

Why Do We Teach and Learn English?: Discourses of English Teaching and Learning during the U.S. Occupation of Okinawa, 1945–1972

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I. Introduction

This paper examines the attitudes and motivation of English teachers and learners in Okinawa during the US occupation from 1945 to 1972. In characterizing these attitudes, I would like to demonstrate how the perceptions of both teachers and learners were constrained by the social and political conditions of Okinawa during the post-war period.

I do not limit the scope of my analysis of the teachers and learners described in this paper to teacher-student relationships in classrooms because, as Candlin and Mercer (2001) state, “the wider social context of life outside the classroom has an important effect on what takes place in . . . interactions between learners and teachers and among learners” (p. 1). In order to show the impact of the wider social context, I will look at the narratives of individuals who were in contact with English and the target language group as students or teachers during the battle or in internment camps, and whose reminiscences were gathered in alumni publications of various schools. Further sources of narratives and reminiscences are the publications of the associations of those who studied in the U.S. in the post-war period. The aim is to examine how teachers and learners of English did or did not make sense of their teaching and learning, and this will be done in terms of Dörnyei and Ushioda’s proposed L2 motivational self-system. Dörnyei’s theory has three aspects: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to self, and L2 learning experience, that is, “the learner’s vision of oneself as an effective L2 speaker, the social pressure coming from the learners’ environment and positive learning experience” (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 86).

This introduction is followed by a description of the history of English education in Okinawa during and after World War II. Then I will describe how the theory of motivation in the field of L2 acquisition has developed. Lastly, I will attempt to illuminate the educational experience of English teachers and learners in Okinawa during the U.S. occupation by applying Dörnyei and Ushioda's theory of motivation to their narratives.

II. English Teaching and Learning in Okinawa during the U.S. Occupation (1945–1972)

1. English education in post-war Japan, center and periphery

English, which was reluctantly taught and learnt during the war period, became a compulsory subject from junior high school on after the surrender of Japan (Imura, 2003, pp. 281–282). Following the U.S. Education Missions to Japan in 1946, the Japanese Ministry of Education made a revision of the school curriculum and published suggested official guidelines for instruction¹. According to Imura (2003), this curriculum was filled with pro-Anglo-American thinking as when, for example, it said, “(students should) mentally function in the same way as those who have been using English since their birth” (p. 93)².

Although English became a compulsory subject in Japan in the post-war period, at least one scholar argues that General Headquarters (GHQ) or Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) had less interest than supposed in spreading and institutionalizing English education. According to Eiji Takemae (1972), a political science scholar studying U.S. occupation policies in Japan, GHQ did not have a policy of abandoning Japanese and making English the official language, though some GHQ members had the idea of Romanizing all Japanese (pp. 133–134). Therefore, Takemae argues that English was learnt voluntarily without GHQ's enforcement. A war survivor interviewed by Takemae recalled that during the war, English was taught only for the purpose of understanding and conquering the enemy, but after Japan lost the war, the language became a tool used enthusiastically to learn “democracy” and British-American society and culture (Takemae, 1972, p. 135). This change in the status of English could also be seen in the huge

popularity of the English conversation radio program entitled *Come Come English* (Takemae, 1972, pp. 134–136). “Bottom-up democratization through English conversation,” though, became less popular in the turbulent social conditions after the 1951 Peace Treaty when conflict between democratic forces and conservative “reverse-course” policies became more intense (Takemae, 1972, p. 146).

The end of World War II led Okinawa in a direction different from the one Japan took in the post-war period. While Japan was under GHQ and regained sovereignty when the 1951 peace treaty came into effect in 1952, Okinawa was first administrated by the U.S. military government from 1945 to 1950, and then by the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyus (USCAR) from 1950 to 1972. Previous studies of English teaching and learning in Okinawa during the U.S. occupation have mainly discussed the shifts in English education policies as they were affected by the structural changes in governance, and the confrontation among various parties over the institutionalization of English education. In the following paragraphs I will give a general picture of English education in post-war Okinawa.

