

The “English divide” in Japan: A review of the empirical research and its implications

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Abstract

本研究は、日本社会における「英語格差」(English divide)の実態を、経験的な研究の知見を整理することで明らかにし、「英語教育と平等」という議論への示唆とするものである。まず、多様な用いられ方をしている「英語格差」という用語を5つに類型化し、このうち「教育と平等」という論点に関連が深い「英語教育機会」論(既存の富の差→英語力の差)および「資本としての英語力」論(英語力の差→新たな富の差)に分析対象を限定する。これらを統合すると、一種の再生産論と見なすことができるが(既存の富→英語力→新たな富)、この再生産過程を「英語格差」と定義し、これを先行研究の整理によって検証する。その結果、前者(既存の富の差→英語力の差)の存在は明らかになったが、後者(英語力の差→新たな富の差)は、英語力の賃金への効果を取り扱った研究を見るかぎり、かなり限定的なものであることがわかった。以上から、経済的な再生産としての「英語格差」論は否定されたわけだが、格差は経済的な面に限定されないこと、また、分析に用いたデータが過去のものであり現在の政策決定に直接的な回答を与えるものではないため、慎重な教育政策論議が必要である。

Key Words: English education policy, English divide, social statistics

1. English education and inequalities of education

In her bestselling book, *The Fall of the Japanese Language in the Age of English*, Minae Mizumura, a Japanese bilingual novelist, claims that, since Japan requires a limited number of Japanese people with a high level of mastery of reading and writing skills in both English and Japanese (“bilinguals” in her term), English education should be reformed so that the government provides intensive bilingual training to only “a small number of selected” students and makes them such “bilinguals” (Mizumura, 2008: Chapter 7). She criticizes post-War education policy in Japan for its egalitarian philosophy, which, she says, has justified an impossible attempt to bring up all students into bilinguals.

Her claim, then, can be understood as one of the well-known issues of education, equity and

excellence (see Howe, 1997). In other words, it raises a question of whether it is unfair or not to offer intensive English education exclusively to a small number of children in order to survive “in the age of English,” and, if it is, whether we should provide all people with the same quality and quantity of English education. Her response to this question, however, is surprisingly short:

Although many people say that the social gaps have widened, Japan is still one of the societies with only a few gaps when compared to the rest of the world. Japanese society has a broad middle class, so I think that it is unlikely to cause a great economic gap between such “selected people” and the others. Furthermore, I also think that information gaps between both groups of people will not occur, because Japanese society has a large number of highly educated people and books translated into Japanese (p.287, my translation)

That is, she justifies limited access to intensive training of English by affirming that it does not lead to serious disparities. This reasoning, however, is just her personal opinion. As implied by her subjective expression “I think” and “I also think,” she does not present any empirical support for her idea. On the other hand, it is also true that there is little evidence that her suggestion does yield a great divide. In order to critically evaluate such a political proposition of selective education of English as hers, it is indispensable to empirically examine whether such a proposition can cause a variety of social inequalities in Japan.

Thus, the present paper aims at revealing the relationship between English education and social disparities, and, based on this, discusses what type of education policy does not lead to social gaps.

2. The “English divide” as a theoretical framework

In Japan, the relationship between English language and social gaps has been dealt with in the discussion of what is called the “English divide” (“*eigo kakusa-ron*” in Japanese). The wording of “English divide” is obviously influenced by the term “digital divide,” which refers to social gaps between people with rich access to information technology and people without it (see U.S. Department of Commerce, NTIA, 1999), but what is implied by the term “English divide” varies from person to person. Therefore, this section analyzes different meanings of this term and clarifies its idea, and finally provides an operational definition which enables empirical analysis.

