

*Promoting international posture through history as
content and language integrated learning (CLIL)
in the Japanese context*

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Abstract

This article uses the conceptual framework of second language willingness to communicate (L2 WTC), and in particular the contributory construct of international posture (IP; Yashima, 2002), to report on a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) course taught in the Japanese university context. The research follows up an exploratory, small-scale study with a focused qualitative investigation. Due to space restrictions the current paper reports only on the key qualitative findings and attempts to build a picture of how the theme of the course, Japanese international history, affected learners' IP, a construct that has been shown to be key to Japanese learners of English's L2 WTC (Yashima, 2002). It is shown that after completing the course, learners felt more connected to the wider world, and as a result IP developed in varied and meaningful ways, seemingly increasing L2 WTC and stimulating critical thinking facilities both within and without the classroom.

Keywords: content and language integrated learning, second language willingness to communicate, international posture, Japanese EFL

1. Introduction

There is an increasing awareness of the importance of context in English as a foreign language (EFL) pedagogy (Wedell & Malderez, 2013) and its influence on the provision and success of education systems around the globe. As Yashima (2002, p. 62) writes, “a careful examination of what it means to learn a language in a particular context is necessary before applying a model developed in a different context.” All contexts have their own characteristics, and the successful introduction of both educational reforms and new classroom methodologies is largely determined by how much weight and recognition educators and planners give to these factors (Wedell & Malderez, 2013). For example, in the Japanese context, where this study is based, learners have traditionally been regarded as being stronger in the passive language skills than the active ones, especially speaking (Lamie, 1998), although recent curricular reforms may be changing this (Lockley, Hirschel & Slobodniuk, 2012). Therefore, any methodology that aims at improving, for example, spoken L2 communication in Japan, needs to be carefully implemented and targeted with due consideration of both theory and practical conditions. This is not to suggest that there are no commonalities between diverse learning contexts, simply that educators should not blindly apply one “foolproof” model to another without first critically engaging with the particular idiosyncrasies of that environment.

This paper will use the empirical framework of second language willingness to communicate (L2 WTC; MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998) and in particular *international posture* (IP), which has been shown to be key to L2 WTC in the Japanese EFL context (Yashima, 2002). It will seek to show that IP may be addressed contextually through the instructional method of content and language integrated learning (CLIL), when the curricular content it is specifically targeted at forming and promoting higher feelings of IP.

The data available will address only one context; however, it is hoped that educators will be able to draw parallels with their own contextual conditions, extrapolate the findings and use the more generalisable literature review and discussion to inform other teaching and learning environments.

2. Literature review

2.1. Second language willingness to communicate

WTC was originally conceptualised for the first language communication field (McCroskey & Baer, 1985) but was reconfigured for the L2 context in 1998 by MacIntyre et al. L2 WTC is commonly presented as an heuristic pyramid (see

Figure 1), representing the mental processes engaged in by individuals as they decide whether to engage in L2 communication or not.