2. “What language to be taught?”: Teachers’ hesitation at the post-war resumption of education

When school education was resumed in the devastation after the Battle of Okinawa, there were almost no remaining school buildings or classrooms, textbooks or stationery, and only two third of the teachers had survived (Oguma, 1998, p. 556). Since the U.S. military was distrustful of those school teachers from the pre-war period, they only allowed the people of Okinawa to resume education on condition that they did not facilitate military training or worship Japan, and only provided tents to replace the damaged schools³ (Oguma, 1998, p. 557).

In such conditions, the attitudes and motivation toward English education among Okinawan teachers and learners in the beginning of the occupation period were complex and uncertain. The Japanese Imperial Army’s defeat by the U.S. Forces in the Battle of Okinawa and the immediate U.S. occupation of the Ryukyu Archipelago raised concerns among the people of Okinawa about what the administration of Okinawa would be like—including the concern about what languages were to be

officially used and taught—since in the pre-war period and during the war period, people had the experience of forced Japanese language education at the expense of the local dialect both policed by teachers and at least partly internalized by learners themselves (Okinawa-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1977, pp. 42–43). This helps to explain the well-known anecdote of local Okinawan schoolteachers immediately after the war, who, although they were first at a loss about which language they ought to use in schools, finally felt great relief when they received an official notice from the Division of Education of Okinawa, which at that times was part of the citizens' Okinawa Advisory Council, saying, "Use Japanese, lest it get lost" (Okinawa-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1977, pp. 42–43; Yamauchi, 1995, p. 307; Ishihara, 2001, p. 39).

However, a Japanese-only education was not possible under the U.S. occupation. The *First Elementary School Textbook Editing Policy* issued in 1946 by the Okinawa Textbook Editorial Office under the Education Department of the U.S. military government declared that the purpose of editing textbooks was "to teach the current state of Asia and the world, and to deepen understanding of the U.S." (Okinawa-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1977, p. 43). English education became compulsory in the school curriculum from the first year of elementary school in 1946. In order to improve proficiency in English as a second language among the Okinawan population, the citizen-led Division of Education established a one-year teacher training school with the cooperation of the Department of Education of the military government (Japan International Cooperation Agency & Okinawa International Center, 2006, p. 27). After a short period, this school, renamed the Okinawa Foreign Language School, became independent, and continued the training of elementary school English teachers. The school was closed when the University of the Ryukyus, along with a department of education, was established in 1950, which was also the year when USCAR started sending Okinawan students to U.S. universities and research institutions.

These attempts to establish English education in elementary schools failed for two reasons. First, there was a substantial gap between the teachers' actual proficiency level and that expected by the military government (Ishihara, 2004, p. 23). Second, partly as a result of the teachers' movement seeking to integrate the Okinawan school curriculum with that of mainland Japan, Eng-

lish education in elementary schools officially ended when the Central Committee for Education established and announced the official guidelines for instruction⁴ (Yamauchi, 1995, p. 310).

3. Other attempts to institutionalize English education

There were other efforts made by USCAR to improve English proficiency among the local population. One of these was the volunteer teacher program which existed from 1956 to the late 1960s, in which U.S. citizens or U.S. service members joined English classes in local junior high and high schools (Shimoji, 2001, p. 206). Although in most cases the volunteer teachers were organized and directly sent to schools by USCAR, some schools requested the Department of Education of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands to ask USCAR to send volunteers and other schools received volunteer teachers directly from the military commanders (Yamauchi 1995, pp. 314–315).

This program became the target of criticism among local schoolteachers. In a gathering of the Okinawa Prefectural High School Teachers' Association in 1968, the volunteer teacher program was questioned in the panels on "The Movement for National Education" and on "Human Rights and the Nation" (Yamauchi, 1995, p. 316). Yamauchi explains that at this time Okinawan teachers were organizing the reversion movement, so English teachers were in a dilemma about whether they would agree with their non-English-teacher colleagues who gave priority to educating Japanese nationals and therefore disagreed with the volunteer teacher program, or would support the program in order to improve their students' English proficiency. Supporting the volunteer teacher program could be considered as a betrayal not only of colleagues but also of the larger population at the time of the island-wide reversion movement (Yamauchi, 1995, pp. 316–318).