2.1 Typology of “English divide”

Before analyzing the “English divide,” let us examine Taromaru’s (2004) useful clarification

of the “digital divide.” He differentiates the arguments of the “digital divide” into two types: “wealth → information” and “information → wealth.” The former indicates that economically and socially wealthier people can obtain better information (in terms of both quality and quantity); the latter means that, the better information someone obtains, the wealthier she becomes. Based on this clarification, the arguments about the “English divide” also can be classified into “wealth → English skills” and “English skills → wealth.” In other words, the former type of “English divide” indicates that the greater wealth someone has, the better at English she becomes, and the latter, the higher level of English skills someone has, the greater wealth she obtains.

The actual use of the words “English divide” requires another important distinction: the divide between whom. Some people, by using the term “English divide,” are concerned with social gaps between people in Japan (i.e. the English divide as an intra-national issue), others warn a divide between Japanese people and people from other countries (i.e. the English divide as an inter-national issue). Based on the two dimensions raised above, the “English divide” can be classified in Table 1.

	Wealth → English skills	English skills → wealth
Between people	(1) Unequal access to English learning	(2) English skills as capital
Between nations	(Not applicable)	(3) International strategy

Others: (4) Non-uniformity of English teaching practices

(5) English linguistic imperialism

Table 1 Typology of the “English divide”

The argument (1) in the table is concerned with uneven distribution of wealth among people in Japan which can result in gaps of English skills. This can be deemed as an issue of “equal opportunities of education,” which has been examined for a long time mainly by pedagogy, sociology of education, and economics of education (Howe, 1997). This type of “English divide” is discussed in Erikawa (2009) and *Weekly Toyo Keizai* (2008), for example.

The argument (2), on the other hand, focuses on social and economic gaps which can result from different English skills among people. This argument can be understood in the framework of human capital theory (Becker, 1962). Based on human capital theory, in which an income gap

among workers is explained by their difference of human capital (e.g. education or job experience), English skills as well as other types of human capital are expected to influence workers' earnings. Since this argument necessarily tends to emphasize the value of English skills in the workplace, it often appears in business discourses (e.g. *President Family*, 2008). What should be noted here, however, is that this type of "English divide" does not always pay exclusive attention on an economic aspect, but rather some people emphasize the social or cultural values of English skills. Therefore, this type of "English divide" is an extension of human capital theory rather than the theory itself.

The third type of "English divide" also emphasizes the economic and social values of English skills, but it is nations, rather than people, which obtain profit from the values. This argument can be understood as a discourse of international competition, so it can be called "international strategy." For example, Funabashi (2000: 204), by using the word "English divide," warns of Japan's possible defeat in global competition due to its lack of English proficiency.

Finally, the lower left cell in Table 1 is still remaining. Theoretically speaking, this type of "English divide" could assert that the more affluent a nation is, the better English skills its citizens obtain, but such a claim has not been recognized in fact.

In addition to the three arguments concerning the "English divide," there are still two other types. The fourth is the argument which regards the non-uniformity (i.e. diversity) of English teaching practices as "English divide" (e.g. Ito, 2004; it also appears in some political documents of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan, see MEXT, 2006; 2007; 2008). The fifth argument, on the other hand, deems the "English divide" as the unequal relationships between English-speaking countries and other countries, or between native speakers of English and other people (e.g. Torikai, 2010). Although the fourth type is seemingly similar to the first type of argument (unequal access to English learning), they are sharply contrasted in that the fourth lacks the idea of "wealth" and therefore it does not explicitly state what kind of inequalities (i.e. unequal distribution of the wealth) the non-uniformity/diversity causes. The fifth type, on the other hand, is almost the same argument as English linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992).

2.2 "English divide" as reproduction

We have obtained the five patterns of "English divide." They are summarized as follows:

- (1) Unequal access to English learning
- (2) English skills as capital
- (3) International strategy

- (4) Non-uniformity of English teaching practices
- (5) English linguistic imperialism

Of the five arguments, the first and the second ones are relevant to the central interest of the present paper, i.e. Japanese education policy of English language teaching in terms of fairness/equality.