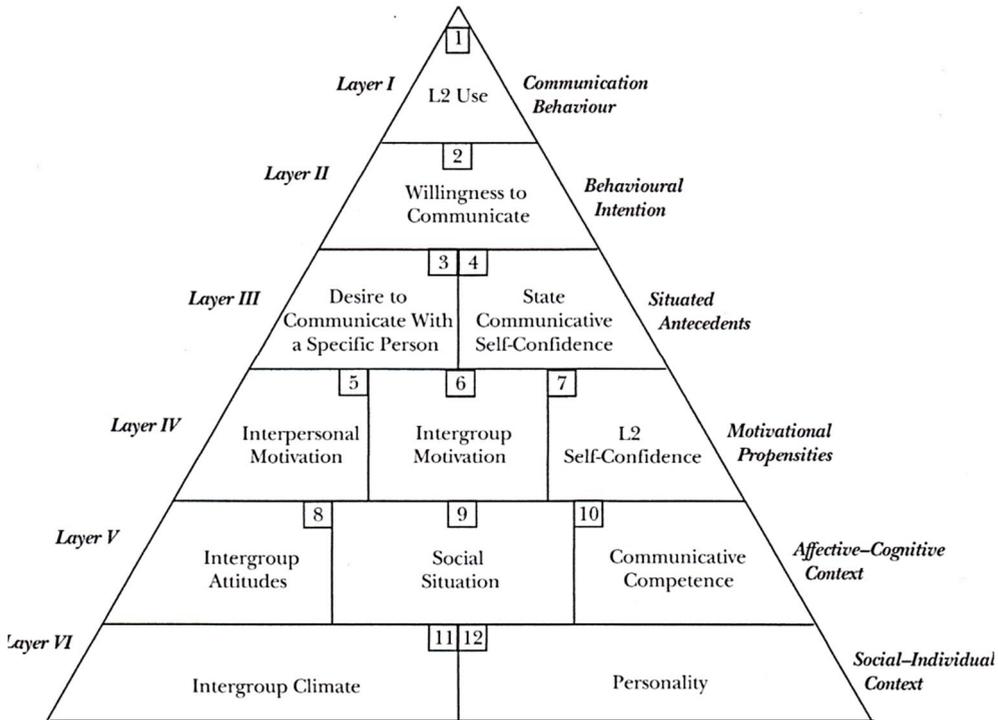


Figure 1 The L2 WTC heuristic pyramid (MacIntyre et al., 1998, p. 547)

L2 WTC “is the main cause of second language use,” (Yu, Li, & Gou, 2011, p. 253) and learners of foreign languages with higher L2 WTC tend to be more active in the use of the target language. As such, many authorities, (for example MacIntyre et al., 1998; Mercer, 2011), see the development of L2 WTC as one of the most desirable outcomes of foreign language learning (FLL) and therefore recommend curricula be designed specifically with its promotion in mind.

Although, as Figure 1 shows, L2 WTC has many contributory constructs, the most important are generally held to be FLL motivation and self-perceived communicative competence (SPCC), which flows from motivation, self-evaluation and FLL anxiety (MacIntyre et al., 1998; Dörnyei, 2005; Peng, 2014). High levels of self-evaluation and low levels of FLL anxiety are most likely to contribute to SPCC and hence to L2 WTC. SPCC seems to be a universal and non-context specific factor leading to L2 WTC (Peng & Woodrow, 2010).

Yashima (2002), who conducted the first study of L2 WTC in the Japanese EFL context, found that although the original Canadian study correlated closely with her findings, Japan differed in the relationship between motivation and L2

WTC; motivation was only directly correlated to L2 WTC when coupled with SPCC. It was not enough for learners to be motivated; they also needed to be confident in their spoken ability to be willing to communicate. Most importantly for this study, Yashima also found that Japanese learners with a higher degree of what she termed *international posture*, were more motivated and hence more inclined to partake in L2 communication.

Other studies in the wider East-Asian context have sought to separate the *desire to communicate* from a *willingness to communicate* (Wen & Clément, 2003; Zeng & Tan, 2014; Zhou, 2014). Wen and Clément's (2003) study found that although many learners stated a clear desire to enter into communication, their willingness, or unwillingness, to do so was contextually based in that the Chinese students were more concerned with peer and teacher judgment than linguistic outcomes. For Wen and Clément (2003) then, L2 WTC was not only a display of linguistic or communicative competence but also a socio-cultural and social-psychological phenomenon.

In South Korea, Edwards' (2011) study found that, aside from the original conception of L2 WTC, there were two additional significant factors that he called *intercultural complex* and *L1 audience sensitivity*. *Intercultural complex* referred to a socio-culturally constructed mixture of beliefs, attitudes, and values that South Korean learners have concerning the non-Korean world and how they compare themselves to that outside world. *L1 audience sensitivity* is similar to what Wen and Clément (2003) found concerning Chinese learners, namely that relative status and evaluation by others were key factors in whether a South Korean would be willing to communicate in any given situation (L1 and L2). If they perceived their own status as high in a particular context, L2 WTC would be higher; therefore L2 WTC appeared to swing on a socially constructed pendulum.

Different culturally based models of discussion and opinion forming may also play a role in the difference between *desire* and *willingness* (Peng & Woodrow, 2010). In Japanese, and possibly other East-Asian contexts, discussion patterns, indicative of *interdependent selves*, are often very different from European/North American contexts, which are indicative of *independent selves* (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yashima, 2013). *Independent selves* generally exhibit a more definitely opinionated egocentric focus, while *interdependent selves* represent group related and fluctuating opinion-forming patterns (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In the Japanese world, people are normally given the opportunity to contribute to discussions in turn should they so *desire*, whereas in many European cultures, individuals tend to have to fight to impart their opinions and therefore have to be more proactively *willing* to communicate (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). There may also be more deference to authority figures, such as educators, in East-Asian contexts, which can influence communication patterns (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

2.2. International posture

Following trends within the international EFL research community in the early 21st century (see for example Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005; MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Donovan, 2002; Ryan, 2009; Wen & Clément, 2003), Yashima felt that simple positive feelings towards an L2 community which contribute to FLL motivation, *integrativeness* (Gardner, 1985), were insufficient in the case of EFL as there is no clear “English language” L2 community. Furthermore, in an earlier study (Yashima, 2000), she had found that identification of Japanese EFL learners with American/British L1 speakers of English was not high among reasons that learners gave for wanting to study English. Therefore, she coined the term *international posture* (2002, p. 57), defining it as “an interest in foreign affairs, willingness to go overseas to study or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners and . . . a nonethnocentric attitude toward different cultures.” IP is in direct contrast to factors which hinder individual language learners’ L2 WTC, a “tendency toward approach-avoidance and ethnocentrism” (Yashima, 2002, p. 58).

