured reflection sheets generated 965 discrete codes and sub-codes, which were coded using MAXQDA 2018.2. Given the wide variety of topics covered by the STEAM learning content and the diversity of codes that resulted, themes were organized along children's learning behaviours: Repeating content, reporting perceptions, analyses, retelling content, and questioning (see Appendix D for more details). Examples of codes were chosen to give a representation of both the fourth- and fifth-grade children's learning across disciplines (such as natural sciences: flora/fauna), in an attempt to display as accurately as possible the trends of content across the entire data set, rather than focussing overly on one of the grades, or on specific subject-related content. Ethnographic data of the children's learning and representative examples from the identified themes will be explored below, based on the structure of Yuki-sensei's targeted reflection sheets.

6.1.4.1 Learning from the Video

As requested by Yuki-sensei, and using the prior video on Peru as a template, I produced the video on Aotearoa New Zealand[81], which covered the following interdisciplinary content: a) a self-introduction in Te Reo Māori and Japanese (languages), including information on the author's

[80] 16:56 over 27 short recordings.
[81] Full video in Te Reo Māori and Japanese, subtitled in English, available here: https://youtu.be/yRJ6NbsjH9c

hometown and local mountain (geography); b) some history of the Māori people (history) and the indigenous name for Aotearoa New Zealand; c) flora and fauna (natural sciences); d) food culture including primary industry products (agriculture), and traditional cooking styles (*shokuiku*); e) history of *kumara* (sweet potato) in New Zealand, as originally brought over from South America (connecting content with the previous month's learning); and finally f) introducing kumara soup and personal memories of the cuisine (*shokuiku* and personal storying). The video was roughly ten minutes in length, and the children took notes as they watched.

Of the 264 codes (4th grade: 150, 5th grade: 114) generated, most were a verbatim repeating of content in the video (131: 95;36)[82]. This was unsurprising, given that the flow of information was unidirectional. Nevertheless, there was considerable variation in what aspects of the video the children picked up on, including culinary, ethnographic, natural science, and linguistic aspects. The bulk of the remaining codes comprised of perceptions (106: 34;72), many of which were positive evaluations of the month's cuisine (kumara soup), which demonstrated that the video had achieved one of its intended purposes (although the response was not uniform: one student from each grade included a remark similar to "I don't want to eat it").

A small number of students from each grade began analyses or questioning of the content (14: 10;4), including raising questions such as "won't dirt get in?" in response to the *hāngi* (earth-oven) cooking. A total of three children displayed some linguistic analysis, with one noting the Māori use of the macron on vowels, and another displaying incidental acquisition of vocabulary (*shizen* [自然] = nature). This interest, while limited at the video stage, was unsurprising given Yuki-sensei's regular inclusion of multiple languages in inquiry-based learning in her classes. Her children do not shy away from unknown languages and cultures, but are developing a plurilingual (and pluricultural) stance (Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). This stance becomes more apparent in observation of the children's examinations of the picture books.

6.1.4.2 Learning from the Picture Books

The picture books were the children's first experience with Te Reo Māori, save the brief exposure during the video. The children's examination of the picture books was undirected, and they worked together in groups to examine whatever aspects drew their attention (Figure 6.5, over page).

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[82] Numbers in parentheses represent number of themes/codes produced by the 4th grade and 5th grade classes respectively (Total: 4th grade;5th grade).

Figure 6.5 Examining the Māori picture books

Glimpses of the children's examinations of the picture books in Figure 6.5 were also captured on video, and excerpts of their dialogue reveal some of their learning:

Extract (1)

L1: Wow, that guy is ripped!
L2: Yeah he's really muscly [inaudible remark about clothing] (turns the page to the image in Figure 6.5, left) That's gross, oh it's that! The greeting!
L3: Oh yeah, the greeting!

In this extract, the children are examining a picture book of the legends of Māui, and remark on the physical attributes of the character (his muscular appearance), as well as the clothing (19 [9;10] children also remarked on attire in their reflection sheets, typically that the upper body was usually naked). When L2 turns the page to the image shown in Figure 6.5 (left), her reaction is very interesting: She is initially repelled by the image ('that's gross'), but this is almost instantly swept away by her realization of what she is looking at: the Māori *hongi* greeting[83], about which Yuki-sensei had told them in the introduction to the class. The experiential aspect of examining the

[83] A greeting in which two people press their noses together.

books herself, and 'discovery' of the greeting that she had been told about is an essential aspect of developing openness to different cultures; the excitement of her discovery immediately dispelled her kneejerk negative reaction.

The next extract is an example of linguistic analysis by a pair of students. Neither can understand the Māori language, but this does not prevent them from analysing the text:

Extract (2)

```
L1:    There is a line on top of the 'a'
L2:    And a line of top of 'e'
L1:    There must be a reason for it…
```

Here, the children have noticed the Māori macron (recall that one child had noted its presence in the video). L1 first identifies the macron above the letter 'a', followed by L2's remark that it also appears above the letter 'e,' before L1 begins to ponder the meaning for it. Of the 17 fourth-grade children that commented on linguistic aspects in their reflection sheets, four noticed the presence of the macron.

For the fifth-grade children, who had more experience of language learning (of Japanese, of English, and of Yuki-sensei's plurilingual lessons), the analyses were both more varied and detailed. Of the 50 comments on language in their reflection sheets, 20 remarked on the presence of macrons, of whom 6 noted that they appeared only on short vowels; two were able to hypothesize that the macron functions similarly to the Japanese *kanabou* (ー), which is used to elongate vowel sounds. 11 of the fifth-grade children also remarked on punctuation, noticing similarities between Japanese and Māori (four noted that both languages use '!' and '?'), and developed hypotheses of their function (eight mentioned quotation marks, of whom five noticed they denote speech in the same way as Japanese *kagikakko*: 「」). This type of noticing and connecting knowledge is likely to be a result of Yuki-sensei's plurilingual teaching and resonates with the proposed benefits of approaches such as *Éveil aux langues* (Candelier, 2003), mentioned above. Other remarks compared English and Māori versions of the same picture book, noting that "the number of words was different," or "the openings were different."

To the far right of Figure 6.5, one child is pointing towards an artistic representation of mountains, remarking "it's a copy of Mt. Fuji!" (富士山のパクリ!: Japan is well-known for turning inanimate objects and landmarks into characters; see Mt. Fuji to the bottom-right of Figure

6.5 which resembles the mountains in the books). Much of the analyses conducted by the children was of a similar manner; codes that fell under ‘ethnographic analyses’ were common (54;49), and included a wide variety of topics such as tattoos and physical appearance, housing/architecture, craftwork/tools, attire/jewellery, and artistic representations. Many made comparisons and contrasts with similar aspects in Japanese culture, showing an appreciation of the fine arts aspect of STEAM, such as the following comment by a fifth-grade child: “the symbolism of light and shadow was very strong; they were different from Japanese picture books, and there weren’t many subtle colours.”

Finally, a new theme arose in analyses of the reflection sheets on the picture books: Retelling content. Seven of the children (6;1), recast what they had read in the picture books to create their own stories (storying).

The children’s analyses of the content were not only textual, but several drew artistic renditions of what they had observed, including facial tattoos, *pounamu* jewellery, characteristics of the kiwi bird, and artistic representations of the sun, some of which were connected to the objects they interacted with in the displays (Figure 6.6).

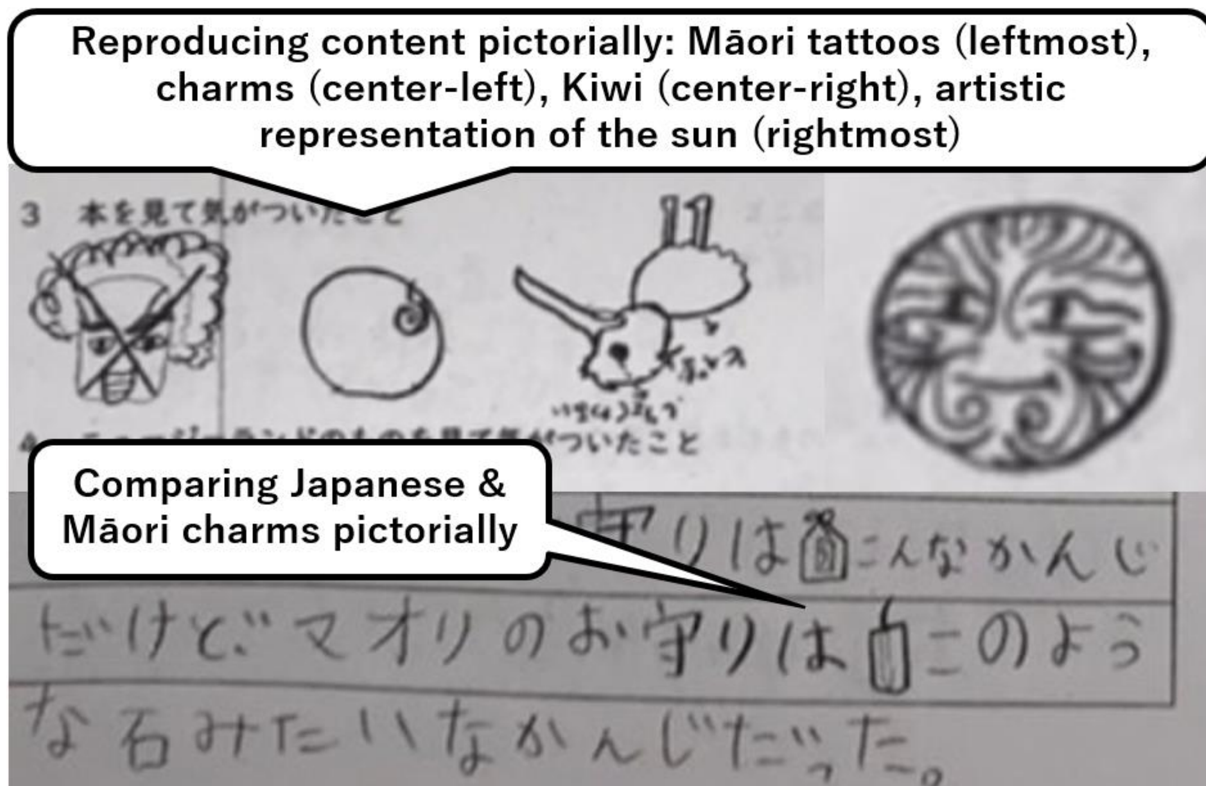

Figure 6.6 Children’s artistic reproductions

6.1.4.3 Learning from the Displays

Learning from the displays resulted in a similar spread of reflections to the picture books, with the largest number of codes being Analyses (111: 44;67). Given the wide variety of objects in the displays, the coding focused on what kind of analyses the children engaged in (comparing: 16;11, describing: 24;45, and noticing: 4;11), rather than the specific objects of analyses or subject silos.

Regarding the comparing codes, many children drew comparisons between Japanese and Aotearoa New Zealand money; "the banknotes had people's faces on them, just like Japanese ones" (4th grade), "Japanese coins don't have people's faces on them, but the New Zealand coins did" (5th grade). Comparative descriptions of the passport included "the motifs were different to Japanese ones" (5th grade), and "it's like a Japanese flipbook［ペラペラ漫画］" (4th grade), as each page of the New Zealand passport has an image of a ship getting steadily closer to the mainland of Aotearoa. Regarding the *pounamu*, a number of children in each grade made specific comparisons between them and similar Japanese jewellery called magatama 勾玉, which are often also crafted from jade, and bear striking resemblance to one common design of the *pounamu*. The children's engagement with the objects is shown in Figure 6.7:

Figure 6.7 Interacting with the cultural artefacts (left: money; centre: passport, right: wearing *pounamu* jewellery)

Similarly, the money, passport, and *pounamu* were common objects of description, with some analyses being quite detailed:

> ダニエル先生が大切にしている、首にかける黒い宝石といえば、きらきらで、透明のイメージがあるけど、黒色で全然きらきらしていないけど、ちょっと緑がかかった感じがすごくきれいに見えた。
>
> The jewellery worn around the neck, it was really dark. My image of jewellery was shiny and transparent, but this was almost black and not shiny at all, but it had a greenish tinge that was really pretty. (5th grade)

The remainder of the codes were general or specific perceptions (26: 13;13), such as "the kiwi doll was cute" (4th grade) or "the displays were amazing" (5th grade), repeating content verbatim from the attached explanations (20: 21;8), and a few questions (1;5), mostly resulting from differences between Japanese and Aotearoa New Zealand items, such as "¥500 [$5] was a banknote? Why?[84]"

For the children, the experiential nature of the displays, being able to not only visually examine the artefacts, but to get a sense of textures through touch, potentially led to more in-depth analyses than a unidirectional conveying of information, by allowing the students to draw from their entire repertoire across varying disciplines (or 'funds of knowledge': Gonzáles, Moll & Amanti, 2005), and positioning children as active participants in their own learning, rather than passive recipients of pre-packaged knowledge.

6.1.4.4 General Comments in 'Today's discoveries'

As the general comments made in the 'Today's discoveries' section of the children's reflection sheets were a summary of their learning, there was overlap with the previous sections, although conveyed in slightly more detail. Below are some examples of the children's reflections:

[84] In Japan, ¥500 (roughly equivalent in value to NZ$5) is a coin.

本の絵独特でけっこう怖かったし服装がかっこよくて少し女のような服を着てみたいと思いました！

The pictures in the books were really unique and a bit scary and the clothes were cool and I thought I kind of wanted to try on the woman's clothes. (4th grade)

ニュージーランドの絵本では、上半身は服を着ていなかった。ニュージーランドは、クマラを穴に埋めて、保存していた。金曜日のクマラスープが楽しみ

In the picture books, most of the people didn't wear clothes on their upper body. In New Zealand, they used to store kumara in the ground. I'm looking forward to eating kumara soup on Friday. (4th grade)

ニュージーランドでトルコと違ってとてもゆうのが簡単でした。ダニエル先生の動画を見てニュージーランドの人は英語しか話さないと思ってたけど、マオリ語も話していた。

The New Zealand language, unlike Turkish, was really easy to pronounce. I thought N.Z. people spoke only English, but when I watched Daniel-sensei's video I found he spoke Māori. (5th grade)

ニュージーランドは、むかしマオリ人という人がやってきて、クマラ＝サツマイモを［ペルーから］もってきて、クマラとして食べたのが、今になっても、クマラが食べられているのは、すごいことだなぁと思った。そして、クマラをむかし作ったあと（地面が変混んでいる）のが残っているなんてすごすぎると思う。

In the past, the Māori people brought sweet potatoes [from Peru], and ate them as kumara. I thought it was amazing that they still eat kumara today. I want to try the kumara soup

> soon! Also, I thought it was incredible that the remains (holes) of where they used to store kumara can still be seen today. (5th grade)

These examples demonstrate how the children were drawn to, and able to draw from, different aspects that interested them, as well as make connections to prior knowledge, including previous experiences with different languages and cultures (such as the references to the Turkish language, and implied reference to Peru).

Active participation is facilitated when learning is investigative, and concepts are connected to students' prior learning in meaningful ways (Khine & Areepattamannil, 2019; Moore, 2021). This connectivity between knowledge was further promoted by the fact that the school lunches project is an ongoing series, allowing the students to compare and contrast items, books, and concepts not only against their own languages and cultures, but also against the content they had engaged with in other sessions.

Noticeable only by their absence were remarks that trivialized (or folklorized) the various cultures and identities that the children experienced; there was an absence of superficial judgements about Aotearoa New Zealand or Māori culture or language. Rather, comments displayed how, through examination and engagement, the children had adopted an investigative stance. They were not simply absorbing 'pre-packaged content,' but noticing, analysing, and questioning. As noted earlier, avoiding essentialization entirely is not possible in the classroom, and the content and artefacts on display for the children were chosen and curated by the teachers, volunteers, and researchers. In this practice, connections were drawn between the content presented, the artefacts, and the personal storying around the objects, and as such the collaborators' personal experiences became a lens for everyone to raise understanding of cultural differences. It is important for practitioners to realise that artefacts carry personal stories, are ascribed particular meaning by some members in a particular group, and that this meaning is not static, but is socially constructed, negotiated, and evolving. This understanding is fostered in learners through multisituated examination of difference in interpretation of identity objects (Wheeler & Bechler, 2021) and how they carry cultural aspects of broader cultural groups with which different people identify.