In contrast, the third and fifth arguments are excluded from this examination because their attention on differences between Japanese people and others is different from the main focus of this paper, i.e. differences among Japanese people. Moreover, the fourth argument is also outside the scope of the present paper. It is true that this argument is relevant to differences among Japanese people (in particular, Japanese students) and assumes a view of equality (for example, the words “equal opportunities of education” is used in MEXT (2006; 2007; 2008)), but this view of equality is not explicitly based on the idea that differences produce a new difference of wealth, so the use of the word “equal opportunities of education” seems to be a misunderstanding of the idea of equal opportunities (see Terasawa, 2009a: 118).

The model which integrates the first and second types of the “English divide” is shown in **Figure 1**. The figure indicates that existing gaps in wealth, mediated by English skills, produce new gaps in wealth. Therefore, this process can be regarded as a kind of reproduction (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984). The present paper will assume this reproduction model.

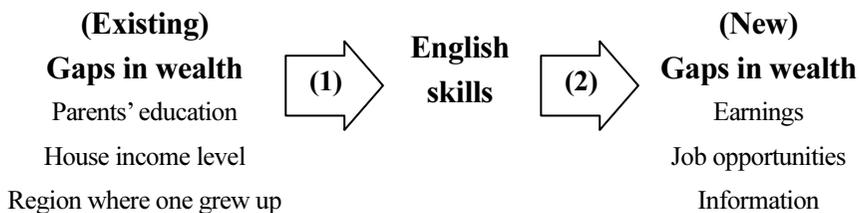


Figure 1 Reproduction model through English skills

What should be noted here is that, as Taromaru (2004) points out, we can conclude the existence of such unequal reproduction only if we demonstrate both the first and second paths in the figure. In other words, either the process of “wealth → English skills” or “English skills → wealth” alone cannot be regarded as an adequate condition to assert a lack of equity. For example, even if we successfully demonstrate the “wealth → English skills” process, if we fail to recognize the “English skills → wealth” process, it is hard to regard it as a serious inequality; rather it may

be appropriate to call it just a “difference” which we do not have to minimize through changing educational policies.

Therefore, the present paper aims at empirically investigating both processes and examines whether or not such an unequal reproduction has occurred in Japan. The first process (i.e. gaps in access to English skills) is examined in Section 3 and the second process (i.e. English skills as capital) in Section 4, and Section 5 integrates these findings and discusses inequalities in English education.

3. Gaps in access to English skills

It is not difficult to infer the existence of the “wealth → English skills” process, even without analyzing empirical data. Since English skills in Japan are considered to be one of the components of school abilities, and the school abilities are heavily influenced by students’ social and family backgrounds such as parents’ education or family income (Ishida, 1993; Kariya, 2001), English skills are also expected to be related to such social factors. Indeed, this has been already demonstrated by past empirical research.

Terasawa (2009a; 2009b), by analyzing the data of the Japanese General Social Surveys, reveals that the social and family backgrounds of respondents affect their level of English skills. Table 1, which is based on the findings of Terasawa (2009a), shows odds ratios (*OR*) estimated from a contingency table of each social or family factor and English skills (whether or not a respondent answered that she had English skills), indicating social gaps in access to English skills. In this table, each odds ratio shows the degree of a gap according to father’s and mother’s education, family income level, the region where one grew up (at the age of 15, whether they lived in a rural area or whether they lived in a large city), and gender. “*OR* = 1.0” indicates no gap. Thus, for example, the youngest generation’s odds ratio calculated by father’s education, *OR* = 2.7, means that the respondents whose father experienced higher education are 2.7 times more likely to obtain relatively high English skills than those whose father did not. In the table, most odds ratios are over 2.0, indicating that, in every generation, English skills are influenced by a variety of social and family factors. (The trend of gender, however, is sharply contrasted with the other social factors; the older males (especially, the male respondents born before 1943) were more likely to have access to English language skills than the female counterpart, but this gender gap has been gradually decreased in the younger generations and reversed in the youngest generation). From these findings, it is valid to conclude that the “wealth → English skills” process has existed¹.