In 2004, Yashima, Zenuk-Nishide, and Shimizu found that the two most prevalent goals for Japanese language learners were (a) academic achievement such as success on tests and entry to prestigious universities and (b) a desire to see oneself as connected to an imagined international community and connect with non-Japanese people, IP. This second was affirmed by one of the few other studies to be done in the Japanese context (Piggin, 2010) which found that IP was more relevant than any of the other L2 WTC variables and that “the latent variable of international posture explicitly influences . . . the motivational propensities, which influence . . . L2 WTC” (p. 5).

There have been few studies on IP outside Japan, but in South Korea, Edwards (2011, p. 20) argued that his concept of *intercultural complex*, that is, attitudes, beliefs, and values that South Korean learners carry around with them and bring to any communication event, was hindering L2 WTC. *Intercultural complex*, seemingly congruent with lower IP, was, he believed, manifest of a deep sense of inequality vis-à-vis the non-Korean world. As did Yashima (2009), Edwards (2011, p. 24) found that non-Korean contact experience, in the form of travel abroad and international friendship, boosted L2 WTC; real-life exposure to the non-Korean world mitigated these self-perceived inequalities. In China, IP does not seem to have been explicitly studied, although it is often referred to in the literature. Zhou’s (2014, p. 14) study found, as Yashima et al. (2004) did, the need for an imagined international community to relate to but did not mention IP in particular; Peng (2014) wrote that she considered “learner beliefs to be more important than IP and *integrativeness* in studying Chinese classroom behaviour” (p. 26).

Yashima concluded her 2002 study with an assertion that “EFL lessons should be designed to enhance learners’ interest in different cultures, and international affairs and activities, as well as to reduce anxiety and build confidence in communication” (p. 63). Throughout the decade she researched ways of promoting IP, finding perhaps unsurprisingly that the easiest way is for individuals to study abroad in an English speaking community (Yashima, 2009). However, as Ryan and Mercer (2011) point out, long-term meaningful study abroad is out of the question for the overwhelming majority of EFL students globally.

A second way Yashima (2009) found to promote IP was to engage in content-based language lessons. “Through cognitively and emotionally involving content, learners are encouraged to form opinions and express themselves in English. . . . The imagined community becomes visible and concrete” (p. 149), and a language becomes a tool for communication rather than just another subject to study at school to be tested and graded (Yashima, 2009). Learners who engaged in content-based lessons “showed developmental profiles similar to students who had participated in a year abroad programme in terms of proficiency, international posture and self-initiated amount of communication” (p. 151). Muto, Shinohara, Adachi, and Kikuta (2012) also found data to support Yashima’s research, and their research participants, who were as young as 8-12 years, “improved their international posture through activities and decreased their fear and anxiety about speaking English” (p. 541). Their correlational analysis established three important principles for fostering IP, reducing foreign language anxiety, increasing interest in foreign cultures and customs, and encouraging an awareness of personal goals and objectives as to why they were studying English. In Lockley’s previous 2014 study, comments related to the verve and bravery of historical characters who actively learned foreign languages and studied abroad, in comparison to a self-perceived ethnocentric passive current generation, were numerous, and all of them reflected negatively on the present. To their credit, many learners stated that these stories inspired them with a desire to go out and be more proactive in various facets of life, in particular the study of English (Lockley, 2014, p. 177).

This seemingly imagination based motivational construct may be helpful for understanding the motivation facilitated through the CLIL pedagogy. Ushioda and Dörnyei wrote in 2009 of the key motivational influence of a future *L2 self*, that is, imagining positively and realistically how L2 will be integrated in a learner’s future life so as to create a path towards that goal. Dörnyei (2009) provided some conditions necessary for the triggering of self-regulation mechanisms including the detection of the gap between the current self and the imagined (or ideal) future L2 self. As with L2 WTC, it seems important that L2 curricula are designed to stimulate the future L2 self motivational construct, which can include IP (Yashima, 2009).