Noticeable also is that none of the children's reported perceptions were negative towards the cultural representations they were exposed to (recall, however, the child's kneejerk reaction of

‘gross’ to the *hongi* greeting that was swiftly dispelled by excitement at her discovery). It is possible that the wealth of resources, the investigative, hands-on approach, and the interdisciplinary STEAM nature of the content, which allowed children to focus on what particularly interested them, contributed to a greater openness to diversity. Furthermore, all but two students that commented on the kumara soup expressed a desire to try it as soon as possible, a reflection of Yuki-sensei and Emiko-sensei’s goal behind the project, to have the students experience and enjoy the various cuisine:

> 「知らないものは怖い」から「少し知ってる」、「なんだか楽しそう」、「なんだか美味しそう」、「あの料理、どんな味なんだろう」、「食べてみたい」になるのだろうと思います。
>
> I feel like they move through stages, from “the unknown is scary,” through “I know a little,” “It’s kind of fun,” “It looks kind of delicious,” and “I wonder how it tastes,” to “I want to try it.” (Yuki-sensei, text message, December 2020)

Yuki-sensei remarked shortly after the following lesson on Vietnam, before the children were to try *pho*: “By the way, the children are still saying ‘the kumara soup was so delicious’” (text message, December 2020).

6.1.5 Bringing Silos and Cultures Together: The Collaborative Nature of Plurilingual STEAM

As STEAM is by nature interdisciplinary, and teachers are often trained in specific subject silos, or at the very least, have certain disciplines with which they feel more comfortable, STEAM-centred projects almost by necessity require collaboration. While the analyses in the first half of this chapter focused on one lesson hour conducted by Yuki-sensei before the children ate kumara soup, it could not have been achieved by her alone; the artefacts on display and the picture books were donated by other teachers, parents, and the research team, and the content of the video introduced here was based on my own linguistic, geographic, historic, and scientific knowledge. I, in turn, based this video on the prior session on Peru, and subsequently mentored other collaborators in video production and on delivering information in Japanese to young learners.

The collaborative learning was not restricted to the classroom: For instance, in sharing my video with the Peruvian collaborator, I learned that earth ovens are also used in Peru. In seeking out collaborators for the Vietnamese, Indonesian, Thai, and French videos, the research team learned more about the backgrounds of those countries and their cuisines (not to mention more about the lives of our collaborators). Each collaborator had his or her own speciality or area of expertise, which resulted in a unique flavour to each video[85]. Within the classroom, the taking up of the daily lives of the collaborators through the content they included in their videos, as well as their use of both Japanese and other languages, may have helped to legitimise those languages and cultures, and alleviate folklorization as problematised by Yamamoto et al. (2008).

As covered in detail in Chapter 5, ALTs and volunteers are a large part of elementary school foreign language education (and several of the video collaborators were current or former ALTs), although they are often portrayed as simply linguistic informants and monolingual native speakers of English and relegated to the periphery in schools (狩野・尾関、2018; Ishihara, Carroll, Mahler & Russo, 2018). Given that ALTs have incredible diversity in not only their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but also in their educational backgrounds, collaborative-STEAM based plurilingual projects such as the school lunches project could be one approach to capitalizing upon the wealth of lived information and experience that they bring to their schools, allowing them to become more fully-fledged members of the learning community, and to contribute more of their 'funds of knowledge' in a genuine, non-trivialized way.

As we have seen in the analyses here, the goal of this project was not simply the consumption of 'folklorized' cultural information (McDowell, 2010). Through experiencing the cultural artefacts, the picture books, and engaging with the stories and lived experiences of the collaborators through their videos, the children showed a developing openness to engaging with new cultures and multiple identities. At the time of writing, the children had just enjoyed Pad Thai for lunch, and it is with Yuki-sensei's fresh reflections that I close my analysis of her collaborative practice:

[85] The project is ongoing. At the time of writing, only a few of the videos have been subtitled in English, but other videos in the project may be viewed here:
https://youtube.com/playlist?list=PLWFmEfaRaRmTweXM_QmoDoR0C7wNy1aQW

栄養教諭の藤田先生とも毎回話してるんですが、まえもってこうやって動画を見たり、物を触りながら見て考えたりすることで、その国に、その料理にすごく関心が高まる感じです。あらかじめ情報があり、その国へのポジティブなイメージや、そのお料理への期待感とかによって、[…]拒絶感はかなり和らげられています。また、給食を取りに給食室に来る時には「今日、パッタイ！」「楽しみ！」「パッタイ、どんな味かなー」という声が多く聞かれたみたいで、給食を手渡す調理員さんたちがとても驚かれているそうです。

[…]メニューは毎月配られていて、あらかじめ献立は知らされていますが、見たことも聞いたことも、もちろん食べたこともない料理を楽しみにするということが、今までなかったからです。楽しみにするのは、カレーや揚げパンなどの人気メニューだけですから。

I talk about the lunches every time with Emiko-sensei. We feel that by watching the videos and touching things, and thinking about them in advance […] The feeling of hesitancy toward [new food] is mitigated by that, by a growing positive image of the country and its cuisine. […] When they came to the lunchroom to get their lunch for their classmates, they were saying, "Pad Thai today! I'm looking forward to it!"

[…] The children are informed of the menu a month in advance, but the cooks have never before seen the children looking forward to a dish they have never seen, heard of, or, of course, eaten. They have only ever looked forward to popular dishes like curry and fried bread. (Text messages, January 2021)

The next section will examine Kana-sensei's practice, and how she, as a self-described monolingual (Chapter 4; recall also doubts raised in the literature regarding teachers who lack knowledge and experience with several languages being able to conduct plurilingual teaching: Chapter 2) weaves plurilingual STEAM education into ongoing peace learning within her school environment as another grassroots resistance to English only, and inclusive of the language of schooling.

6.2 STEAM, Plurilingualism, and Peace Learning: The *Gengo Bunka* Initiative[86]

Kana-sensei's school is attached to a university and has varying freedoms not afforded to typical public schools in Japan, in that they have reasonably easy access to academia and a degree of freedom in how they implement national policies. This environment led in part to the school's unique interpretation of the MEXT Course of Study goals for foreign language education (resonant with the interpretation given in Chapter 2, section 2.3).

Kana-sensei's school also has a long-established culture of discussing and debating students' needs, and collaborative decision-making between teachers on what kind of learning they wish to promote when implementing new pedagogical approaches. This culture of discussion and debate led to the creation of the *Gengo Bunka* (言語・文化: Cultures and Languages) subject after the initial introduction of foreign languages activities in 2011, in part as resistance to the English-only rhetoric of the policy. The remainder of this chapter will explore the foundation of the *Gengo Bunka* subject, before investigating how the plurilingual approaches adopted by the school, and Kana-sensei herself, resonated with their existing peace learning initiatives, within the framework of plurilingual STEAM learning (Babaci-Wilhite, 2019; Moore, 2021).

6.2.1 The School's Grassroots Resistance to English-only: The Creation of *Gengo Bunka*

The roots of the *Gengo Bunka* subject trace back to 2011, when the new Course of Study was to be implemented. For the first time, *foreign language activities* were to be made compulsory in elementary schools. Reading into the Course of Study, which included the addendum "the language to be taught is, in principle, English" (文部科学省、2008, np), the teachers at Kana-sensei's school expressed confusion with limiting the subject to English-only:

> なぜ「原則英語」なのか？なぜ隣国の韓国や中国の言語ではなく「英語」にしぼって学ばせなければならないのか？何のために子どもたちに英語でコミュニケーションを図らせるのか？［…］コミュニケーション能力の素地が英語で養われるのか？これまで行ってきた教科教育・教科外教育の様々な場面で、言葉…もちろん子どもたちの母語である日本語を使って子どもたちどうしが互いを理

[86] Adapted from a paper originally titled *Plurilingualism and STEAM: Unfolding the paper crane of peace at an elementary school in Japan* (Pearce, Oyama, Moore & Irisawa, 2021).

> 解しつながりあえるようにとりくんできたのに、それが子どもたちにとって大事なコミュニケーションじゃないの？
>
> Why 'English in principle?' Why do we have to focus on English and not on the languages of our neighbours, Korea and China? What is the reason behind having children communicate in English? […] Are communication skills nurtured in English [alone]? In our core subjects and extracurricular education, we have tried to help children understand and connect with each other through language... of course, their mother tongue, Japanese, but surely, that is the communication that is important? (大谷、2014, p. 136)

Although the teachers were hesitant to begin foreign language practice, the subject was nevertheless to be implemented. Not satisfied with the English-only rationale, they established a committee to discuss how they would approach instruction, and sought advice from a professor at the attached university, who advocated for plurilingual education:

> 吉村氏は、子供たちには**外国語の学び方を学ばせる**ことが大事で、「ことばの学習」としての多言語活動を提起しておられる。[…]未知の外国語に出会ったときに、その言語に隠れている規則性や独自性、あるいは他の言語との共通性などを、全くのゼロからではなく自分の母語や自分のくらしの文化を**総動員**して見つけ出すように促す。
>
> Professor Yoshimura says it is important for children to learn *how to learn a foreign language* and encourages multilingual activities […] When they encounter an unknown language, they are encouraged to uncover its hidden rules and uniqueness, as well as commonalities with other languages, not from scratch, but *by applying their whole repertoires, including their native language and culture.* (大谷、p. 140, emphases added)

Upon closer examinations of ministry documents, the teachers noticed emphases on international understanding and learning about the differences and similarities between Japanese and foreign languages, customs, and cultures. Combining this understanding with the above advice, they

sought to implement *Gengo Bunka* as “language education inclusive of the national language” (大谷、2014, p.137).

The head of *Gengo Bunka* at the time this research was conducted, Kana Irisawa, was herself initially reticent to introduce foreign language education at all (see also Chapter 4). She recalls a shift in mindset after attending a meeting organized by the university, through which she was able to draw connections between the newly introduced foreign languages and peace learning:

> 「外国語を学ぶのは平和のためや」みたいなことを言っている人がいてね。そのほかの国の言語を知ったり文化を知ったりすることで多様性を知っていく。それはみんながより良い社会を作っていくことに繋がるから外国語を学ぶっていうのは英語が話せるとかそういう話ではなくて、人間形成であり社会形成であるみたいな話を聞いたことがあって、何かそのときに、「あーめっちゃあたしたちがやりたいこととマッチするな」ってのはすごい思って
>
> […] Someone said, “learning a foreign language is for peace. We learn about diversity through learning about other countries’ languages and cultures. And that connects to building a better society. Learning a foreign language doesn’t mean just being able to speak English, it’s about personal identity development, social development.” I thought, “hey, that really fits with what we want to do!” (Kana-sensei, Zoom interview, May 2020)

To this end, the teachers have collected and put into practice language awareness materials developed in Japan, and in subsequent collaboration with the researchers in this thesis, developed and implemented materials of the pluralistic approach, *Éveil aux langues* (大山、2016; Candelier, 2003), which, as previously discussed, encourages the development of metalinguistic knowledge through the observation and comparison of multiple languages (language varieties) and hypothesizing about linguistic aspects.

What differentiates *Gengo Bunka* from traditional English classes is not only that it includes multiple languages and cultures, but, just as in Yuki-sensei’s practice, that there is also a conscious effort not to essentialize ‘the foreigner’ (which in English materials, is often represented as a white, North American native speaker: see, for instance, Kubota, 2002, and recall Angel’s testimony from

Chapter 5). Rather, it has been designed to use Japanese (the language and subject) as a springboard to examine things in Japan that differ from, or are similar to, foreign countries. In other words, the children engage in activities that involve 'otherness' in their daily lives (relevant to their contexts), and the world at large. This engagement with the 'other' predated the implementation of foreign languages at the school, but also subsequently benefited from it.

6.2.2 Connecting Foreign Languages with Peace Learning

Kana sensei's school has by tradition actively engaged with local communities. Part of this is connected to their peace learning, and the school's visiting of *Hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) in Hiroshima. Understanding the need for engagement with different communities in peace learning, the school invites exchange students from the attached university to visit and teach about their languages and cultures. There is also further engagement with more global communities, such as the Peace Boat[87] and the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN[88]). In one instance, the children at the school, after hearing about ICAN, sent a collaboratively written song on peace (see Appendix E), to which ICAN responded by beginning a program of visiting elementary schools to give classes on nuclear weapon antiproliferation. In this way, the school not only promotes ideals of community engagement, but also action-taking and experiential learning.

Kana-sensei recalls an instance of how she believes the learning in *Gengo Bunka* contributed to the peace learning initiative at her school:

> 広島への修学旅行で、被爆者の話を聞いたその夜、男子児童の部屋の先生が私のところに来て「来てくれ、来てくれ」と。何かトラブルがあったのかと思って行ったら、男子が部屋に集まって、1 時間以上も話し続けていました。平和のために何ができるのかと・・・「被爆者の『いのち』の使い方は、自分たちの理解とは違うのではないか」と言ってたんです。・・・これは絶対、言語・文化で学んでいることとつながっていると思いました。

[87] See https://peaceboat.org/english/about-peace-boat.
[88] See https://www.icanw.org/about.

> On the school trip to Hiroshima, after hearing the *Hibakusha*'s[89] story, well that night, a teacher in the boys' room came to me saying "you've got to come, you've got to come." So I went, expecting trouble, but when I arrived, the boys had gathered and had been talking for over an hour, of their own accord, about their impressions of the *Hibakusha*'s story, about what they could do for peace, about how they would live their lives. And they were saying, "the *Hibakusha*'s use of 'life,' couldn't that be different to how we understand it?" … I thought this had to be connected to what they were learning in their *Gengo Bunka* class. (Kana-sensei, personal letter)

Here, Kana-sensei reflects on the multiperspectivity (Kropman, van Boxtel & van Drie, 2020) and developing language awareness demonstrated by her children; here they are considering a potentially different use of the word 'life,' (命：いのち) by the *hibakusha* than they might have been used to. Kana-sensei believes that this ability, a growing reflexivity towards the mother tongue, has been fostered by her plurilingual practice.

In the remainder of this chapter, we will explore how the *Gengo Bunka* subject, implemented as a pedagogy of resistance (Bajaj, 2015) to English-only teaching has contributed to the children's learning. The next section will draw theoretical connections between plurilingualism, STEAM education, and peace learning, before turning to analyses of the classroom practice itself.

6.2.3 Peace Learning and STEAM

Japan is a nation with relatively recent and very poignant memories of violence, located in a currently uncertain geopolitical region with the potential for renewed conflict. It also has a rich tradition of post-war peace education.

As a field, peace education has received a lot of attention in the literature since the latter half of the 20th century. Profoundly influenced by Johan Galtung's (1969), concepts of *negative peace* (in short, the absence of direct, physical violence such as armed conflict) and *positive peace* (absence of structural violence, entrenched systems that perpetuate inequality, poverty, etc.), many peace education initiatives focus on fostering awareness of, and encouraging action toward, the latter,

[89] *Hibakusha* (被爆者) is the Japanese term for survivors of the atomic bomb.

including critical peace education (Bajaj, 2015). Most studies have focused on higher education (Kester & Cremin, 2017), and less attention has been given to this field for K-12 children.

Traditionally, plurilingual education, STEAM, and peace learning have all been seen as separate fields of study. In this vein, this section focusses on the interlinking of languages, intercultural awareness, and peace learning in the spirit of David Crystal's definition of *peace linguistics*, which:

> emphasizes the value of linguistic diversity and multilingualism, both internationally and intranationally, and asserts the need to foster language attitudes which respect the dignity of individual speakers and speech communities. (1999, pp. 254-255)

Since its inception as a preventative pedagogy after the World Wars of the 20th century, the field of peace education has expanded to address a variety of conflicts and violence. Galtung's concept of *positive peace* (1969), mentioned above, was influential in shifting the trajectory of the field to seek pedagogical methodologies that addressed structural and cultural violence[90] and sought to disrupt entrenched systems that deprive individuals, particularly in marginalized groups, of their basic human rights (Galtung, 1990). Being highly context-sensitive, attempts to universalize or regulate peace education praxis have been resisted, as top-down approaches carry the danger of reinforcing, rather than disrupting, certain forms of structural or cultural violence (Kester & Cremin, 2017). Bajaj, for instance, advocates critical peace education (2008), which seeks to nurture the following key competencies (Brantmeier, 2011, p. 356):

(1) Raising consciousness through dialogue
(2) Imagining nonviolent alternatives
(3) Providing specific modes of empowerment
(4) Transformative action
(5) Reflection and re-engagement

[90] Defined as "those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) – that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence" (Galtung, 1990, p. 291).

Bajaj's reflection that "peace education, as an enquiry-based endeavor, is not about converging upon answers, but rather is about generating new questions and processes" (2015, p. 164) suggests a commonality with STEAM-based education, which emphasizes experiential engagement with the scientific process of hypothesizing and debate. From an arts perspective, peace education is cognizant of local histories[91] and social sciences, which necessarily occupy a key role in knowledge production and dissemination and are essential for promoting engagement in social change. Similarly, artful expression in a variety of mediums is often encouraged in peace education (Cremin, 2016), which is open to different modes of communication in the face of rigid (typically positivist, and/or Western) educational structures that often legitimise only certain types of academic output and can disempower culturally specific forms of communication.