Another attempt to improve English education was the establishment of the English Language Center for English teacher training, in order to prepare students to go to the United States and to conduct research on English education in Okinawa itself (Yamauchi, 1995, pp. 318–320). Although the Committee of Education and Society within the Government of the Ryukyu Islands opposed the establishment of the language center on account of its association with USCAR rather than the Govern-

ment, it began operation in 1963⁵. The establishment of the English Language Center was followed by plans to reintroduce English education in elementary schools and to launch an English commercial high school though neither plan was realized. The former was only carried out as an extracurricular activity with the participation of students who volunteered, and the latter was cancelled because of opposition from the Okinawa Teachers' Association (Ishihara, 2004, pp. 23–25).

Thus, the history of English education in Okinawa in the later years of the U.S. occupation period indicates that various attempts to improve English proficiency among the local population were questioned and opposed, mostly by teachers, especially by those who were pursuing the reintegration of Okinawa into Japan. For those teachers who were making an effort to regain human rights by identifying themselves and their students as Japanese nationals, active involvement in and support for English education were taken as a betrayal of the island-wide reversion movement.

4. What did teaching and learning English mean to the people of Okinawa?

As we have seen above, previous studies have described how English education in Okinawa had been implemented through interaction among different parties, such as USCAR, the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, the University of the Ryukyus, the Michigan State University Advisory Group and the Okinawa Teachers' Association. These studies, however, have overlooked the question of how the teachers and learners of English in Okinawa felt about their involvement in English teaching and learning. Instead of focusing further on the conflicts among those parties, this article will go on to explore peoples' relationships to the English teaching and learning in which they participated, and how these relationships were constructed in Okinawa at the time of post-war U.S. occupation, in terms of recent theories of L2 motivation.

III. Theories of Language-Learning Motivation

The issue of motivation in the field of L2 acquisition studies was first extensively investigated and developed in the work of

Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert (1972), who argued the necessity of examining socio-psychological factors influencing L2 acquisition. Although there were notions that both pedagogy and individual aptitude for language learning caused different levels of attainment, these were not sufficient answers, since one learner may acquire more while another learner acquires less as a result of the same method of teaching and people can learn language regardless of aptitude in mandatory situations (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, pp. 1–2).

In order to investigate these unresolved questions, Gardner and Lambert conducted research on how individual learners' attitudes toward the target language group and their degrees of ethnocentric orientation impacted on their acquisition of a second language (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 3). They argue that "the successful learner of a second language must be psychologically prepared to adopt various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group," and categorize motivation as being either instrumental or integrative:

The orientation is said to be instrumental in form if the purpose of language study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation. In contrast, the orientation is integrative if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that other group (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 3).

This framework of analysis focusing on learners' attitudes toward the target language group represents the first phase in the development of L2 motivation studies—the *social psychological period* (1959–1990), as it is called by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011). A similar study of learners' attitudes toward target language groups was conducted by John Schumann in his study of acculturation, in which he argues that individual learners' acculturation to the target language group is the major influence on their L2 acquisition (1978, p. 34).

The notion that learners' sympathetic and affirmative attitudes toward the target language group are necessary factors in L2 acquisition, however, was revised by the later studies during

the social psychological period. For instance, Oller and Perkins (1978) proposed the idea of “Machiavellian Motivation” in order to criticize the binary categories of integrative and instrumental motivation and to describe cases of successful L2 acquisition in which learners successfully acquire an L2 while having negative attitudes toward the target language group, their motivation to learn the L2 being to defend themselves from the target language group (Ellis, 2008, pp. 680–681).

The social psychological theory of L2 acquisition was merely a beginning and was revised in the *cognitive-situated perspective period* during the 1990s at which time more attention was being paid to the cognitive aspect of motivation in the general field of psychology. Moving on from the ethno-linguistic analysis of the social psychological period, L2 motivation studies during this cognitive period began to focus more on practical studies of classroom language teaching and learning (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 46–47).