	Year of Birth						
	1913-23	1924-33	1934-43	1944-53	1954-63	1964-73	1974-83
Father's education (Higher education to others)	1.5	7.0	7.2	2.3	6.4	4.5	2.7
Mother's education (Higher education to others)	31.9	3.7	6.0	1.6	3.1	4.4	3.4
Father's job (Professional or manager to others)	3.5	6.9	13.9	3.4	5.3	4.1	3.9
Family income level (Higher to middle or below)	3.5	11.4	1.5	2.8	4.8	4.9	2.4
Area where one lived at the age of 15 (Large city to others)	21.2	17.0	2.7	5.2	4.6	3.0	2.6
Area where one lived at the age of 15 (Non-rural to rural area)	15.7	13.9	6.6	4.8	3.3	3.0	1.7
Gender (Male to female)	15.7	4.9	6.0	1.9	2.0	1.3	0.5

Coefficient: Odds ratio of the contingency table of English skills and each variable

Table 2 People with relatively high English skills according to each social variable
(Based on Terasawa 2009a)

4. English skills as capital

This section examines the second path of the reproduction model of the “English divide” shown in Figure 1, i.e. examines whether one’s English skills enrich her social or economic resources.

4.1 What are social and economic resources?

One difficult question here is how we should define social or economic resources. It is probably certain that one’s English skills have an impact on a wide variety of factors, but it seems to be quite hard to definitely separate such factors into social or economic resources and others.

Of such social or economic resources, however, the most obvious, and probably the largest one is education credentials. In Japanese society, English skills are viewed not only as practical abilities for communication but also as one of the best passports to obtain good education, because English is one of the most important subjects of the entrance exams of prestigious universities, colleges, and high schools (Ike, 1995; Erikawa, 2011). Another capital which one’s English skills are likely to produce is information. As many people (e.g. Funabashi, 2000) suggest, the current globalization of information technology and mass or interpersonal communication certainly enables Japanese people who can understand English language to obtain a larger amount

of higher quality information than people who can understand only the Japanese language.

In addition to these resources, earnings and job opportunities are also often viewed as components of the capital produced by English skills. Recently, business magazines and books (e.g. Ochi, 2007; *President Family*, 2008; Moriyama, 2011) point out that there appears to be a widening gap in income and job opportunities between people with English skills and those without them. As suggested by the survey of Matsuura, Fujieda, and Mahoney (2004), this belief widely prevails in not only business discourses but also in university students and university-level teachers of English as a foreign language². Their study shows that 74.8% of students and 62.0% of teachers agree to the statement of “If Japanese can master English, they can get better jobs”³ (and only 10% or below disagree).

The relationship between these types of capital and English skills is depicted in Figure 2. In this figure, Path A indicates that English skills can affect education, and *vice versa* (it is also probable that better and longer education results in higher English skills), so it expresses a correlation rather than a causal relation. On the other hand, English skills can also affect the quality and quantity of information one obtains (see Path B), as well as the earnings and job opportunities (see Path C). Additionally, since one’s education heavily influences his or her job opportunity and income (Ishida, 1993), it is assumed that English skills have either an indirect or spurious impact on these occupational factors (Path D)⁴.

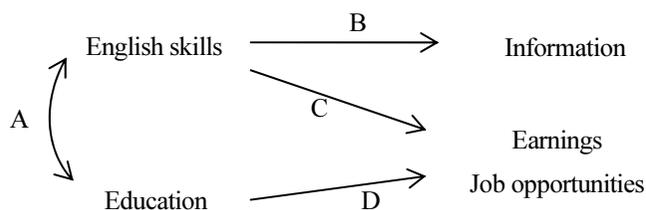


Figure 2 English skills and social and economic resources

Of importance here is the examination of the effect of English skills on earnings (i.e. a part of the path C). It is true that the capital which English skills produce should not be limited to economic capital, but the argument about the “English divide,” in many cases, presumes economic gaps caused by English skills (Ochi, 2007; *President Family*, 2008). Furthermore, it is also true that it is significant to investigate whether good English skills can improve one’s chance of obtaining a good job or not, but the idea of a good job is much more difficult to define than good earnings. Indeed, defining what kind of job is (perceived as) good has been dealt with in sociology (e.g. Occupational Prestige Score; see Hara, 2000). However, the idea of a prestigious job in sociology seems to be largely different from the idea of good job for people who assert a