6.2.3.1 STEAM-based Peace Learning within a Plurilingual Framework

Despite peace education's openness to varying modes of communication, language education specifically has not been given much attention in the literature (Curtis, 2017). Two notable exceptions include *peace linguistics* (popularized by Crystal [1999] and Gomes de Matos [2014]), and Anita Wenden's (2007) call for *critical language awareness* within the peace education paradigm. These visions converge with plurilingualism and plurilingual education as "fundamental value[s] of democratic tolerance and a specific competence to be developed to counteract linguistic denigration and intolerance in order to bring about democratic fraternity and peace." (Beacco & Byram, 2007, p. 107)

As plurilingual education has developed into a broad concept that has come to describe a varied set of values, beliefs, and practices in language education (Beacco & Coste, 2017; see also Chapter 2), many plurilingual education practices are context-sensitive, although they tend to share a wholistic view of linguistic competence, inclusive of the entire linguistic repertoire of the learner. In this sense, plurilingual education meshes well not only with the educational philosophy behind STEAM learning, as discussed above, but also with peace learning both in the sense of Crystal's definition, and movements such as Wenden's critical language awareness.

[91] See, for instance, a rare example of *peace linguistics* pedagogy that incorporated important local historical artefacts (American dolls gifted to Japan in the 1920s) in an elementary English class (折橋、2016; Ishihara, Orihashi & Clark, 2019).

Kana-sensei's school emphasizes understanding (or attempting to understand) the viewpoints of others through peace learning, as well as engaging in critical reflection on one's own viewpoints. In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine how the school incorporates elements of STEAM and plurilingual education weaved throughout its core curriculum and peace learning in order to promote openness to diversity, cultivate reflexivity and multiperspectivity, agency and engagement.

6.2.4 The Research Context, Design, and Participants

This study employed a longitudinal polyethnographic approach to data collected over two academic years (2018-19, 2019-20), and documents how this innovation is implemented in daily practice in and around the classroom. Participants were one class of students in their fifth and sixth grades (N = 27, 14 boys, and 13 girls) and their teacher, Kana-sensei. The researchers were present for many of the *Gengo Bunka* lessons as part of the ongoing materials development project mentioned above. As students in an educational research school, the children were accustomed to being observed, and the researchers would often actively engage in lessons.

This collaborative research arrangement allowed for the collection of a variety of multimodal data sources including ethnographic photography, video recordings, field notes, student reflections, minutes from materials development meetings, and numerous personal interactions, including postal mail, email exchanges, and interviews conducted with Kana-sensei, including two via Zoom due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This wealth of ethnographic data allowed for the documentation of: (1) the children's engaging in plurilingual activities, (2) interaction and hypothesizing by the children in their classes, (3) the children's journaling, (4) the nature of Kana-sensei's instruction, and (5) retrospective reflective interviews on Kana-sensei's teaching practice. As in the previous section, interpretation of the data is collaboratively constructed between the researchers and the teacher, which allowed for differently situated perspectives. The three researchers involved were the same as described above in section 6.1.3.4 (and Chapter 3), and also included Kana-sensei, a self-described monolingual Japanese, speaking Japanese (but able to communicate in English).

6.2.5 Findings and Discussion

6.2.5.1 Engaging with Plurality

The very first practice, conducted when the children were in the fifth grade, was entitled 'The World's Languages and Japanese,' with the aim to learn that there are more than 6,000 languages in the world, and that Japanese and English are each one of those languages.

Figure 6.8 Worksheet for 'The World's Languages and Japanese'

The material was simple; a worksheet showing both sides of a 10-rupee banknote (Figure 6.8, above). Kana-sensei began by having the children examine the banknotes to look for people or

animals, and if they could recognize any words or numerals. Based on their observations, the children attempted to identify the country to which the banknote belonged (observational analysis of real-world phenomena and hypothesizing based upon their prior knowledge of languages). The children were also asked to examine how many languages were represented on the banknote, and hypothesize about their status (e.g., why English and Hindi are displayed prominently, and the 15 other languages are in a smaller font: Figure 6.8).

What did the children learn from this observation? Japan is extremely linguistically homogenous (although its variety of dialects was covered in a later lesson, based on material from 大津・窪薗、2018), but here, the children discovered that not all nations are – India, for instance, is extremely multilingual, a phenomenon about which several students commented upon in reflective journaling:

> インドでは、「10 ルピー」は 15 の言語で書かれていて、「最も一般的に使われているヒンディー語で十分ではないか」と思った。なぜこんなにたくさん入れたのか知りたいです。
>
> On the Indian note, '10 Rupees' was written in 15 languages, and I thought, 'isn't the most commonly used Hindi enough?' I want to know why they had to include so many.
>
> インド人はなぜ 15 以上の言語を使うのか不思議に思った。たくさんあると混乱するし、どこで何を使えばいいのかわからないから。インド人はみんなが話せる言語を一つだけ選んで、それを使えばいいのではないかと思った。でも、今は全員の言語を変えることは不可能なので、小学生に教えれば、次の世代がその言語を使えるようになるのではないかと思います。
>
> I wondered why Indian people use more than 15 languages. Because, it's confusing with so many, you don't know what language to use where. I thought that they should choose one language for everyone to speak. But it's impossible to change everyone['s language] now, so maybe if they just taught it to elementary students, then the next generation could use that language, I think.

As represented in these reflections, the opinion that, like Japan, countries should decide on a common language was prevalent early in the project. The discussion expanded into questions of why linguistic diversity exists, or what would be needed to achieve a common language. The children were encouraged to question beyond simple refusal or ignoring of different situations, but towards deeper consideration of why these situations exist.

After examining the banknote, the lesson turned to a discussion of world languages, and the fact that there are countries like India that are extremely multilingual, as well as languages that are spoken in many different countries (Arabic, French, English, Spanish, etc.), and languages widely spoken in only one country, such as Japanese. The lesson concluded with the students discussing the number of languages in the world, and those with the greatest number of speakers.

In many *Gengo Bunka* lessons, several languages are introduced simultaneously, while others focus on one language, although the common thread is awareness of plurality. In the next section, I examine how plurality is incorporated in a lesson on mathematics and Roman numerals.

6.2.5.2 Investigating Roman Numerals as a STEAM approach in Gengo Bunka

This lesson, when the children were in the sixth grade, occurred after a previous session on Mayan numerals (based on 小泉、2011). Here, I focus on Kana-sensei's practice, which is conducted dialogically. Her children are consistently required to vocalize hypotheses about language, to listen to their classmates' hypotheses, and to express their opinions.

Beginning with a reflection, Kana-sensei asks if they have used the Mayan numerals. This resulted in the interaction in Extract (1), which, although brief, may have helped to draw attention to plurality in semiotic representations of mathematical concepts, potentially facilitating one child's comparison between Roman and Arabic numerals later in the lesson (see the end of this section).

Extract (1)

```
KANA: Yes, we did Mayan numerals. Since then, have you been using
      them?
LL:   Nooooo!
L1:   We couldn't use them for maths class!
```

This is followed by Kana-sensei asking the class, “do you know any numerals other than the ones you use in maths class?” Answers included two systems using *kanji*[92] ideograms, and the Japanese tallying system (Figure 6.9, over page).

Here, Kana-sensei draws attention to plurality in the Japanese language, while activating the repertoires of the students – potentially priming them to apply their resources to deciphering Roman numerals.

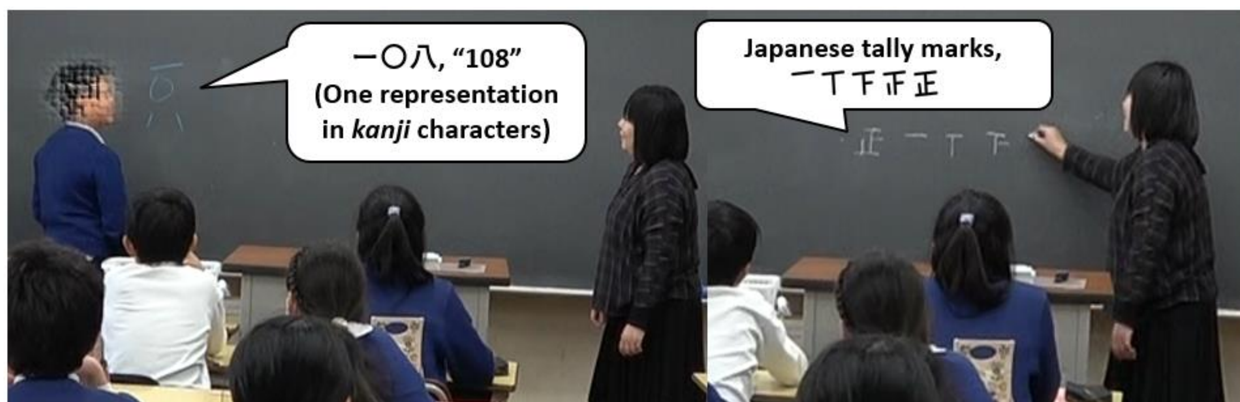

Figure 6.9 Sharing numerical systems

Following this interaction, Kana-sensei writes I through III on the blackboard and asks the children if they have seen them before. Several reply in the affirmative, to which she asks, “where?” Responses included “part two in movies,” “somewhere in *Harry Potter*,” and “clocks.” When one child offered “*Dragon Quest*,” a popular video game series that numbers entries with Roman numerals, the class responded with an enthusiastic “aaah!” Here, Kana-sensei introduces a potentially new semiotic resource (the numerals), and connects it with students’ prior knowledge, rather than delivering answers herself. The children are accustomed to this teaching style and constantly add their own knowledge to the overall learning space. Speech is free-flowing, and the custom of raising hands and being nominated is almost entirely non-existent. Kana-sensei’s children are co-constructors of knowledge.

Kana-sensei then stated that the characters are much older than the Arabic numerals used today. As she wrote on the blackboard, one child noted a similarity between the Roman numerals I, II, and III, and the Mayan numerals. Kana-sensei then wrote IV through X on the blackboard and

[92] Discrete figures may be expressed in *kanji* characters in several ways. For instance, 108 may be written 一〇八 (Figure 1), but also 百八、壱百八 etc.

gave their numerical value, before asking “what rules do you think they have?” The children constructed preliminary hypotheses on their worksheets, while Kana-sensei walked around and asked questions of their work. After about 10 minutes, the students began to share their hypotheses, prompted by Kana-sensei in the following manner:

Extract (2)

```
KANA:  Some are struggling. (Points at I). This is one. Can you
       say why?
LL:    Me!
KANA:  Who can tell me?
L1:    Me!
KANA:  Ok [student], why is this one?
L1:    Because there’s only one line.
KANA:  Ok, there’s only one line. (Points at II). This is two.
       Why?
L1:    Because there are two vertical lines.
KANA:  OK, two vertical lines (points at III). And this?
LL:    Three.
L1:    Three vertical lines.
KANA:  (Points at IV) And this?
LL:    Me!
KANA:  We want to write it like this, right (draws four
       vertical lines).
L2:    What a pain!
KANA   So, I’ll ask what you noticed.
```

As can be seen in extract (2), the children are required to vocalize the reasoning behind every answer they provide, even when the answers appear to be self-evident. When more in-depth reasoning is required (hypothesizing how the numeral IV works), Kana-sensei asks the children to share what they have noticed, and removes herself to the side of the classroom. By relinquishing the space (and crucially, the blackboard), Kana-sensei allows the children to employ a range of expression, such as thinking aloud, and using visual aids. Here, they share several hypotheses, questioning, criticizing, and refining them, in an intensely collaborative process of knowledge construction (see Figure 6.10, over page, in which one child has come to assist another who was struggling with her explanation).

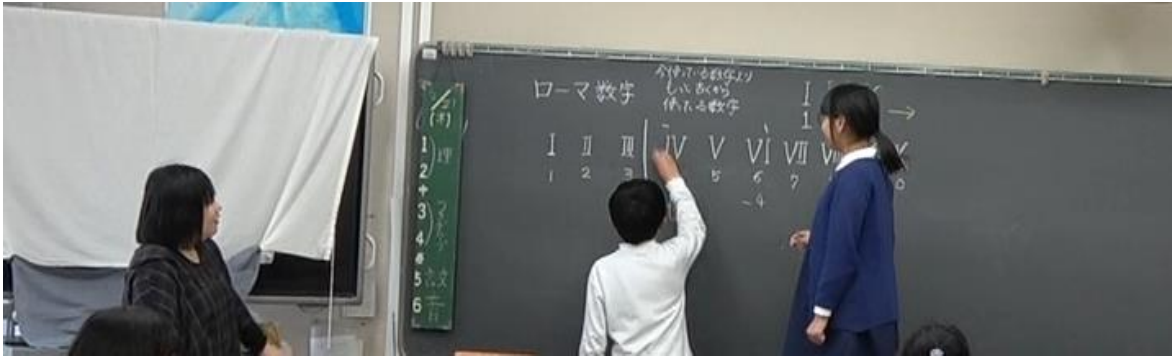

Figure 6.10 Co-construction of knowledge

The object of the lesson being a numerical system also allowed the children to employ their mathematical knowledge in their explanations; one child used simple equations to demonstrate his hypothesis (Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11 Arithmetic as an explanatory aid

After around 15 minutes of sharing and debating hypotheses, the children engaged in their worksheet, applying their hypotheses by attempting to write the Roman numerals XI through XX. After this second round of individual work, they were prompted to give their answers. Several came forth, and conflicting answers engendered another round of debate, including the use of arithmetic to argue for different possible representations of real numbers (Figure 6.12, over page). This second round culminated in a near consensus in the final minutes of class, to which Kana-sensei confirmed the correct answers.

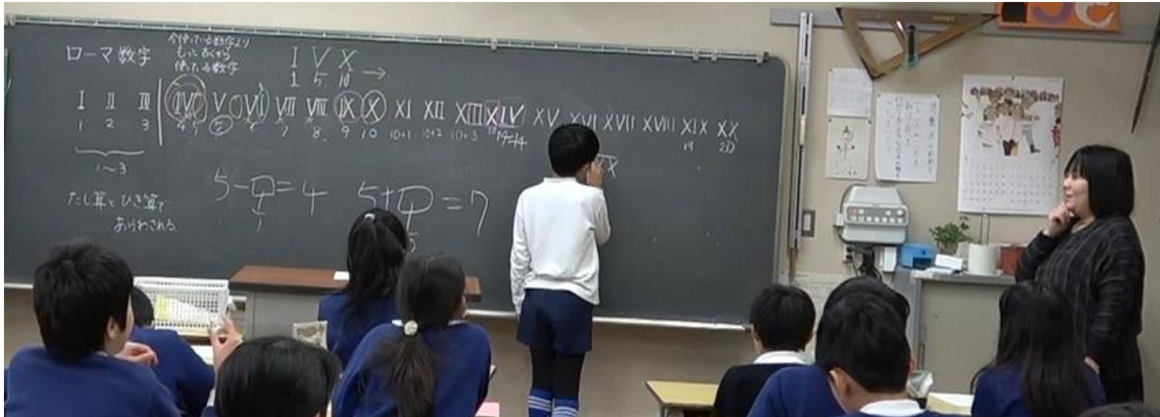

Figure 6.12 Debating hypotheses

As seen in this practice, the children are consistently engaging in investigative inquiries, involving hypothesis-making, testing, and debate. This investigative approach is central to the learning process taking place here, one that Kana-sensei remobilizes in peace learning (below). Examining and hypothesizing is the foundation of the scientific method, a fundamental component of STEAM, and becomes a fundamental component of plurilingual education as well.

Even after the bell rang, the children continued to think and question. While Kana-sensei prepared for the next lesson, several children could be heard continuing to converse, with one raising the question, “what happens at 50?” The children were not only engaged in the lesson content itself, but actively sought the next ‘mystery.’ This lies in stark contrast to drill-based language lessons, about which Kana-sensei laments, “there is no time in English classes to do any *thinking*” (Kana-sensei, Zoom interview, May 2020). Kana-sensei’s strategy is to create multiple encounters with otherness, to encourage thought and engagement through hypothesis-making, and thus inculcate an openness to the unknown, thereby preparing the children for such encounters in the future.

Of interest also is how the children’s comments have changed. In evaluating the 10-rupee note, many compared the multilingualism of India with the monolingualism of Japan, by remarking that having multiple languages must be “inconvenient.” In contrast, regarding the Roman numerals, the following remark could be heard in comparison with Arabic numerals:

> 位はないけど、算数のようなものだから、それを使うと足し算や引き算が上手になるかもしれない。

> They don’t have place values, but it’s like arithmetic, so using them might help you get better at adding and subtracting.