The studies in the cognitive tradition developed the ideas of resultative motivation and intrinsic motivation since there was a necessity of overcoming the view that sees motivation for language learning as static and determined. The concept of the first kind of motivation refers to the resultative, rather than causative aspect of motivation that language learners develop through the experience of successful language learning (Ellis, 2008, p. 681). On the other hand, the concept of intrinsic motivation supplements the overly deterministic aspect of socio-psychological factors in L2 acquisition, and demonstrates the possibility of cultivating intrinsic interest in the process of acquisition through the course of learning (Ellis, 2008, p. 686). Increasing attention to the shifting aspects of motivation during the cognitive-situated period caused the focus of L2 motivation research to move from temporary to more extended periods of time.

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) named this trend, focusing on the changing aspects of L2 learning motivation over along period of time, the *process-oriented period*. This perspective enables us to consider the fact that L2 acquisition usually takes a long period of time and learners may not sustain their motivation through the whole course of learning; moreover, it makes us aware of the necessity of conducting qualitative research on how individual learners’ L2 learning motivation changes over time. In

other words, we need to pay more attention not only to the reasons why they decided to learn, but also to the reasons why they continue to learn.

This process-oriented model of L2 motivation, however, still remained linear and retained a cause-effect framework. It, therefore does not help us to understand the complexities and arbitrariness of the construction of individual learners' motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 76). These concerns led to the development of the *socio-dynamic perspective* of L2 motivation studies.

This shift in focus, named the 'social turn' (Block, 2003), is manifested in the work of Norton (2000), who sees language learners as "having a complex social history and multiple desires," and argues that the relationship between the "socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice" is a complex one (Norton, 2000, p. 10). Norton critiques Schumann's acculturation theory for its insistence on there being a clear boundary between individual learners and the society, and for its presumption that there is no power difference between language learners and the target language group while identifying learners as responsible for acculturation to that group (Norton, 2000, p. 119). Following Norton and other scholars who have made this 'social turn,' Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) argue that

where L2 motivation is concerned we need to understand second language learners as real people who are necessarily located in particular cultural and historical contexts, and whose motivation and identities shape and are shaped by these contexts. (p. 78)

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) define this perspective as the "person-in-context relational view of motivation," and argue that this requires us to investigate "the complex interactions between the individual and multiple evolving contexts" (p. 78).

These previous studies of L2 motivation have been synthesized in Dörnyei's theory of the "L2 Motivational Self-System." The central features of this theory, combining general psychological theories and L2 research, are the "Ideal L2 Self," the

“Ought-to L2 Self” and the “L2 Learning Experience” (Dörnyei, 2005). The Ideal L2 Self is the L2 aspect of a person’s “ideal self,” and it becomes a strong motivator since learners desire to fill the gap between their “Ideal L2 Self” and their actual selves. Integrative and instrumental motives are included in this component. The “Ought-to L2 Self” refers to individual learners’ beliefs about what they should possess or should do in order to comply with the expectations of their community and to avoid undesirable results. Lastly, “L2 Learning Experience” refers to language learners’ motives arising from their learning environment and experience (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 86).

IV. Why Do We Teach and Learn English?: Analysis of the Narratives of English Teachers and Learners

In this section, I would like to explore the narratives of English teachers and learners in Okinawa during the U.S. military occupation through the lens of Dörnyei’s theory of the L2 Motivational Self System in order to demonstrate the dynamic complexity of attitude and motivation among these teachers and learners. The narratives that are analyzed in this section are essays and records of round-table talk that were published in journals and memoirs of alumni and alumnae of Okinawan schools and of Okinawan holders of scholarships to study in the U.S. Motivation in English education was modified by shifts in political circumstances and varied according to unique individual experiences.

1. “Know the language of your enemy”: Discourse during the war period

During World War II in Okinawa, English was taught and learnt as the language of the enemy as it was in Japan. Alumni of several schools equally recall that there was a prevailing reluctance to teach or learn English. Some of them state that English became an elective subject or an extracurricular activity as hostility toward the U.S. intensified during the wartime. In a round-table talk session, an alumnus of Miyako Junior High School describes his school changing English into an elective subject and making students work and build a Japanese navy airbase (Nanshū Dōsōkai Okinawa Shibu, 2008, pp. 68–69). Students themselves

asked their English teachers why they had to learn English (ibid.). Reluctance to learn English is also seen in a reminiscence of an alumna of a women's teachers college, where English became an elective subject. She reports that "only a small number of students applied to take English," so in order to make up the numbers, "some students were forced to choose the English class" by the administration (Okinawa-ken Joshi, Ikkōjo Dōsōkai, 1987, pp. 600–601).

