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Recontextualisation of Global Education Agenda in Totally Pedagogising Society: A Case Study of Education for Sustainable Development in Japan

페다고지화 된 사회와 글로벌교육의제의 재맥락화: 일본의 지속가능한 발전교육 사례연구

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Recontextualisation of Global Education Agenda in Totally Pedagogising Society: A Case Study of Education for Sustainable Development in Japan

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ABSTRACT

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Recontextualisation of global education agendas has been typically regarded as an inevitable and often necessary process that occurs during localisation for effective implementation. In this tactical agreement, the agendas are integrated into the national education system while being transformed to assimilate with or resist against the prevailing ideas of a society. This study conceives that this process exerts a significant effect on the modalities of global agendas, and the contexts play a key role in orienting the process and result of the transformation.

With the case of the DESD in Japan, the study focuses on the modality of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) that is promoted as an education model for academic ability in Japan. The research questions for

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the study are: 1) what is the impact of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNDESD) on the national education system of Japan? 2) Conversely, how did ESD promote an education model for academic ability in Japan? 3) Overall, how are global agendas recontextualised through pedagogisation? For the research, literature, policy documents, meeting minutes, speeches and news articles were analysed by deploying a modified analytic method of Bengtsson and Laclau, conceiving policy documents as articulations. Since the term ESD has not been widely used or known, this study traces the articulations of ESD in order to look into the integration of ESD with education policies of Japan. The articulations of ESD are categorised into four dimensions: 1) education for sustainability focusing on intrinsic role of education, 2) education for sustainability focusing on instrumental role of education, 3) education for development focusing on intrinsic role of education, and 4) education for development focusing on instrumental role of education. For the text mining and mapping of the key words by categorising articulations of policy documents, KHcoder was deployed to an abundant number of materials. Additionally, interviews with academics and specialists were conducted to replenish the shortage of policy analysis.

For the research, three steps of analyses are made. First, ESD is conceptualised by deploying Laclau's empty signifier. Second, the traits of the education context of Japan are investigated through the recent reforms. This study characterises the contemporary society of Japan with the concept of Totally Pedagogised Society of Bernstein to discuss the interwoven relationship between the recontexualisation of global agendas and knowledge economy. Knowledge economy, life-long learning and

trainability are a few of key words that make up the traits of a knowledge-based society in which consistent learning to acquire and manage new knowledge is emphasised. Third, the process of pedagogisation of ESD in the education context of Japan is analysed by applying Bernstein's pedagogic device.

The study reveals four main findings. 1) Generally, the articulations of ESD did not much appear. Both the analysis of policy documents and interviews reveal that the impacts of ESD on the national education system in Japan were not significant regardless of its prominent role in launching the UNDESD. 2) The pattern of regularity of articulations shows that the DESD has provided legitimacy for continuous or additional support for environmental education but other elements of ESD remain stunted. 3) Regardless of its low internal impact, Japan made an effort to take a leading role in the DESD in which involved actors contributed to accord hegemony to ESD by promoting it as an education model for academic ability and human resource building by referring to the competency model of DeSeCo and PISA. 4) The mechanism that was established for ESD promotion in Japan enabled power relationships within the Japanese government to affect the implementation of ESD both domestically and internationally.

The findings reveal that ESD and the DESD did not have a hegemonic profile. There was no clear evidence of conflict and resistance in the process of promoting ESD as an education model in Japan due to imbalanced structure of recontextualisation. Recontextualisation is the procedure that ESD is transformed within the complex web of social, political and economic contexts of Japanese society. As a result of the recontextualisation, ESD assimilated into predominant discourse of education in Japan – human

resource building for knowledge economy. This was possible because Japan, with a desire for a leading role in the DESD, is a knowledge-based society where the mechanism of production, recontextualisation and reproduction of knowledge plays a central role in sustaining the knowledge economy.

The case of ESD and Japan informs that a country equipped with capacities to build an effective mechanism of pedagogisation can accord significance to a certain idea and integrate it into pedagogic knowledge. By pedagogisation, a global education agenda can serve as a de facto governance system via policy experiments, even without the absence of hard law. Therefore this researcher characterises the process of ESD becoming an education model as having evolved through pedagogisation. In this context, this study claims that both direct and indirect involvement of international organisations in the national education sector has strengthened over time under the effect of globalisation, yet the state maintains power to mediate or even restrict that drive. Accordingly, integration of a global education agenda into school education is determined by how useful the agenda is for responding to states. Given its views predominantly centred on economic growth, the discourses of a global education agenda are vulnerable to manipulation in the process of symbolic control. This is how ESD could evolve as an education model for human resource and global competency regardless of its original sense. Therefore, this study asserts that resistance or conflict during the process of integration is natural and essential to build the appropriate meanings and values of a global education agenda for a society. This process also requires equal and horizontal relationships between diverse actors.

This study provides in-depth discussions on the impact of global

education agendas on education by looking into the phenomenon of

recontexualisation, which has not been systematically developed in

academia. Moreover, this study shows the applicability of a new

complementary research approach by conceptualising global agenda as an

empty signifier and analysing through a theoretical framework of pedagogic

device for the study of global agendas. This study lays a foundation stone

for further study from the aspects of theory, policy and practice in two ways

by expanding theoretical discussions on the potentials and limits of the

conceptual logic of empty signifier, and by testing the applicability of the

pedagogic device framework to study the impact of global education

agendas.

Keyword: Totally Pedagogising Society, pedagogic device, empty signifier,

global agenda, ESD, Japan, education reform, knowledge

economy, sustainable development, transformation

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACCU Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO

ACD Asian Cooperation Dialogue

UNDESD Decade of Education for Sustainable Development

DeSeCo Definition and Selection of Competencies

EE Environmental Education

EIU Education for International Understanding

ESD Education for Sustainable Development

ESD-J Japan Council on Education for Sustainable Development

GAP Global Action Programme

JFIT Japan Fund In Trust

MEXT Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

MOE Ministry of Environment

MOFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NatCom National Commission for UNESCO

NGO Non-Government Organisation

NIER National Institute for Educational Policy Research

NGO Non-Profit Organisation

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PE Peace Education

PISA Programme for International Student Assessment

PrepCom Preparatory Committee

SD Sustainable Development

SDGs Sustainable Development Goals

UN United Nations

UNDESD United Nations the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development

UNECE United Nations Economic Commission of Europe

UNESCO United Nations Environmental, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF The United Nations Children's Fund

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Global education agendas play a core role in articulating desired political and social developments and visions such as sustainable development, social security, global justice, and world peace. In these agendas, education is often regarded as a useful tool to solve complex socio-economic and environmental problems. Thus, nations are encouraged to integrate global agendas into national education for effective transmission to a large number of students. In addition, partnerships between government and nongovernmental sectors, including the private sector, are established for a wide delivery of education programs which are produced during the implementing process of global agendas. Through a number of forms of educational activities, the agendas are dispersed in and out of school. Students learn about these agendas through adjectival subjects and learning activities. Teacher trainings are provided by the local governments and NGOs to raise awareness of global education agendas. Nevertheless, it is not evident whether these global education agendas (or international commitments) influence education in each country. The integration of global agendas into school education did become easier and occurs more often since it was popularised as a convenient promotional strategy.

Which knowledge is determined as important and is delivered in educational institutions in an ever-expanding knowledge-based society is a crucial topic. Therefore, this study pays attention to the phenomenon of a global agenda becoming a part of the knowledge transmitted through school education. This process has not drawn much critical attention from the field

of education so far.

Education systems such as schools and universities play a central role in a society's institutional fabric (Meyer and Rowan, 2006). They are mechanisms of production, transmission and reproduction of knowledge which re-/generate the discipline that deals with the theory and practice of teaching. In a knowledge-based society, the education system that is intimately interwoven with a society introduces pedagogy in every possible domain of life. In this society, re-trainability is regarded as essential to acquire new technologies or rules for managing new knowledge, which in turn increases human resource (Bernstein and Solomon, 1999). In this context, a global agenda inevitably assimilates into or conflicts with the predominant ideas of the society to become a part of the pedagogic knowledge. Pedagogic knowledge is a broad term including the philosophical, theoretical, and practical approaches, sets of events, activities, processes, practices, and methodologies that guide teaching and learning. In order to be integrated into school education, ESD should possess, or become part of, pedagogic knowledge. In this context, this study defines the pedagogisation of a global education agenda as evolution. With the case of the DESD in Japan, this study discusses the evolutionary process of a global education agenda through pedagogisation within the complex web of social, political and economic contexts of Japanese society.

1.1 Background

It can be argued that Education for Sustainable Development (hereafter referred to as ESD) has been systemically supported through the 'UN

decade for ESD' (hereafter referred to as UNDESD) which proceeded from 2005 to 2014, and by a number of UN agencies, especially UNESCO, NGOs, regional bodies, and partner networks engaged in supportive activities for ESD (Cars and West, 2015).

ESD been promoted for expansion to nations through institutionalisation, being reflected in education policy and practice. The prevailing methods of ESD promotion are the deployment of mass education and the diversification of involved actors, as well as an increase of partnership between government and non-governmental sectors, especially NGOs¹. In this way, diverse actors are invited into the education sector, with financial support and resources for more than ten years. According to the report of UNESCO (2012), a number of countries incorporated ESD in their educational program although the degrees vary regardless of their economic status. Developing countries have benefited from the mobilisation of financial and technical support from developed countries. Swedish, UK, Australian, Canadian, Japanese and Dutch aid agencies have all played important roles in funding curriculum development for sustainability in Africa and Asia as well the Pacific Islands (e.g. AusAid, 2010; MedIES, 2010; MEXT, 2012; SIDA, 2011) (UNESCO, 2014:164).

Among these handful of nations that actively supported UNESCO for ESD promotion, Japan shows two unique features. One is its geo-political position and the other is its neoconservative inclination that overall contributed to the result of a disputable type of ESD modality, an education model for academic ability.

As the one developed country in Asia, the Government of Japan has been

a major donor and supporter of cooperative regional efforts to promote sustainable development through education in the Asia-Pacific region (UNESCO, 2014:46). The leverage of Japan in constructing and distributing ESD has been significant. Japan has been the predominant producer of relevant documents and political dialogues at international forums, and these are regarded as the core source for the construction of ESD. As the producer of these documents and political dialogues, Japan has been the pioneer and exporter of knowledge for planning the policy and practice of ESD, especially in the Asia-Pacific region.

It is noteworthy that the UNDESD has been also a national agenda in Japan. This researcher uses the Decade of ESD (hereinafter referred to as DESD) to differentiate the national agenda of ESD in Japan from the global agenda, the UNDESD. This national support is related to the role of Japan in initiating the UNDESD in 2005 following an initial proposal by the Japanese government and NGOs at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg Summit) in 2002. Japan has shown its strong initiative by introducing ESD into the revised Education Law in 2006 and the Courses of Study in 2008, which form the basis of school education. This integration of ESD into the education regulation is a rare case. UNESCO (2014) reported 29 per cent of member countries reflected ESD into policy, among them few directly reflected ESD into education regulation during the DESD (e.g. Cambodia, India and Japan). While the policies made in the developing countries such as India and Cambodia did not lead to actual practice due to limited resource (UNESCO, 2014), Japan's institutionalisation of ESD resulted in actual practice through

implementation. Considering how Finland is still reforming its national core curricula for pre-school and basic education to support and promote sustainable development (UNECE, 2014a), Japan's speedy policy adoption has a global reputation as a good model of ESD institutionalisation (UNESCO, 2012). Japan also approved the Enhancing Motivation on Environmental Conservation Act in 2012. Japan claims that it has resulted in clearly incorporating the principle of ESD into the national education policy (UNDESD Japan report, 2009:10; 2014:23).

The situation of Japan was complex as neoconservative ruling parties simultaneously adopted neoliberal education reforms. The details of the implementation adoption and process in Japan are obscure. Institutionalisation cannot occur without hegemony, as 'the processes of institutionalisation are intellectual spaces and, perhaps, physical places where various battles are fought for hegemony' (González-Gaudiano, 2016:121). Integrating certain themes and ideas of global agendas with national education, specifically in curriculum, is a policy making process that needs decisions and consents from key stakeholders. The recent education reforms in Japan have been in parallel with the economic recession and the neoliberal wave of globalisation. The education sector in Japan has been struggling in response to the need for change, as a 'highlevel knowledge-based society facing intensified international competition' (the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, hereinafter referred to as MEXT, 2008). Moreover, the ruling party in Japan has been instigating the argument over neoconservatism (Takayama, 2008),

which shapes an intricate relationship between the central government and the governmental departments. In this context, integrating ESD into Japan's education seems to be an idea that is costly but contributing little to knowledge economy. This is to say, the integration of ESD with the current education of Japan, especially in terms of its legitimacy, must have required a total or partial agreement on how and what ideas from ESD were to be reflected or not.

'Social institutions can assume a large number of different shapes and forms, some of which appeal more to a particular group of collective actors than others' (Meyer and Rowan, 2006: 3). If change occurs in school education, such as subjects newly added or removed, it can be interpreted as change of value or interest to which powerful people are committed (Stinchcombe cited in Powell and DiMaggio 1991:191). The movement of change, therefore, even though coercive or enacted, cannot survive to full institutionalisation unless it serves the interests of power holders; in other words, 'It is a matter of legitimacy as well as power' (Meyer and Rowan, 2006:34). Bourdieu's *field* concept brings similar arguments. Not all actors are equally powerful in the field, because powerful actors have 'more chance of introducing their ideas, preferences and languages in this field'. (Verger, Novelli and Altinyelken, 2012:6-7). Keep in mind, the prevailing positive views of economic centered growth, and the discourse of sustainable development can be vulnerable to manipulation by those whose aim is to secure vested interests and maintain the status quo without significant social change (Jickling, 2005). Particularly since the meaning of ESD is broad and ambiguous, the concept must be defined to integrate it into the education policy. This demands an expenditure of time and effort, together with the resolution of the inner and outer conflicts among the decision-making groups.

UNESCO (2012) explains that the ESD movement led by Japan can be regarded as a collective challenge to conventional education for sustainability. However, despite its strong initiative for the UNDESD, Japan has retrogressed to conventional education during the Decade. Such disparity between the global and national levels is another unique feature of Japan providing valuable implications for the study of global agendas and their impact on current education systems pressured for global competency. However, the Japanese experience in this field is a rather neglected research topic in international academic journals, except for the existence of select case studies (Itoh et al., 2008).

1.2 Rationale

This study opens the possibility of academic debates on the role of global agendas in a knowledge-based society. A knowledge-based society is adopted from MEXT's statement that described Japan as a 'high-level knowledge-based society facing intensified international competition' (MEXT, 2008). A 'knowledge-based society' that MEXT describes is analogous to the concept of Totally Pedagogising Society (TPS) that Bernstein explains. Knowledge-based society is where new knowledge, information and technology become the basis and defining features of life and its domains of politics, economy and culture (MEXT, 2005). Therefore,

a knowledge-based society focuses on the shift to a knowledge-based economy that is redefining firms, empowering individuals and reshaping the links between learning and work (Burton-Jones, 2001). The prevailing discourse of knowledge economy and international competition played a key role in the recent education reforms in Japan, in which the nation is characterised as a knowledge-based society.

This research is designed based on two important arguments: 1) a global agenda assimilates into or conflicts with the predominant ideas of the society in order to be accepted. 2) In today's society where the control of knowledge takes central place in the economy, global agendas contribute to the production of new pedagogic knowledge. Since the implications of adopting a global agenda for national education are neither visible nor enormous, this research area has not been systemically developed. Thus, not much is known about how and why global agendas are adapted and transformed during localisation, and what their role is in the education context of a society.

The identity of a global agenda is differentiated at the global and national levels. Moreover the countries which deeply involve themselves in the process of agenda making also exert crucial influence in the construction of such identities. Therefore, the analysis of the education context of those countries is necessary to fully understand the adaptive and transformative process of global agendas, since global agendas are frequently re-/defined and re-/shaped by the ideas prevailing in those contexts.