Similar remarks had been made in the lesson on Mayan numerals (not discussed here): The children were no longer making simple value judgements such as ‘X is better,’ ‘or Y is better,’ but engaging in critical evaluations of their subject material. They actively problematise the material, and seek new, potentially useful information. For instance, early in the hypothesizing stage, one child asked, “what is zero in Roman numerals?” The children do not shy from debate. This is promoted by Kana-sensei’s stance of not interfering in the children’s hypothesizing – rather, when they falter, she encourages them to look for more clues. In this way, she is cultivating in the children the ability to manage ambiguity and uncertainty when confronted with what they do not yet know.

6.2.5.3 Interlinking Experiences of Plurilingualism and Critical Understanding of Peace within a STEAM Framework

As mentioned above, the school has a strong focus on peace learning through fostering understanding of historical events and of others’ perspectives through dialogue and engagement with local communities. One central element of this is the school trip to Hiroshima[93] in the sixth grade, when the children visit a lesser-known atomic bomb site, 被服支廠 (Hifukushishō)[94]:

> 20 年近く前に. . . 被服支廠倉庫は、私たちが必ず訪れる場所になりました。被爆者の話を聞ける唯一の場所だからです。原爆ドームの近くで被爆した人はもちろんたくさんいましたが、みんな亡くなってしまったので［…］社会科の先生たちが、「もうここしかないんだから被服支廠に行かないと」と言っていました。

[93] It should be noted that peace learning at this school is not centered on the atomic bombings and ‘Japan-as-victim’ rhetoric. The curriculum covers the expansionist policies of the Meiji government, the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, and the annexation of Korea, giving “the children an important opportunity to think about what language and culture might mean to the Korean people,” and “[we make] time to think about how [the Asia-Pacific war] was for the Chinese and other Asian people. Through this study, we foster understanding of the relationship between Japan and the other Asian countries” (大谷、2014, p. 139).

[94] A wartime production facility for military uniforms.

> Nearly 20 years ago […] *Hifukushishō* became a must-visit destination for us. Because it is the only place where you can hear the stories from the *Hibakusha*. Many were exposed near the Atomic Bomb Dome of course, but they have all since passed away […] So, the social studies teachers said, "we have to visit *Hifukushishō*, because it's the only place left." (Kana-sensei, Zoom interview, May 2020)

After meeting with the *Hibakusha*, the children engage in reflective journaling, in more or less complex ways. Observation shows that they are hesitant to make claims that simply "sharing the *Hibakusha*'s voices should [necessarily] lead to peace." On the other hand, they show awareness that experience and storying are stronger ways for sharing voices. As one child expresses:

> 私が被爆者の方や伝承者の方に聞いた思いの中で印象に残っているのは「生き残って、亡くなった人に申し訳ない」という言葉と、「亡くなった人は未来をうばわれ、生き残った人は未来をくるわされる」という二つの言葉。私ならすごくひどい空襲の中で生き残ることができたらラッキーとか運が良かったと思うけれど、その「申し訳ない」という気持ちも被爆者にしかわからない思いの一つなのかなと思う。[…]この言葉からは、未来をうばったり、くるわせたりする戦争は恐ろしいということが分かる。このように伝えてもらえばわかることや、伝えてもらっても分からないことが、ある。でもその分からないことも、一人一人が「わかりあおう」「この思いを未来につなげていこう」という少しでも努力をすることで平和は広がっていくと私は思う。

> The two thoughts that left an impression on me were, "As a survivor, I feel guilt about those who died," and, "those who died had their futures taken away, and those who survived, had their futures upturned." I think if I had survived some horrible air raid, I would think that I was lucky, I think the feeling of 'guilt' is part of something that only the *hibakusha* can understand. […] From these words, I can understand how wars that steal futures, or mess them up, are horrifying. Like, there are some things we can understand when they tell us their stories, and some things that we can't, even if we listen.

> But, if each of us makes a little effort to understand what we might not, to understanding each other, to connect our thoughts to the future, then I think peace will spread. (6th grader's reflective journaling)

The child's reflection resonates with the story that began this section. In a reflective journaling session, Kana-sensei had reported that she thought the children's discussion on what 'life' meant was inspired by their experience of learning in *Gengo Bunka*:

> それはどんな授業にも通じるもので、すべての授業で私は言葉にこだわるようにしてきました。でも、「言語・文化」は、意識的に言葉そのものに関わる授業なので、より意識的に意味を考えるようになると思います。それができるようになったことが、言語・文化での学び方に大きくつながっていると思います。自分と他人との違いや、他人からどう見られているかということを意識するようになってきた時期の子どもたちを形成する上で、この授業の役割は大きいと思います。
>
> As something that runs through all of their classes, I've been very particular about words [pause] *Gengo Bunka* is a class in which students consciously engage with language itself, so I think it makes them more conscious [of meaning]. The reason they are able to do this, I think, is because the class plays a big role in shaping the children at a time when they are becoming aware of the differences between themselves and others, and how they are seen by others. (Kana-sensei, Zoom interview, May 2020)

6.2.6 Unfolding the Paper Crane of Peace as a Visual Narrative for Multiperspectival Learning

For the children, peace learning does not end in Hiroshima. After returning, they share their experiences with other children who have not yet experienced the trip. This is conducted in *multiclass groups* – each comprised of one sixth-grader joining one student from each of the first to fifth grades. Through this interaction, the older children must take into account the experiences

and knowledge of the younger, and frame and retell their and others' experiences and stories in ways that will be comprehensible to all, using a variety of transmission mediums.

Figure 6.13 is an example of one group's recrafting the story of the ICAN movement and their peace project learning using 紙芝居 (kamishibai), a form of Japanese street theatre and storytelling traditionally created for younger children.

Figure 6.13 Transmission through *kamishibai*

Each page of the *kamishibai* was accompanied by a script produced by the children to convey, alongside their illustrations, their understanding of four key visions of the ICAN movement: A desire to stop the spread of nuclear weapons (①), nuclear disarmament (②), antiproliferation treaties (③), and the movement itself (④). Of particular interest is the students' clear cognizance of diversity; the people in images ① through ④ represent a diversity of ethnicities, nationalities, gender, skin and hair colours, and dress. The flags and the bomb, hanging above the heads of unhappy people intimate the children's understandings of the power of nuclear-armed nations; here, France, the U.K., U.S., Russia, and China, nuclear-armed signatories to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Image ③ is a powerful message. On the left, a three-fold injunction (reduce, stop making, and eliminate nuclear weapons) is repeated twice through different visual means; in writing, and as an iconographic representation. The right side is the children's vision: three people of apparently different nations holding hands standing on the globe. The depiction of the globe is an inclusive representation, employing artistic license to portray all of the world's continents in one image, rather than a realistic depiction of planet Earth. The message reads "Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons," a direct quote of what they have learned from ICAN.

Finally, the children are cognizant of their agency as peacebuilders, as image ⑤ is a representation of the very work they do in their groups; the sixth-grader (to the left) sharing what she has learned about peace to the younger members of her group. The motif chosen to represent peace here is the paper crane, an important symbol in Japan (also appearing at the bottom left of image ④).

The paper crane is a traditional symbol in Japan, one that has come to represent peace, popularized in the west by the fictionalized account of atomic bomb victim, Sadako Sasaki, written by Eleanor Coerr (1977), and Sadako's folding of 1,000 paper cranes (千羽鶴, *senbazuru*), a statue of whom can be seen in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. This motif also adorns another piece of the children's artwork (Figure 6.14, over page).

This paper crane poster was made by the sixth-grade class, in response to a tremendous effort by first-graders to fold their own thousand-crane origami as a way to bring people together and remember. They later presented to the school their artistic origami storying, which prompted the sixth-graders to interview younger children to better understand how they lived this revoicing

process (the first-years crafting and presenting of the thousand cranes, and the other children's reflections on the origami). They used all these voices to craft the collective poster that now adorns the wall of the school's main stairwell, for everyone to see and share these stories and spread awareness and hope.

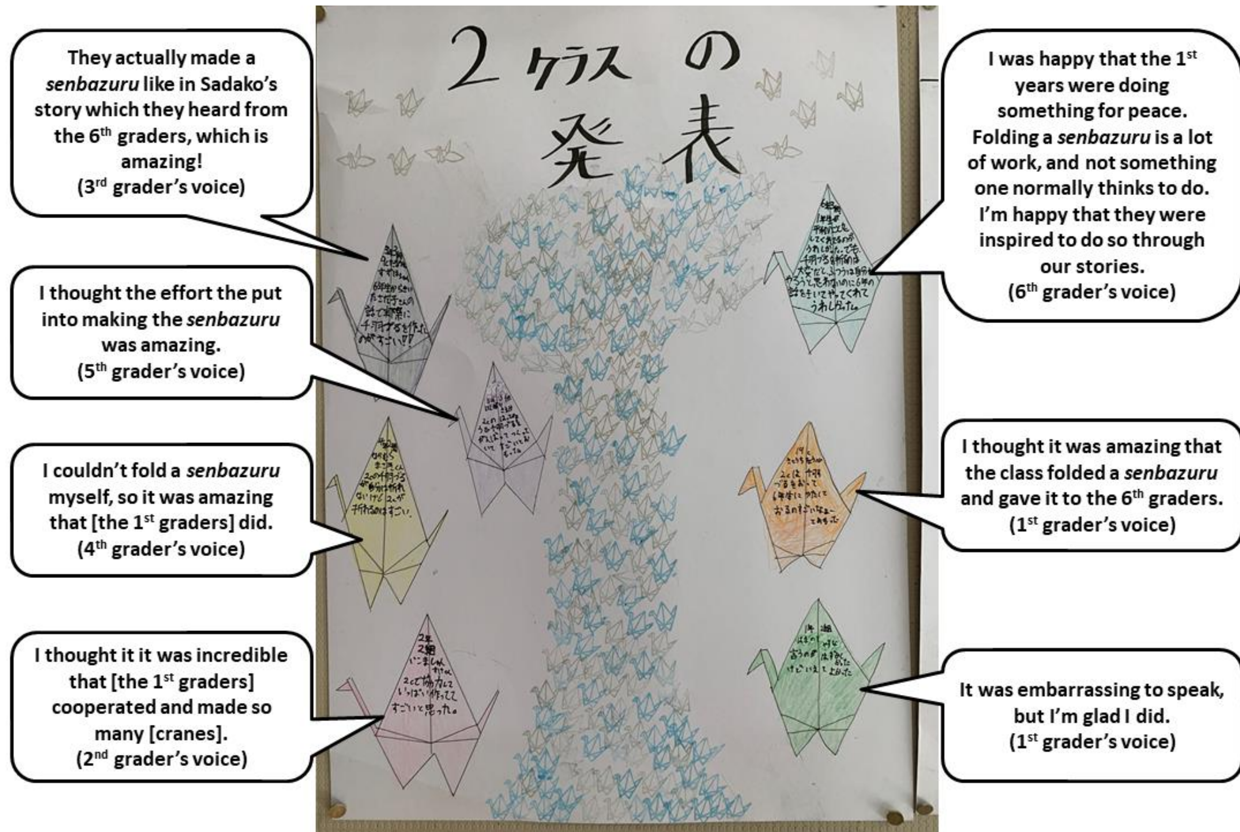

Figure 6.14 Artistic representation of peace learning through paper cranes

As such, Figure 6.14 presents a visual story, using multiple paper cranes to voice multiple, intergenerational understandings of peace learning. Using the origami stamps with which Kana-sensei validates their class work, the sixth graders multiply the origami image of the peace crane, while creating seven coloured cranes that represent their younger schoolmates' reflective learning about peace, collaboration, and voice ("I couldn't fold a *senbazuru* myself"; "it was incredible that they cooperated and made so many cranes"; "it was embarrassing to speak").

The revoicing origami cranes surround a very large blue and grey *senbazuru*, made up of multiple duplications of much smaller cranes. The recurrence of the crane origami as a visual element gives it symbolic depth and meaning. The shapes are repeated in different ways (colours, words, sizes). The repeated image thus carries the idea of variation in what is identical, and the

ability to evolve and replicate (the persistence of memory). Here it is the multiplication and variation of the same image that creates a new shape. The children did not merely create copies of the same component but changed the copies in fundamental ways; the differences carry different messages to the world, weaving narratives of the National past (through the children's revoicing the survivors' stories and experiences, as well as their resilience, through a process of creating visual art that required patience, perseverance and joint effort), as well as the flow of understanding. The image in its totality creates a new iconological identity. Each component is authored but there is a collective dimension to the visual. It can undergo infinite variation without losing its ability to convey a message. One can always add an origami of the peace crane to the thread, and it is ever-flowing.

The entire display provides an alternative narrative of an important episode in the history of Japan, distilling children's micro-experiences threaded together into a common story of remembrance. As a visual narrative, the paper crane poster created by the children contextualizes story-based learning, as well as the interpretative multi-perspectival nature of a story, and of History. As Kropman, van Boxtel and van Drie (2020) state: "Multiperspectivity in narratives involves varying spatial and temporal scales, varying agency and plots, and varying types of historiography" (p. 2). Storytelling as revoicing and as a form of narrative learning is also giving older and younger children authority and authorship, and acknowledging their contribution to the social fabric of their school and community. In their teacher's own words:

> 私たちが平和教育の一環として行っていることですが、子どもたちもそうだと思うのですが、どうすれば自分たちで平和を作れるのかを考え、それを自分の言葉で表現することができるかを考えさせています。そのためには、児童一人ひとりが自分の言葉で学んだことを共有しなければなりません。もし生徒会や代表者が学校の集会の前で発表したとしたら、他の児童はただ聞いているだけになってしまいます。そこで、このような縦割りのグループで発表するんです。
>
> It's something we've been trying to do with our peace education, and I think the children have been too, to consider how they can become peacebuilders, how they can put that into their own words [pause] a lot of what they share happens in these groups. In doing so, every individual student has to share, in their own words, what they have learned. If

> student committees or some representatives presented in front of a school assembly, the others would just be listening. So, they present in these multiclass groups. (Kana-sensei, reflective interview, May 2020)

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined two examples of bottom-up grassroots plurilingual STEAM practice. The first was a year-long project focussed on multicultural school lunches, the aim of which was to foster openness to a diversity of languages and cultures through experiential learning, while avoiding trivializing or 'folklorizing' (McDowell, 2010; Yamamoto, Brenzinger & Villalón, 2008) the learning content. The STEAM approach allowed the children to explore various interdisciplinary aspects of a diversity of languages, cultures, and cuisines that interested them, through which, rather than being passive receivers of pre-packaged information, they became active investigators and actors of their learning.

The school lunches project, inclusive of plurilingual and *shokuiku* learning, resonates with the goals of foreign language learning in Japanese elementary schools, "to understand the people in the world, [by taking] into account the daily lives of people who use languages other than English" (文部科学省、2017d, p. 134). Yuki-sensei's request to the volunteers to include personal memories of the cuisine, as well as the fact that the volunteers were fluent Japanese-speakers, typically living in Japan but maintaining connections with other broad cultures they identify with, was integral in highlighting the daily lives of various groups of people in Japan. The collaborative nature of the project thus also potentially demonstrates a means to capitalize upon the linguistic and cultural diversity already present in schools (the assistant language teacher population: Chapter 5, and also other languages that children bring into the classroom), and the wider community.

Monolingualising trends in policy can delegitimise other languages and cultures by emphasizing English only (and by extension, Anglosphere culture). In contrast, the diversity of languages, cultures, and subject content in the school lunches project, as well as the collaborative approach in which related displays and learning were produced by various subject teachers throughout the school, helped to legitimise a plurality of languages and cultures, and foster openness to new experience in the children through an aspect of life in which children are often very conservative; the multisensory exploration of new foods. This burgeoning openness was

perhaps exemplified by a fifth grader's comment after the Aotearoa New Zealand lesson; "I want to learn more about other countries, too!"

The second practice was plurilingual STEAM as conducted in *Gengo Bunka* classes, with a focus on how the subject related to the school-wide peace learning. Despite initial trepidation toward the introduction of foreign languages, the elementary school in this study created *Gengo Bunka* as a *pedagogy of resistance* (Bajaj, 2015). While maintaining adherence to the goals of national policy, the implementation of plurilingual education allowed the teachers to enrich what would otherwise be English-only classes.

The interweaving of this practice with the core curriculum, STEAM, and peace, resonates with the key competencies of peace education, by (1) raising consciousness through dialogue, as seen in Kana-sensei's class practice and the *multiclass groups*, (2) imagining nonviolent alternatives (the student's song for peace amongst various other artworks), (3) providing specific modes of empowerment by actively encouraging learner engagement with local and global communities, (4) transformative action (the students' work prompted ICAN to offer lessons at elementary schools), and (5) reflection and re-engagement; the language work by the students in reflecting on their experiences and retelling them to others through various modes, including storying, and engaging with language, plurality, and multiperspectivity in deeper ways.

Throughout their peace learning activities, the children were encouraged to mediate their understandings of the stories they had heard, and cast them into new stories for others; unfolding and folding paper cranes anew and sharing them. For Hanne & Kaal (2019), storytelling and metaphors are powerful tools to capture the complexities of meaning-making, from multiple perspectives, to communicate human experience and memory, and make sense of the world (see also Kropman, van Boxtel, & van Drie, 2020).