close connection between English skills and job opportunities (e.g. employment, promotion, and job change). Representatives of the former are professional workers such as doctors, lawyers, and professors⁵, but the latter type of workers are characterized as white-collar workers (especially clerical or managerial workers)⁶ for very large and famous firms. This is clearly implied by *AERA*'s (2003) article "Requisite level of English skills for job." This article sensationally reports that English skills have increasingly become one of the essential skills in the workplace, but this report is based on the answers to a questionnaire circulated in only 29 widely-known companies, most of which are listed (such an exclusive attention to large and famous firms is also evident in some academic research such as Terauchi (2010)). Therefore, because most workers described above probably earn relatively large amount of money, the good job in the discussion of the "English divide" can be represented as earnings rather than the idea of occupational prestige in sociology. Therefore, job opportunities can be partly represented by earnings. For these reasons above, the following examination focuses mainly on the process of C in Figure 2, and investigates the effect of English skills on earnings.

4.2 Impacts on earnings

The effect of English skills on earnings is far less certain than asserted. Some empirical research (Matsushige, 2002; Nishimura et al., 2003; Kano, 2005; Terasawa, 2011a) has tackled this issue, but its results are not necessarily clear-cut.

For example, Matsushige (2002) and Nishimura et al. (2003), by analyzing data samples of graduates of some universities, demonstrate the income gaps between workers with English skills and workers without them. However, because the sample of these studies is limited to the graduates of specific universities with relatively high prestige, it is questionable that these findings accurately represent the relationship between English skills and earnings in the Japanese labor market.

Furthermore, the works above imply the existence of an effect of English skills on earnings, but it is uncertain to deem the effect as a causal one because they (except Terasawa (2011a)) ignore the context in which English skills affect worker's earnings. Even if one's income well correlates with her English skills, if her workplace does not require her to use English at all (such workplaces are ubiquitous in Japan), the correlation should be understood as a spurious effect produced by a third variable such as worker's education (e.g. "English skills \leftarrow educational background of a prestigious university \rightarrow earnings"), rather than a causal effect which the discussion of the "English divide" generally assumes.

The research which takes these problems into consideration is Terasawa (2011a). He analyzes the data of the Working Person Survey conducted by Recruit Works Institute in 2000 and

estimates the effect of English skills on earnings, based on Mincer’s (1974) wage equation, and makes a comparison of the effects among types of jobs, industries, and between small and large firms. As a result, he reveals that the effect in question is relevant only to a tiny fraction of all workers (only white-collar workers of two job categories⁷ of 14 show statistically significant effects).

Although this result might seem to contradict the widely-held view of the effect of English skills on earnings, it is convincing if the current situation of the Japanese labor market is taken into consideration. According to Terasawa’s (2011c) analysis of Working Person Survey (identical to the data above), over 60% of workers answered that their workplace did not require English skills, and this percentage increases in a specific type of workers (especially, blue-collar and sales workers, and welfare service workers). Furthermore, Terasawa (2011b), analyzing the 2010 version of the Japanese General Social Surveys, shows that about 60% of workers in Japan put no importance on English language skills to their job and only 7.2% regard improvement in English proficiency as being of advantage to their job “to a great extent” (this trend is also true of younger generations). Judging from these findings, English language skills are not likely to have influenced the Japanese labor market on a large scale yet, but may affect only a limited fraction of workers.

5. Discussion

This section integrates the findings in Sections 3 and 4, and discusses the equality of English education policy. Based on the reproduction model of the “English divide” introduced in Section 2, the empirical analyses have partly demonstrated the two processes (“wealth → English skills” and “English skills → wealth”). Figure 3 depicts some paths which are demonstrated to have a statistically significant effect (solid arrow) or to have a probable effect (dotted arrow).