An alumnus of a junior high school recalls that he was told to "learn English, the language of the enemy" during the war (cited in Uehara, 2008, pp. 106–107). A similar experience is seen in the reminiscences of alumnae of another school in Okinawa (Okinawa-ken Joshi, Ikkōjo Dōsōkai, 1987, pp. 602). Thus the ought-to selves for both teachers and learners at that time were those hostile to Americans and to their language. While they were not encouraged to teach and learn English, they did so for the purpose of "knowing the enemy" in order to meet the expectations of wartime society.

2. The experience of survival through the use of English

The wartime attitude of English teachers and learners changed as a result of their learning experiences during the Battle of Okinawa. The defeat of the Japanese Imperial Army during the battle forced the people of Okinawa to make direct contact with U.S. soldiers and to use their language. According to an alumnus of a junior high school, the use of English had a great impact on his survival when he surrendered to U.S. soldiers:

A physical search was immediately conducted. Since I had a can of fish paste in my pocket, they [the U.S. soldiers] thought I was hiding an explosive device and held the muzzle of a rifle to my back during the search "How old are you?" That was the first real English I had heard. Since I was shaking my head and staying silent, they kept asking "Sixteen? Seventeen? Eighteen?" I recognized that I needed to add "teen" to the cardinal number and answered "two-teen" instead of twelve. Luckily, they misheard and wrote down "thirteen" on their form. "You are a schoolboy." "Yes." We had a lively conversation (Cited in Okinawa Kenritsu Daiichi Chūgakkō Shōwa 19 Nen Nyūgaku Dōki-

seikai, 1986, p. 50)

This was a highly critical moment for the survival of this alumnus. He experienced language learning in circumstances in which the U.S. soldiers had immense power over his life and death. Another alumnus describes surrendering to U.S. soldiers while he was hiding in a tomb with his grandmother:

I uttered as many English words as I had learned in my junior high school, such as, "I am a boy," and "your gentleman." The U.S. soldiers said something to me but I did not understand, of course. I kept answering "yes" and "no" as I looked at their face. My neighbors who came out from the tomb after me gave some brown sugar to the soldiers and they seemed to like it. I could finally feel I was okay. I went around the tombs to let my neighbors know that we were fine and encouraged them to surrender. (Cited in Okinawa Kenritsu Daiichi Chūgakkō Shōwa 19 Nen Nyūgaku Dōkiseikai, 1986, p. 99–100)

The English teacher used to teach the above alumni (as usual, telling them to "know the language of the enemy") also describes how his English speaking ability saved his life at his first encounter with U.S. soldiers:

When I encountered the U.S. soldiers at Cape Kyan, one of them said, "You can speak English," and I survived. Most of those running away together were wiped out in Kyan, the southernmost point of Okinawa Island. Commander Cornell gave me a cigarette and said, "You work here." He was very nice to me. (Cited in Okinawa Kenritsu Daiichi Chūgakkō Shōwa 19 Nen Nyūgaku Dōkiseikai, 1986, pp. 141–142)

These narratives of direct contact with U.S. soldiers indicate that their ability of being able to communicate with the soldiers in English was an important factor for their survival. Their language learning experiences in their direct contacts with U.S. soldiers possibly caused them to have a belief that English would help them survive and also encouraged them to have the sense of an ideal L2 self in which their language skill would serve their

people.

However, I should note that these accounts are from those who were able to survive through “successful” communication with the soldiers. Along with these memoirs of first encounters, there are memoirs of unsuccessful communication and of extreme fear and hostility toward U.S. soldiers—one person recounts that he was repeatedly forced to dig and fill a hole in the ground; another person remembers that he did not gain anything because of his poor English and therefore was hostile to the soldiers (Kenritsu Nōrin Dai 42 Ki Kaisōroku Henshū Iinkai, 1996, pp. 183–207, pp. 637–639). It is possible to notice that these people’s experience would have suggested that they were mostly in a subservient role and were only allowed to express themselves within limits set by the U.S. soldiers.