The 'Decade for ESD' (DESD) has finished in 2014. After the Decade, many argue that the impact of ESD is timid in most countries due to their

lack of will and resource as well as difficulties in understanding the ambiguous agenda. It is also criticised that in a number of cases, ESD is more associated with the dispersion of neoliberal ideology (Jickling, 2004; Jickling and Wals, 2008; Sauvé, Brunelle and Berryman, 2005; Sumner, 2005).

However, it is noteworthy that education itself in all countries is undergoing changes in the era of globalisation. The neoliberal form of ESD may be a natural consequence of education being forced to adapt to a bigger global wave of international competition. Thus, this study asserts that ESD can be produced with diverse types of modality depending on the context that consumes it.

This study finds that Basil Bernstein's pedagogic device, which has not been used widely for the study of global education agenda, is a valuable framework providing a crucial lens to analyse the evolutionary process of ESD in Japan through pedagogisation. The sphere of global education agendas as a part of pedagogic knowledge can be studied by looking at the social forces that induce, maintain and legitimate it. The relationship between modes of educational transmission and their regulatory structures plays a core role in production, recontextualisation and reproduction of new pedagogic knowledge. In this way, this study aims to open a space to discuss the role and usage of global education agendas within the cycles of knowledge re-/production under the effects of globalisation, with the case of the DESD in Japan.

1.3. Research questions

This study presents the best conceptual logics able to capture the nature of ESD and the traits of education in Japan, and the implications of predominant values and ideas in the Japanese society for transforming the ESD modality into an education model for academic ability. Since the phenomenon of globalisation changes every sphere of the society this study regards ESD as a complex global education policy with variations on the national level (Gough 2009; González-Gaudiano 2005).

Although the Decade ended, the life of ESD continues within the new agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (hereafter referred to as SDGs). In rivalry with another education agenda of Global Citizenship Education (hereafter referred to as GCED), and sharing most of the core elements with environmental education, ESD will continue. This study, however, finds that critical discussions remain. So what are the implications of the UNDESD for education in Japan and what are the implications of Japan's education for constructing the modality of ESD, an education model for academic ability? In order to answer these questions, this study analyses the traits of education reforms that occurred in Japan in the last two decades (the UNDESD: 2005-2014). In this way, this study aims to explain the trajectory of changes in education in the context of Japan and its influence on determining ESD modality.

The refined research questions are as follows:

1. What are the impacts of the DESD on the education system of Japan?

- Has the DESD influenced education reforms?
- 2. How did ESD evolve into an education model for academic ability in Japan?
- Did ESD assimilate into (or conflict with) the education context of Japan?
- 3. How are global agendas recontextualised through pedagogisation?

1.4. Terminology and scope

In terms of terminology, McKeown and Hopkins (2003) define that Sustainability education (SE), Education for Sustainability (EfS), and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) as interchangeable terms describing the practice of teaching for sustainability and human-environment-development relations. Because ESD is the term most used internationally and by the United Nations, this study also uses ESD.

Pedagogic knowledge is used as a term covering the philosophical, theoretical, and practical approaches, sets of events, activities, processes, practices, and methodologies for teaching and learning. Thus, the integration of agendas into school education is described as a process in which the agendas become pedagogic knowledge. Likewise, pedagogisation is the whole process where certain ideas or discourses are conceived as valuable knowledge thus becoming pedagogic knowledge.

Although there are ongoing debates on the formalisation and modelling of knowledge economy due to the vague definition of *knowledge*, this study deploys a key concept in knowledge economy— the greater reliance on intellectual capacity than on physical input or natural resources (Burton-

Jones, 2001). In this sense, the focus on human resource or human capital is understood as rooted in knowledge economy.

This research does not include discussions of the actual issues involving ESD practice on the local level since it is beyond the scope this study. Instead, the focus is on the implications of the DESD for national education, and *vice versa*, especially in relation to education reforms for school education during the period of the DESD, flexibly from 2000 up to 2016. The implications of a global agenda for national education can vary by country; thus the possibilities of variations or exceptions are recognised.

1.5 An overview of the study

The layout of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 2, the previous studies on ESD are reviewed to explore scholarly gaps that this study may supplement as well as critical points to help with research design and methodology. The conceptualising process of ESD is explained with the logics of Laclau's concept of empty signifier. By applying Laclau's concept of empty signifier, the articulations of ESD are divided into four categories. In Chapter 3, the theoretical framework of Bernstein's pedagogic device in a Totally Pedagogising Society is addressed as a lens to analyse the current education context of Japan. Chapter 4 provides a detailed explanation of methodology, the process of research including data collection and analysis, together with interviews. Chapter 5 discusses the overall case of Japan and the DESD from the global to the national level. It covers Japan's contribution in launching the UNDESD and the education context of Japan by addressing the traits of the reform process in Japan. The chapter reveals a

predominant discourse that drove such orientations. Resulting from the study are key findings drawn from text mining, key words associations and discourse analysis of the collected data. In Chapter 6, the findings and their causal elements are extensively discussed in an effort to understand the political life of ESD in Japan where knowledge economy takes an important place in education. Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the argument focusing on the role of global education agendas in a knowledge-based society, suggests further discussions on the potentials and limits of the concepts of empty signifier and pedagogic device as frameworks for the study of global education agendas.

CHAPTER II. Literature Review

This chapter reviews the previous studies on global education agendas including ESD to explore scholarly gaps that can be supplemented by this study. The review focuses on research topics that are most frequently discussed: conceptualisation methods, methodologies and impacts of global agendas as well as ESD in Japan and other countries. The review found critical points to develop further with this study.

2.1.Impact of global agenda on education

Since the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 and the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, there has been an improvement of enrollment rate, especially in basic education, teacher and pupil ratio and so on. King (2015) asserts global education agendas such as EFA and the MDGs influenced national education policies and practices through formal and informal mechanisms by which involved actors wield power. GMR (2015) reports that in terms of financing education, many countries have increased spending on education. 38 countries increased their spending by 1 percentage point or more of national income between 1999 and 2012. State and non-state actors have secured authority and presence in education (King 2015:7). With goals and financial supports, EFA and the MDGs exerted power and influence in national education reforms as a system of regulation.

Nevertheless, the drop-out rate during the transition from primary to secondary education, and gender inequality and teacher's quality remain problematic. Education is not a priority in many national budgets. As a share of government spending, expenditure on education has changed little since 1999 and at 13.7 per cent in 2012, governments and donors have neglected to fund EFA goals outside of primary education. As a result, pre-primary education and adult literacy, in particular, remain underfunded. In general, donors have largely failed on their commitment to deliver aid more effectively (UNESCO, 2015: xiv).

It is not much known how these global education agenda or their related projects made actual impact on education policy in the countries that applied them. For example, Geeta Kingdon, professor of education economics and international development, evaluated that there has been a positive return on DFID's investment in India's flagship education programme ² - Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) (Oxfam, 2015). Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, is an Indian Government programme aimed at the universalisation of elementary education 'in a time bound manner', as mandated by the 86th Amendment to the Constitution of India making free and compulsory education for children between ages 6 and 14 a fundamental right. As an intervention programme, SSA has been operational since 2000. The Right to Education Act (RTE) came into force on 1 April 2010. Some educators and policy makers believe that SSA has acquired the necessary legal force for its implementation with the passing of this act. She pointed out that while DFID's aid to education in India amounts to only 3 per cent of the total SSA spending, it is enough to trigger catalytic difference. The introduction of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan is regarded as a fruitful result of the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) which was funded by a number of external

agencies, including the World Bank, DFID and UNICEF. The case of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan explains the DFID project based on Education for All had a causal impact on the legislation of RTE. However, it is not clear how DFID's project with a small share of finance attributed such a result.

Likewise, the impact studies of global agendas are relying on the outcome because the procedures are fragmented and discursive. Nevertheless, the agendas with clear targets and goals make their evaluations more measurable and feasible compared to the agendas with 'informal mechanisms' that rely on qualitative data (King, 2014:19). The impacts of these agendas such as Peace Education and Education for International Understanding on education are explained with best practices, integrated into pedagogic knowledge and pedagogic approaches (King, 2014:19). This is why the outcomes are differentiated by the researcher's definition by *impact*. For instance, Cardozo (2008) asserted that the positive initiatives of peace education in Sri Lanka remain limited due to structural issues that foster segregation, fear and bias. On the contrary, Lee (2013) claims peace education in Sri Lank has developed in accordance with education policy despite fragmentation under various titles.

Although many, including UNESCO, explain the impact of global agendas on education with their institutionalisation, as in, policy making, most of them have been meta-objectives of a number of education policies with different titles. For instance, Macintosh (2015) asserts ESD has been a meta-objective of the Australian environmental policy for more than two decades but material impact has been limited. There have been advances in environmental protection since the early 1990s but, by and large, these have

been products of the same types of political and contextual factors that drove policy prior to the adoption of ESD. The score may have changed, but the rules have remained the same.

In the same sense, the impact studies of global agendas tend to reveal some success at the margins, but overall impact has been limited (Barker, 2000; Cardozo, 2008; Lee, 2013; Macintosh, 2015; Salomon and Cairns, 2011).

2.2. Previous studies on ESD

González-Gaudiano, a prominent Mexican environmental educator and a member of an international advisory group for the UNDESD set up by UNESCO, observed in 2005 that 'one de facto problem that the implementation of the [UNDESD] faces is that apparently only we environmental educators have become involved in debating its pros and cons' (2005: 244). Indeed, the last decade shows that environment research has developed into more complex and diverse forms, while ESD in education policy remains minimal. The academic debates on ESD are generally missing in journals of education policy. For example, when *Taylor* and Francis Online (Accessed date: 6th. August 2017) was searched with a keyword 'Education for Sustainable Development', 299 articles were found. Once again, they were filtered by journals: Environmental Education Research (97), International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education (18), Journal of Geography in Higher Education (15), The Journal of Environmental Education (13), European Journal of Engineering Education (2), Africa Education Review (6), International Journal of Science Education (6), International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology (5), The Curriculum Journal (5), Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education (4). When re-searched separately in Journal of Education Policy, only one relevant article was found. This may have attributed to the establishment of journals that is particularly focused on ESD, such as the Journal of Education for Sustainable Development (JESD)³, and Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability. Therefore, these journals are separately reviewed.

There are controversial discussions regarding the implications and implementation of ESD (Kopnina *et al.*, 2014; Tilbury, 2007, 2011; Zint *et al.*, 2011). The issues discussed are mostly confined to the implementation of ESD in local contexts, and the difficulties involved in evaluating its effectiveness (Tilbury, 2011; Zint *et al.*, 2011; Kopnina and Meijers, 2014). Necessity of policy involvement is continuously discussed for the mobilisation of more resources for ESD, as well as the need to establish partnerships among national organisations (Fien, 1993; UNESCO, 2004). According to Kopnina (2011), ESD is practiced differently at the national level depending on the socio-political priorities of the nation. Some types of ESD are more focused on social equity or health reproduction, especially in developing countries. On the other hand, environmental issues might be more of a concern in the case of more affluent Western countries with high levels of consumption.

Noticeably the scholars in the field of environmental education were most actively involved, as the controversial concepts of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Sustainable Development (SD) have brought continuous debates in the field of environmental education theory and research over time (Chatzifotiou, 2002; Fien, 2000; Huckle, 1996; Jickling, 2006; Jickling and Wals, 2008; Kopnina, 2012; Manteaw, 2008; Stevenson, 2006). The existing tensions between environmental education and ESD, however, is not much addressed in the segment since the study focuses on tensions between education for sustainability and education for development within the process of neoliberalisation of education. Yet it is noteworthy that the ample discussions built upon environmental education research also lay the solid foundation stone of this study.

However, since ESD has been a relatively new concept, most research studies and debates were on polishing its meaning and identifying applicable area to solve difficulties in the process of planning and implementation. In general, ESD has largely lacked focused critical analysis (Manteaw, 2012) but was hastily driven toward implementation. Tilbury (2011) also observed that ESD remains poorly researched and weakly evidenced.

Efforts for conceptualisation

Various attempts were made so far to conceptualise of ESD/SD in theory, policy and practices. Appelstrand *et al.* (2010) provide a well-ordered figure of the flow of the regulatory discourse on the environment and economic growth, which explains the development of the concept of sustainable development since 1960. Egelston (2013), in *A History of Sustainable Development* explains well the NGOs and environmental organisations' political influence on the development of the sustainable development

discourse by tracing its long historical path. Likewise, a strong connection of environmental education with the concepts of ESD/ sustainable development is widely known already, so the strong academic interests of environmental education researchers is regarded as reasonable and predictable.

All the researchers agree with the idea that sustainable development (also ESD) is an imperfect and incomplete concept thus it can be interpreted diversely from different perspectives. The interpretations of the concepts are largely divided into two categories, although they are interwoven. One asserts the positive impact on societal and environmental change (Chatzifotiou, 2002; Fien, 2000; Huckle, 1996; McKeown and, Hopkins, 2003; Stables and Scott 2002; Tilbury, 1995), the other is criticises the possibility of manipulation by powerholders (Bonnett, 2006; González-Gaudiano, 2005; Jickling, 2006; Jickling and Wals, 2008; Kopnina, 2012; Manteaw, 2008; Sauvé, Brunelle, and Berryman, 2005; Stevenson, 2006; Sumner, 2008). This is to say, the studies on ESD, sustainable development and its various practices approach these concepts with caution, holding on to multiple perspectives. These arguments are consequently merging into neoliberal economy and post-colonialism under the effect of globalisation and global governance when they combine with the topic of ODA, especially concerning resource control (Davis, Wanna, Warhurst and Weller, 1993). The complexity of the concept caused difficulties in conducting the studies on ESD's impact on reality. This is because the result of the research can be differentiated depending on the conceptualisation of ESD. Therefore,

many ESD studies deployed qualitative research methods to conceptualise ESD by reviewing literature and text materials to suggest the possible ways to discuss its impact in local level (Bengtsson, 2013; Fien, 2000; Kopnina, 2012). Among them a number of studies tried to prove the impact of ESD on raising the awareness of teachers and learners on environment issues or citizenship (Asano, 2011; Bonnett, 2006; Hasslöf and Malmberg, 2015). In terms of policy, Jickling and Wals (2008) find that the concept of ESD has been decoupled from contextual understanding, with the potential for it becoming a 'paradoxical compound policy slogan' (Stables et al. 2002:42) that allows it to be attractive to interest groups with widely differing views, such as individuals, governments, business, NGOs and communities, and enables them to participate (Campbell and Robottom, 2008). A number of researchers attempt to interpret ESD as a globally shared policy concept (Jickling and Wals, 2008, Bengtsson, 2014; Lotz-Sisitka, 2010), meanwhile admitting the different degrees of integration into policy, focusing on two interrelated issues. One issue is the emphasis on contextual, institutional, and historical differences of the concept (Bengtsson, 2014; Lotz-Sisitka, 2010; Sauvé, Brunelle and Berryman, 2005; Wals, 2009). The other is that these contextual divergences are caused by the processes of globalisation (Jickling and Wals, 2008; Sauvé, Brunelle and Berryman, 2005; Sumner, 2008). These two kinds of research are recognising the global and local interactions in contextualised meanings of certain concepts in the policy making process but are also highlighting issues of power in the translation or the 'trickle down' process of ESD policy (Bengtsson, 2013).

In the studies of ESD policy, the concept is recognised as international with the possibility of localising in specific contexts and settings. In a similar vein, the theory builders are keen to understand the form of ESD as an internationally shared policy concept and as imposition on action or determination of subsequent practices of contextualisation and meaning making (Jickling and Wals, 2008; Sauvé, Brunelle and Berryman, 2005). Some emphasise the dominance or influence of ESD as an international concept that may orient and conduct policy, but they also understand that governing agencies and their actions may limit ESD capacities (Bengtsson, 2013; Berryman and Sauvé, 2013; Campbell and Robottom, 2008). However, these arguments have not been effectively proved by empirical studies. Therefore, actual field studies are needed to understand how ESD capacities are determined and reflected in policy or action (Bengtsson 2013; González-Gaudiano, 2016; Tilbury, 2011).