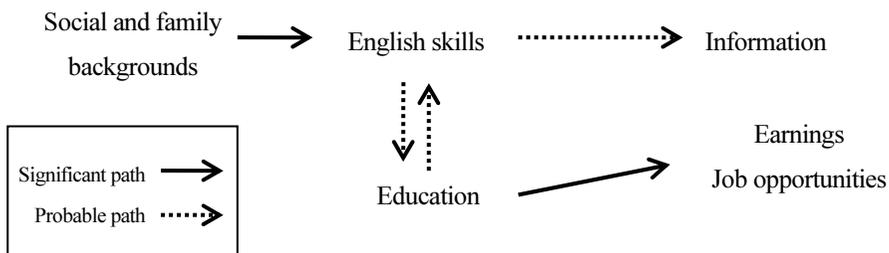


Figure 3 Findings integrated

What is most important in the figure is that it does not draw a path from English skills to

earnings and job opportunities based on the findings in Section 4. A lack of this process fails to satisfy the requirements of the reproduction model of the “English divide.” In other words, although there certainly exists a wide gap in access to English skills between “rich” people and the others, the gap of English skills produced by this is unlikely to heavily affect the distribution of economic and occupational resources. Therefore, it is impossible to conclude that a direct and economic reproduction mediated by English skills has occurred in current Japanese society.

Here, this conclusion might seem to bring us to the following statement: English education policies in Japan have been equal and fair, and serious inequalities will not be caused by an elitist education program which provides intensive training exclusively to a limited number of people such as Mizumura’s proposition (see Section 1), although it will yield differences, which we do not have to be engaged with eliminating through changing education policies. However, this interpretation is an overgeneralization of the results. What the present paper has found is that the “English divide” as economic reproduction is not recognized in the analyses of the data of the early 2000s. Therefore, the possibility still remains that (1) the “English divide” might have occurred in non-economic aspects, (2) it might be successfully demonstrated if the recent data (especially, the data after the late 2000s) is analyzed, and (3) it might have a function mediated by education.

The first possibility, which the present paper does not empirically examine, is valid to assume. As Pennycook (2001: 123-6) argues, to be able to understand English *per se* is a kind of capital, that is, it can produce new wealth. Due to the current globalization of information technology, even for people who live in Japan, the amount of information available in English is far larger than that available in Japanese (Funabashi, 2000). Furthermore, in some cases, they can obtain a much better quality of information in English (through international news reports and the Internet) than in Japanese. If access to such good information can be regarded as a requisite to improve one’s quality of life, we may be able to conclude that the “English divide” in terms of an access gap to information has begun.

The second possibility is also likely. In the future, it will be possible that English skills have a causal impact on earnings, although it has not been demonstrated yet by the data taken in the early 2000s. Recently in Japan, it is still just a few companies that have already proposed to make their official language English (see Torikai, 2010), but if this trend prevails on a large scale and becomes a general phenomenon of the Japanese labor market, it would cause a serious gap of earnings and job opportunities between people with good English skills and people without them. If so, it would be regarded as the “English divide” as reproduction as shown in Figure 1.

Thirdly, it should be noted that this study does not necessarily deny the possibility that existing social gaps indirectly create new gaps in, for example, earnings and job opportunities. As

pointed out in Section 4.1 (Path D in Figure 2), because English skills are one of the most important subjects in the entrance exams for prestigious universities and high schools, it is possible that students whose family’s socioeconomic status is higher are more likely to obtain higher English skills, which results in enabling them to enter prestigious schools more easily, so their earnings and job opportunities after their graduation may be differentiated. How serious this effect is in fact, however, is still unknown. One problem with estimating this effect is the essential difficulty in showing a causal relationship between English skills and education, because most people’s English skills are usually developed in formal education, or at least in formal and informal education during their school age, so the two are closely connected each other.