2.3. Content and language integrated learning (CLIL)

CLIL is an educational approach whereby pedagogical content is delivered in L2 in such a way as to develop L2 lexical and communicative competence (in all four language skill areas: speaking, writing, listening and reading) while promoting higher level thinking skills and L2 motivation (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010). Communicative competence is developed through dialogic interaction, group work and cooperative learning to foster critical thinking and subject understanding (Coyle et al., 2010; Moore, 2011). The understandable temptation for learners to regress to L1 can be lessened through appropriately scaffolded curricula, which provide enough support for learners to feel confident in using the L2 only (Nikula, 2012). Proponents of CLIL argue that it seems to render significantly improved FLL outcomes (Várkuti, 2011). Learners seem to use a significantly higher level of vocabulary more effectively and apply lexical knowledge in broader terms (Navés & Victori, 2010; Várkuti, 2011), especially when language-learning strategies are embedded in curricula (Breidbach & Viebrock, 2012).

The content of CLIL should ideally be linked to CLIL's FLL learning objectives (Banegas, 2013), aiming to promote L2 WTC through socio-culturally derived L2 motivation (Banegas, 2013; Yashima, 2009), as well as through increased practical L2 usage leading to SPCC and lower FLL anxiety. Although there have been only a few studies on the link between L2 WTC and CLIL, those that have been done (see for example Menezes & Juan-Garau, 2014) have found that CLIL learners have a significantly higher L2 WTC than non-CLIL learners. Teaching content to improve global cultural awareness may provide a scaffolding for learners to eventually use their skills outside the classroom, thereby providing the necessary self-confidence to communicate with *dissimilar others* (Aubrey, 2009; Ting-Toomey, 1999). This should facilitate IP through increased inter-cultural interactions, or, at least in the initial phases, promote IP related imagination based motivational constructs such as the future L2 self (Ryan, 2009; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009).

Until recently there has been little CLIL research outside of the European context (Costa & Coleman, 2010; Lockley, 2014), and while that body of research is growing, this trajectory is still in its infancy. Some researchers have questioned the ability of Japanese educators to incorporate both more communicative methodology and higher-order thinking skills in to EFL curricula (see for example Goto Butler, 2011; Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999), but recent studies on CLIL in the Japanese context seem to indicate that this is not in fact the case. Ikeda (2013) found that CLIL is perfectly feasible in Japan if teachers are trained properly and contextual factors are taken into account. Furthermore, Yamano (2013) found that CLIL motivated EFL learners, gave them more awareness and critical cognition of global

issues, and improved learning outcomes in various ways, including accelerated vocabulary learning. Godfrey (2013) found that both learners and educators derived motivation from CLIL. CLIL seemed to promote speaking skills and critical-thinking, and to broaden the socio-cultural scope of curricula.

2.4. International history as CLIL and its connection to IP

The seeming lack of global research into IP may lie in the fact that higher IP could be a normal phenomenon in some contexts. For example, Chinese and Euro/American contexts may not see a particular need to promote IP as the more obvious multicultural societies allow a mainstream acceptance of interactions with the *Other*. I wonder if IP is particularly important in societies that do not consider themselves to be multicultural or where populations see themselves, rightly or wrongly, as cut off from the international mainstream. IP may therefore be especially relevant in cultures such as Japan, where there is a strong perception of limited contact with the outside world (Seargeant, 2009); history is a particularly important subject for critically engaging this type of belief (Martin & Wodak, 2003) since many such perceptions have historical roots (Seargeant, 2009).

Therefore, I hypothesise that if CLIL history is taught with the aim of diminishing that self-perceived marginalisation, as a cooperative international endeavour, with protagonists playing global roles and global social currents playing a large role in local cultural antecedents, it will increase feelings of IP. Furthermore, it will give engaged learners something to communicate about with the world (Yashima, 2009) that does not emphasise their “cultural uniqueness” but instead showcases their shared history and points in common with their supposedly *dissimilar other* interlocutors. This would promote the idea of an (not imagined, as it is essentially real) international L2 community, of which the learner is a part, which is neither defined by “geographical location [n]or cultural tradition [which thereby] situates the learner as an outsider looking in, the imposter struggling to establish a legitimate claim to membership” (Ryan, 2009, p. 131), but rather establishes them as part of wider global cultural and social currents. This article will study such a curriculum and seek to assess whether, through increasing understanding of the global nature of cultures and histories, it contributed to higher IP levels in the learners who took part. The following research questions have been addressed in the present study:

1. Does international history as CLIL contribute to higher international posture?
2. If so, in what ways does it do this?