Within the highly homogenous and monolingual context of Japan, these plurilingual practices have fostered multiperspectivity, a greater reflexivity, and critical awareness around language and diversities. As the young learners in Kana-sensei's class voiced themselves, "to resist inequality, all we have is language (不平等に対抗できるのは言葉しかない!)" (Kana-sensei, personal letter, May 2020).

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I aimed to explore how the concept of plurilingualism has emerged as grassroots practice in Japanese elementary schools. To this end, I employed a qualitative approach to examining several facets of foreign language education in Japan, including a polyethnography of the life histories (*currere*) of two elementary school teachers who engage in plurilingual practice, a conversation analysis/thematic analysis investigation of plurilingual assistant language teachers (ALTs), and a polyethnographic/thematic analysis of plurilingual practice and children's learning. The broad aim of this research was to demonstrate, within the double monolingual macro-level policy of foreign language education at elementary schools, that plurilingualism is not simply a concept that belongs to the academic elite, nor one that is useful only in highly multilingual and multicultural contexts, but is a reality of practitioners in Japan, and informs grassroots interdisciplinary approaches to foreign language education. This final chapter, divided into four sections, draws together the findings and discussions of the preceding chapters to provide implications for research, practice, and teacher training. The four sections will, in a general sense, correspond to the broad research questions raised in Chapter 2. However, given the qualitative nature of the research in this thesis, I do not intend here to 'answer' each specific question – they were raised rather to guide the inquiry that the preceding chapters have engaged in, and it is a summary of those implications that I will discuss here. The first section examines plurilingualism as a reality of practitioners, as counter-discourse to the double monolingualism problematised in the introduction (大山、2016; 三浦・糟谷、2000), and the potential for interdisciplinary learning that plurilingual approaches engender. The second section discusses implications for teacher training, in light of the focus on English skills that dominates the current SFLE training discourse in Japan, and touches upon both the inherently interdisciplinary profession of elementary school teaching, and of team teaching with assistant language teachers (ALTs), highlighting the importance of collaboration, and the learning that collaborative plurilingual approaches afford. The third section addresses the limitations of the research conducted in this thesis, and recommendations for further study are presented. To conclude, I return to a brief discussion of the diversifying linguistic landscape in Japan and the world at large, and the place of plurilingualism as neither an abstract academic concept nor an exclusive interest of the elite, but as a sociolinguistic

and educational reality that demands greater recognition in teaching, teacher training, and language policy.

7.1 Globalization and Plurilingual Realities of Elementary Schools

In the introduction to this thesis, I touched upon the rhetoric of English-for-globalization, and that much of the macro-level policy and literature surrounding the introduction of foreign languages in elementary schools is a result of a perceived need for an English-speaking populace. In contrast to this rhetoric, I highlighted the actual linguistic state of 'globalizing' schools, in which Portuguese, Chinese, Filipino, Spanish and Vietnamese represent a far greater proportion of the languages in schools than does English. I also highlighted the fact that a number of researchers are well aware of this, and have argued for diversification in Japanese FLE.

These calls for diversifying language education should not be misunderstood: No one seriously argues for the adoption of a multitude of languages as targets for acquisition for every learner in the traditional sense (although some do argue for increasing the number of languages offered in compulsory foreign language subjects, usually beginning in secondary school, for instance, 森住・古石・杉谷・長谷川、2016). Nor is it feasible for all of even the major minority languages listed above to be formalized in school curriculums – there are simply not enough teachers (at least at present) available to teach them as discrete subjects. Nevertheless, the presence of these languages belies a flaw in the English(-only)-for-globalization rhetoric: Globalized Japan is demonstrably not English-only. Furthermore, the lack of genuine need for English ability in the Japanese population (Terasawa, 2017) also weakens the position of English-only advocates.

Despite these criticisms, the global status of the English language cannot be denied (it is indeed a lingua franca between many non-Anglosphere communities, and increasingly dominates global business and academic scholarship – although even so, it certainly is not the *only* lingua franca). And while Terasawa (2017), referenced above, points out the lack of need for English in the population, he does not deny its popularity. These reasons contribute to legitimising the place of English as the primary target language for acquisition in Japan's schools, and thus there are strong arguments for English to occupy the "bulk of the educational real estate" (Oyama & Pearce, 2019, p. 67) in the foreign language subject. The argument for alternative approaches (including plurilingualism) over English-only in the traditional TESOL sense does not deny these realities; it

is not an issue with English, but rather English-*only*, in the double monolingual sense, that carries several potential dangers, and that plurilingual pedagogies reject.

One danger inherent to an over-emphasis (or at the least, uncritical acceptance) of English-only FLE in Japan, is that it may cause an over-reliance on information from the Anglosphere: information filtered through English sources, tinged with the social, cultural, and geopolitical biases that those bring (see, for instance, 木村、2016). This argument certainly rings true with calls in academia for the embracing of pluralities of knowledge, and translingual practices (大山、2016; 加納、2016; 森住・古石・杉谷・長谷川、2016), and is one shared to a degree by MEXT policy, despite the emphasis on English in policy (recall again the commentary, cited several times throughout this thesis, that stresses "in order to understand the people in the world, it is important to take into account the daily lives of people who use languages other than English," 文部科学省、2017d, p. 134). A more pressing concern, however, is raised by the presence of other languages mentioned above; the linguistically (and culturally) diverse immigrant population in Japan, which, although small, continues to grow. From the point of view of social cohesion, there is a growing need to develop linguistic awareness in the population in response to these changing demographics (大山、2017; 清田、2016), and a failure to do so is a failure to prepare the Japanese citizenry for the realities of globalization within their own communities.

I have argued in this thesis that plurilingual approaches offer potential for linguistic awareness-raising, acknowledgment of minority languages, and better reflexive understanding of mother tongue(s), and that such education can be achieved even while English maintains its status as the primary foreign language for instruction. In fact, it has elsewhere been argued that English can serve as starting point for plurilingual education (Forlot, 2020), and that English as a specific target language does not necessitate a monolingual approach (Slaughter & Cross, 2021; see also Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). It is with a similar understanding that Kana-sensei and Yuki-sensei approach their teaching, fulfilling their responsibilities vis à vis English education, but engaging in all language teaching with a plurilingual stance, and as a counter-discourse to double monolingualism. In the next two sub-sections, I will reflect on some of the key points of their practice, before considering the implications for teacher training, with respect to didactic repertoires, in section 7.2.

7.1.1 Plurilingualism as Counter-discourse to Double Monolingualism

Yuki-sensei sensei delayed beginning her teaching career with a rejection of English-only, disappointed in the exam-orientated classes she had to teach during her practicum as a teacher trainee. Her interest lay more in prior experiences with English (the pen-pal club), and pluralities in languages and cultures (influenced by experiences at the Museum of Ethnology). She initially opts instead to work for a hotel, adding to her intercultural experiences which would inform her (plurilingual) didactic repertoire. She returns to teaching foreign language when the subject is introduced at elementary schools, noting a considerable degree of freedom in teaching approaches. Although she mentions that this freedom has been eroded in the subsequent years, due to a stronger focus on English skills, and the pressure to 'do what other schools are doing,' she manages to balance English education and plurilingual practice in her teaching.

Yuki-sensei's plurilingual practice is not only inspired by her own openness to diversity and wealth of experiences, but also a more pressing practical need. Her school has a diversity of languages, with a minority of children in the regular school who have mother tongues other than Japanese, but also in another aspect: Yuki-sensei's school has a night school attached, to which adults who have not completed compulsory education can continue their schooling. Active exchange between these different students is encouraged, which necessitates interaction with those of various linguistic backgrounds, including both non-Japanese residents as well as citizens, such as Japanese returnees from China who had been left behind during the chaos of Japan's defeat in the second world war, and who require basic literacy education in Japanese.

Yuki-sensei's pedagogy focuses on raising language awareness, through multiple languages, which she constantly employs (for instance, each lesson is opened with a short activity involving a multilingual calendar: See Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). She encourages the use of all languages in her children's repertoires[95] and seeks to expand on them as resources for knowledge building and for promoting awareness of pluralities and intercultural understanding. She intertwines this teaching with not only the English skills teaching that is required of her, but also with Japanese language learning, to promote a reflexivity toward languages that is essential in navigating subjective meanings and developing cultural awareness social skills. The wealth of

[95] She also allows freedom in language use. In the reflection sheets for the school lunches project, I noticed that one child wrote in Chinese, about which I asked Yuki-sensei, who responded: "In her other subjects, she writes in Japanese, using an iPad, but as reflection is for the children, I tell them to use whichever [language] is easier to write. I input her comments by hand into Google Translate to read them" (text message, 7 December 2020).

languages and cultures, and of investigative learning (such as the school lunches project) she brings to her classes fosters in her children not only reflexivity and an openness to other languages and cultures but also an investigative stance, demonstrated by a fifth-grade child's end-of-year reflection:

> 外国語を通して外国と日本の違うところや同じところがいっぱいわかった。例えば日本とタイの料理は少し似ているけど違ったり、タイの米と日本の米はタイの米は細くて日本の米は丸かった。他には国が違うのになんでフランス語とロシア語を使うんだろうとか思った。
>
> Through foreign languages, I have learned a lot about the differences and similarities between Japan and other countries. For example, Japanese and Thai food are a little similar but different, Thai rice is thin and Japanese rice is round. I also wondered why [other places] use French and Russian when they come from different countries (Yuki-sensei, text message, 22 March 2021)

This child has begun to develop a stance towards questioning similarities and differences across cultures and languages, discovering regularities within differences, and also beginning to question sociolinguistic realities that are not at once explained by her own direct experiences (the use of French and Russian in countries outside of France and Russia). This type of noticing would not have been possible in English-only classes, or classes focussed exclusively on skill development, and echoes the children's learning in Kana-sensei's classes (recall the children's comments on the multilingual nature of India from section 6.2.4.2, and their subsequent re-evaluations of linguistic/cultural plurality later). There is a convergence between the two teachers' practices, and their children's learning, despite the two teachers' very different pasts and the different immediate needs presented by their school contexts.

Kana-sensei's teaching weaves interdisciplinary plurilingual education in the 言語(Gengo)・文化(Bunka) subject with the children's Japanese subject (国語), other subject learning, and the broader peace learning in the school. Part of a national elementary school attached to a university, in Kana-sensei's class, all of the children were of the same Japanese heritage and shared Japanese as a

mother tongue; children with other linguistic and cultural backgrounds are rare (although, as mentioned in Chapter 6, they invite a variety of exchange students from the university to engage in classes, and also have a high degree of involvement in communities outside of the school). Nevertheless, the teachers behind the plurilingual implementation at Kana-sensei's school were cognizant of global linguistic realities, and questioned why English was given priority over neighbouring languages such as Chinese and Korean (e.g., 大谷、2014). Despite a lack of immediate need for foreign language ability, the teachers eschew English-only practice in favour of fostering awareness about the plurality of languages, and awareness of language itself.

Kana-sensei's focus is on developing the underlying (plurilingual) competence of her children, fostering reflexive attitudes towards language, inclusive of the mother tongue, and developing an awareness of linguistic and cultural diversities through a focus on neighbouring countries and local communities (including exchange students at the attached university), which is weaved into the peace learning at the school. Motivated in part by her own (negative) experiences as a language learner, as well as the community of debate and discussion at her school, Kana-sensei's teaching is driven by a desire to promote genuine learning through thinking (思考しながら; Chapter 4), and thereby to promote authorship and ownership in her children's learning.

Kana-sensei's teaching ideology is palpable in her classroom instruction, which is centred around examining, hypothesizing, discussing, and debating. Her children are constantly engaged in investigative inquiry of languages (multiple or singular) and semiotics, investigations that are conducted dialogically as a class, which requires the children to listen to and evaluate their classmates' hypotheses, and to express their own opinions. This investigative approach is central to the learning process in Kana-sensei's classroom and is one that is remobilized in peace learning. Examining and hypothesizing is also the foundation of the scientific method, a fundamental component of STEAM, discussed in the next section, and is a fundamental component of (reflexive) plurilingual education as well.

For both of these teachers, aspects of plurilingualism as a value (tolerance, understanding, language awareness), and as a competence (developing repertoires, thinking reflexively, and cultivating the ability to take part in intercultural action through the mobilizing of a range of semiotic resources and knowledge) are central to their pedagogies. Neither approaches instruction in the 'neoliberal communication competence' sense (Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016), rather engaging in more useful counter-discourse to double monolingual policy, which has tended to

focus only on superficial skills development in English as a foreign language. Nor does either teacher approach their plurilingual instruction as simply adding more languages into traditional language instruction, as suggested by 投野（Tōno）’s (2013) interpretation of plurilingualism (see Chapter 2). As Kana-sensei reflects in a recent research journal published by her school:

> 外国語はことばの教育である。国語と同じだ。そのときに、その「ことばを学ぶ[96]」ことともに、「ことばについて学ぶ」ことこそが大事なのではないだろうか。どの言語を学ぶとしても、言語を習得する基盤のような力がある。その力を育てることに目を向けたい。
>
> Foreign language education is language education. Just as [the] Japanese [subject] is. When learning language, learning *about* language is vital. No matter the specific language being learned, there is a fundamental ability that supports that learning. It is on that ability that I would like to focus. (入澤、2021, p. 158)

The teachers’ practices serve as a counter to double monolingualism not only because of the plurilingual approaches that they both employ, but because the views that underly their approaches, supported by their plurilingual (didactic) repertoires, and informing their understandings of linguistic competence, are inherently different to monolingual approaches. MEXT policy tends to view a high level of competence in the target language (English) as necessary for the instruction of foreign languages, evidenced in part by their recommendations to have ALTs join lessons as English assistants (文部科学省、2017a), and this viewpoint is often shared by practitioners (Machida, 2016; Oyama & Pearce, 2019). While Yuki-sensei is a licensed teacher of secondary school English and is confident with the language, Kana-sensei is not: Recall that she considers herself a ‘monolingual.’ Nevertheless, her experiences with language, engagement with other

[96] At this late point in the thesis, I would like to draw readers attention to one of the benefits of plurilingual navigation. The word ことば（kotoba） defies simple translation one-to-one into English. It can at once convey the meanings ‘language, dialect, word(s), phrase(s), term(s), expression(s), remark(s), speech, manner of speaking,’ etc. When writing in Japanese, it is an extremely convenient term to discuss the breadth of meaning within plurilingual ideas of languages, in being a more holistic expression than the English word ‘language,’ which can also convey the same meanings, but is more restrictive in the sense it is usually applied to named languages. ことば（kotoba） is, however, a term (and/or concept) not readily available at least to those with a monolingual English background.

teachers and researchers, and a continuing probing for meaningful approaches to language education have all formed a vital part of her didactic repertoire, and the plurilingual teaching she engages in – a 'monolingual plurilingual,' as Piccardo (2019) would likely describe her. Yuki-sensei, on the other hand, fulfils what macro-level policy would describe as 'desirable' competence in the English language, and yet also prefers plurilingual approaches, reflecting the sentiment of Saitō 斎藤 (2017), in his aptly titled chapter, 'If you study English seriously, you'll see the problem with the English-only bias.'

The different developments of both Kana-sensei and Yuki-sensei's didactic repertoires, and their convergence, have implications for teacher training, which will be explored in section 7.2, below. That section will also touch upon the potential for ALTs in plurilingual approaches to education, both because their plurilingual realities as described in Chapter 5 provide another counter-discourse to double monolingualism (they are certainly not *only* English speakers!), but also because they tend to have a variety in disciplinary backgrounds that could be capitalized upon in STEAM approaches. Before considering implications for teacher training, it is necessary to first briefly return to the interdisciplinary learning aspect of the plurilingual practices in this thesis.

7.1.2 Bridging Foreign Language Education with Other Subjects

In the introduction to this thesis, I noted that subject-integrated approaches are gaining prominence in the Japanese FLE discourse (e.g., 柳瀬・小泉、2015). One approach that was considered for its potential in the Japanese context was STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics) learning. As an inherently interdisciplinary approach, STEAM education may be conducted as an equal representation of different subject silos, or "one field may be the dominant base discipline" (Yakman, 2008, p. 1). In the practice examined in Chapter 6, both teachers adopted plurilingual STEAM approaches with foreign languages as the base subject. This required collaboration (explored in section 7.2.3, below), but was also facilitated by the nature of elementary school teaching in that practitioners typically teach multiple subjects (while Yuki-sensei was a specialist of foreign languages and mathematics, she also occasionally taught Japanese subject classes).