Aspects of methodology

A comparison study conducted between Denmark and Sweden (Breiting and Wickenberg, 2010) presents a rather disappointing view on the ESD development in Denmark while complimenting Swedish efforts to clarify and spread ESD. Asano (2011) analyses environmental policy and education of *Växjö* city in Sweden and *Keneyama-machi* in Japan, both of which satisfies 'the environmental epistemological model of 5 aspects', and concludes with the need for ESD in early childhood as the basis of life-long learning and citizenship participation. These comparison studies are based on the positive assumption that somehow ESD obtains determinable

meanings during localisation, and thus can be *developed* by governments or communities. However, the grounds for the assumption are still disputable due to a deficiency of discussions on the contested directions for developing ESD.

A number of studies are conducted to prove the effect of ESD as it is implemented in classroom settings in various countries. Most of them support the positive role of ESD for social and environmental change but lack critical debates on the paradoxical concepts and the tendency for rebranding previously existing activities on environmental education. It is also controversial for the conceptualisation studies that question the stability and consistency of ESD.

Few have attempted quantitative research. Kolleck (2016) deploys Social Network Analysis (hereinafter referred to as SNA) to find influential actors in the educational policy making process in terms of the implementation of ESD in Germany. Her study focuses on a relative position of an actor within issue-specific information flows and the trust placed in its capacities and expertise. SNA techniques bring together social interactions and the frequency and types of information exchange amongst actors in a certain issue area.

McKenzie, Bieler and McNeil (2014) apply policy mobility regarding the concept of sustainability as a vehicular idea to see how it twins with processes of neoliberalisation in education policy. In the study of *The Global Expansion of Environmental Education in Universities*, the authors draw from world culture theory or sociological neo-institutionalism to explain an isomorphic phenomenon by a cross-sectional and longitudinal

analysis of environmental degree programs in a global sample of universities (John Frank, Jeong Robinson, and Olesen, 2011). Both studies use data collected from post-secondary institutions by searching for language or text uses in the policies and degree programmes. However, these quantitative studies have clear limits in explaining the contexts of the language-use tendency, whether it is due to the decision-making groups of institutions, greater government policies or students' demands. Mostly the selection of those texts or languages is made by a process of interpretation which statistics may not able to capture.

ESD studies in Japan

Despite Japan's active involvement in promoting the DESD, the Japanese experience in this field has been neglected in international academic journals, except for selected case studies (Itoh *et al.*, 2008). ESD in Japan has been actively researched mostly by a domestic circle of Japanese environmental educators. Many of them conducted informative studies on the launch of the UNDESD in relation to Japan's involvement (Abe, 2006; Ishikawa, 2006; Sato and Abe, 2008; Yoshikawa, 2010). A number of studies on Japan's experience with ESD in the national level are conducted (Mochizuki and Fadeva, 2008; Nomura and Abe, 2008; 2009; 2010; NINOMIYA-Lim and Abe, 2015). Also theoretical studies are conducted in relation to practical discussions for the school subjects such as social studies, science, geography, environmental education and development education (Abe, 2007; Ito and Karayama, 2013; NINOMIYA-Lim and Abe, 2015; Nomura, 2009; Nomura and Abe, 2008; Sakaue, 2013; Suzuki, 2010; 2013,

Takao, 2010; Tanaka, 2005) and programmes on the higher education level (Suzuki, 2011; Nomura and Abe, 2010). Suzuki (2010) applies Illich and Freire's thoughts and environmental education theory to ESD from the social pedagogical point of view, and he also attempts to review ESD for theoretical and practical unification of development education with environmental education. Takao (2010) discusses on the significance of ESD in the public education system comparing with the case of Germany's 'ESD competency model'. The development of ESD is discussed in relation to geography education (Sakaue, 2013), home economics for in-service teachers (Ito and Kakayama, 2013), science education (Abe, 2007) and programmes in Kanazawa University (Suzuki, 2011).

The problem of low awareness is discussed. The report of NIER on *ESD* in schools reveals teacher recognition of ESD is very low, as ESD had been unknown in Japan until recently (2009). According to the questionnaire for the Leader Teachers' Training for Environmental Education (EE) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) at the governmental level, only about 20 per cent of the participants knew ESD in 2008 (NIER, 2009). A questionnaire study of Miyakawa *et al.* (2009) on the recognition rate of sustainable development and ESD of Okayama citizens between November 2006 and January 2007 shows 16.3 per cent of 864 people from the age of 20 to 79 knew about SD (but 63.3 per cent could not explain about it to others). 8.3 per cent of 864 people knew about ESD.

Highlighting Japan's efforts

Nomura and Abe (2010) researched key developments and the role of governmental support in the field of ESD in higher education in Japan. The study claims that supports for environmental programmes such as certificate programmes, and funding schemes for ESD-related studies in higher education increased. Nomura and Abe (2010) assert that a significant progress on ESD integration has been made in the context of the DESD as the discourse of ESD policies was influential in shaping ESD practice in the Japanese context. Nevertheless, they point out uncertainty of continuous support after the Decade of ESD and imbalanced supports among universities as problems.

NINOMIYA-Lim Abe (2015)reviewed and discussions on environmental education (EE) and education for sustainable development (ESD) in Japan between 2002 and 2014. By examining the influence of ESD on EE, the authors identify seven major impacts: an increased focus on the process of education and learning within local community development practices, and the need to learn from studies and discussions in the field of adult and community education; expansion of EE in schools as part of community development practice; the improved collaboration between EE and development education/ international education to gain a global perspective; an increased awareness of the importance of the wholeinstitution/activity approach to realise sustainability; an increased focus on value development in EE/ESD; the development of forums for discussion of EE as ESD following the Great East Japan Earthquake; and a greater focus on the necessity of a 'reflective' review of EE and ESD. Likewise, many

studies reveal the increased significance of EE in the field of education in Japan under the influence of the DESD.

Since Japan's involvement in launching the UNDESD has been large, conceptual discussions on international implementation scheme of ESD were actively made in Japan (Abe, 2006; Ishikawa, 2006; Sato and Abe, 2008; Yoshikawa, 2010). The research of Nomura and Abe (2009) on 'policy talks' beyond official documents and declarations rely on interviews, which benefited from their access to the people who had played central roles in proposing the UNDESD. Their study shows how the floating concept of sustainable development gains hegemony under the works of principalagent groups with contingency. The research of Nomura (2010) on the problems of ESD implementation in the Asia-Pacific region points out the lack of networking among relevant agencies and the lack of critical, theoretical discussions on ESD as problematic. He claims that ESD in these areas is limited to environmental education but need to move on to deeper reflection of ESD. Nomura emphasised the Asia-Pacific region is an important place for ESD study based on the three pillars of sustainable development, society, economy and environment. In a similar vein, Mochizuki and Fadeva (2008) conduct the study on Regional Centres of Expertise on ESD. Nomura (2009) researched Historical Development of Environmental Education in Indonesia with a perspective on ESD, and the status of environmental education in the ASEAN region. These studies show the strong initiatives of the circle of environmental educators in Japan in ESD debates. There are key academics who have led the studies on the diverse aspects of ESD generally with an optimistic view on its impacts on

social and environmental change. However, the existing studies lack critical debates on the paradoxical concepts of ESD and, in general, are limited to environmental education conducted during the Decade.

2.3. Empty signifier

While reviewing the literature, attention was given to the works of González-Gaudiano (2005, 2016) which opens new possible ways to look into not only ESD but all other contradictory global education agendas such as Global Citizenship Education. He defines ESD as a signifying system; 'a component that might interconnect diverse elements is the fact that they are fields of social intervention which have generated different ways of disagreeing with the status quo' (González-Gaudiano, 2005:245). The definition of ESD as an 'empty signifier' or an 'empty place [that] stems from the dissension with the status quo' (González-Gaudiano, 2005:246) explains how an ambiguous and abstract idea is articulated in policy while being interpreted differently by different stakeholders though not necessarily connected to the original sense. His article leads to Bengtsson's case study of Vietnam and ESD (2016). Bengtsson deploys a discourse analysis of relevant policy documents to capture the hegemonic potential of ESD and sustainable development, and finds the emergence of a space of political contestation and the underdetermined meanings of sustainable development and ESD concepts in Vietnamese policy. Here, González-Gaudiano (2016) responds with the possibility of the existence of dominance without hegemony in the framework of politics. The Vietnamese political and educational historical context may allow for supranational bodies,

specifically UNESCO, to exert more influence on the promotion of ESD. Therefore, only 'cosmetic changes' can be made by adding some phrases regarding ESD, with no significance.

González-Gaudiano (2016)that 'the of asserts processes institutionalisation' are intellectual and physical spaces 'where various battles are fought for hegemony (p.121)'. He claims no existence of 'real' ESD policy in Latin America and no articulation of social subjects holding the discourse of ESD. The concept of ESD remains absent in the Mexican policy documents of the past decade, but some 'cosmetic changes in governments' institutional discourse (p.123)' were made as cooperative gestures to UN agencies. González-Gaudiano (2016) addresses the limit of analysing policy documents which, in Mexico's case, do not reflect the reality of contingency and resistance.

A few important points can be drawn from these studies. The geo-political dimension and intra/international relationships with other powerful groups in the field should not be ignored. As the spread of ESD by UNESCO is enhanced under the UNDESD, some countries are more vulnerable to the command of UN agencies. Then how about to the countries that largely help enhance the command of the supranational bodies?

The influence of education context on conceptualising ESD is generally missed in the previous studies. As in González-Gaudiano's assertion, the role of education cannot be determined without a broad context of a pedagogical imaginary. What does ESD mean to the field of education itself, and how did education become a congested space embracing conflicting

ideas? According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010), an identity of education in a dominant global social imaginary is a core point on which this study builds.

The increasing works on education studies pay attention to the role of policy actors engaged in globalising processes of policy formation, the global flows or movements of education policies across public–private partnerships, the complex politics of global–national policy translation and how they are enacted in local contexts (Ball, 1998; Lingard and Sellar, 2013; Robertson 2012; Steiner-Khamsi and Stolpe, 2006). The economic turn in education reform policies and policy convergence under the neoliberal agenda has been a noticeable phenomenon that critical policy scholars point out.

A number of studies on ESD were produced in the field of environmental education. Many studies conceptualised ESD as a contested and contradictory concept. Nevertheless, ESD became consistently recognised as a global education agenda through the UNDESD without a clearly shared definition. In order to explain this phenomenon, a few scholars apply the concept of 'empty signifier' to ESD. These studies conceive that the meaning of ESD can be determined by its articulations in policy documents. In this way, these studies explain how the contested and ambiguous concept can be merged into related policies then practiced.

The impact study of ESD in Japanese education can be differentiated by their conceptualisation of ESD and what they mean by impact. The previous studies present many ways of conceptualising ESD. Among these several methods, as a result of analysing policy documents and conducting

interviews, this research considers the conceptualisation of ESD as an empty signifier ias the most logical. Through interviews with the Japanese experts on ESD, this researcher finds that the core definition of ESD is empty, and thus diverse ways to articulate ESD exists in the field of education. For example, one staff who is working at an ESD Centre can expressed that 'ESD has many faces' to explain diverse ways of interpretation and transformation. In general, the meaning of ESD is uncertain and undetermined, but its representative meaning is determined by its multiple plans and practices that are not always coherent. Moreover, ESD was not a widely used term in Japan even among teachers, due to the difficulty in understanding even with the additional explanations. Therefore, ESD needs to be defined by analysing its articulations, for the purpose of findinf particular patterns (discourses) and configurations of key words in the documents and interviews. The following section explains Laclau's concept of empty signifier that is deployed by González-Gaudiano, Bengtsson, as well as this study.

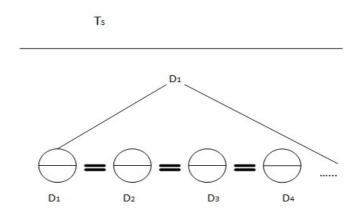
2.3.1. Laclau's empty siginifier

Although Laclau's empty signifier plays a key role in understanding why various definitions of ESD overlap in ESD policy research, the meaning of the phrase 'empty signifier' is often misunderstood as a catchall category for all things undefined, meaningless and vague. This tends to hinder an indepth study of ESD impact.

The concept of empty signifier is developed by Laclau. In Saussure's theory, a 'sign' is made up of two elements: the signifier (or the *signifiant*)

and the signified (or *signifie*) (see Cobley 2001:264-265). The signifier is the symbol, the concept, the entity or the 'mental sound pattern' and the signified is its meaning. The paradox of the empty signifier is that with or without a signified, it is possible to become a signifier, because the sense of absence is in itself a signifier. Building on structuralist theories of language Laclau asserts the existence of 'empty signifiers'. These are not signifiers without signifieds, but signifiers which signify the constitutive impossibility of signifying. It is a concept to signify what is missing or to supplement a deficiency.

What Laclau tries to explain is the figure 3.1. The figure shown below presents the notion of 'empty signifier' at its purest. Laclau uses Tsarism (Ts) as an example for a regime which is oppressive and are separated from the demands of most sectors of society by a political frontier (D1, D2, D3, D4...etc.). Each demand is different to all the others in their articulations.



Source: Laclau (2005:130)

<Figure 2.1> The notion of empty signifier

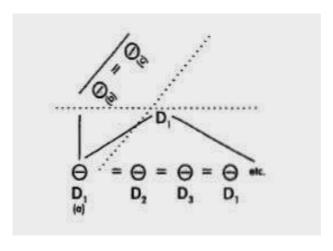
However they are all united in their common opposition to the Tsarist oppressive regime. Laclau claims that this in turn leads to one of the demands stepping out and representing the signifier of the whole chain— a tentatively empty signifier. The dichotomic frontier enables the presence of the whole model of equivalent chains. Without the opposite frontier, the system of whole chains would collapse and the identity of each demand would be exhausted in its differential particularity.

However if the oppressive regime (Ts) becomes hegemonic over the opposite frontier, the whole model of equivalent chains becomes unstable. The equivalent chains can be interrupted by an alternative equivalent chain, in which some of the popular demands are articulated to entirely different links as figure 2.2.

The same democratic demands receive the structural pressure of rival hegemonic projects in such case. This generates autonomy of the popular signifiers different from the earlier ones, and their significance is indeterminate between alternative equivalential frontiers. Laclau calls signifiers whose meaning is 'suspended' in this way as 'floating signifiers'. This process is explained with figure 2.2. Laclau explains,

As we can see, D1 is submitted to the structural pressure of two antagonistic equivalential chains represented by the dotted lines: the horizontal corresponds to the popular camp opposing Tsarism, as in the first diagram. The diagonal, however, establishes an equivalential link between D1' belonging to the popular camp, and two other demands that the latter would oppose as belonging to the camp of Tsarism. So we have two

antagonistic ways of constituting the 'people' as a historical actor. The way in which the meaning of DI is going to be fixed will depend on the result of a hegemonic struggle. So the 'floating' dimension becomes most visible in periods of organic crisis, when the symbolic system needs to be radically recast. And, for that reason, that dimension has, as a necessary pattern, the unfixing of the relationship between the two semicircles in the representation of the demands: the upper semicircle is always the one that becomes autonomous in any floating, for it is in its equivalential virtualities that the representation of the (absent) fullness of society lies. (2005:131)



Source: Laclau (2005:131)

<Figure 2.2> The notion of floating signifier (Laclau, 2005:131)

Jeffares (2007) divides the path of the development of the concept of empty signifier into two stages. In stage one, he discusses the early work of Laclau on empty signifiers and the applications made by Howarth, Clohesy and others (see Howarth *et al.*, 2000 for further examples) in which the

position of the concept is relatively underdeveloped. In this period of development, empty signifiers were firstly understood as floating signifiers that become empty signifiers. Floating signifiers are general equivalents that have multiple meanings because actors grounded in multiple discourses are seeking to hegemonise their meaning during a period of dislocation. The notion of floating signifiers can be applied to concepts such as race and gender, as a way of asserting that the word is more concrete than the concept it describes, where the concept may not be stable, but the word is. The status of empty signifiers and floating signifiers depends on their condition. Published examples of empty signifiers include 'women' (Jarbi, 2004), 'race' (Foster, 2000), 'green' (Day, 2004), 'class' (Crane, 2006), 'community' (Reyes, 2005) and 'ESD' (Gonzáles-Gaudiano, 2005). However, as Laclau also addresses, the point at which a floating signifier becomes an empty signifier is not clear as in the case of 'race'. Race could be an empty signifier in one context but not in another. From the disorder, multiple meanings rooted in multiple competing discourses offer their objectives 'as those which carry out the filling of that lack (absence of order)' (Laclau 1996: 53). So political forces are needed to accord hegemony to an exact meaning 'to carry out this filling function' (*Ibid.*).