3. The study

3.1. Context

This study took place in an elective class for third and fourth year learners enrolled as international communication majors in a private university specializing in foreign languages near Tokyo. Most learners were of Japanese nationality; a small minority were Chinese and South Korean. A detailed outline of the course and conceptual foundations can be found in Lockley (2013).

3.2. Procedure

This research followed up an exploratory, small-scale quantitative study format with a focused qualitative investigation. Due to space restrictions the current paper reports only on the key qualitative findings from questionnaire data and participant reflective accounts. Each data set and method is explained below.

A questionnaire ($N = 29$) to assess IP was formed through qualitatively analysing 124 individual learner reflective accounts collected and analysed over two years (see Lockley, 2014) and conducting in-depth interviews with 9 learners who had taken the course. The interviewees and questionnaire respondents were also among the 124 reflective account writers. Of the questionnaire respondents, 27 were female and 2 male, they were between 20 and 23 years old. One learner was of South Korean nationality and another was Chinese (this learner had grown up in Japan). The participants had an average self-reported TOEIC score of 688. The questionnaire, in both English and Japanese, was administered online twice, in September 2012 and January 2013; this study shall only deal with the qualitative comments.

The questionnaire questions were individually analysed, with the two data sets being compared to see whether there was any evidence that attitudinal change had occurred. Representative comments were collated to provide supporting evidence.

The data from the 124 learner reflective accounts (around 75000 words in total; $N = 124$, 101 females, 23 males) was collected in 2011/2012 from four different classes that took the course. The learner profile was similar to that reported above, but more Chinese students participated. The data was extracted following Dörnyei's (2007) recommendation of a 3-stage approach to analysis:

1. Open coding; the data as a whole was analysed line-by-line for data pertinent to this research and included in an existing category or formed a new one.

2. Axial coding, to move the coding process from “first-order concepts to higher-order concepts” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 261). This aims at integrating individual and distinct categories into wider conceptual categories and is where the central research narrative begins to take shape.
3. Selective coding, which establishes a core category and final narrative to emerge and establish the meaning and import of the study. This is what appears in the findings section below.

The amount of data was too large to report on in only one study, so this study is the second to use the same data set. For the findings on comments related to FLL outcomes in general and FLL motivation, see Lockley (2014). This study only treated comments indicative of IP.

3.3. Findings

3.3.1. Questionnaire data

The questionnaire data is reported below; the comments below are those that were most representative of those expressed overall.

3.3.1.1. “What does English mean to you?”

The answers to this question were coded as to whether the answers were indicative of IP (called *integrated regulation*), or whether English was simply a means to some other end, for example, professional success (referred to as *introjected regulation*). In September 2012, 23 out of 29 responses seemed to be indicative of IP and this had not changed by January 2013. Representative *integrated regulation* comments were, “*I want to be able to communicate with people from other cultures,*” “*I would like to talk to many people around the world, so English is the tool for talking with them,*” and “*learning English is the tool to communicate with foreigner. Even though I really want to be a friend with foreigner, it's meaningless that we can't communicate each other with the same language.*” *Introjected regulation* type comments were, “*English is just one of my tool for me*” and “*I learn English for my future job.*” This suggests that the participants in general already tended towards a high level of IP at the beginning of the course, which would not be surprising as they were majoring in international communication and were likely to have chosen this due to higher levels of IP or their *L2 selves* envisaging a future in which English figured highly (Ryan, 2009).

3.3.1.2. "Are you an 'international person'?"

In the interviews that were conducted for questionnaire construction, the Japanese word *kokusajin* ('international person') was constantly used by the interviewees interchangeably with the concept of high IP; therefore, for ease of participant understanding, the questionnaire used "international person" instead of IP.

In September 2012, 15 answered *yes* and 14 answered *no*; in January there had been some change, with 17 answering *yes* and 12 *no*. When asked for reasons why, those who answered *yes* gave reasons such as, "*I'm not perfectly an international person but I'm an international person a little bit because I could know the other countries sides of views and opinions,*" "*because I could learn Japanese history from many aspects from classes and international students,*" and "*because I study English and Chinese. And I'm interested in International things.*"

While there was little difference in the numerical total of *yes* answers from September to January, there was a marked difference in reasons for those that answered *no* in January. In September they gave reasons such as "*because I can't speak English,*" "*I don't have much knowledge about the world*" and "*I don't still have enough skill to communicate with foreigners.*" In January, answers were more positive and aspirational, for example, "*I don't know history well as yet, but I want to be an international person,*" "*because I don't have enough knowledge about the world*" and "*because I don't know enough about my or other cultures.*" Although the numbers do not reveal much positive IP change, in fact the comments seem to show that those who answered in the negative were showing clear signs of conceiving of an imagined future L2 self (Ryan, 2009) when they might be become international people.