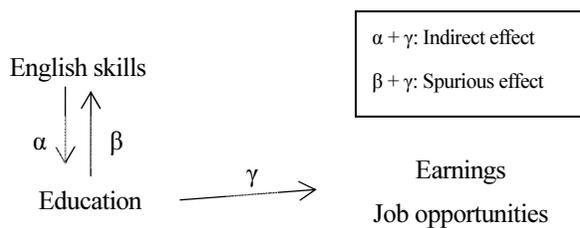


Figure 4 Indirect and spurious effects

This relationship is illustrated in Figure 4. According to each causal relationship between the two (i.e. Arrow α or β), English skills can function in an either indirect or spurious way. If a causal effect of English skills on education (Arrow α) is demonstrated to be crucial, this is evidence that English skills function as capital, therefore, we can conclude that the “English divide” as reproduction exists. In contrast, if only a causal effect of education on English skills (Arrow β) is evident, a correlation between English skills and capital, if any, should be interpreted as a spurious one.

In the current education system in Japan, however, one’s English skills (either as academic abilities or practical ones) do not seem to have played a determinant role in academic achievement yet, although it is true that they have played a significant role. English is usually just one of the subjects necessary for the entrance exam, and students’ English skills alone do not determine whether they successfully pass the exam or not. In this respect, however, the “English divide” as reproduction would occur if the admission policy in Japan puts too much priority on English skills in the future.

6. Conclusion

By reviewing the empirical work, this study reveals that the empirical evidence so far does

not indicate inequalities caused by the “English divide” as economic reproduction. At the same time, however, all the possibilities of the “English divide” have not been denied yet. Rather, this study also implies that a change of education policies or labor policies (e.g. ones with too much emphasis on English skills in admission or employment) could produce an unequal situation in the form of the “English divide.”

Finally, let us return to Mizumura’s (2008) premise discussed in Section 1 that “it is unlikely to cause a great economic gap between such ‘selected people’ and the others.” As the present paper reveals, her premise does not seem to be utterly false, unless the current situation changes. Her reasoning for this, however, is unlikely to be true in that the “English divide” is unlikely not because, as she asserts, “Japanese society has a broad middle class,”⁸ but because the economic and occupational importance of English language skills has not prevailed in Japan in the current situation. In this respect, whether the kind of selective English education that she proposes would cause the serious social gaps or not depends on the change of social and labor policies, as well as educational policies (for example, if the government changes the labor policy to one which puts much priority on English skills, the “English divide” is likely to occur). Therefore, we should carefully watch the policy change of the government, and tackle the possible inequalities of English education.

Notes

- 1) Note that it is still unclear whether this gap means a particular effect on English skills or just a correlational phenomenon of social gaps in school ability or academic achievement. That is to say, it is also possible to assume an indirect effect such as “wealth → academic achievements → English skills” rather than a direct effect. Whichever is true, however, the fact remains that there have existed social gaps in access to English skills.
- 2) In fact, some academic researchers (e.g. Torikai, 2001:25-6; 2010:14; Seargeant 2009: 106-31) also hold this view.
- 3) The sum of “Agree” and “Somewhat agree.”
- 4) Strictly speaking, such an *indirect* effect may be also mediated by capital of information (i.e. “English skills ↔ education → information”), but, due to a lack of empirical data, this paper does not examine this process.
- 5) According to the occupational prestige score of Social Stratification and Mobility 1995 (one of the largest-scale social surveys in Japan), doctor (and dentist) scores 90.1, lawyer, 86.9, and professor, 84.3. (If all respondents consider a certain job to be highly prestigious, its score is 100.0, and if no one recognizes its prestige, its score is 0.0 (therefore, its average is 50.0)).
- 6) Based on the Occupational Prestige Score of SSM 1995, the scores of this type of workers are relatively

low (around 60.0) because this indicator does not consider the popularity or size of the company for which one works.

- 7) They are “financial institutions, insurance” and “broadcasting, publishing, and advertising.”
- 8) According to some recent work, it is a myth that the income gap in Japan is small and that educational and occupational opportunities in Japan are open to everyone irrespective of her social and family backgrounds (e.g. Ishida, 1993; Sato, 2000; Kariya, 2001).

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