3. Desire to learn in the post-war devastation: The genuine joy of learning English

An alumnus of a high school portrays his joy and excitement of making a response to the U.S. soldiers when he was arrested:

When we were all being taken to a prison camp, the U.S. soldiers kept us prisoners in order by saying “stand up” and “sit down” with gestures. I noticed that these were the phrases that I had learned from my English teacher. The gestures were also the same. I forgot my feeling of fear and became inwardly delighted and naturally murmured in response to their instructions. This was the first time that I saw the soldiers, and these were the first words I heard from them. I came to be fully convinced that if you were repeatedly forced to pronounce and learn the same words, you would never forget them. (Kenritsu Nōrin Dai 42 Ki Kaisōroku Henshū Iinkai, 1996, p. 325)

Being able to communicate with U.S. soldiers also had a great impact on life in Okinawa under the U.S. occupation. One alumnus of a junior high school recalls that during the war

we were not encouraged to learn English. However, our English teacher said in a low voice, “if we do not know the language of the enemy, how would we lead them when we

defeat them in battle. In order to become the world leader, you have to be able to communicate in the language of the enemy country.” (Cited in Okinawa Kenritsu Daiichi Chūgakkō Shōwa 19 Nen Nyūgaku Dōkiseikai, 1986, pp. 99–100)

As is clear from this quotation, this alumnus was in a position to learn “the language of the enemy.” However, his learning experience in his interaction with the soldiers helped him to develop an ideal L2 self:

Although I often visited places where U.S. soldiers were and became close to them, I could only articulate the words that I learned in junior high school. A soldier who was very nice to me wrote a letter of reference to the high commissioner, saying “Although I would like him to study in the U.S. I do not have sufficient funds. As a U.S. taxpayer, I would like this boy to study” I was one of the thirteen out of three hundred candidates who passed the exam for the scholarship to study in the U.S. I believe that the letter was a major plus for my success I went to Hawaii to study, and the English I learned from my English teacher was very helpful. (Okinawa Kenritsu Daiichi Chūgakkō Shōwa 19 Nen Nyūgaku Dōkiseikai, 1986, pp. 99–100)

English was one of the important ways to satisfy Okinawan students’ desire to learn and to obtain an opportunity to study. An alumnus of another school stresses that, in the post-war devastation, the youth of Okinawa were eager to study (cited in Yoshū Alumni Association, 1980, p. 492).

According to Hiroaki Kinjō (1988), institutes for higher education were first introduced during the U.S. occupation due to the efforts of U.S. officials who were passionate about education. Their original aims in establishing the Teacher Training School and the Foreign Language School were to provide intensive language training courses and to supply English teachers to schools in Okinawa. The young people who had survived from the Battle of Okinawa, who had come back after having been evacuated or who had been discharged from the military wanted to gain the opportunity to learn (Kinjo, 1988, p. 97–99). Therefore, these

institutions supported by USCAR were one of the few ways to access learning opportunities for these adolescents and thereby to get closer to their sense of a new ideal self. In this sense, the wartime ought-to L2 self, expressed in the notion of “knowing the language of the enemy” was replaced with a new ideal L2 self in the post-war devastation.

This shift allowed some Okinawans to enjoy learning English without being constrained by the wartime discourse of “knowing the language of the enemy.” English literature scholar Okufumi Komesu (2004) recalls the time when he was learning English by himself before going to the U.S. His narratives of his working experience as a resident bartender at a U.S. military officers’ nightclub show his genuine joy in improving his pronunciation, learning new expressions and mastering American manners and culture (p. 107). These examples of motivational change in English learning in Okinawa during the post-war period indicate that individuals’ motivation with respect to English education was neither simple nor fixed in the way that Gardner’s theories of integrative and instrumental motivation had argued, but was complex and dynamic and is better explained by Dörnyei’s theory of the L2 Motivation Self System, with its three elements of ideal L2 self, ought-to self and language learning experience.