3.3.1.3. "Has this course changed how you feel about history?"

In the second questionnaire administration, this additional question was answered to see whether and how the history content of the course had a direct relation to IP promotion. Participants answered overwhelming in the positive, 26 *yes* and only 3 *no*. The reasons they gave were overwhelmingly related to their critical engagement with and reconception of international historical antecedents (Martin & Wodak, 2003): "*it was a little surprised for me that Japan was affected by so many countries and at that time, Japan influenced so many countries,*" "*studying History is important to be a real international person.*" These comments seem to indicate the development of IP through the international nature of the CLIL content.

3.3.2. Reflective accounts data analysis

As the data above shows, IP seems to have been developed through the internationally focused nature of the CLIL history course. It may have led to new conceptions of Self and Other (Coyle et al., 2010; Martin & Wodak, 2003) through promoting understanding of the hybrid nature of cultures and interconnectedness of peoples, and through this to helping learners feel more part of a wider global, rather than marginalised local, community. The reflective accounts, written at the end of the semester-long course, contained data that was more wide-ranging and gives a far deeper picture of how CLIL helped develop IP. Although, references are given where a comment seems to corroborate other researchers' findings, this section does not engage in an extensive discussion, which comes below.

History isn't made by only its country. Other countries make its history . . . learning own and others history, I think it can help us to understand each other. (#7)

In [school], Japanese history classes were more Japan-centered and I had almost forgotten that it was only one part of international society. . . (#38)

Abroad came to seem closer and *Otherness* dissipated (Sudhoff, 2010), indicative of Yashima's (2002) definition of IP as a lack of ethnocentricity and a feeling of connection to an international community:

I never thought there were many Japanese in Thailand, these people were assimilated with the Thais. I got to think Thai is not just foreign people but they are close to us. (#13)

Knowing items which connect countries is interesting. I think there are more things which connect countries. If I know these things, I feel foreign countries closer than before. (#95)

The interconnectedness of Japanese and other cultures was felt:

I was really surprised many European artists tried to paint Japanese style. Even now, Japanese arts are perceived as special from all over the world. (#59)

And it reinforced a sense of pride, which, as the next quote shows, is not necessarily negative but must be considered carefully so as not to re-enforce ethnocentric beliefs (Coyle et al., 2010). It may however also indicate a way to critically engage with Edwards' (2011) intercultural complex:

Before that, I felt inferiority complex to Europe and America. But the technology to make silk was top class quality of the world. So we should be proud about this. (#96)

Knowledge and reflection also promoted critical thinking and positive feelings of international connectivity (Mehisto, Marsh, & Frigols, 2008) about non-Japanese people who came to share expertise and help develop the nation through the ages:

Many people from abroad gave Japanese many kinds of knowledge. And I feel that Japan have connected many other country long time ago and also now. (#108)

All of Japanese students know that Kimigayo is the Japanese national anthem, but few students know that the idea was proposed by a British man and the music was made by two Japanese men and a Germany musician. (#57)

History necessarily covers conflicts as well as positive intercultural occurrences. At the time of writing, Japan and some neighbouring nations are embroiled in tenacious territorial disputes, so the fact that there were no antipathetic or xenophobic comments, despite the very real possibility that there could have been, was heartening. On the contrary, Japanese, South Korean and Chinese learners expressed regret that political and historical disputes disrupt current day friendly relations, which again seems to show the development of higher IP through critical engagement with a refocused cooperative historical narrative:

One day I saw news about Korean people are really angry about the past when Japan occupied Korea. If I did not take this class I might be unable to understand why they are still angry about it, but I can think now (#1)

We discussed [the Sino-Japanese War] if you were China side, how you require the help after failed the war. I never thought in a million years how China recovered from the war... In this way, I could learn real history which includes different point of view of foreign countries. I also thought why many countries including Japan want to hide the fact that is adverse for their country? I think they should open the public to understand exactly, because we have a right to know. (#45)

Furthermore, this was not only relevant to the Japanese learners, the Chinese and South Korean learners seemed also to show similar tendencies:

For example [Japan invaded] China and did some inhumane things like experiment on human body. . . . In other side, Japan paid for that incident for a long year. But Chinese don't know that. It because Chinese government hiding that intentional. They don't want Chinese people know Japan become a good country. (#58)