When treated as a subject in isolation, 'authenticity' is a term that is often used in SFLE, regularly used to refer to the introduction of realia (Gilmore, 2007; Percy, 2013) into the classroom

or 'genuine language' (in the sense of 和田、1989[97]), but can also be used to prop up notions of native-speakerism, in other words, that only native speakers' language use is 'real' – consider the MEXT documents on ALTs that recommend they "repeat and have students listen to the *correct native-speaker pronunciation*" (文部科学省、 2017b, p. 110, emphasis added). Such notions are suggestive of the traditional SFLE/SLA view of learner-as-deficit-user (Chapter 2), a view rejected by plurilingual approaches. In contrast, the plurilingual STEAM education that the teachers conducted in their classrooms is rather centred on connecting foreign languages, typically taught in isolation (大山、2019a; Oyama, Moore, Pearce & Kitano, 2021, forthcoming), with other-subject knowledge. This was at times achieved with the use of realia (e.g., the Indian rupee banknote used by Kana-sensei, and Yuki-sensei's multimodal displays), and at other times through more abstract or undirected learning (e.g., mathematics and Roman numerals, or unguided investigations in the school lunches project). Regardless of the specific approach taken in individual lessons, the plurilingual STEAM approaches shared a commonality in that they regarded all linguistic and semiotic resources as useful for the development of knowledge, and the connections drawn between other subjects made the foreign languages more 'real' than simple curiosities of the foreign language classroom.

Navigating multiple languages or semiotic systems through multimodal plurilanguaging (Lüdi, 2015; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020; Piccardo, 2019) is useful for noticing the limitations inherent to communication in specific languages, and thereby allows for better understanding of concepts. Limitations of linguistic systems are acknowledged in the STEAM literature, at least in the sense of different use of a single named language within different discourse communities:

> With every language there are limitations of expression. Since each discipline has its own language, each has its own way of expression that is unique as well as its own ways of being limited in regards to how other disciplines express themselves [within the constraints of other discourse communities]. (Yakman, 2008, p. 5)

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[97] Recall 和田's rationalizations for ALTs,: "the presence of native English speakers in the classroom sets up situations in which English can be used as a living language" (1989, p. 2)

This analysis of difference in discourse communities also rings true when navigating foreign languages, and to fully grasp, necessitates reflection on the mother tongue. Plurilingual approaches are cognizant of the language awareness required to understand this phenomenon, and suggest that such awareness is best fostered through examination of *multiple* language varieties (e.g., Candelier et al., 2012) in that exploring multiple languages promotes the development of cognition that does not only involve binary foreign language-mother tongue translation, but thinking around translations and considering the multifaceted meanings of concepts themselves. One instance of plurilingual STEAM in this thesis that overtly demonstrated this type of consideration was the numerals activities examined in section 6.2.4.3, in which the children considered the strengths and weaknesses of different numerical systems: i.e., Mayan numerals are difficult to use in math, but easy to read; Roman numerals also present the same pitfall, lacking place units, but the use of the numerals themselves could possibly foster arithmetic proficiency (and theses different types of notation all reflect the same concept of real numbers).

The language awareness fostered by such approaches, including understandings of the gaps and differences in language use across sociolinguistically named languages, lends itself to a reflexive understanding of the mother tongue (recall the child questioning whether the *hibakusha*'s use of 'life' was the same as his own understanding in section 6.2). This is a reflexivity around forms of expression and knowledge itself that will be beneficial to understanding others, and to learning, regardless of whether individual children will grow up to become daily users of other languages (i.e., bilinguals), or remain ostensibly 'monolingual'.

Another aspect of STEAM education is the importance it places on understanding the cultural aspects of science and technology, and their relationship to language arts and humanities as disciplinary subjects: "to understand how […] technologies are developed through societal demands and are accepted through the social, economic and aesthetic values of a culture is also vital to produce a knowledgeable citizenry" (Yakman, 2008, p. 9). It is in this aspect that the importance of engaging with, and storying, lived experiences of language and culture becomes relevant. In Kana-sensei's practice, this was reflected in the storying by the *hibakusha* of their experiences, and the children's revoicing of the stories they heard, shared between different cultural groups (in this instance, all belonging to one broad National culture), both outside and inside of the school. Storytelling as revoicing and as a form of narrative learning afforded the children authority and authorship in their learning, and contributed to reflexive understandings of

both language and culture. This type of engagement also opens a space for the fostering of multiperspectivity, i.e., an understanding that "narratives [involve] varying spatial and temporal scales, varying agency and plots, and varying types of historiography" (Kropman, van Boxtel & van Drie, 2020, p. 2), a central component of intercultural interaction and mediation (e.g., Council of Europe, 2018), akin to the concept of decentring (Candelier et al., 2012). In Yuki-sensei's practice, storying was an essential part of introducing foreign culture to the foreign language classroom, while avoiding as much as possible the essentialization (or folklorization; McDowell, 2010; Yamamoto, Brenzinger & Villalón, 2008) of other cultures and languages as 'curiosities.' This was achieved by having the participants (collaborators in producing the plurilingual videos) capitalize on their own lived experiences (storying memories of the cuisine), but also their interdisciplinary knowledge, as each individual collaborator introduced different aspects of their countries, languages, and cultures, that crossed subject/silo boundaries, such as natural sciences (e.g., geography, flora and fauna), history, ethnography (e.g., greetings, clothing, customs), and fine arts (e.g., crafts, visual representations), amongst others. The plurality of voices also gave recognition to the minority languages within Japan, as used by speakers of Japanese in their daily lives.

Experiential learning involving exposure not only to other languages and cultures, but considered within and across the frameworks of different subject boundaries, allows the children to become authors of their own learning, summarized succinctly by Liddicoat and Scarino (2016):

> […] language learners are interpreters in multiple senses, as they use the language they are learning to work towards interpreting and creating meaning in interaction. In this way, they are interpreters of another linguistic and cultural system, and they are also interpreters of the experience of learning itself. (p.26)

Developing the learning opportunities that allowed for this rich cross-fertilization of language and subject knowledge required the teachers to mobilize their full plurilingual and didactic repertoires, and also to rely on the support networks of teachers, ALTs, and researchers around them. It is this cumulative effort that has implications for teacher training, and is what the next section will explore.

7.2 Implications for Teacher Training

It has been said that those who take up foreign language teaching are often those that have succeeded in the language education systems that they have experienced (若林、2016). Given the fact that the learners such teachers are entrusted with will not necessarily have the same trajectories, nor enjoy the same successes, teachers have been called upon not to simply teach in the way that they were taught, but to consistently question and explore alternatives in their pedagogies (森住、2020; 若林、2016).

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, much of the literature on foreign languages in Japanese elementary schools currently focusses on English(-only), and more specifically, English communication skills education. This, in part, reinforces the Chomskyan division of knowledge and competence, with the underlying assumption that enough practice with the forms of language (a focus on explicit form, assumed to develop *competence*) will eventually lead to internalized knowledge, or implicit understanding of language and languaging processes. Although, as discussed in Chapter 2, this idea has been rejected within the academic community for several decades (remember, for instance, that Hymes argued communication was an emergent property reliant on both interlocuters, and "dependent upon both (tacit) knowledge and (ability for) use," 1972, p. 282), the idea still informs thinking on teacher training, with much of the focus being on how to improve classroom English ability in Japanese teachers (e.g., 山森、2013; Asaoka, 2019). The implication is that improved English ability in teachers will subsequently be passed on to their children, and thereby improve the children's communicative English skills. This paradigm persists in spite of recognition by MEXT that the combined hours of learning at elementary schools (210 class hours total) are insufficient to develop functional ability in English (research attests to this, as children who did not experience English FLE at elementary school demonstrate a similar English language ability to their peers who did within the first year of secondary education: Uematsu, 2015).

This focus on English-only skills has three potentially negative ramifications for elementary school FLE: First, it serves to perpetuate the idea that foreign language teaching requires a high degree of mastery in the target language, and thereby is a source of anxiety for teachers who feel their English ability is insufficient (町田・内田、2015; Machida, 2016); secondly, it neglects the realities of bilingual education (Grosjean, 2008), the complexities of navigating foreign languages as supported by plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997];

Lüdi & Py, 2009; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020), and how these repertoires can be developed in children, with respect to their educational needs, and the realities of the linguistically and culturally diversifying societies in which they live; finally, it propagates the hidden curriculum of double monolingualism, in which only Japanese-English bilingualism is considered important, and other languages inconsequential.

It was cognizance of these issues that led both teachers in this thesis to plurilingual education. Plurilingual education is a relatively new field in Japan, one that is not yet embraced by macro-level policy, but primarily promoted by academics. Here, however, it has become a grassroots approach, as the methodologies were sought out and developed by the practitioners themselves, and plurilingualism continues to inform their didactic repertoires, allowing them to go beyond the monolingual bias in teaching while continuing to 'do what needs to be done.'

7.2.1 Teachers' Plurilingual Didactic Repertoires

In discussing teacher training, it is here I would like to return to the notion of teacher's didactic repertoires. In the methodology section of this paper, in which I discussed the notion of *currere* (Pinar, 1975) and its centrality to the polyethnographic method I have adopted in the majority of the research of this thesis, I also borrowed Cadet's (2004) definition of didactic repertoires, a notion that resonates with *currere*:

> Ces savoirs et savoir-faire se forgent à partir de modèles de références socioculturels (le rôle de l'enseignant dans une société donnée et les représentations qui en découlent) et scolaires intériorisés (tout ce qui a trait au passé personnel de l'apprenant), acquis par expérience, observation et/ou par imitation, et à partir de nouveaux modèles de références théoriques et pratiques de formation professionnelle pédagogique (type de formation suivie et discours explicites tenus dans le(s) lieu(x) de formation) proposés et rendus disponibles durant la formation. L'ensemble des modèles renvoie par conséquent à la notion de culture(s) éducative(s) à laquelle (auxquelles) les étudiants - en tant qu'individus, que citoyens, qu'apprenants - ont été/sont exposés dans une société donnée et à un moment donné

> knowledge and know-how are forged on the basis of socio-cultural (the role of the teacher in a given society and the resulting representations) and internalized academic (everything related to the learner's personal background) reference nodes, acquired through experience, observation, and/or imitation, and on the basis of new theoretical and practical reference models for professional teacher training (type of training followed and explicit discourse held in the place(s) of training), proposed and made available during the training. The set of models, therefore, refers to the notion of educational culture(s) to which students – as individuals, as citizens, as learners – have been/are exposed to in a given society and at a given time. (Cadet, 2004, pp. 61-62)

I hope that at this point of the thesis, it should be clear just how *un*remarkable it is that Cadet's definition of didactic repertoire is almost an echo of one of the original definitions of plurilingual and pluricultural competence:

> the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw. (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997], p. 11)

The plurilingual social actor, and the choices she/he (is able to) make are also 'forged on the basis of the socio-cultural,' as they are influenced by the roles of languages and cultures, and their resulting representations, in the societies in which they live. Experiences of several languages and cultures (which can, of course, all be within the scope of a broader national language or culture) become the reference nodes through which they navigate, and mediate, linguistic and (inter)cultural interactions.

Where current teacher training is lacking, however, is the focus on skills, rather than the wholistic nature of these repertoires. Just as Tōno 投野 (2013) seemingly misinterpreted plurilingualism as inherently related to the number of languages of a speaker, and proceeded to translate and elaborate on can-do lists and descriptors for English skills alone, skill-only teacher training belies

the realities of language use in an increasingly diverse society. In this sense, when considering foreign languages the 'reference models for professional teacher training (type of training followed and explicit discourse held in the place(s) of training),' at present are woefully inadequate – particularly when considering that the majority of teacher trainees have been successful learners within the established system, but will be tasked with the education of a greater diversity of learners.

Greater reflection is needed on the notions of linguistic competence and linguistic repertoires, and the realities of bilingual language use as explored in Chapter 2. As Japan continues to diversify, teachers will need to be able to address the needs of students who will likely have very different future trajectories, and increasingly, very different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The relationship between didactic repertoires and visual linguistic autobiographies was explored in Chapter 4, and may present one concrete tool (amongst others) for examining bilingual realities, one that can readily be brought into teacher education. Such activities may also help to heighten awareness of multimodal semiotic resources, vital aspects of communication that do not fit neatly into traditional language skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking).

Another aspect that requires treatment in teacher training courses that focus on English is the nature of World Englishes (or English as a lingua franca), directly related to the realities of bilingual use. As the majority of English speakers in the world are not monolingual, and as bilinguals' language use is qualitatively different from that of monolinguals (Chapter 2, section 2.1.1), there is a need to foster language awareness for interaction with such speakers, particularly in Japan, whose majority learners, as well as the immigrant population, are overwhelming likely to be users of English as either a second or foreign language.

The next sub-section will address a (usually transient) foreign population at elementary schools, ostensibly invited to promote internationalization, but one that is also neglected in teacher training: ALTs.

7.2.2 Assistant Language Teachers

In the discussion section of Chapter 5, I pointed out that team teaching with ALTs is essentially non-existent in teacher training programs. As many teachers first experience team teaching in the classroom itself, any prior information they receive about ALTs likely comes from the Course of Study or teacher training documents that portray ALTs as (monolingual) native English speakers.

The problems with these representations were discussed in the chapter, particularly in light of the remarkable linguistic and cultural diversity represented by the ALT population: More than half speak a language other than Japanese or English, and previous research (i.e., 上智大学、2017) suggests that around a third come from countries outside the traditional Anglosphere. Furthermore, as ALTs have a variety of different educational backgrounds, as a population, they have the potential to contribute to plurilingual STEAM education in ways that have hitherto been unexplored (also a limitation in this thesis; see section 7.3).

While the impact of 'hiding away' ALTs' repertoires on ALTs themselves was discussed in Chapter 5, here I would like to briefly return to the issue to discuss it from the broader perspective of language education. In macro-level policy, ALTs are promoted primarily to provide linguistic (English) support to make up for a perceived deficit in the Japanese teacher population (文部科学省、2017a). However, as examined in the first half of the chapter, when a Japanese teacher feels comfortable with using English in the classroom (Masahito), the rationale for including an ALT in traditional TESOL-style classes seems to fall apart. Prior research has argued that, as children seem to demonstrate a greater engagement in culture-centred lessons with ALTs, it may be worth focussing more on their 'cultural informant' role in the classroom (e.g., Pearce, 2020a). As my survey research demonstrated that many plurilingual ALTs also demonstrate a desire to include a greater degree of both linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom, and in light of the pitfalls of English-only teaching, I argued that a reimagining of the roles of ALTs was necessary, and that it would likely be more meaningful to consider ALTs as plurilingual actors (in the sense of Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009[1997]), and to incorporate as much as possible their full repertoires in the FLE classroom.

The ALT handbook, a commonly distributed guide for JET Programme ALTs suggests that ALTs should "speak in [their] native language as much as possible[98]" as this is "a convincing demonstration that a foreign language is a real language that can be used for communication" (CLAIR, 2013, p. 43). I would argue, as I have in Chapter 5, that a display of the full repertoire, inclusive of both Japanese and languages other than English would be a more genuine representation of communicating in foreign languages, and better aligned with the overall goals

[98] I will not hesitate to point out the irony of the wording 'native language' here. While the handbook, like other related documents, clearly means English, this is demonstrably not the native language of many ALTs.

for elementary school foreign languages, to develop the "fundamental qualities and abilities for engaging in foreign language communication" (文部科学省、2017c, p. 156).

Such a reimagining of team teaching, however, is not likely to be possible unless teacher trainees are made aware of the plurilingual and culturally diverse nature of the ALT population. Just as I argued in the previous section (echoing others: 大山、2019a; 吉村・ヤング、2016) for a greater taking up of plurilingual repertoires, and plurilingual notions of linguistic competence in training, a greater awareness of what ALTs bring to the classroom is necessary. This awareness includes the specialised non-linguistic knowledge that ALTs have in their educational backgrounds, knowledge that could readily be put to use through activities such as the school lunches project in Chapter 6 (in which present and former ALTs were indeed contributors).

Until both plurilingual (and didactic) repertoires and ALTs are given greater recognition in teacher training, however, this is unlikely to become a reality. If the only knowledge about ALTs is that they are 'English supporters,' then feelings amongst the ALT community of being 'dancing monkeys,' or that they are required to act as a "stereotypical *gaijin* [外人: foreigner]" (read: English(-only) speaker; Menard-Warwick & Leung, 2017, p. 15) are likely to persist. The probable, and unfortunate, outcoming of maintaining this status quo is that it leaves team teaching in the conundrum it was when introduced on a large scale more than three decades ago; meaningful team teaching being a " nothing more than a fluke" (若林、1989, p. 13).

7.2.3 Collaboration

Team teaching with ALTs necessitates collaboration: Two teachers in the classroom function differently to one alone, and, as several ALTs noted in section 5.3.3.1, while there are limitations and constraints, many lessons are at least to a degree jointly planned between ALTs and their Japanese teacher colleagues. It also is necessary here to point out the importance of collaboration in a more general sense, in the implementation of plurilingual (STEAM) lessons.