4. Growing ill feeling toward Americans and their language: The early 1950s land eviction

It was difficult, however, for Okinawan English teachers and learners to sustain their sense of ideal L2 self and genuine joy of learning under the military occupation. Hiroyuki Kinjō (1988), one of the members of the alumni association of the GARIOA scholarship program, argues that criticisms of studying in the U.S. emerged when a nationalist movement was organized among university students in Okinawa around 1954 and 1955 (pp. 109–110). His claim is convincing because the middle of the 1950s was the time when an island-wide-struggle was organized in order to protest against land evictions by the U.S. military⁶. This shift in political climate increased anti-American sentiment among the local population and spread the notion that those who were involved in English education were “pro-American.” It is possible to assume that these teachers and learners were in

dilemma between their ideal L2 self and their ought-to L2 self at this shift in the political environment. The ought-to self at this time was that of a Japanese-speaking Japanese national⁷, in line with the movement seeking the reintegration of Okinawa in Japan and liberation from the U.S. military occupation.

Here a question arises. To what extent were these English teachers and learners at that time allowed to have and to express their relationship to English and the target language group? In a contemporary essay entitled "What it means to study English in Okinawa," a junior high school teacher says, "when people learn language, they do so with admiration and interest, rather than advantages and disadvantages" (Nakamura, 1962, p. 9). However, this kind of remark seems to be uncommon. The narratives of those who had frequent access to English or to the target language group were not as clear-cut as those of this junior high school teacher, but were contradictory and ambivalent, and articulated in an undecided manner, as the next section will show. Most of them did not simply express the joy of learning English.

5. The sense of being a "mediator" between the occupier and the occupied

One way in which English teachers and learners negotiated their sense of L2 self and identity under the military occupation was through their sense of being a "mediator" between the U.S. military service members and the people of Okinawa. For example, a translator and an interpreter employed by the Translation Bureau and by a newsletter circulated by the U.S. military describes how he negotiated with USCAR officials in his translation work:

On June 15th, 1950, the Temporary Advisory Committee of the Ryukyus was established. I was one of the eleven members of the committee and concurrently served as the chief of Goeku Village. When I became a full-time member of the committee, we were about to establish the temporary central government as a provisional measure to integrate the agencies of trade, of the postal service, and of agriculture and forestry, into one administrative agency The Judicial Division of USCAR asked us whether the legislative body could be translated as "assembly" in English, so we dis-

cussed this. If we had accept the term “assembly,” it would . . . not have fulfilled its important function of making laws, and could merely have discussed the bills drafted by USCAR bureaucrats. Therefore we had them translate it as “legislature,” and came to a conclusion that we should name it “Rippo-in” [Legislature], in the hope that it could fully demonstrate its function of legislating. (Cited in Kenritsu Nōrin Dai 42 Ki Kaisōroku Henshū Iinkai, 1996, p. 445, pp. 447–448)

As a translator and an interpreter, he had access to both USCAR and the residents of Okinawa. The residents of Okinawa at that time were subject to under the absolute authority of the U.S. military. Therefore, those who had access to English or the target language group became conscious of their role as a “mediator” or a “bridge” between the occupier and the occupied. Making an adjustment of the ought-to L2 self and the ideal L2 self was a way to fulfill their sense of ought-to L2 self by meeting the expectations of their community while at the same time approaching their ideal self. An alumnus of the association of GARIOA scholarship program participants expresses his sense of being a bridge between the U.S. and Okinawa:

The Golden Gate Club⁸ has been a friendship circle among the people who studied in the U.S. and who have played the role of connecting the U.S. and the Ryukyus. It is true that the general public has the idea that we have been a sort of exclusive circle devoted to the interests of the U.S., and some have criticized us for “body-guarding the U.S.” However, I believe that it is undeniable that the Golden Gate Club has not been a political association but a friendship circle, and each individual has worked hard as a “bridge.” (Cited in GARIOA, Fulbright Okinawa Dōsōkai, 1987, p. 298)