I didn't like past Japan because I studied things in Korean school with Korean textbook from Korean teacher. . . . However I learned that history is just history and we can't change or deny it. . . . I could notice extremely important thing during this class. I could

study other side of history. My viewpoint was changed so I could feel I'm globalist. I want to tell these things to Korean and Japanese people then we can be closer. (#62)

Positively, a don't-look-back-in-anger but look-forward-with-purpose attitude was also observed:

I understand that History is significant for future relationships. As we can see the bad relationships between China and Korea . . . we should change our hard relationships right now, or we trouble again and again. (#71)

Learners understood the global continuity of past, present and future; CLIL history helped empower them to realize that they can make a difference for the future. Some came to believe that critical reflection on histories and cultures should be central to FLL curricula (Brooks-Lewis, 2010; Sudhoff, 2010):

History is vital for student who learn foreign language because history gives us a key to know how our relationship has been built and how international exchange has been made. By understanding it, we can build more good relation, more good future with other country. (#94)

I would like to be an international person in the future . . . to bridge the gap between two countries. To be such person, we have to well understand about each countries . . . Perhaps we can find the good way to associate with people of other countries through learn the past of their countries. (#80)

3.4. Discussion

This section will attempt to answer the research questions and form a coherent narrative. The answer to the first research question: Does international history as CLIL contribute to higher international posture?, seems to be yes. The questionnaire data gives a clear picture of IP and self-conceptual development, seeming to show a small, but clearly observable, shift to a more IP orientated future L2 self.

In an attempt to confirm that it was CLIL that had affected this change and not some other external factor, the third qualitative questionnaire question, "Has this course change how you feel about history?", was asked. The answers to this seemed to confirm that CLIL had helped mitigate the idea of international marginalisation, which, as hypothesized, may lead to higher IP and hence L2 WTC. This suggests, although it needs further research and strong empirical support, that similarly focused CLIL courses may have like or related effects in contexts that experience similar self-perceived international marginalisation. While the literature suggests that South Korea could be a beneficiary of this, in perhaps mitigating Edwards' (2011) intercultural complex, there are

likely to be numerous other areas of the globe which have considered themselves cut off from “international currents” for a variety of reasons and therefore may also benefit from a reconceptualisation of historical antecedents through CLIL. Furthermore, of significance to FLL outcomes is the fact that suitably scaffolded L2 is the language of instruction, which should also lead through increased actual L2 use to greater SPCC and L2 WTC.

The answer to the second research question: If so, in what ways does it do this?, is far more difficult to answer, but the reflective account data gives a comprehensive and nuanced picture. The comments showed that learners saw nations as less isolated entities. They realised that histories are shared and fluid and, hence, learners felt themselves closer to other parts of the world when they could relate with the populations more closely. The comment “*Thai is not just foreign people but they are close to us*” is particularly representative of this. This aspect of the curriculum seems to have led to IP formation and it is important here to establish what the CLIL approach contributed to this as opposed to external or specific contextual factors such as the educator’s personality or the particular classroom environment.

The CLIL approach seems to have allowed learners to critically engage and co-construct issues relationally in the socio-cultural context of *interdependent selves*, coming to mutually negotiated conclusions about the meaning and import of lesson content and materials (Ushioda, 2009). The fact that the materials were designed (Lockley, 2013) to create FLL motivation through the use of L2 historical content of a compelling nature, for example, tales of pirates, romance and adventure, and through these appeal to an adventurous imagined L2 self, is also likely to have been a factor in IP formation. Particularly in relation to film footage used, learners were able to draw inspiration (Lockley, 2014) and construct a future L2 self. The above comment, “I would like to be an international person in the future . . . to bridge the gap between two countries” is particularly indicative of this. As Ryan (2009) and Yashima (2009) point out, this may have more validity than integrativeness and most probably is a large contribution to the formation of IP observed here.