In this sense, the boundary between empty signifiers and floating signifiers becomes opaque; their conditions become stable when a group of multiple actors successfully inscribe their objectives into newly emerging discursive orders. Therefore, when applying discourse theory to empirical studies, the stability of the discourse must be considered before asserting

whether an apparent general equivalent is either a floating signifier or an empty signifier (Jeffares, 2007).

In stage two, Laclau's consideration of general equivalents moves forward to a comprehensive understanding of the role and emergence of empty signifiers in discourse theory, and this leads to a discussion of demands. In *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985), Laclau and Mouffe offer a unique account of 'discourse' where social entities only become meaningful through discursive articulation. So the meaning is not just given but constructed though social practices, which explains the role of discourse in re-considering the nature of identity. In other words, it explains how a term of radical disorder gains universality and is regarded as natural.

The possibility of a general equivalent that represents the chain does not mean totality is obtained, yet its operation is done by a structured power of hegemony. Having a given term embody totality or universality in social practices or political acts is to give the incomplete signifier a hegemonic identity by symbolising fullness (Laclau 2005:71). Hegemony is necessary to emerge the demands to embody totality or universality. As actors articulate more demands, and thus expand the chain, greater the need for a general equivalent representing the chain as a whole. It will reach a point where a 'general equivalent' is required to represent the whole chain. In other words, as the number of the demands articulated into the chain increases, greater the need for a demand from within the chain to represent the overall shared purpose of the various different demands. Crucially,

Laclau argues that this 'general equivalent' does not come from outside of the chain but from within; it only arises from the existing particularities.

The empty signifier's purpose is to signify the absence. The role of the empty signifier is therefore to symbolise fullness or completeness. When a general equivalent represents the whole chain, an empty signifier is needed 'to signify and to withdraw its significatory function at the same time' (Stäheli 2003: 8). Howarth and Stavrakakis argue that although full closure is never realisable, the idea of closure still functions aided by empty signifiers; thus 'societies are thus organised and centred on the basis of such (impossible) ideals' (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000:8).

2.3.2. The role of an empty signifier in constructing global agenda

Conceptualising a global agenda as an empty signifier is not a new attempt. Agenda building naturally evolves from a set of multiple streams of symbolic terms. Global education agendas consisting of multiple themes have evolved by referring to each other; key concepts in one global agenda become a fertiliser to another agenda, thus co-existing through interactions and creating legitimacy for further agendas. For instance, Education for International Understanding (hereinafter referred to as EIU) is grounded on key international instruments which include the UNESCO Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, on Cooperation, Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974), the UNESCO Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy (1995), the UN International Decade for a Culture of Peace (2000), the UN Decade of

Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), and the Global Education First Initiative (2012) recently launched by the United Nations Secretary-General (UNESCO, n.d. 4). The elements building EIU are human rights, fundamental freedoms and multi-culturalism, to name a few.

Likewise Peace Education consists of the various streams of ideas such as human rights, democratic education, global and inter-cultural learning, tolerance, non-violence, and so on. This characteristic of peace education inevitably enables these ideas of peace education to have 'their own dynamics and "autonomy" in terms of theory and practice' (Toh, 1997). Salomon describes that 'the challenges, goals, and methods of peace education differ substantially between areas characterised by intractable conflict, interethnic tension, or relative tranquility' (2002).

The consequential problems of these traits of global agendas are following:

- Umbrella terms: too many profoundly different kinds of activities taking place in an exceedingly wide array of contexts are all lumped under the same category label of education agenda as if they belong together.
- 2) Gap between ideal and reality: For whatever reason, the field's scholarship in the form of theorising, research and program evaluation badly lags behind practice due to their unclarified meanings.
- 3) Understood in general and unspecified terms: In the absence of clarify among multiple definitions, an agenda tends to have one broadly understood idea.

For example, according to Clarke-Habibi,

A general or integrated theory of peace is needed: one that can holistically account for the intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup and international dynamics of peace, as well as its main principles and pre-requisites. An essential component of this integrated theory must also be the recognition that a culture of peace can only result from an authentic process of transformation, both individual and collective (2005:37).

Despite explanations that consist of interpretive components, Clarke-Habibi claims the necessity of a general or integrated theory for wide articulation. Global agendas are based on their acceptance and circulation which ironically and inevitably result from their ambiguous and broad definitions that minimise resistance and facilitate hegemonic uniformity.

It is also stated in a number of UNESCO materials that the UNDESD is closely related to or overlaps with the MDGs, EFA as well as UNLD (United Nations Literacy Decade). Mentioning these relationships covers fundamental values emphasised in previous agendas such as EIU, and Peace Education. If uncertainty, multiple interpretations, loose structure, and ambiguous boundaries among core themes are the characteristics of global agendas, ESD fits into this category and will produce the same consequential problems in theorising and practicing.

In this sense, the basic concept of ESD in this study follows the definition of Gonzáles-Gaudiano (2005) to identify ESD is an empty signifier. The empty signifier is a key concept of discourse theory and other disciplines

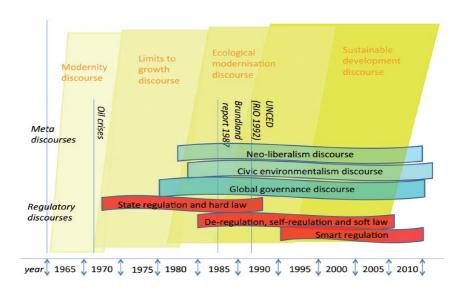
across the social sciences that explains the construction of reality (de Goede, 2006). In the studies based on a Foucauldian discourse analysis, power relations to knowledge shapes social reality. The production of reality is recognised by way of articulatory practices while underlining the connection between language, knowledge and power. In order to grasp the concept of ESD in reality with multiple conflicting meanings without closure, deploying the concept of an empty signifier is adequate. On the national level of ESD, the web of power, knowledge and language, even though existing, is too dimly visible and scattered. The theory of empty signifier proposed by Laclau (1996a; 2005), however, clarifies the signified process. This is to say, it explains the political dimension of the centrality of certain terms used by diverse actors with different interests, which helps capture the process of selecting certain terms to accord more importance. The concept of an empty signifier explains that giving significance to a certain term is a political process or a socioeconomic program which is constructed by politics (Wullweber, 2015). The concept plays a key role in understanding why various definitions of global agendas are essentially discussed in ESD policy research.

2.4. ESD as an empty signifier

2.4.1. The discourse of sustainable development

Appelstrand *et al.* (2010) provide a well-ordered figure of the flow of the regulatory discourse on environment and economic growth, which explains the development of the concept of 'sustainable development'. Although the figure is made in relation to forest regulations discourse, it is also applicable

to sustainable development discourses since both are largely based on environment and development. Appelstrand *et al.* distinguish three types of discourses: (i) meta discourses that relate to global economics, politics and culture in general; (ii) regulatory discourses that deal with the regulation and instrumentation of global issues; and (iii) forest discourses (2010: 58). In this study, meta and regulatory discourses (light green and blue parts) are deployed.



Source: Appelstrand et al. (2010:59)

<Figure 2.3> Meta and regulatory discourses

In the 1960s, the prevailing discourse of modernisation and the related development theories are centred on the idea of economic growth, industrialisation, control over natural and social resources, and social change (Tipps, 1973, cited in Appelstrand *et al.*, 2010). The discourse of 'limited growth (Dryzek 1997)' which views the relationship between environmentalism and economic growth as inversely proportional, and a rise

of environmentalism which is supported by a number of publications in the 1970s, were connected to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the establishment of national environmental ministries, and the event of oil crisis (Pülzl, 2010, cited in Appelstrand *et al.*, 2010). This discourse of environmentalism later developed into a 'sustainability' discourse (Kim and Sa, 1999). However, ecological modernisation in the 1980s argued that economic growth and development can be achieved while protecting the environment by virtue of technological progress within capitalist political economies.

It is significant that 'sustainable development' as a global agenda is beginning to emerge from the discourse of ecological modernisation. However, differing from sustainable development, in ecological modernisation discourse environmental degradation is regarded as a solvable problem and does not insist on 'economic redirection' (Dryzek, 1997: 141-144). With neoliberal influence, the private sector, through 'decentralised liberal market order', was invited to provide cost-efficient solutions to the environmental problem' (Appelstrand et al., 2010), and according to McAfee (1999), the World Bank and the OECD and corporate bodies participated in the promotion of ecological modernisation. On the other hand, there were also counter-discourses with more radical NGOs. These NGOs criticised ecological modernisation and the forceful imposition by the Western environmentalist to control the growth of developing countries to prevent climate change.

Through meta-discourse analysis, the characteristics of the sustainable development discourse is summarised as follows:

(i) it does not acknowledge fixed limits to growth; (ii) it requires inter-generational and intra-generational satisfaction of one's needs (hence, equity among generations); (iii) the managerial notion of regulation prevails, since the dominant belief of UNCED was that global environmental problems are solvable through coordinated public and private action; (iv) the management, conservation and use of resources are not viewed as contradictory; and (v) other concerns, such as public participation, global equity and technology transfer from developed to developing countries are taken into consideration. (Adger *et al.*, 2001; Baker *et al.*, 1997; Holmgren, 2008; Jordan, 2008; Lele, 1991; cited in Appelstrand *et al.*, 2010: 61).

The discourse of sustainable development is optimistic about the coexistence of economic growth and environmentalism, which is the reason
that the sustainable development still remains contradictory (Redclift, 1997),
as seen in table 3.1. Moreover, its ambiguous (Mahapatra and Mitchell,
1997; O'Riordan, 1995) rhetorical figures are largely criticised by a number
of scholars due to a lack of regulations or accountability mechanisms.
Especially for developing countries, discussions on the balance between
economic growth and the protection of the natural environment can be
critical, since environmental agreements and regulations can affect their
development plans.

Nevertheless, the concept of sustainable development was popularised through international events such as the 1987 Brundtland Report, the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the 1997 Rio+5 Conference and the 2000 Millennium Summit in New York, and the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg.

[Table 2.1] Contradiction between environmental and development agenda

Environmental agenda	Development agenda	
Conservation of the natural world is the priority	People come first	
People can sometimes be the problem	Poverty reduction, social justice and	
	development are the main priorities	
Development issues and poverty eradication	Environmental and conservation issues are	
are secondary to this	secondary to this	

Source: UNESCO (2008:10)

The report of the World Commission of Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (1987), also known as Brundtland report used the term 'sustainable development' widely and defined it as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (p. 43). This definition admits that while development may be necessary to meet human needs and improve the quality of life, it must happen without draining the natural environment for the present and future needs. At first, it emphasised the environment in development policies but since 2002, by combining with other global agendas such as EFA and the MDGs, its characteristics have expanded and evolved to encompass social justice and the fight against poverty as key principles of sustainable development.

The three aspects of sustainable development – society, environment and economics – were named as the three pillars of sustainable development at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. The objectives of the three pillars of sustainable development are presented as table 2.2.

Each pillar includes various key terms such as human rights, democratic and participatory systems, human activity on the environment, climate change, environmental protection, responsible and sustainable consumption, and rural development. The three pillars represent the need of changes, not only for the environment, but also for the society and the economic system.

[Table 2.2] The objectives of ESD in relation to three pillars

Society	Environment	Economy
to increase understanding of social institutions and their role in change and development, to promote social justice, gender equality, human rights, democratic and participatory systems, and health care (including HIV/AIDS)	to increase awareness of the resources and fragility of the physical environment, the effects of human activity on the environment, climate change, environmental protection (including water education), and biodiversity	to create sensitivity to the potential and the limits of economic growth, its impact on society and the environment, responsible and sustainable consumption, and rural development

Source: UNESCO (n.d. 5)

2.4.2. The emergence of demands

Considering the controversial discourses embedded in the concept of 'sustainable development', delivering it through education is even more challenging. However, since ESD has developed from the ground of the discourses on environment and development, which have keen connections with environmental education, the rise of ESD was not entirely random.

There were many international conferences on environmental education in the 1970s, including the Man and Environment Conference held in Stockholm in 1972 and the UNESCO-UNEP Conference on Environmental Education held in Tbilisi in 1997. Finally at the UNCED Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 chapter 36 of Agenda 21 emphasises that education is a 'vital factor' in the promotion of both sustainable development and the development of people's skills necessary for dealing with environmental and development issues (Gadotti, 2009).

However, there are different versions of definitions as shown in table 2.3. UNESCO (2009) explains that there is no need for one. This is because sustainable development concerns a process of change and is heavily reliant upon needs and interests of local contexts. Thus, as sustainable development is seen as an emerging and constructed concept, consequently so is ESD. However, by being promoted as a global agenda, ESD became widely recognisable as an education theme regardless of its complexity and incompleteness.

[Table 2.3] Comparison of characteristics of ESD

Four thrusts of ESD ⁶ (UNCED, 1992)	Core interest of UN in UN-framework ESD (Sida review 2010:11)	Definition of ESD (UNESCO ⁷ , n.d.)	Goals of UNDESD (UNESCO, 2009a)
 Improving access 	(1) quality basic	 A learning 	 To facilitate
to quality basic	education	process (or	networks and
education	(2) sustainable	approach to	bonds among
 Reorienting 	development,	teaching)	activists that
existing education	which in turn links	based on the	defend ESD
to address	to a concern with	ideals and	 To improve
sustainability	human –	principles that	ESD teaching
 Increasing public 	environment –	underlie	and learning
understanding and	development	sustainability	 To help
awareness of	relations	and is	countries to
sustainability		concerned	adopt the Goals

Providing training	with all levels	of the
for all sectors of	and types of	Millennium by
the economy	learning to	means of ESD
	provide	• To offer
	quality	countries new
	education and	opportunities to
	foster	adopt ESD in
	sustainable	their efforts of
	human	educational
	development	renewal
	– learning to	
	know,	
	learning to be,	
	learning to	
	live together,	
	learning to do	
	and learning	
	to transform	
	oneself and	
	society'.	

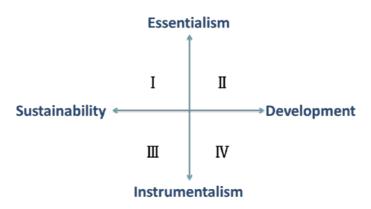
Source: Re-organised by the author

Table 2.3 shows that ESD concepts are articulated as learning processes which produce further key words such as quality (basic) education, reorienting existing education (rethink education), training all sectors of the economy, learning to transform (transformative learning), educational renewal, human development. So these key words can be the equivalent chains of ESD and a general equivalent comes from within the whole chains depending on the context. UNESCO recommends 'different approaches in different contexts' (The Bonn Declaration, 2009b). The whole chains of ESD that is initially provided by UNESCO may be the same but a general equivalent is determined differently in different contexts.

2.4.3. Categorising articulations

Based on such articulations of key words to explain the characteristics of ESD (ESD World Conference ⁸, 2009), some are divided into the four

categories. Terms that explain the role of 'education' in ESD are categorised as either *essentialism* or *instrumentalism*. The contradictory discourse in sustainable development is represented by two concepts, *sustainability* and *development*. Arguably, each concept is also a set of disputable interpretations, so they are divided according to their purpose.



Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 2.4> The categories of articulations

Type I can be an ideal type for the supporters of critical pedagogy; the key words with which ESD is defined are 'rethink education', 'transformative learning', and 'transforming reality'. This researcher conceives that the initial model of ESD provided by UNESCO is rooted in Type I, although allowing flexibility. Type II is close to the capability approach which aims for development through self-development, emphasising the intrinsic role of education. This type can be seen as an ideal type in Freirean and Sen's view, but which focuses on *growth*. Critical reflection on the meaning of 'development' can be one example. From this aspect, the theme of education in Japan - 'zest for life' (*ikiru chikara*) – might be included, but linking this term with academic ability (Type IV) is more appropriate. Type

IV is centered on continuous economic development and the instrumental role of education, which is seen as a combined model of the neoliberal trend of globalisation based on competency and knowledge for growth. Type III stresses active participation, advocacy for policy change, and civil movements.

There are criticisms on the tendency of ESD to disperse neoliberal ideology (Jickling, 2004; Jickling and Wals, 2008). Stressing human resource, competency, international standards, academic ability, knowledge economy and sustainable development itself are all included in Type IV. Preference for ESD definitions in Type IV can become more apparent in developing countries where economic development is a top priority regardless of their serious environmental and social issues. On the contrary, in northern Europe with strong and active environmental movements and CSOs, Types I and III can be popularly supported to activate environmental education and education for democracy (or social studies as a subject) (See Gross and Nakayama, 2012). For those who are critical about the effects of ESD, Type IV is considered a distortion of ESD or not ESD at all. However, it is noteworthy that every type of ESD co-exist in the adoptive countries. The point is that some types draw more attention than the others in the national and local contexts depending on the agencies and their purpose of adoption. Conflicts among supporters of different types of ESD are inevitable during adaption and application. Conflicts among supporters and non-supporters of ESD can also exist. Moreover, at the end of the conflict, the characteristics of ESD can change or remain the same during adaptation, and certain characteristics gain more attention through more frequent appearance. Although diverse types of ESD exist based on their embedded discourses, it is often difficult to clearly distinguish one from another in reality. This is why tracing the process of adaptation and transformation of ESD is important to understand how a certain type of ESD could survive in the context of Japan.

2.5. Education for knowledge economy

The initial foundation for the concept of knowledge economy was introduced by Peter Drucker in 1966 in his book, *The Effective Executive*. Drucker described the difference between the *manual worker* and the *knowledge worker*. The manual worker works with his or her hands and produces goods or services. On the contrary, a knowledge worker works with his or her head, not hands, and produces ideas, knowledge, and information. Although Drucker's definition of knowledge was vague, he conceived of knowledge as different from information. Defining knowledge depends on individual and group *preferences* which are economy-dependent (Flew, 2008). Powell and Snellman (2004) define knowledge economy as production and services based on knowledge-intensive activities that contribute to an accelerated pace of technical and scientific advance, as well as rapid obsolescence. An upsurge in knowledge production is driven by the emergence of new industries, thus knowledge is continuously updated and outdated.

The global economy is transitioning into knowledge economy (Smith, 2002; Radwan and Pellegrini, 2010; Powell and Snellman, 2004; Rothboeck, 2000; Dutta, 2010). This transition requires rules and practices

that determine success in the global economy where countries are interconnected and markets are expanded. These rules and practices are often referred to as knowledge and education. Competition is inevitable, so to succeed in the global economy, knowledge and education become more important as key to knowledge economy. In this sense, knowledge is conceived as a resource as critical as other economic resources. This key concept of knowledge and education as resource is connected to the idea of human capital. Human capital in the discourse of knowledge economy is treated as educational and innovative intellectual products and services that can be exported for a high value return, and is therefore a productive asset (Powell and Snellman, 2004). The key component of a knowledge economy is greater reliance on intellectual capabilities than on physical inputs or natural resources (Ibid.). Knowledge as resource for economy in market capitalism contributes to valuing knowledge by preferences (Olssen and Peter, 2005). In the global economy, the concepts of knowledge economy and human capital thrive in the field of education.

There are both positive and negative views on the how the global economy is becoming knowledge based. Burton-Jones (2001) asserts that knowledge capitalism reveals how the shift to a knowledge-based economy is redefining firms, empowering individuals and reshaping the links between learning and work. Knowledge capitalism provides a practical tool-set for anybody who wants to interpret and manage change in the new economy. Adler (2001) argues that the effect of growing knowledge-intensity may indeed be a trend toward greater reliance on trust. There is also reason to

believe that the form of trust most effective in this context is a distinctively modern kind—'reflective trust'—as opposed to traditionalistic, 'blind' trust. Such a trend toward reflective trust appears to threaten the privileges of currently dominant social actors, and these actors' resistance, in combination with the complex interdependencies between price, authority, and trust mechanisms, imparts a halting character to the trend. However, Dunning (2002) is concerned by the links between the impact of increasing globalisation and the advent of the knowledge economy on the spatial distribution of economic activity. Dunning focuses on the paradox of growing transnationalisation of the production of goods and services and the tendency for certain kinds of activity — particularly knowledge intensive activities — to be concentrated or 'clustered' in one place. Powell and Snellman (2004) assess whether recent technological advances with new knowledge have raised productivity. They examine the debates over whether new forms of work that embody technological change have generated more worker autonomy or greater managerial control. They claim that the distributional consequences of a knowledge-based economy contribute to growing inequality in wages and high-quality jobs.

Olssen and Peter (2005) study the ascendance of neoliberalism and the associated discourse of 'new public management' produced a fundamental shift in the way universities and other institutions of higher education have defined and justified their institutional existence in the 1980s and 90s. The traditional professional culture of open intellectual enquiry and debate has been replaced with an institutional stress on performativity, as evidenced by the emergence of an emphasis on measured outputs: on strategic planning,

performance indicators, quality assurance measures and academic audits. This paper traces the links between neoliberalism and globalisation on the one hand, and neoliberalism and knowledge economy on the other. It maintains that in a global neoliberal environment, governments assign a greater economic role to higher education, to the extent that higher education has become the new star ship in the policy fleet for governments around the world. Universities are seen as a key driver in the knowledge economy, and as a consequence, higher education institutions have been encouraged to develop links with industries and businesses in a series of new venture partnerships. The recognition of economic importance of higher education and the necessity for economic viability have seen initiatives to promote greater entrepreneurial skills as well as the development of new performative measures to enhance output and to establish and achieve targets. This paper attempts to document these trends at the level of both political philosophy and economic theory in education.

Conclusion

Conceptualising ESD as an empty signifier enables an explanation on how the given meanings connect to key policy concepts within education and socioeconomic policy making, without identifying the shared or governing principle that puts these discourses into a core position. In this way, Bengtsson's study that is conducted by conceiving policy documents as articulations opens a new way for the impact studies of global education agendas, in which a discursive formation of discourse is discussed with the patterns and regularities of its articulations. Adding to that, the necessity of

discussing such articulations within the broad political context is an important criticism made by González-Gaudiano (2016) that could replenish a shortage of policy analysis focusing on articulations.

In order to launch the DESD, the process of defining ESD by imbuing the agenda certain social or political relevance is required. This is also the process of constructing the political identity of ESD, conceptualised with political strategies and dynamics. This is how ESD, an empty signifier, having different general equivalents, are associated with global/national politics. Global/national politics emphasise the importance of considering references to general public interest, and the way in which such interest is constructed and represented with social or political practices. It strengthens the possibility of examining political strategies in the process of developing policy programmes, which can be aided by scrutinising the interplay between universal and particular interests. However, the influence of context of a society on the construction of the meaning of ESD is generally missed in the previous studies, thus are insufficient to explain how different general equivalents interplay within a certain context. Moreover, how can universal and particular interests of that context be defined? For this, this study conceives the necessity of framework that can characterise these interests as well as capture interplay of ESD articulations between these interests. This is related to the question about the role of education in a broad context of the society, in which this study revisit Bernstein's Totally Pedagogised Society and pedagogic device, and the notion of knowledge economy.

If the concept of ESD as an *empty signifier* can explain the possibility of diverse articulations' co-existence in policies, the framework of Bernstein is able to explain the *context* of the society why a certain group of articulations gains more attention during selection processes. In this way, the process and result of integrating ESD into the national education of Japan can be interpreted in accordance with national education policies.

CHAPTER III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As discussed in the previous section, the process of selecting ESD articulations by imbuing the agenda with certain social or political relevance is required. This is to say, when a certain type of articulation responds to social or political preferences of a society, this articulation tends to receive more attention, and are circulated more often and widely. Conversely, certain type of articulations would be more neglected and limited in use. Therefore the selected articulations appear more often in a broad range of policy documents. This is closely related to language use in the selection process and symbolic control.

When looking into integration of ESD into national education in Japan, it becomes clear that, particularly, introducing ESD into school education is strongly related to the process of constructing the pedagogic identity of ESD. That is, ESD tends to emerge into the predominant ideology of education. This is how ESD, an empty signifier, has a role in the field of education in the context of Japan. National education policies emphasise the importance of education in reference national interest. Such interest plays an important role in recontextualisig ESD within the pedagogising process—integrating ESD into school education. The articulations of ESD were selected (or re-organised) during the recontextualising process. The problem is how to discuss this selection process and reveal the connection between the process and the articulations in policy documents as an outcome. For this, this study deployed Bernstein's *pedagogic device*.

Pedagogic device can be deployed in the context of more recent developments on educationalisation, public pedagogy, performativity and governing knowledge. Bernstein's theoretical project focuses on 'how knowledge is mobilised in and through pedagogy' (Green 201:47). This study deploys the framework to describe the process in which the state, through owned or controlled agencies, uses different type of strategies to make and distribute a global agenda, ESD in this study, as either a new (or regarded as new) form of pedagogic 'knowledge', or emerging ESD into the dominant pedagogic knowledge. The framework is essential to identify the significant agents in the symbolic control field to produce and distribute articulations of ESD as ways of legitimation. The advent of a new global agenda, the UNDESD, requires a continuous shift in the principles or moral code regulating the selection and organisation of knowledge for transformative learning to change the society, environment and economy, and the overall quality of individuals' life. ESD pedagogiacally communicates knowledge that is to change education and society, yet it has no core definition. The process of merging this idea into education is determined within the socioeconomic and political context of the society. This creates an academic space for critical discussions which should be filled with more empirical studies.

3.1. The Totally Pedagogised Society: pedagogy and knowledge economy

In a knowledge economy, the expanded education system such as schools and universities play a more central role in a society's knowledge production (Meyer and Rowan, 2006). Adding to that, 'the institutional landscape has been changed from a monistic to a pluralistic world' (Meyer and Rowan 2006:2), in which more diverse actors such as non-governmental and private sectors started getting involve in both global and local levels. These processes have gradually expanded the institutional fabric to form the governance of education. Thus what kinds of knowledge is determined as important, and is circulated through educational institutions, has been an important topic for scholars.

From this aspect, Basil Bernstein's concept of Totally Pedagogised Society (hereinafter referred to as TPS) and pedagogic device provides a crucial lens to see the institutional landscape influenced by globalising education policy discourses and practices. Global education agendas promoted by supranational bodies such as the OECD, the World Bank, UNESCO and UNICEF have played a contributing role in globalising education policy discourse by spreading homogeneous cultural values and standards. These standards determine which knowledge is deemed more valuable in the process of adaptation in local contexts. Global education agendas dominate within the framework of politics, in many cases even without hegemony. It is logical to assume that the domination of a global agenda without hegemony can face resistances of various degrees, for example when integrating with the national curriculum. However, in many cases, resistance did not occur. This study argues that global agendas often assimilate with the priority issues of a society with the aid of pedagogic device. Through the process of recontextualisation, global agendas are transformed to respond to the demands of a society.

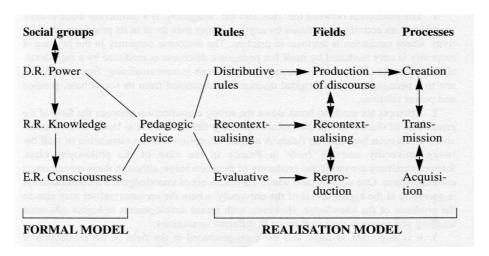
Pedagogic device constitutes TPS. Bernstein's TPS refers to a society that introduces pedagogy in every possible domain of life, the pedagogising of life, where re-trainability becomes the new ensemble of technologies or rules for managing the entire human resource under economic conditions of short-termism. Pedagogic device engineers the control - production and distribution - of new knowledge. The new knowledge is circulated through pedagogic models and practices. Again the knowledge is reproduced when recontextualised for practice in different contexts. This is the knowledge control cycle of the pedagogic device. Different pedagogic models such as life-long learning and learning innovation constitute and legitimise the Totally Pedagogising Society where every sector of the society is encouraged to continuously acquire new knowledge. Bernstein's work focusing on the structuring of the pedagogic discourse (Bernstein 1990, 1996, 1999, 2001; Bernstein and Solomon, 1999) develops the necessary theoretical instruments to investigate the social logic of pedagogy and to understand the internal structure of the pedagogic device. Bernstein tries to build a sociological theory that explains a complex system of power relations and social control that overdetermines pedagogy. As Bernstein states:

Pedagogy is the focus of my theory to the extent that pedagogic modalities are crucial realisations of symbolic control, and thus of the process of cultural production and reproduction. Symbolic control, through its pedagogic modalities, attempts to shape and distribute forms of consciousness, identity and desire (Bernstein and Solomon, 1999: 269).

This is to say, all spheres of pedagogy can be studied by looking at the social forces that induce, maintain and legitimate it. The relationship between modes of educational transmission and their regulatory bases plays a core role in the production or reproduction of pedagogy.

3.2. Rules of the Pedagogic Device

The internal rules of the pedagogic device establishes the link between the dominant mode of production and division of labour, and the dominant pedagogical models that are presented in different communicating institutions such as the education system (Bonal and Rambla, 2002). Bernstein (1990, 1996, 2000) refers to pedagogic device as the ordering and disordering principles in the pedagogising of knowledge.



Source: Bernstein (2002:116)

<Figure 3.1> The key relations of the model

*D.R.: Distributive rules, R.R.: Recontexualising rules, E.R.: Evaluative rules

Bernstein explains three rules making up a pedagogic device: distributive rules attempt to control access to the arena for the legitimate production of

discourse, pedagogic discourses are projected from positions in the recontextualising arenas, and evaluative rules shape any given context of acquisition (Bernstein and Solomon, 1999:269). This means that a pedagogic device constitutes communication or composition of rules or procedures through which knowledge is converted into pedagogic communication. Such pedagogic communication determines which idea is potential knowledge, and that potential knowledge is made available for transmission and acquisition. The three rules, distributive, recontextualising, and evaluative are inter-related by power relations. The distributive rules regulate the power relationships between social groups by distributing different forms of knowledge, and thus they constitute different orientations to meaning or pedagogic identities. Recontextualising rules regulate the formation of specific pedagogic discourse. The recontextualised discourse no longer resembles the original because it has been pedagogised or converted into pedagogic discourse. Evaluative rules constitute specific pedagogic practices by which the rules are concerned with recognising what counts as valid acquisition of instructional and regulative texts.

The pedagogic device, the condition for the materialising of symbolic control, is the object of a struggle for domination, for the group who appropriates the device has access to a ruler and distributer of consciousness, identity and desire. The question is whose ruler, in whose interests or for what consciousness, desire and identity. So far, then, we have symbolic control mediated through the pedagogic device, which is the condition for the construction of pedagogic discourses (Bernstein and

Solomon, 1999: 269).

The pedagogic device provides a perspective to understand how curriculum and teaching (re)contextualise social relations, making hegemonic as well as counterhegemonic spaces available in the field of education (Bernstein, 1990, 2009).