Being a “bridge,” of course, does not mean that they just convey the wills of both sides. Rather, they themselves articulate the questions that have arisen from their own experience. One of the Golden Gate Club alumni recounts his days of studying in the U.S. He says that as he learned about democracy in U.S. history,

he started to question the state of his home place, Okinawa, where people were labeled “communists” and as therefore being “evil,” if they said or did anything unacceptable to the ruler, the U.S. military. He says he could not stop thinking that the U.S. military’s strict control over the thought and speech of Okinawans was incompatible with “democracy” in the U.S. (cited in GARIOA, Fulbright Okinawa Dōsōkai, 1987, p. 230). The role of re-examining the world from a position in between the two different worlds is also seen in the essay of another Golden Gate alumnus. Komesu (1986) reflects on his life in post-war Okinawa:

. . . through my career of majoring in English-American literature, I was able to experience the culture and the spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, those “savages” we hated during the war. As a result, besides my career as a professional scholar of literature, I became able to look at the world from two different perspectives. I became able to reexamine the war that we fought through the rhetoric of both Japan and the enemy. (Komesu, 1986, pp. 179–180)

It is interesting to see that even a person like Komesu, who expresses his joy in learning English at a U.S. officials’ nightclub, explains his relation to English and the target language group in a distant manner. Positioning oneself as a mediator allowed these individuals to meet the expectations of their community as well as to achieve their desire to learn and practice English.

V. Conclusion

This paper has examined how English teachers and learners constructed their relation to English and the American target language group in Okinawa during the U.S. occupation. Listening to their voices has enabled me to characterize the attitudes and motivation of English teachers and learners who have previously been relatively voiceless in the history of English education in Okinawa. English teaching and learning which were avoided and unvalued during wartime, became a compulsory subject in post-war Okinawa. In the post-war devastation, a higher proficiency of English provided access to various opportunities and

became one the means to fulfill peoples' sense of ideal self. However, English teachers and learners at that time were the subject of social pressure, and had contradictory and ambivalent feelings of being in-between the occupier and the occupied. In other words, they were able to communicate with the U.S. military officials and service members while being a part of the oppressed community.

In this respect, Okinawan people's motivation for teaching and learning English was not definite and fixed as it in the way that earlier theories of L2 motivation would suggest. More recent theories of L2 motivation help us to understand how dynamic and complex the attitudes to English education of individual teachers and learners under the U.S. occupation were, and how their relationship to English and the target language group was contextualized through the interactions of ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self and language learning experiences in a specific historical context.

Notes

1. Gakushū Shidō Yōryō. In 1946 only, the Ministry of Education added the word *shian* ("suggested") because they wanted to revise the curriculum further based on the comments from teachers (Imura, 2003: 92).
2. All translations from Japanese in this article were made by the author.
3. Seventy percent of schools were temporary facilities, such as tents provided by the U.S. military, and seven percent of children had to take open-air classes (Oguma, 1998, p. 557).
4. The Education Bureau of the Ryukyus promulgated new government guidelines for teaching in elementary schools in 1961 and in junior high schools in 1962. The Curriculum Council states that the school curriculum "should be revised to conform to that of mainland Japan" in order to raise Japanese nationals. However, at the same time, the Curriculum Council's report points out the importance of maintaining fixed hours of English education in Okinawa since the necessity of English learning there was much higher than that of mainland Japan (Yamauchi, 1995, pp. 310–311).
5. Prior to the establishment of English Language Center, several proposals were submitted from the University of the Ryukyus, in cooperation and consultation with the Michigan State University Advisory Group and the Department of Education within USCAR. High commissioner

- Paul Caraway (1961–1964) rejected these proposals because of their giving preference to either the University of the Ryukyus or the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (Ishihara, 2004, pp. 20–22).
6. Japan regained its sovereignty simultaneously with the enforcement of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952. The scale of U.S. bases and facilities in mainland Japan were reduced to one-fourth while those in Okinawa were doubled in size between 1952 and 1960 (Arasaki, 2005, p. 20).
 7. Schoolteachers encouraged students to use “proper” and “standard” Japanese. In some schools teachers strictly forbade the use of “dialect” by bringing back the pre-war “dialect tag,” by correcting “wrong words,” and by asking for the cooperation of the community (Oguma, 1998, pp. 564–569).
 8. The Golden Gate Club is the name of the association of GARIOA scholarship program participants.

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