The comments about Japanese cultural influence around the world show learner pride, and in the words of one student, the awareness of the influence countered the inferiority complex she had felt. This seems related to Edwards’ (2011) intercultural complex, derived from self-perceived feelings of inferiority. It suggests that if these negative feelings of inequality, which, it seems, may also exist in the Japanese context, can be mitigated, this could again lead to better L2 WTC. It could have particular significance in *interdependent self* cultures, where it seems that WTC may be a far more socially, relationally, and group constructed phenomenon, based on interlocutor status and intergroup dynamics

(Edwards, 2011; Peng, 2014). But it is in the political consciousness raised by the course that some of the potentially most interesting effects on IP and L2 WTC were seen. Japanese students showed empathy whereas before they wrote that they had not understood the historical roots of current day regional international friction. Chinese and South Korean learners also experienced similar outcomes. The following were powerful and meaningful statements in this connection: "[the Chinese government] *don't want Chinese people know Japan become a good country,*" "*My viewpoint was changed so I could feel I'm globalist. I want to tell these things to Korean and Japanese people then we can be closer.*" Coupled with the resolutions to understand but leave history behind (indicative again of imagined future L2, and perhaps global, selves) such as: "*I found that the important thing is that we think history and past incident how we behave or live from now on*" and "*as we can see the bad relationships between China and Korea . . . we should change our hard relationships right now, or we trouble again and again.*" Students of different nationalities all wrote that the course content had brought them closer together. This seems to be an attitude more indicative of IP formation and certainly if the *dissimilar other* becomes less dissimilar, then it is probable that an individual is more likely to be willing to communicate with them. In this case perhaps the term *integrated*, rather than *integrativeness*, might be suitable, not *integrating* towards a dominant or hegemonic culture or L2 but rather the equal and collective mixing of peoples and cultures, forming an inclusive rather than exclusive and mutually antagonistic regional community as global citizens on an equal basis (Marcus & Kitayama, 1991; Yashima, 2013). This is somewhat reminiscent of Norton and McKinney's (2011) concept of middle ground communities of practice, where seemingly different groups come together to make a new and mutually understanding group based on principles of equality and inclusiveness. Whether this "international" community of practice is either imagined or real, goes above and beyond the traditional conceptions of both IP and *integrativeness* and takes on a deeper and more faceted meaning.

The place of history in foreign language curricula is not a topic that is often discussed; in fact, as Brooks-Lewis (2010) wrote, it is virtually absent from the literature. However, the data above shows that learners who took this course identified it as a key need for language learners. Comments such as "*history is vital for student who learn foreign language because history gives us a key to know how our relationship has been built and how international exchange has been made*" show that historical exchanges cannot be disconnected from FLL, as history has made the present in which that language exists as a socio-cultural living entity. This has particular significance if, as the data appears to show, historical content, when suitably presented, can lead to IP and hence to

L2 WTC, which, as MacIntyre et al. (1998) stated, should be the ultimate learning objective of any FLL curriculum.

This discussion appears to have shown that this type of CLIL course is not only relevant to the Japanese context, but that it may be far more widely generalisable. It may also have relevance for multiculturalism and community relations in countries where there are significant mixed ethnic populations. Japan and other East-Asian countries such as South Korea are, due to economic strength and easier cross-border flows of people, currently going through mass-immigration for the first time. Other parts of the world such as Europe have traditionally been more obviously ethnically mixed and in the last 50 years this trend has only increased; with this trend has often come social tensions and community friction. It would be nice to think that perhaps if education systems were to concentrate on the concepts of fostering unity and interethnic empathy, in effect feelings of IP and integration, then it would not only contribute to FLL but also to better social relations. Of course, this may seem like a wild and overly ambitious hope, but the global and intercultural awareness principles of both CLIL (Coyle et al., 2010; Mehisto et al., 2008;) and Yashima's conception of what IP means—cultural openness, empathy and lack of ethnocentrism—do actually hint at this possibility.

4. Future research possibilities

One future research direction could be working with a wider population in multiple locations, if possible in different parts of the globe and different types of society, for example more multiethnic and multicultural contexts. It is also important to note that, as Rumlich (2013) points out, many students who choose CLIL lessons may already be more motivated or higher achievers, or they perhaps would not choose the seemingly harder CLIL option. More research needs to be done on CLIL with lower level, nonelective learners to establish whether similar pedagogical outcomes are related to L2 level or an initial learner willingness to engage with the subject matter.

5. Conclusion

This study has presented data to deepen the literature on contextual factors pertaining to CLIL and, in particular, the little studied subject of CLIL as history in Japan and its contribution to IP and L2 WTC. It seems to show that the stated aims of the course, to improve students IP and thence L2 WTC, were successful, and posits reasons as to why that might have been. The data suggests that CLIL history, taught from a cooperative international standpoint, promoted feelings

of closeness to other peoples and reduced feelings of global marginalization. Through this, varied FLL motivational constructs were stimulated and more positive and integrated feelings towards an imagined, or real, international community with which learners felt an increased identification, were created. This was not limited to Japanese learners; learners of other nationalities who were present in the same classes also seem to have experienced similar learning outcomes, suggesting that this study may also have implications for contexts other than the Japanese one.

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