3.3. Fields of pedagogic device

Bernstein differentiates three fields of pedagogic device: the fields of production, recontextualisation and reproduction. These fields are hierarchically related, in that recontextualisation of knowledge cannot take place without its production, and reproduction cannot take place without recontextualisation. Thus, the production of new knowledge continues to take place mainly in institutions of higher education and private research organisations (Bernstein, 2000; Castells, 2000). The recontextualisation of knowledge is mostly undertaken by the state's departments of education and training, curriculum authorities, specialist education journals, and teacher education institutions. Reproduction usually takes place in schooling institutions through instruction such as curriculum contents. The field of recontextualisation mediates between the two fields of production and reproduction. The recontextualisation field is composed of two sub-fields: the official recontextualising field (ORF) and the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF). The ORF consists of 'specialised departments and sub-agencies of the State and local educational authorities'. The PRF consists of university departments of education, their research, as well as specialised educational media.

3.3.1. Field of production of knowledge

Bernstein describes the two types of knowledge that link the material and immaterial worlds as common/mundane and esoteric/sacred (1990:181). *Esoteric* knowledge is the site and means of knowledge production and 'new ways of thinking about the world' (Young, 2009:14), or arbitrary conceptual relations, a symbolic order constructed by an accretion of 'collective representations' (Muller and Taylor, 1995:263). *Mundane* knowledge is everyday knowledge that arises 'directly out of bodily encounters with the world, with other people, with reality (*Ibid.*)'. However, the content of the two categories of knowledge is not significant as esoteric knowledge can become mundane knowledge historically and culturally (Bernstein, 2000: 29). What is important is the demarcation of the categories of esoteric and mundane knowledge and the modalities of the knowledge generated within these categories.

In knowledge economy societies, there has been an exponential growth in the volume and complexity of esoteric knowledge (vertical discourse or discourse of specialised knowledge) in practically every sphere of work and life (Ungar, 2000; Singh, 2010). This growth in knowledge, and knowledge-related industries, has enormous implications for educators. First, specialised knowledge is decoded or translated to be accessible to acquirers outside the specialist domains. However, as produced knowledge grows there is a shortage of time or resources to convert or translate new knowledge into an accessible form. In this case, the translating or decoding work is largely undertaken by the agencies of recontextualisation. When the

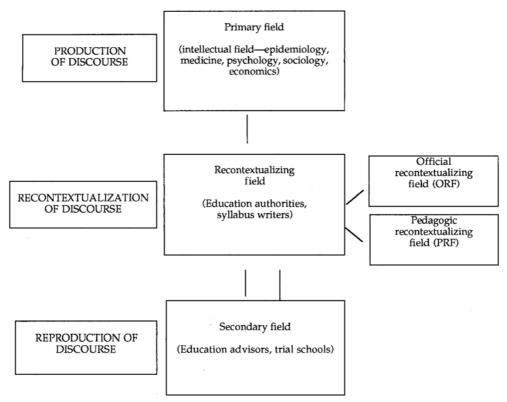
arena of recontextualisation expands, the question of what knowledge is pedagogised becomes more significant.

State agencies can contribute to recontexualisation with universal or public education, but it does not simply lead to universal acquisition of knowledge. Not all knowledge is produced on demand of the acquirer, and even if something is required knowledge, the capacity of to grasp this new knowledge varies by individual. Moreover, the volume of knowledge available for processing continues to rise exponentially. Consequentially, the growth of specialised knowledge in knowledge economy society leads to a paradoxical decrease in the 'degree of knowledge grasp' (Ungar, 2000). The production of specialised knowledge is growing and at the same time the demand for new knowledge increasing despite the disparity of knowledge grasp. The growing uncertainty and complexity of everyday life (Muller, 2000) creates this demand, but the production of more knowledge does not reduce uncertainty. To the contrary, it helps discover 'social indeterminacy as the production and circulation of knowledge expands possibilities for self-determination, and at the same time leads to greater social complexity' (Singh, 2010:575).

3.3.2. Field of Recontextualisation: official and pedagogic

The field of recontextualisation is located between the fields of knowledge production and reproduction. This field is comprised of two subfields; namely, the official recontextualising field (ORF) and the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF).

The ORF consists of the 'specialised departments and sub-agencies of the state and local educational authorities together with their research and system of inspectors' (Bernstein, 1990:192). The PRF is comprised of university departments of education, their research, as well as specialised educational media. According to Bernstein (1990), 'journals and publishing houses together with their readers and advisers' are included in PRF (p.192). Hence, the PRF may 'extend to fields not specialised in educational discourse and its practices, but which still can influence both on the state, for instance, and its various arrangements and/or upon special sites, agents and practices within education (Bernstein, 1990:192).



Source: Glaby (2000) in Kirk and MacDonal (2001:554)

<Figure.3.2> Bernstein's construction of discourses across fields

The pedagogic recontextualising field may be strongly classified internally by producing sub-fields specialised to levels of the educational system, curricula and groups of pupils. It is useful to distinguish agencies of pedagogic reproduction, such as the private sector and agencies which although funded by the state may have a relatively larger measure of control over their own recontextualising, which, within broad limits, can also determine their own recontextualising independent of the state (Bernstein, 1990:198).

Agents within the PRF struggle to control the set of rules or procedures for constructing pedagogic texts and practices. Pedagogic discourse refers to the rules or principles that generate different pedagogic texts/practices. Thus, pedagogic discourse is a 'recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings' (Bernstein, 1990:184). Pedagogic discourse is the set of rules for embedding and relating two discourses, a discourse of competence that disciplines specific knowledge into a discourse of social order. The term 'instructional discourse' refers to the syntax generating the 'trained capacities and lifestyles' (Hunter, 1994: 95). These are competences to be distributed to the school population. The term 'regulative discourse' refers to the rules generating the order within the instructional discourse that is, the arbitrary internal order for the transmission of these competences. All pedagogic discourse creates a moral regulation of the social relations of transmission and acquisition—the rules of appropriate conduct, character and manner in the classroom.

Within the PRF, texts from a number of knowledge bases or domains such as subject knowledge, teaching knowledge, and content knowledge of learners are selected and organised by the principles or rules of specific pedagogic discourses (Turner-Bisset, 1999). In this way, they regulate the acceptance and enactment of specific pedagogic identities. If the agents within the PRF have autonomy over the construction of pedagogic discourses and practices, independent from ORF, conflict and contestation is inevitable. This is because agents of recontextualisation struggle for control over the pedagogic discourses. The pedagogic discourse controls the production of pedagogic contexts and the relations between the agents and the texts produced by these agents. Thus it may exert influence on the state policy formation (ORF) on the macro levels, as well as classroom interactions (Singh, 2001b). If a certain group is able to appropriate and control the pedagogic device in this struggle, this means that they can exercise power in relation to the distribution, recontextualisation and evaluation of complex knowledge forms (competence embedded in conscience) (Bernstein, 1996). These struggles over the pedagogic device are regarded as the attempts to control the production and distribution of different pedagogic models, for example, the rules for the selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation of valid school knowledge. Moreover, these struggles over the construction and dissemination of pedagogic models are between different fractions of the middle class. This may be elaborated with Bernstein's concept of the new middle class that is positioned in the field of symbolic control as specialised agencies often embracing different ideological orientations from the middle class (Kang, 2010). These groups

create tension between the field of production and the field of symbolic control by practicing their specialised, professional knowledge and experience in the field of the state (Apple, 2002; Bernstein, 1996; 2000). Unlike the old middle class whose ideologies and political practices have been closely linked to the field of production, the political and ideological practices of the new middle class are relatively independent from the field of production, seeing education in a different way. They specify their professional identities in education, and use their specialised knowledge and experience for their voices to be heard in education and the larger society. Their politics do not simply mobilise education for the benefit of the field of production, but create a new field of symbolic control independent from the old one. The tension between the old middle class and the new middle class, therefore, opens up relative autonomous spaces for change. There are struggles over the production and dissemination of different pedagogic models, focused on theories of instruction, within the PRF. Thus changes in the theory of instruction may have 'consequences for the ordering of pedagogic discourse and for the ordering of pedagogic practice' (Bernstein, 1990:189), such as models of the pedagogic subject (students), the transmitter (teacher, textbooks, computer), the pedagogic context (classroom and curricula organisation), and the communicative pedagogic competence (modes of teacher and student communication).

3.3.3. Field of reproduction: schooling institutions

Pedagogic texts created in the field of recontextualisation, such as curricular schemes and textbooks, are transformed again as they are appropriated by teachers, and converted into modes of common or shared classroom knowledge in interactions with students (Mercer, 1995). Bernstein (1996, 2000) distinguishes the two types of text transformations that occur. One is the conversion of knowledge appropriated from the field of production within the official and pedagogic recontextualising field. The other is the translation of this pedagogised knowledge by teachers and students in the recontextualising field of the school/classroom. In the process of constructing modes of classroom knowledge, teachers may recontextualise discourses from the family/community/peer groups of students for the purposes of social control, in order to make the regulative and moral discourses of the school/classroom more effective (Singh, 2001). 'Conversely, the family/community/peer relations can exert their own influence upon the recontextualising field of the school and in this way affect the latter's practice' (Bernstein, 1990:199). It is important to understand that the pedagogic or social relations of the classroom in Bernstein's theory are constituted by the social division of labour in terms of knowledge construction, dissemination and acquisition. Any social division of labour has two dimensions, horizontal and vertical.

The horizontal dimension refers to specialised categories sharing memberships of a common set, for example, school subjects in a given course, pupils, and workers sharing a common status. The vertical dimension refers to the rank position of a category within a set and the ranking relation between sets. Power may be necessary to enter a set and is

always necessary to change hierarchical positions within and between sets. (Bernstein, 1990: 22)

3.4. Trainability

'Trainability' is the key concept that consists of the emergence of a Totally Pedagogising Society (TPS). Trainability is defined as 'the ability to profit from continuous pedagogic re-formations and so cope with the new requirements of work and life' (Bernstein 1996: 72). Especially the concept of 'trainability' in the neoliberal education policies and practice exerts a strong regulatory discourse in valuing the work and identity of student and teacher. In the same sense, flexible global capitalism becomes the social base that regulates the pedagogic discourse. According to Depaepe (2012), the phenomenon of educationalisation expands in the neoconservative context as it requires individuals to prove their market value 'by means of *employability*, *adaptability*, *flexibility*, *trainability*, and the like' (Singh, 2015:370). Within 'this discursive regime', 'the discourse of the knowledge economy and technology' regulates 'all creativity' (Depaepe 2012:172), which requires a specific type of pedagogic articulation that erodes commitment and certainty, and is therefore socially *empty*.

[Table. 3.1] The arena of the pedagogic device

Field of Practice	Form of Regulation	Symbolic Structure	Main Types	Typical Sites
Production	distributive rules	knowledge structure	hierarchical/ horizontal knowledge structures	research publications, conferences, laboratories
Recontexual- isation	recontextualising rules	curriculum	collection/ integrated codes	curriculum policy documents/ textbooks

Reproduction	evaluation rules	pedagogy and evaluation	visible/invisible pedagogic codes	classrooms/ assessments
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Source: Maton and Muller (2007:18)

According to Bernstein, the weak state of the global economy requires a strong state in the pedagogic field, and this explains why the TPS is state driven and state funded. That is, the official field 'captures' –through practices of co-option– key agents from the pedagogic field to construct and maintain the TPS. Therefore, trainability plays an important role in capturing teachers within the TPS, which has significant implications for the teachers' representations of their role in the new educational mandate, their understanding of the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, and their professional identities.

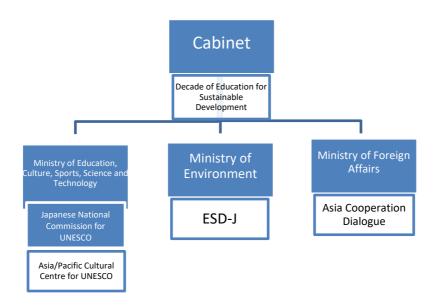
Teachers are required to become a knowledge manager rather than a knowledge expert as new knowledge is continuously and rapidly generated. This is why teachers must be capable of identifying different and diverse student capabilities and abilities and must constantly update their knowledge to cope with rapid changes in the society. As will be discussed in the next chapter, in the context of Japanese education, teachers are required to be responsible not just for educating students as future workers, but also give them socialisation skills to become 'good citizens' for a sustainable society. Thus, the expected role of the teacher is also important in the transmission of values and attitudes.

3.5. Producing the framework for the study

Based on the policy documents and the interviews, the main working

system for ESD promotion is composed as Figure 3.3. The Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU) is a Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) in Japan and The Japan Council on ESD (ESD-J) is a network of NGO/NPOs. NGO and NPO are used interchangeably in Japanese documents, and this study follows suit. Asia Cooperation Dialogue is a forum held by Japan with Asian countries.

By applying the conceptual elements of Bernstein's pedagogic device to the working system for ESD promotion, this research produces the framework for this study as Figure. 3.4. This diagram included the main actors and groups involved in the integration of ESD in school education of Japan.

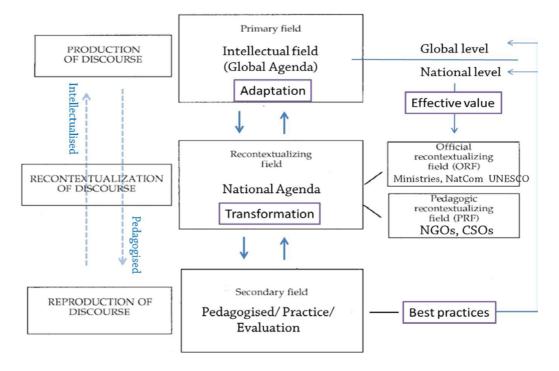


Source: Composed by the author based on the interviews

<Figure 3.3>The main working system for ESD promotion in Japan

The government ministries and the National Commission for UNESCO are included in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF), and NGOs/CSOs

such as the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO and the Japan Council on ESD are included in the Pedagodic Recontextualising Field (PRF). Based on this categorisation, official policy documents produced from these groups, such as meeting of ministries, text data provided by the Cabinet, the proposals of the National Commission for UNESCO and speeches of Prime Ministers are considered as ORF, and the meeting minutes for education reforms and the records of the Roundtables among NGOs are PRF. The education policies such as the Course of Study and the revised Education Law, and UNDES Japan reports are considered as the Recontexualising Field that is produced from the interaction (or conflict) between ORF and PRF.



Source: Composed by the author based on the 'Bernstein's construction of discourses across fields' in Kirk and MacDonald (2001:554)

<Figure 3.4> The pedagogisation of ESD in the case of Japan

The Ministry of Foreign Affair and Asian Cooperation Dialogue were not included as their direct influence on ESD integration into school education was found to be minimal based on the interviews. The position for academics was not determined as they were involved in the whole process of pedagogisation: from the production to recontextualisation and reproduction of ESD discourse. Therefore, the role of academics was conceived as connected to both ORF and PRF. This is because in many cases in Japan, the position of main actors has changed or overlapped, for example, from a government official to a professor, from an NGO staff to a professor, and a professor as well as an advisory staff of an NGO. Therefore, this study focuses on the position of these academics based on their main contribution to the process.

CHAPTER IV. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Critical points drawn from the previous studies

This study investigates the impact of ESD on a national education system and the process of recontexualisation of ESD within the Japanese education context. Due to the limit of the global agendas as informal mechanisms with no clear goals and targets, many studies investigate their impact by examining the institutionalisation – policy making – based on the ideas of the agendas. During institutionalisation, recontexualisation the concepts of ESD occurs, which affect the selection (or re-organisation) of ESD articulations. Following Bengtsson's analytic approach, this study conceives ESD-related policy as a selection of articulations that construct the meaning of ESD. This is also rooted in Ball's argument that

We do not speak a discourse, it speaks us. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows. [...] we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies. (Ball, 1994a: 22)

Foucault claims that 'discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' and the intention is concealed in these practices (1972:49). The analysis of policy key words needs to be accomplished within a broad institutional structure, which is built upon social and political relations of power (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997). In the same sense, this study looks into education policies embedded with ESD ideas in

order to investigate how these ideas are connected to key educational and socioeconomic policy concepts to integrate ESD into formal education during the DESD. However, as the agendas have been meta-objectives of policies with different titles, determining the range of policies was crucial. This was done through interviews with Japanese experts.