Up until this point, I have examined the trajectories of two exceptional language teachers and the plurilingual (STEAM) practice in which they engage. It must be reiterated that while their day-to-day practices are indeed grassroots, and sprang from the teachers' own *currere*, and questioning about their students' needs, as well as deeper meanings behind (foreign) language education, they would likely be the first to admit that they could not have done it alone. The peace learning and school lunches project attest to that. The former was (and is) a school-wide project that all teachers

and children engage in, bolstered by collaboration from communities outside of the school, including professors and students at the university, and of course, the *hibakusha*. The latter is an ongoing project, with collaborators including colleagues of Yuki-sensei and Emiko-sensei, the librarians, the school lunch staff, other staff at the school and ALTs, researchers, and members of the broader community donating and lending artefacts, and of course, creating the plurilingual videos.

Both teachers also actively engage in broader academic communities and research (e.g., 安達・阿部・北野・諸木、2019; 入澤、2014; 2021; 大山・北野・濱田、2021; 北野・松延・酒井、2018), and collaborate with other teachers, researchers, and community members outside of their schools. They are constantly updating their practices, and rely on the support and collaboration of such communities to both develop their practices, and in many instances, to implement them. As mentioned several times already, teacher training is presently focussed on skills development and improving the English ability of individual teachers. This focus can drive teachers to believe they must master all aspects of their teaching as individuals. The plurilingual practice in this thesis shows that it is rather through collaboration that such rich learning opportunities are created. It is therefore my final recommendation for teacher training to give a greater emphasis on collaboration, and continued learning and professional development throughout teachers' careers. After all, teachers' didactic repertoires are never *completed*, nor their 引き出し (hikidashi) (drawers) 'filled.'

7.2.3.1 Collaboration with Researchers: All Roads May Lead to Plurilingualism, but Some Remain Unpaved

While both Kana-sensei and Yuki-sensei initially embarked on their plurilingual practices as individual practitioners, and it is their voices and experiences that have rightly formed the core of this thesis, the role of the research team cannot go entirely unmentioned. For instance, both practitioners recognize the importance of their practice being 'legitimised' through the application of plurilingual theory. As mentioned in the introduction and in Chapter 2, plurilingual education and theory in the Japanese context have hitherto been almost exclusively the domain of researchers and academics, and while there is support for plurilingualism on a theoretical level (e.g., 鳥飼・大津・江利川・斎藤、2017), we still lack studies of practice and teacher training.

It is this lack of studies, as well as recognition in teacher training, that can potentially isolate plurilingual practitioners (remember that Kana-sensei and Yuki-sensei were entirely unaware of each other before the research in this thesis began), who may be perceived as 'going against the grain' of English-only teaching: Remember that Yuki-sensei feels the "pressure to do what other schools are doing" (section 4.3.2). In the same section, I mentioned that 'the encounter with the new ideas brought about by plurilingualism offers forms of reconciliation with their ideals of the teaching profession by legitimising, in their eyes, classroom practices that are often distorted in the eyes of their colleagues and parents' – while the teachers' practices are undoubtedly their own, the connections with new ideas brought about by plurilingualism often resulted from the input of the researchers, and our involved also helped to foster new communities of practice.

Despite the richness of the practice that the teachers engage in (Chapter 6), and that this practice does not go 'beyond the bounds' of macro-level policy (i.e., the legally-binding Course of Study), but rather results from careful consideration of the documents (returned to in the next sub-section), this isolation of plurilingual practitioners needs to be countered by a greater recognition of plurilingualism in teacher training and in the wider rhetoric of (foreign) language education. One path towards this will involve much more practitioner/practice research, the implications of which may help to 'pave the roads' between theory, practice, and wider policy, by explicating the connections between plurilingual education at a theoretical level and (foreign) language education as conducted in schools. A greater focus on practice may indeed help to improve understanding of both plurilingual education and the value of plurilingual practices, as Kana-sensei remarks on the reaction of parents to her *Gengo Bunka* practice:

> 大勢の人は「言語・文化」には興味がない。英語をやってくれるかどうかっていうところが一番の関心事なので、外国の人が来て英語をやってくれているなら、オールオッケーみたいな。[…] 「言語・文化」をできるだけ 1 年に 1 回か 2 年間に 1 回か親に見てもらう、参観でやるんですけど、それに関しては結構好評でした。親も一緒に考えて楽しいから「こういうことを大事にしてたんだな」っていうのは、授業見たら納得してくれる人は結構いました 。

> A lot of them aren't really interested in *Gengo Bunka*. [To them,] so long as a foreigner comes in and teachers English, then all is well. […] I try as much as possible to include *Gengo Bunka* in open classes for the parents, once a year, or once every two, and [when I do,] it's quite popular. The parents really enjoy getting involved and working together with their children, and a lot of them appear to be convinced [of *Gengo Bunka*'s value], reacting like "oh, so that's what's important in this class." (Kana-sensei, interview, May 2020).

The parents that Kana-sensei refers to are initially only interested in English, and appear not to understand the value of the plurilingual practice in her classes. However, upon experiencing and engaging with the classes themselves, *Gengo Bunka* is evaluated highly, and the parents readily grasp the importance of Kana-sensei's practice.

In research, the situation is much the same. As mentioned in Chapter 2, while some advocate for plurilingual education in principal, many also argue that 'the hurdle is too high for elementary school teachers who lack knowledge of various foreign languages, or that Japanese elementary school children are not prepared to engage with several language varieties simultaneously, as their "exposure to multiple foreign languages in daily life is quite limited" (Koishi, 2012, p. 65). It is necessary to demonstrate, through greater emphasis on practice-oriented research that neither is 'the hurdle too high' for teachers, nor that Japanese schoolchildren are incapable of dealing with multiple languages simultaneously, or deeper consideration of linguistic concepts. I hope in some part that this thesis, particularly Chapter 6, has begun to demonstrate this.

7.2.4 Children's Learning Goals: The Course of Study

In light of the considerations above, and of the practice and learning outlined primarily in Chapter 6 of this thesis, which has hopefully provided readers with a renewed understanding of plurilingual approaches, I would like, in closing, to return again to the goals of foreign language education in elementary schools:

> 外国語によるコミュニケーションにおける見方・考え方を働かせ，外国語による聞くこと，読むこと，話すこと，書くことの言語活動を通して，コミュニケー ションを図る基礎となる資質・能力を次のとおり育成することを目指す。

⑴ 外国語の音声や文字，語彙，表現，文構造，言語の働きなどについて，日本語と外国語との違いに気付き，これらの知識を理解するとともに，読むこと，書くことに慣れ親しみ，聞くこと，読むこと，話すこと，書くことによる実際のコミュニケーションにおいて活用できる基礎的な技能を身に付けるようにする。

⑵ コミュニケーションを行う目的や場面，状況などに応じて，身近で簡単な事柄について，聞いたり話したりするとともに，音声で十分に慣れ親しんだ外国語の語彙や基本的な表現を推測しながら読んだり，語順を意識しながら書いたりして，自分の考えや気持ちなどを伝え合うことができる基礎的な力を養う。

⑶ 外国語の背景にある文化に対する理解を深め，他者に配慮しながら，主体的に外国語を用いてコミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度を養う。

Through listening, reading, speaking, and writing activities in foreign languages, the aim is to develop the fundamental qualities and abilities for engaging in foreign language communication in the following ways:

1) To become aware of the differences between Japanese and foreign languages in terms of speech sounds, written characters, expressions, sentence structures, language functions, etc., and, in addition to this understanding, to become familiar with reading and writing, as well as to acquire basic skills in listening, reading, speaking, and writing that can be used in actual communication.
2) To develop the basic abilities required to communicate one’s thoughts and feelings regarding simple and familiar matters, with respect to the purpose and situation in which communication is happening, through listening and speaking, as well as, based upon familiarity with the spoken voice, be able to read while intuiting the meanings of basic vocabulary and expressions, and be aware of word order while writing.
3) To deepen understanding of the culture behind foreign languages, and to cultivate an attitude towards communication that is both proactive and considerate of others. (文部科学省、2017c, p. 156)

At this point in the thesis, I hope it is clear to the reader how the plurilingual practice examined aligns with these goals. The plurilingual lens (Marshall & Moore, 2018) that I have applied throughout this thesis, i.e., that competence in languages is supported by an underlying plurilingual (and pluricultural) competence, informs both my views as a researcher, as well as the views of Kana-sensei and Yuki-sensei as practitioners, and this becomes the understanding of 'fundamental qualities and abilities' for engaging in foreign language communication.

Regarding the specifics, 'awareness of the differences between Japanese and foreign languages' is fostered through investigations of multiple systems of representation (such as the Mayan and Roman numerals, and also, different applications of the Roman alphabet, not explicitly addressed in this thesis, but taken up in 北野・松延・酒井、2018; Moore, Oyama, Pearce & Kitano, 2020). To 'be able to read while intuiting the meanings of basic vocabulary and expressions,' is a much more complex task than a cursory reading might suggest, and requires reflexive understanding of language and navigations of (inter)subjective meanings, highly abstract understandings and abilities; although recall the discussion of the meaning of the word 'life' (命) by Kana-sensei's sixth-grade children, which she ascribed to her plurilingual practice: "I thought this had to be connected to what they were learning in their *Gengo Bunka* class" (Chapter 6, section 6.2). It is this type of understanding that is fostered by plurilingual activities, and leads to a 'deepening of understanding of the culture behind foreign languages' and 'cultivation of an attitude… considerate of others' – recall also the child's kneejerk negative reaction to the *hongi* greeting (Chapter 6, section 6.1.4.2), but how this was quickly dispelled by her connection of the greeting with her prior learning.

Finally, as I have framed much of the discussion of pedagogy in this thesis as counter-discourse to double monolingualism, I must conclude by pointing out what should now be obvious: This degree of openness to the other, and the unknown, and the reflexive understanding of languages (including their mother tongues) demonstrated by such young learners, would surely not have been developed so readily in classes focussed on English skills alone. The learning engendered through these plurilingual approaches is likely to remain with the children, and support their future engagements with languages, both foreign and otherwise, and their ability to be competent actors in a plurilingual world.

7.3 Limitations and Possibilities for Future Study

The research in this thesis was broad, and as such, it necessarily had several limitations. It is important to note these limitations here, as they also demonstrate potential avenues for future study that, to my knowledge, remain largely un- (or at least under-) investigated.

As for the first (set of) limitations, perhaps the most obvious concerns Chapter 5, on ALTs. The studies in Chapter 5 were largely exploratory – I wished to examine how plurilingual ALTs operate within a double monolingual paradigm, and also to establish a general picture of the linguistic and cultural repertoires of the population. As such, my data was limited – exploring only three lessons of Obada's, and interviews with eight plurilingual ALTs. There is a need to explore further how plurilingual ALTs might employ their repertories in the classroom. I suggested that *Éveil aux langues* may be one potential approach, but was not able to conduct classroom observations or other research on its actual implementation in team-taught classes (although see Oyama & Pearce, 2019), an area that remains ripe for further exploration. Another aspect of ALTs I touched upon repeatedly was the diversity in their educational backgrounds, and the potential this has to be capitalized on through approaches such as STEAM. Nevertheless, in my survey research, I did not examine the educational backgrounds of ALTs, nor address in interviews how they bring this knowledge to the classroom. If my proposed 'reimagining of ALTs' is to be inclusive of their disciplinary repertoires, there is a need to examine these, too.

The second limitation was also due to the broad scope of the research projects of this thesis. The children's learning that occurred, while I believe to be insightful, and revealing of the benefits of plurilingual approaches over (double) monolingual strategies, was nevertheless limited to a report on the implementation of plurilingual approaches alone. While ethical implications must, of course, be considered, there is potential for exploring the long-term effects of children who have experienced such approaches in comparison to those who have not, along the lines of turn of the century research projects in Europe such as *Evlang* and *Janua Linguarum* (Candelier & Kervran, 2018).

Finally, while STEAM was considered as an interdisciplinary approach, the relationship between plurilingual language learning and content knowledge has not yet been fully explored. In fact, while it was beyond the scope of the research, the English language literature on STEAM, when raising questions of language, has not yet sufficiently dealt with second or foreign languages, but remains rather focussed on attempts to develop a 'common language,' presumedly English

(Yakman, 2008; although see Mchombo, 2019). In the French literature, PASTEL (*Plurilinguismes, AST (Art, Sciences, Technologie) et Littératies*: Moore, 2018) has begun to address the potential of plurilingualism as Language Arts (also beginning to appear in English: Moore, 2021). When applying a plurilingual lens to language competence, the potential for plurilingual STEAM, both theoretically and in practice, seems to harbour much potential for future study, particularly in light of Coste, Moore, and Zarate's (2009[1997]) increasingly relevant plurilingual view of education, which I will cite again here to close out this section:

> in a world where there is more and more to learn and where established education systems are less and less the sole dispensers of knowledge, it becomes part of the still equally necessary function of these systems to provide individual pupils with methods and instruments enabling them to learn out of school as well. (p. 26)

7.4 Conclusion

The global world is not just English. The realities of Japanese elementary schools, as raised in this thesis, attest to that. Portuguese, Chinese, Filipino, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Korean are amongst the many other languages represented by children in Japanese schools. Nor is Japan, despite its reputation for homogeneity, entirely monolingual – it boasts a wealth of dialects and indigenous languages. Each of these languages, and the many not explicitly named here, offer different lenses for viewing the world, and for the building of knowledge. When it comes to macro-level language education policy in Japan, however, the plurilingual reality of the world seems too readily forgotten, and the potential for these languages to contribute to the plurilingual repertoires of children as 'global citizens,' too easily ignored.

The research in this thesis, too, attests to the power of plurilingualism in navigating concepts and developing understandings: While I have primarily written in English, this thesis is the culmination of navigations of Japanese, English, and French, with a little *Te Reo*, and of course, the plurality of languages incorporated into the practices of the teachers involved.

It is with reflection both of this research process, and of the languages that children in Japan bring to their schools, that I believe, in the Japanese context, there is a sprouting movement that is beginning to represent a genuine shift from 'plurilingualism for the elites, to plurilingualism for the masses' (*Du plurilinguisme pour les élites au plurilinguisme pour les masses*: Nishiyama,

2017). I also believe that greater recognition of plurilingualism in teacher training, in policy, and as a lens in research, has the potential to prepare the Japanese populace for a more globalizing world, and for language learning in the world at large.

Finally, I would like to conclude this thesis, as I opened my acknowledgements, with a Te Reo Māori saying, one that reflects the combined efforts that have resulted in this completed document:

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini

My strength is not that of a single warrior, but that of many

- Wiremu Te Tau Huata

(translation by Aotearoa New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2021, np)

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APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

The following conventions have been adapted from Schegloff (2007, p. 265).

Note: these transcription conventions have been followed in all unique data provided in this thesis. Examples given in chapter 3 have come from different sources, and do not necessarily follow the same conventions.

Symbol	Meaning
[[	A left bracket on two successive lines indicates a point of overlap onset, whether at the start of an utterance or later.
]]	A right bracket on two successive lines indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances both end, where one ends while the other continues, or simultaneous moments in overlaps which continue.
.	(period) falling intonation
?	(question mark) rising intonation
,	(comma) continuing intonation
-	(hyphen) abrupt cut-off
::	(colon(s)) prolonging of sound
word	(underlining) stress
word	the longer the underlining, the greater the stress
WORD	(all capitals) loud speech
°word°	(degree symbols) quiet speech
↑word	(up arrow) raised pitch
↓word	(down arrow) lowered pitch
>word<	(more than, less than) quicker speech
<word>	(less than, more than) slower speech
<	(less than) jump start or rushed start
hh	(series of h's) aspiration or laughter
.hh	(h's preceded by period) inhalation
(hh)	(h's in parentheses) aspiration or laughter inside word boundaries
=	(equal sign) latch or continuing speech with no break in between
(0.4)	(number in parentheses) length of a silences in tenths of a second
(.)	(period in parentheses) micro-pause: 0.2 seconds or less
( )	(empty parentheses) inaudible talk
(word)	(word or phrase in parentheses) transcriptionist doubt
$word$	(dollar signs) smiley voice

Additional Symbols
(adapted from Seedhouse, 2004 for relevance to the language classroom)

Symbol	Meaning
Hai ((tr.:yes))	(italics followed by double parentheses) Non-English words are italicized and are followed by an English translation in double parentheses
((raises hand))	(double parentheses) non-speech activity or transcriptionist comment

[supotsu]	In the case of inaccurate pronunciation of an English word, an approximation is given in square brackets
L:	Unidentified learner
L1:	(L with a number) Identified learner
LL:	Several or all learners simultaneously

Original Symbols

The following symbols have been adopted to differentiate between teachers/observers.