In addition, because many policies do not exactly use the term ESD, the articulations of ESD were investigated. By conceptualising ESD as an empty signifier, this study explains that the impact of ESD on education policy can be traced even without identifying the shared or governing principle. From the aspect of discursive institutionalism, discourses are considered as sets of innovative ideas that can cause institutional changes in a society. If ESD is a set of ideas that challenge conventional education, it can cause changes in education. Looking into education policy change is one of the ways to analyse the impact of ESD.

Whether an idea, concept and categorisation is or is not true does not matter in discourse theory; what is crucial is their existence that shapes certain social practices. The discourse helps make sense of the physical and social worlds. It is also crucial to point out that discourses are not considered as 'objective givens', but rather 'historical constructs' of language-in-use, societal norms, various types of knowledge and power mechanisms in a society over long time frames (Fischer 2003; Fischer and Forrester 1993:58). In general, the process of changes in formal education is well recorded, and more observable than the ones in informal or non-formal education. The process through which a discourse is integrated into the

national curriculum guidelines, for example, are documented in official documents and meeting minutes. The records of meetings are series of detailed transcripts of all the participants. Although less detailed, the records of Roundtables are also collections of transcripts. Therefore, both the records of meetings and Roundtables are treated as similar to the interviews. These sources of data, especially the records of meetings and discussions show the process of historical construction of language-in-use regarding ESD and power mechanism in decision making.

Articulations of ESD embedded and connected with key concepts in education policies are constructed within knowledge and power mechanisms in the Japanese society during the DESD. Therefore, data collection and selection of interviewees were made within the structure of the main agencies involved in ESD promotion. Identification of this structure was revised through discussions with the Japanese experts.

In order to launch the UNDESD, the process of defining ESD is required by imbuing the agenda with certain social or political relevance. This is also the process of constructing the political identity of ESD, conceptualised with political strategies and dynamics. This is how ESD, an empty signifier, having a different general equivalent, is associated with global or national politics. Global or national politics emphasise the importance of considering references to general public interest, and the way in which such interest is constructed and represented with social or political practices. It strengthens the possibility of examining political strategies in the process of developing policy programmes, which can be aided by scrutinising the interplay

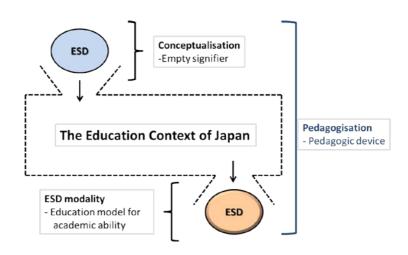
between universal and particular interests. Therefore, policy documents embed certain types of ESD articulations (see figure 2.4) as a result of selection upon interplays between universal and particular interests. These interplays between interests are often hidden in policy documents. This is why additional methods, interviews in this study, were necessary to clarify in what circumstances these selections were made.

Ball indicates that discourse in policy reflects an understanding of social and political relations of power, which helps comprehend social issues (Ball, 1994: 22), but the intention is concealed in these practices (Foucault, 1972:49). It means that social subjects and their practices are constructed through discourses on politics but needs interpretation. Bardach (2009) reminds, 'in policy research, almost all likely sources of information, data, and ideas fall into two general types: documents and people' (p.69). Documents provide main information for the construction of research and a framework to design further data collection and interviews. It corroborates the points obtained through observations and interviews, or it may refute the interpretation of the primary source data, in which case the researcher is 'armed' with evidence that can be used to clarify, or perhaps, to challenge what is being told, a role that the observational data may also play (Yanow, 2007: 411).

4.2. Case study

A case study is a research method involving an up-close, in-depth, and detailed examination of a subject of study (the case), as well as its related contextual conditions. A case study can be used 'in the preliminary stages of

an investigation' to generate hypotheses, but it is 'misleading to see the case study as a pilot method to be used only in preparing the real study's larger surveys, systematic hypotheses testing, and theory building' (Flyvbjerg, 2006:220).



<Figure. 4.1> Research design at a glance

Qualitative case study methodology provides tools for researchers to study complex phenomena within their context. When the approach is applied correctly, it becomes a valuable method for the research to develop theory, evaluate programs, and develop interventions (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

In order to investigate ESD impact on education and to understand the recontexualisation process of ESD within a society, in-depth examination was necessary. The efforts of Japan in integrating ESD into national education were stated several times by UNESCO and the government of Japan. The DESD in Japan is considered an appropriate selection because it

represents a subset of cases (Yin, 2013) that include conditions like donor country, global education agenda, implementation and localisation.

From many aspects, Japan's case provides valuable discussions on the phenomenon of global agenda that is placed in concurrent education context under the effect of globalisation. In order to discuss complexities of the topic, an in-depth case study was essential. For example, although UNESCO and Japan stated that ESD was reflected in Japanese education policy, after accomplishing partial research on ESD's influence on the revised Education Law in 2006 and the Course of Study, ESD's influence on such changes (for example, see Table 5.10) was not seen as significant when looking into the articulations of ESD that appeared in the policies. However, the intentions behind the selection of certain words or articulations of ESD in these policies are contingent on certain specific contexts. This is why the selected articulations of ESD should be understood within the larger policy discourse that reflects the selection process. With the aid of Japanese experts a range of data sources was determined. In the same sense, collecting policy documents could be done after clarifying the central agencies and groups of the main working system for ESD promotion. Without the clear and agreed meaning of ESD, in this study the interviews were essential to discuss the impact of ESD on the education system and policies. Through interviews, more data sources showing the process of integration were obtained, and the result of the policy analysis was triangulated. The recently published book by ESD experts in Japan, Educating for Sustainability in Japan (2016), contains crucial discussions triangulate the findings of this study.

The research was re-designed based on the outcome of the interviews.

Moreover, the interviews revealed the term ESD was not much known in Japanese education, which led to a re-design of the conceptualisation process focusing on the articulations of ESD. Accordingly the framework was changed by adding the focus on the impact of the education context of Japan in ESD modalities. Thus this re-designed study aimed at examining the impact of global agendas for national education and *vice versa* by utilising the case study of the DESD in Japan. Yin (2013) subdivides case studies into three types - exploratory case studies, descriptive case studies, and explanatory case studies. This study is partly descriptive as a great deal of historical research was necessary to discuss the traits of education context of Japan. It is also explanatory as it focuses on the background reasons for the process of adaptation and transformation of ESD as well as its modality as an outcome.

4.3. Procedure

After reviewing the literature, firstly, important events and activities related to ESD in global and domestic levels were investigated using a time line, represented as Table 5.3, to see if there were important reforms in formal education that can be considered as influenced by the UNDESD and *vice versa*, together with identifying the key actors or agencies that supported the events. Here, 'events' also include policy changes such as reforms, activities such as international and domestic conferences, and forums which were held for the promotion of ESD related work.

Secondly, official and unofficial policy documents regarding the important events and activities were selected for more analysis to find the

points of integration with as well as resistance against ESD ideas. Text analysis of the materials was done to these selected documents, and then discourse analysis was deployed. The selection includes Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education, the meeting minutes and the Roundtables. The records of meetings played a substantial role in explaining why certain topics were most frequently discussed regarding concurrent concerns on education in Japan, which the education policy documents do not show. Thus the speeches of prime ministers in the international conferences and forums, and news articles were investigated to clarify the linkage of education and economy since the discourse of education is largely rooted in the economy in the Japanese context. In addition to text analysis, discourse analysis of the records of the meetings and the Roundtables were necessary to see how the key stakeholders understand the idea of ESD within the reform through their selection of certain words to describe it. The changes made in Japan's education are understood in their historical, cultural and above all, economic contexts. To prove and support the results of analysis, semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine experts from academia, government research centres and NGOs. After the interviews, the analysing process was re-designed by re-categorising the collected data. More evidences were collected with help from the interviewees, such as the lists of budget and materials distributed in ESD related forums.

This study first focused on education reforms through official documents from the governments and relevant agencies. It quickly became apparent that the kinds of information needed to perform this research also require 'unofficial' documentation that shows how the reforms and their relation to ESD have emerged through time. The meeting minutes, speeches of key politicians, and the Roundtables were mainly analysed for this purpose. Through interviews with experts, the result of analysis of official policy documents was mostly triangulated. At the same time, information was athered from 'unofficial' documentation. Japanese governments and agencies generally kept good records, although translation in English was occasionally needed. Additionally, existing literature on ESD contains a great deal of material on the influence of the UNDESD and international conferences at a specific point in time, mainly from 2005 to 2014. Scholars in the field of environmental education had conducted a number of interesting research although little is known on the actual impact of ESD in shaping each country's education.

It is noteworthy that Japan's education reform process has been in the middle of academic debates among educators because of its unique position as the only developed country in Asia that shares a history of imperialism with the Western developed countries. Thus, on one hand, it is understood that Japan exerts global force by contributing to the convergence of education policy and practice in developing countries in the Asia Pacific region. On the other hand, Japan's experience also influences other developed countries. Therefore, a thorough review of both primary and secondary literature makes up the bulk of this research.

4.3.1. Data and methods

Academic literature, policy documents and the records of meeting

produced from around 2002 to 2016 were collected. The official documents and the records of relevant meetings were collected mainly from the central agencies in the government of Japan and the governmental departments such as MEXT, the Ministry of Foreign Affair (hereinafter referred to as MOFA), the Ministry of Environment (hereinafter referred to as MOE) and the Cabinet of Prime ministers (2001~2014) and the NGOs⁹ (see Figure. 4.3). These groups are involved in both Official and Pedagogic Recontextualising Fields which constitute the main part of recontextualising (or transforming) ESD in the Japanese context (see Figure, 4.4). The records of meetings and the Roundtables are conceived as Pedagogic Recontextualising Field, analysed in comparison with official policies in order to capture the points of conflict or assimilation.

The websites listed in table 4.1 were regularly checked and official documents and the records of meeting minutes were available to download from the websites of MEXT, MOE, MOFA and the Cabinet administration. In addition, the documents of ESD-J and ACCU were also accessed online. These materials were collected from since middle of 2014 on a continuous basis but as the websites keep most past materials, particularly when they are considered important, the collected data cover the period from 2002 to 2016. The data is categorised into two groups: main data for text mining and supportive data which can provide more explanations for the result of text mining and discourse analysis. Text mining is considered as an efficient way to extract the articulations of ESD used in the abundant materials, particularity as some of the records of meetings in which a number of representative groups participated exceeds 100 pages. These articulations

are combinations of text or key words rooted in ESD ideas, such as 'rethink', 'education', 'transform' and 'reality' to name a few. Mapping ESD's key words and associations to derive patterns and trends which types articulations were used more often and thus gained more attention. In addition, statistical investigation of certain key words by frequency, distribution and interrelation presents a broad picture of the whole context. Since key word association provides an abstract result of selected articulations, it has to be understood within the broad discourse in the material.

Among the policy documents, the main data that shows the flow of ESD ideas merging into the predominant discourse are the meeting minutes on education reform, and the Roundtables. Other documents were deployed to support and verify the findings of these main documents.

4.3.2. Discourse analysis

This study deploys a modified discourse analysis of Bengtsson, and Laclau and Mouffe. The policy document analysis started with articulations as the constitutive practice for meaning. In concrete terms, this means that 'policy documents as articulations are seen to *establish* relationships' among elements, where that establishment is not *a priori* determined by the social' (Bengtsson, 2014:329). Based on the logic of Bengtsson, this researcher perceived that each word (even some key words like 'rethink'), *per se* do not have specific meaning, but attain temporary meaning as part of articulations. This can transform the meaning of words by the established relations with other words. For example, the meaning of the word 'rethink'

can be transformed by relating it with two different key words, sustainability and academic ability, such as 'rethink education for sustainability' vs. 'rethink education for academic ability'. The former is close to the articulation of type I, and the latter is to type IV (see figure 5.1). Hence, the analysis treated any element or signifier of an articulation as initially undefined. The analysis focuses on identifying regularities in articulations and as well as traces of a key word's linkage with other words. The traced regularity constitutes articulations, but needed to be interpreted within a specific discourse. This is Bengtsson's analytical stance that is distinct from Laclau and Mouffe. Laclau and Mouffe did not see 'this regularity to determine the articulation a priori' (Bengtsson, 2014:329). Hence, Bengtsson conducts the analysis not interested in the power of discourse as it would determine articulation, but focuses on the political in articulations as constitutive in the establishment of seeming regularity. However, this researcher perceives the power of discourse plays a key role in constructing the foundation of such regularity and the associations of key words, and thus articulations. It is because certain key words are selected and associated to articulate ESD within a specific context, but these key words are drawn from the powerful discourse prevailing in the context. This is why reinterpretation of the associated words within a broad discourse is necessary.

With such reason, the researcher finds that careful approach is necessary when analysing the records of meetings. There is the possibility of misguidedly and simplistically interpreting that the more frequently used texts have more weight. However, the opportunity to speak, though largely

voluntary, is not always equally given. Furthermore, as the participants are from different field, a certain term or idea is repeated by one specific person but not by others due to a lack of awareness of the topic, especially in the case of ESD. Thus, the process of text mining needs to be done in two stages. First, to map key words and articulations of ESD, KHcoder, a software programme for text mining and mapping was used to code policy documents regarding the 2006 education reform, the minutes of meeting for the Basic Plan for Education Promotion and the records of Roundtables in order to see the patterns of word usage and linkages among them. Both the records of meetings and the Roundtables are series of transcripts of all the participants, and are thus considered as interviews. Then the contents were re-examined by searching for word associations to figure out the relationships among the codes against the background of texts and the institutions and individuals who spoke them. The words that considered irrelevant or unimportant were excluded. The frequency of word use in policy documents was considered as directly related to its importance, but in conversations, the frequency of word use must be re-examined as it is also often related to the manner of the participants' speech. Such considerations also need a basic understanding of the Japanese language when translated.

4.4. Discussion with experts

Policy analysis is vulnerable to the criticism that the integration of ESD could have merely been 'cosmetic change' (González-Gaudiano, 2016), since the official policy documents that particularly mention ESD are few, and in many of them ESD is represented as an abstract and ideal form.

There is a clear limit to discourse analysis of policies. As stated earlier, identifying the mechanisms for ESD promotion, the key agencies and the range of policies should be determined upon discussions with the Japanese experts. In this aspect, the records of the Roundtables were deployed as interview data together with the interviews conducted by the researcher with Japanese experts. Through the interviews, this researcher could identify the main working system for ESD promotion in Japan and determine the range of policies to collect. In addition, since this researcher placed the records of meetings and the Roundtables in Pedagogic Recontextualising Field, the result of analysis – the points of conflicts or assimilations – needed to be verified, with background explanation replenished by the interviews.

Key interviewees and agencies from the government, quasi- and non-government sectors and universities were selected based on academic literature and official documents. The reason of defining the quasi-government sector here is because the governments outsourced the promotion of ESD to NGO groups. These groups work closely with the government upon financial support, but mostly remain out of the decision-making process. The criteria for selection were (1) that the person be in charge of advocacy and/or policy and/or practice making in education for the promotion of ESD in his/her department or agency, and (2) that the person be directly or indirectly involved in the global/national process of agenda setting for the DESD. The researcher tried to diversify the interviewees between official (international organisations and their member states) and non-official (civil society) actors, as well as to balance the

political stance of actors against the government's direction. This means the groups that the participants affiliate with (or was once affiliated with) were chosen based on a spectrum, from the more supportive to the more critical groups regarding the government's direction. Initially six interviewees and three agencies were pre-contacted by emails with the explanation of the research purpose and key questions both in English and Japanese. In case of agencies where the contact information is not open to public due to privacy, requests for suitable candidates for an interview for the research were sent to the agencies by email. Most of the cases were successful but the requests to the ministries were limited. It took a long time to receive few responses by email only, after requesting by e-mail and telephone. Thus, other requests were made to a research institute affiliated with one ministry. After failing to contact via email and telephone, finally one candidate could be reached with help from a researcher at Korean Educational Development Institute. Although interviewing in English is preferred, interviewing in Japanese was offered as a possibility considering the linguistic ability of the interviewees. Organisations and individuals were contacted to arrange for face to face interviews during research trips. Some of the interviewees who could not be met in Japan were interviewed via Skype. Two of the interviewees preferred to answer the questions by email, which was rather limited in terms of receiving feedback and asking further questions. However, since the interviews were conducted to discuss the implications of ESD for national education in Japan based on policy change, interviewing via Skype was fruitful even if the method lacks exposure to nonverbal cues. As a result, a list of seven interviewees was made and two more interviewees joined later with the recommendations of other interviewees. All the process was based on voluntary participation. Except one interview that was conducted in Japanese, all interviews were conducted in English. Since ESD promotion has been accomplished both domestically and internationally, the organisations had the manpower with English language ability. The participants' English language ability was considered in the recommendation process by the organisations. The one group interview with two interviewees in Japanese was conducted in a primary school which is registered as a UNESCO associated school.