HRT	Homeroom teacher
ALT	Assistant language teacher
OBS	Observer

APPENDIX B: ALT QUESTIONNAIRES

English version:

1. How old are you?
2. What is your gender?
3. How many combined years have you lived in Japan?
4. Are you currently employed as an ALT? (f no, please complete the remainder of the survey with regards to your last experience as an ALT).
5. How many combined years have you worked as an ALT at elementary schools?
6. In what prefecture/municipality do you teach?
7. What is your current employment status?
8. What is your country of origin? (Where you were born: If you are a JET, and this is different to the country you applied to the JET Programme through, please specify)
9. What is (are) your native language(s)?
10. What is your approximate level of Japanese?
11. What languages other than your native language or Japanese do you use or know, and what is your rough proficiency in them (Beginner, Intermediate, Advanced, Native or Native-like)? If none, please write 'none'.
12. How often do you use Japanese in your lessons?
13. How often do you include languages other than English or Japanese in your lessons?
14. Any extra information related to the questions above (or anything else?)

Japanese version:

1. 年齢を教えてください。
2. 性別を教えてください。
3. 日本に住んでどれくらいになりますか。
4. 現在 ALT として働いていますか？（過去に ALT の経験がある方は、アンケート過去の経験に基づいてご記入ください）。
5. ALT として働き始めてどれくらいになりますか。
6. 現在どこでお勤めになっていますか（県・市町村）？
7. 現在の勤務形態を教えてください。
8. 出身国を教えてください（JET プログラム参加者：応募した国と出身国が異なる場合、両方をご記入ください）。
9. あなたの母言語を教えてください（複数の場合は全てをご記入ください）。
10. あなたの日本語のレベルを教えてください。
11. 日本語と母言語以外に使用できる言語はありますか？そして、その言語のレベルはどれくらいですか？使用できる言語をすべてご記入ください。（例：タガログ語：中級）。日本語と母（国）語以外に使用できる言語が無い場合、「なし」とご記入ください。
12. 授業では日本語をどのくらいの頻度で使いますか？
13. 授業では日本語と英語以外を、どのくらいの頻度で使いますか？
14. 上記の質問に関連して、何か付け足すべき情報があればお書きください。

APPENDIX C: ALTS' LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

Table 8.1 ALTs' native languages varieties other than English (number)

African-American Vernacular English (1), Afrikaans (1), Cebuano (2), Dutch (1), Filipino (4), French (3), German (1), Hawaiian Creole (1), Hebrew (1), Hindi (1), Igorot (1), Ilocano (2), Italian (2), Japanese (2), Kapampangan (1), Kinaray-a (1), Mandarin Chinese (1), Portuguese (1), Romanian (1), Russian (1), Spanish (3), Tagalog (4), Urdu (1)

Table 8.2 Major additional languages and self-reported ability (multiple responses included)

Language (number)	Self-reported ability: Number
French (31)	Beginner: 10, Intermediate: 12, Advanced: 6, Native or native-like: 1, Other: Beginner to intermediate (1), Conversational (1)
German (12)	Beginner: 7, Intermediate: 3, Native or native-like: 1, Other: CEFR B2 (1)
Korean (10)	Beginner: 8, Intermediate: 2
Mandarin Chinese (10)	Beginner: 6, Intermediate: 1, Advanced: 1 Other: Dinner table conversation level (1), unspecified (1)
Spanish (45)	Beginner: 21, Intermediate: 13, Advanced: 3, Native or native-like: 4 Other: Beginner, but intermediate listening comprehension (1), Understanding (1), unspecified (1), high beginner (1)

Table 8.3 Other additional languages of ALTs (multiple responses included)

Language (number) [Self-reported ability: Number]
Arabic (1) [Beginner:1], Ancient Greek (1) [Advanced:1], ASL (3), [Beginner: 1, Other: not specified (1), high beginner (1)], Basque (1) [Beginner: 1], Bikol (1) [Advanced: 1], Cantonese (2) [Beginner: 1, Advanced: 1], Cree (1) [Beginner: 1], Danish (2) [Beginner: 2], Dutch (1) [Advanced: 1], Filipino (1) [Beginner: 1], Haitian Creole (1) [Advanced: 1], Hawaiian (3) [Beginner: 2, Intermediate: 1], Hebrew (3) [Beginner: 2, Other: Biblical Hebrew, beginner (1)], Iloco (1) [Advanced: 1], Indonesian (1) [Beginner: 1], Italian (5) [Beginner: 4, Advanced: 1], Irish (4) [Beginner: 1, Intermediate: 2, Advanced: 1], Kannada (1) [Other: not specified (1)], Khmer (1) [Beginner: 1], Korean (1) [Intermediate: 1], Latin (1) [Advanced: 1], Malay (1) [Advanced: 1], Māori (1) [Beginner: 1], Mongolian (1) [Beginner: 1], Norwegian (1) [Intermediate: 1], Portuguese (2) [Beginner: 2], Romanian (1) [Beginner: 1], Russian (2) [Beginner: 1, Native or native-like: 1], Scots (1) [Native or native-like: 1] , Sotho (1) [Intermediate: 1], Swedish (1) [Beginner: 1], Thai (2) [Beginner: 2], Tagalog (1) [Beginner: 1], Vietnamese (1) [Advanced: 1], Other: "3 Chinese dialects, intermediate."

APPENDIX D: THEMES/CODES FROM THE SCHOOL LUNCHES PROJECT

Table 8.4 Theme definitions, codes, and sub-codes

Theme	Definition	Codes	Sub-codes
Repeating content	Verbatim reproduction of content either from the video or other sources	Culinary	Culinary
		Ethnographic	Greetings; Clothing; Artefacts; Art; Craft; Customs, Appearance
		Natural Science	Flora/fauna, geography
		Language	Language
		General	Punctuation, spelling, pronunciation
Perceptions	Reported feelings and opinions on the content	(see above)	(see above)
Analyses	Noticing, comparing, or describing resulting from the examination of content or artefacts	Noticing Comparing Describing	Ethnographic: Greetings; Clothing; Artefacts; Art; Craft; Customs, Appearance, Natural Science; Flora/fauna, geography, Language: Punctuation, spelling, pronunciation, Other
Retelling Content	Recasting content in the children's own words, as opposed to verbatim repeating	Retelling	Story content; characters' behaviours
Questioning	Posing of questions that arose from, but were not explained by, the content or artefacts	Questioning	Questioning
Other	General note-taking, single words, etc.	Other	Single words, note-taking

Note: For the theme 'analyses', the codes noticing, comparing, describing for analyzing the children's reflections of display content (Table 8.5), due to the wide variety of content, the sub-codes were content-specific. In other reflections, the codes and sub-codes were reversed.

Table 8.5 Video codes and examples (264 codes)

Theme	Code	Examples (Grade)
Repeating content (95:36)	Culinary (24: 21)	"Eaten when it's cold" (4th grade); "Simple, nutritious, and easy to make" (4th grade); "Easy, rich, cheap, nutritious and delicious" (5th grade"
	Ethnographic (21:4)	"There was a lot of meat in the supermarket" (4th grade); "Māori people came to New Zealand a long time ago" (5th grade)

	Natural Sciences (38:11)	“You can catch a lot of snapper/sea bream” (4th grade); “7 sheep for every person” (4th grade); “Lots of sheep and they can cause roadblocks” (5th grade); “Many different kinds of birds and lots of nature” (5th grade)
	Language (4:0)	“They use Māori [language]” (4th grade); “New Zealand = Aotearoa” (4th grade)
	General (8:0)	“New Zealand’s population is small” (4th grade
Perceptions (34:72)	Culinary (17:36)	“Kumara soup looks rich and delicious” (4th grade); “I don’t want to eat it” (4th grade), “I got hungry” (5th grade); “I want to taste it soon!” (5th grade)
	Ethnographic (3:11)	“Māori people seem clever” (4th grade); “I was surprised at how they stored *kumara*” (5th grade); “Amazing they cook in the ground” (5th grade)
	Natural Sciences (12:15)	“There was lots of nature, I’d like to visit” (4th grade); “The mountains were beautiful” (4th grade); “The kiwis and penguins were really cute” (5th grade); “there were so many birds” (5th grade)
	Language (2:3)	“[His] Japanese was so fluent” (4th grade); “I thought New Zealand was just English, so I was surprised to hear (and hear about) Māori” (5th grade)
	General (0:7)	“I learned lots I didn’t know” (5th grade)
Analyses (9:3)	Ethnographic (5:0)	“They seem to use the ground a lot” (4th grade); “the houses were made of wood” (4th grade)
	Natural Sciences (3:1)	“It seems there is a lot of different kinds of wild animal” (4th grade); “I thought it was like Japan, because there were a lot of snapper” (5th grade)
	Language (1:2)	“In Māori, there is sometimes a line above the letters (like ā)” (4th grade); “In New Zealand, they call *shizen* [nature], nature” (5th grade)
Questioning (1:1)	Language (0:1)	“Why do they call it ‘kumara’?” (5th grade)
	General (1:0)	“Won’t dirt get in [if they cook in the ground]?” (4th grade)
Other (11:2)	Other (11:2)	(general note-taking, individual keywords, etc.)

Table 8.6 Māori picture book codes and examples (231 codes)

Theme	Code	Examples (Grade)
Repeating content (10:1)	Ethnographic (1:0)	“They [Māori people] used to live on islands” (4th grade)
	Natural Sciences (1:1)	“There were lots of birds” (5th grade)
	Language (8:0)	“Māori is pronounced similar to Japanese” (4th grade)
Perceptions (7:8)	Ethnographic (5:3)	“I was surprised that everyone eats a lot” (4th grade); “the [faces on] the sun and moon were a bit creepy” (5th grade)

	Natural Sciences (1:0)	"The night sky looked really beautiful" (4th grade)
	Language (1:2)	"There were too many English characters, I couldn't understand" (4th grade); "I didn't know what it meant, but I could pronounce it" (5th grade)
	General (0:3)	"Everything was really different to Japan" (5th grade)
Analyses (78:111)	Ethnographic (54:49)	"Even the young children are used to animals" (4th grade); "they were naked from the waist up" (4th grade); "lots of books were about the sun" (5th grade); "they really greeted by touching noses" (5th grade)
	Natural Sciences (7:10)	"Lots of the birds seemed to eat fruit" (4th grade); "most of the books had a lot of birds in them" (5th grade)
	Language (17:50)	"Most pages had the word 'tamaiti'" (4th grade); "lots of characters had a line about them" (4th grade); "the lines above the letters are only on short vowels" (5th grade)
	General (0:2)	"The game [in the book] look like 'tag'" (5th grade)
Retelling content (5:1)	Picture book stories (5:1)	"A woman wrapped the child in her own hair, and then, threw him in the river" (4th grade)
Questioning (0:5)	Ethnographic (0:2)	"I wonder if they like travels/adventures?" (5th grade)
	Language (0:3)	"I wondered what the — (m-dash) meant" (5th grade)
Other (4:1)	Connecting multimodal information (4:0), Other (0:1)	"They were cooking kumara on stones" (4th grade); "there were pictures of hāngi [in the books]" (4th grade) "Culture is different from country to country (5th grade)

Table 8.7 Display codes and examples (163 codes)

Theme	Code	Examples (Grade)
Repeating content (12:8)	Ethnographic (6:0)	"They wear charms (*pounamu*) too" (4th grade)
	Natural Sciences (1:4)	"The flightless bird can't see well, so it uses its beak to sniff out and eat bugs" (5th grade)
	General (5:4)	"They don't use much cash, more often cards" (5th grade)
Perceptions (13:13)	Ethnographic (2:0)	"It seems that birds are important to them" (4th grade)
	Natural Sciences (10:7)	"I thought there were lots of forests and oceans in the pictures, they were beautiful" (5th grade)
	General (1:6)	"I thought the postcards looked beautiful" (5th grade)

Analyses (44:67)	Comparing (16:11)	"The banknotes had faces on them, like Japan's" (4th grade); "I thought [the pounamu] was like the Japanese *magatama*" (5th grade)
	Describing (24:45)	"The charm was hard and smooth like a stone" (4th grade); "the passport was like a flipbook" (5th grade)
	Noticing (4:11)	"I thought their weaving techniques were advanced" (4th grade); "there were lots of things related to water in the pictures; pools, oceans, and boats" (5th grade)
Questioning (1:5)	General (1:5)	"Is sushi the same in NZ?" (5th grade); "500 yen is a banknote!? Why!?" (5th grade)

Table 8.8 'Today's discoveries' codes and examples (307 codes)

Theme	Code	Examples (Grade)
Repeating content (29:20)	Culinary (7:4)	"Kumara is… sweet potato!" (4th grade); "Kumara is sweet potato in Japanese" (5th grade)
	Ethnographic (9:5)	"Kumara were important to Māori people because they could store it" (4th grade); "The Māori people came across the see, like in *Moana*" (5th grade)
	Natural Sciences (9:8)	"There were 7 times more people than sheep" (4th grade); "The kiwi can't see very well" (5th grade)
	Language (4:3)	"New Zealand had both Māori and English" (5th grade)
Perceptions (54:59)	Culinary (6:9)	"Looking forward to the soup" (4th grade); "I want to try it" (5th grade)
	Ethnographic (27:7)	"New Zealanders look like they have survival skills" (4th grade); "I thought the way of storing kumara in the mountains was unique" (5th grade)
	Natural Sciences (8:19)	"I'd like to see the flightless birds sometime" (4th grade); "I was surprised you could see a lot of penguins in the evening" (5th grade)
	Language (8:2)	"It was difficult to read the books" (4th grade)
	General (5:22)	"Today was really fun" (5th grade)
Analyses (46:69)	Ethnographic (39:48)	"Many of the people didn't wear clothes on their upper body," "they had tattoos," "Many wore charms" (4th grade); "I wonder if there was a meaning for the tattoos?" "It seems that [pounamu] charms are important" (5th grade)
	Natural Sciences (0:6)	"There were actually many birds like the *kakapo* and the *kiwi* that can't fly or fly well" (5th grade)
	Language (7:14)	"There were lines above the vowels in Māori" (4th grade); "the lines in Māori were above the short vowels" (5th grade)
	General (0:1)	"There was a place like a parking area" (5th grade)

Retelling content (2:1)	Picture book stories (2:1)	"In the story, a woman picked up the [abandoned] child I think" (4th grade)
Questioning (1:5)	Ethnographic (1:2)	"There were a bunch of stones piled up, I wondered why?" (4th grade)
	Language (0:1)	"Why do they call sweet potato kumara?" (5th grade)
	General (0:2)	"I wonder who brought the kiwi doll" (5th grade)
Other (10:11)	Other	"The New Zealand money was real" (4th grade); "I want to learn more about other countries, too!" (5th grade)

APPENDIX E: SONG FOR PEACE

「この思いを未来へ」

平和って何だろう
平和って何だろう
それは遠い遠い夢じゃないはず
みんなが学校に行けること
友だちと遊べること
家族と一緒にいられること
おなかいっぱい食べられること
話し合える　笑いあえる
助け合える　わかりあえる
それは小さいけれど確かな平和

平和ってどうつくる
平和ってどうつくる
それは難しいことじゃないはず
平和な世界をえがいてみよう
考えよう
自由に意見を言い合おう
意見をしっかり聞き合おう
一人ひとりを　大切にしよう
思いやろう　行動しよう
小さな平和から大きな平和へ

平和にどう進む
平和にどう進む
まずは世界中が平和を願うこと
被爆者の声を聞いてみよう
深く知ろう
世界のできごとに目を向けよう
小さな行動からはじめよう
一人ひとりが思いを持とう
伝え合おう　広めていこう
自分が平和をつくる世界へ未来へ

※
この大空に　広がれ平和
変えていこう　この世界
小さな平和　大切にして
一人ひとりが未来をつくろう

※くりかえし

These thoughts, to the future

What is peace?
What is peace?
It can't be just a far-off dream.
That everyone can go to school,
Play with friends,
Be with family,
Eat our fill,
Talk together, laugh together,
Help each other, know each other;
A small but sure peace.

How to create peace?
How to create peace?
It can’t be that hard.
Let’s paint a picture of a world at peace,
And then we’ll see.
Let’s share our thoughts aloud,
Listen to each other carefully,
Treat all of us as precious,
Think of each other, take action,
Our small peace will grow.

How to get closer to peace?
How to get closer to peace?
The whole world must yearn for it.
Let's listen to the voices of the hibakusha,
Let’s know them deeply,
Let’s turn our eyes to the world,
Let's start with the small things we can do,
Let’s hold our own thoughts dear,
Let's tell each other, let's spread the word,
For a world, for a future, where we all can build peace.

(Refrain)
Peace, spread through the firmament,
It's time to change the world.
Cherish the small peaces,
Each and every one of us will make the future.

Figure 8.1 Song for peace (verse in bold added by the class in section 6.2)

※　著作権等

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