Interview with school teachers

Although this study focuses on policy regarding national education, looking into school teachers' understanding of ESD policy was necessary, due to the difficulty of identifying ESD policy. Moreover, interviewing with teachers was necessary to verify the result of the policy analysis in the first stage. The analysis of the first stage shows a weak relationship between ESD and the education reforms, and a lack of internal impact in Japanese education. If the analysis was wrong, some counter-evidence could be obtained from the interview with teachers. For example, teachers can explain actual changes in school education, if any, during the DESD despite its ambiguous position in the reform policy. Even though many education policies do not contain the term ESD exactly, for example, teacher trainings or the hour of ESD activities could have been increased or newly introduced.

The convenient way to find Japanese teachers for the interview would be

to ask for help from UNESCO or National Commission for UNESCO in Japan. However, since this research was keeping a distance from UNESCO's generally positive view on ESD implications, the selection had to be random. At the same time the interviewees had to know what ESD is to discuss the implications of ESD. This researcher used a chance to meet principals of Japanese teacher's union in December, 2016. In order to find the suitable candidate, a short survey with five questions on the recognition of ESD (Jizokukanōnakaihatsu no tame no kyōiku) in Japanese language was conducted to a group of Japanese principals from primary and secondary schools that attended a Korea-Japan teacher's conference in Seoul. The result was interesting. Among about 10 principals who participated in the survey, only one answered that he has some knowledge of ESD, and others answered that they are not familiar with ESD or are not aware of ESD. More surprisingly, one of them answered that he has never heard of ESD. The NIER's report in 2009 states that teachers' recognition of ESD is low in Japan; it seems that the situation is not much improved. Upon agreement with the participant who answered that he has some knowledge on ESD, an interview was scheduled. He was found to be a principal of one of UNESCO schools in Japan. This principal introduced a teacher who is in charge of UNESCO projects in his school as she was considered to be more relevant for the interview. Therefore two teachers were interviewed at the same time.

The medium of language used for the interview was Japanese. Their answers were not much different from the ones given by other interviewees,

especially with a researcher at the research institute of one ministry, which verified the result of the policy analysis in the first stage. After analysing the interview data, the first process of analysis was re-examined. The framework and the method of conceptualisation were amended. In the second stage of analysis, the sources and techniques were triangulated in order to control for source bias (Corell and Betsill, 2001). In the interest of anonymity, any reference to the backgrounds of interviewees is kept to a minimum.

[Table 4.1] The list of interviewees

	[Table 4.1] The list of interviewees								
Interview	Position	Organisation	Position at	Medium	Type of				
No.			the time	of	Interview				
			of	Interview	/Date				
			Interview						
1	Former	Consortium of	Researcher/	English	Face-to-				
	Planner and	NGO	University		face				
	Practitioner				10 Jan.				
	(International				2017				
	Programme								
	Coordinator)								
2-1	Education	NGO	Programme	English	Face-to-				
	Cooperation		Specialist		face				
	Department				11 Jan.				
					2017				
2-2	Education	NGO		English	Face-to-				
	Cooperation				face				
	Department				11 Jan.				
					2017				
3	Department	Governmental	Senior	English	Face-to-				
	for	Research	Researcher		face				
	International	Centre			11 Jan.				
	Research and				2017				
	Cooperation								
4-1	Principal	UNESCO		Japanese	Face-to-				
		school			face				

4-2	Teacher in charge of UNESCO projects	UNESCO school		Japanese	Face-to- face 11 Jan. 2017
5	Former staff, (Associate Professor)	Consortium of NGO	Associate Professor/ University	English	Face-to- face 12 Jan. 2017
6	Secretary General	NGO		English	Face-to- face 12 Jan. 2017
7	Professor	University		English	Skype 25 Jan. 2017
8*(Reference for Interview Preparation)	Professor	University		English	E-mail 10 Dec. 2016 -29 Dec. 2016

Source: Composed by the author

[Table 4.2] List of websites from which texts were obtained

N o	Source	Link
1	UNESCO	http://en.unesco.org/themes/education-sustainable-
		development/clearinghouse/publications
2	MEXT (Education	http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/lawandplan/title01/deta il01/1373798.htm
	reform)	(Basic Act on Education, revised in 2006) http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/lawandplan/title01/deta il01/1373797.htm
		(Basic Plan for Education Promotion)
		http://www.mext.go.jp/a menu/shotou/new-cs/index.htm
		(New Curriculum)
		http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo7/giji_list/inde x.htm
		(Educational Promotion Basic Plan Special Party Proceedings Summary · Minutes · Deals)
3	News	https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/06/01/national/education-
	articles	reform-panel-suggests-easing-load-public-teachers/#.WaUUdSgjFPY
	regarding	https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/06/01/national/education-
	education reform	reform-panel-suggests-easing-load-public-teachers/#.WaUUdSgjFPY
4	Japanese	http://www.mext.go.jp/en/unesco/index.htm(English)
	National	http://www.mext.go.jp/unesco/ (Japanese)
	Commission for UNESCO	http://www.esd-jpnatcom.mext.go.jp/ (ESD)
5	ESD-J	http://www.esd-j.org/archive/project/recommend
		http://www.esd-j.org/archive/project/esd-co
6	Cabinet	http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/seisaku/kokuren/index.html
	Secretariat	http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/actions/201505/14article3.html(Edu
		cation Rebuilding Council)
7	MOFA	http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/kankyo/edu 10/10years gai.htm
		I (UNDESD)
		http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/kankyo/wssd/ (WSSD)
		http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/acd/ (ACD)
		http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/enzetsu/e_souri_bn.html#koizu
		mi (Speech)
		http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/seisaku/kokuren/kaisai.html
		(The Roundtables)

Source: Composed by the author

[Table 4.3] List of documents

Convening	Type of	Example of document	Year
Body/Source	document	Example of document	Teal
UNESCO World	Report	- Shaping the Education of Tomorrow	2012
Conference on ESD	Кероге	- Shaping the Future We Want	2012
Conference on LSD		- Global Action Program	2014
		Global Action 11 ogram	April.2017
	Declaration	- Bonn Declaration	710111.2017
	Decidration	- Aichi-Nagoya Declaration	2009
		/	2014
UNDESD in Japan	Report	- UNDESD Japan Mid Report	July 2009
0.12202 tapa		- UNDESD Japan Final Report	October 2014
		- Japan's Action Plan for UNDESD	30 March 2006
		- Revised Japan's Action Plan for	3 June 2011
		UNDESD	
		- About promoting UNESCO school	February 2008
		for ESD	2011
		- Overview of ESD Activities in Japan	June 2014
	Meeting	- National EFA 2015 Review	22 January 2008-
	minutes		
		- Roundtables (9)	17 September
			2014
Post-UNDESD in	Presentation	- Promotion of ESD in Japan	n.d.
Japan			
(MEXT/NatCom ¹)	Report	- ESD in Japan under GAP	March 2017
		 A Guide to Promoting ESD 	March 2016
		 Action Framework for Education 	2016
		2030	
MEXT	Meeting	- Special Section on Basic Plan for the	February 2007-
	minutes	Promotion of Education (14)	April 2008
		 Basic Act on Education(Revised) 	22 December,
	Law		2006
		- Basic Plan for the Promotion of	1 July, 2008
		Education(Provisional translation)	
	Summary	- Comparison of Course of Study	2008 vs. 2013
ACCU	Report	- ESD Forum Overall Session	December 2008
		- UNESCO Associated Schools in	10 March 2015
	Book	Japan as Bases for Promoting ESD	
MOE	Presentation	- Policy Actions on Environmental	23 September
		Education in Japan	2012
ESD-J	Proposal	- Policy Advocacy (13)	21.June 2003 -19
			June 2016
	Report	- Year Report (12)	2004-2014
			c.
MOFA	Summary	- Asia Cooperation Dialogue for	8 June 2004(1 st);
		Environment Education (3)	June 14 2006
			(3 rd); 2 -3 October
			2008(5 th)

.

¹ Japanese National Commission for UNESCO

Speech	- Prime Minister (Koizumi)'s speech at WSSD	2 September 2002
Web/	- Koizumi Initiative	21 August 2002
Summary	- The Prime Minister in Action	24 January 2013
,	(Council for the Implementation of	,
	Education Rebuilding)	
	- Partnership of Global Sharing,	26 August 2002
Chairs	Japan's initiative for WSSD	
summary	- Informal Meeting for WSSD	August 2002
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Type Partnership/Initiatives on	o l
Web/	Health	
Summary	- WSSD Fourth session of the	8 June 2002
,	Preparatory Committee for the	
	WSSD (Prepcom IV)	
	- Green Economy-business as usual?	26 June 2012
	ESD- education as usual? Rio +20 or	
	Rio -20?	
	- The promotion of School New Deal-	21 July 2009
	Eco school (MEXT)	
News article		26 June 2002
	An Effective Approach to SD ¹⁰	
	- Cabinet's decision of Basic	16 July 2012
	Environment Policy(Nihon Keizai	
	Shimbun Translated in Korean,	
	Yonhapnews)	
	- The directions of education policy in	15 January 2013
	the future(Sankei Shimbun) 11	
	- Shinzo Abe, and the arrogance of	1 June 2017
	power (Japan Times)	
	- The expansion of Community	24 July 2014
	schools and discoloured purpose	
	(Sankei Shimbun) ¹²	
	- The reason of increasing	28 July 2017
	Community Schools (Sankei	
	Shimbun) ¹³	
	- New education model co-developed	27 May 2014
	with OECD for academic	
	ability(Yomiuri Shimbun) ¹⁴	

Source: Composed by the author

CHAPTER V. THE CASE

For 40 years, the Government of Japan has continuously reaffirmed its determination to support the joint efforts of UNESCO and beneficiary countries. Its voluntary contribution through the Japanese funds-in-trust currently amounts to US\$ 260 million. In addition, many UNESCO projects benefit from the technical support and expertise of Japanese overseas assistance. (Koichiro Matsuura, 2009¹⁵)

5.1. The launch of the UNDESD and Japan's contribution

UNESCO was the first UN organisation that Japan joined after World War II in 1951. Among 195 Member States and 10 Associate Members of UNESCO, Japan has been the second largest shareholder of the UNESCO Regular Budget, after the US¹⁶. Japan is actively involved in UNESCO's educational, cultural and scientific projects.

In addition to its financial support, Japan is involved in the administrative operation of UNESCO as a member of the Executive Board of UNESCO (e.g. the Board system went through reform under a Japanese proposal in 1991), and in the designing and delivery of UNESCO programmes. To finance specific projects in which it takes special interest, the Government of Japan has created several funds-in-trust in UNESCO¹⁷. These Funds contribute, for example, to the improvement of literacy, to capacity building, to the preservation of cultural heritage (cultural projects) and the ecosystem (scientific and research projects), and to HIV/AIDS prevention. The large number of Japanese Funds-in-Trust (JFIT) is financed

by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and others by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). The UNESCO JFIT for the Capacity-building of Human Resources is established in 2000 to support UNESCO projects for the promotion of education and capacity-building for human resources in developing countries, which is followed by the JFIT for ESD in 2005¹⁸, the JFIT for the Promotion of Education in Asia and Pacific Region in 2009, and the JFIT for the Promotion of Global Action Programme on Education for Sustainable Development established in 2015.

[Table 5.1] List of the Japanese Funds-in-Trust for UNESCO¹⁹

Sector	List of the Funds-in-Trust		
Transectoral	- The JFIT for the Capacity building of Human Resources	MOE	
Culture	 The JFIT for the Preservation of the World Cultural Heritage The JFIT for the Preservation and Promotion of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 	MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affair)	
Education	 The JFIT for the Preventive Education against AIDS The JFIT for the Education for All Programme (EFA) The JFIT for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) 	MEXT	
Natural Science	 The JFIT for the IOC/WESTPAC Programme The Japanese Trust Fund for the Promotion of the Scientific Programme for Sustainable Development 	(Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology)	
Social and Human Sciences	- The JFIT for the Promotion of International Cooperation and Mutual Understanding		
Communication and Information	The JFIT for the Promotion of Effective use of Information and Communication Technologies in Education The JFIT for the Information for All Programme		

Source: UNESCO (2013)

The JFIT's three contributions in the education sector are: Preventive Education against AIDS, Education for All programme (EFA) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), held in Johannesburg 2002, was the first major initiative for ESD in the 21st century (Cars and West, 2014). From the discussion on the goals set in Agenda 21 in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, the Global Higher Education for Sustainability Partnership (GHESP) and the formation of the Global Virtual University (GVU) for sustainable development were produced. According to Cars and West (2014), the Swedish and Japanese delegations played instrumental roles in producing these outcomes. It is generally known that the UNDESD was the Japanese proposal as written in many Japanese documents, but the UNDESD is not the first proposal that Japan made. Actually, the Brundtland Commission was also a Japanese proposal and the commission's work was supported financially by Japan covering half of its total cost of US\$ 6m. The rest was provided by Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the Switzerland (Hashimoto, 2007). Hashimoto states that Saburo Okita, the former minister of foreign affairs and the Japanese member of the Brundtland Commission regarded supporting the commission as a responsibility of Japan as a country that achieved economic prosperity. It was thought to be an opportunity for Japan to demonstrate its 'dignity' vis-à-vis its commitment to environmental issues (*Ibid.*). Ironically, when the Brundtland Report came out in 1987, Japan was at the height of its economic bubble. According to Hara (2007), Japanese politicians regarded supporting the commission as an effort to address global environmental

problems, rather than impetus for internal reflections on unsustainable domestic development (quoted in Mochizuki, 2017:3-4). Interestingly, this tendency of Japan seems to be repeated in the case of the UNDESD.

... at that time, Kojima, a chief (or vice) director of the one bureau of the Ministry of Environment was very eager to advocate the Summit from Japan. To raise persuasive power of the suggestion, it should be proposed from not only Japanese government but also even Japanese citizens (Interview 7).

Albeit its good will, these processes of the launch of the UNDESD were managed mainly by a handful of nations who prepared strategic frameworks to develop and implement them at national levels. It was the Japanese government that conceived of the UNDESD and introduced the idea at the WSSD Preparatory Committee IV (Bali, Indonesia, June 2002) (ARIES²⁰. n.d). Many international governmental and non-governmental organisations were lobbied to highlight the importance of ESD in advance of and during the World Summit where ESD was featured significantly in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation. The UN General Assembly adopted the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation and the WSSD recommended the United Nations General Assembly to consider adopting the Decade of ESD. In 2002, at the 57th Session of the UN General Assembly, Resolution 57/254 declaring the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNDESD) from 2005 to 2014 was adopted and UNESCO was assigned as the lead agency to promote it. In 2003, UNESCO called the draft International Implementation Scheme after sharing a framework. More than

2000 contributions were made, and the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO also submitted 'A Proposal to the UNESCO's International Implementation Scheme on the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development²¹'. Later, proposals regarding the further promotion of the UNDESD were submitted in 2007 by the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO.

[Table 5.2] JFIT's Regional distribution through UNESCO 1999-2009

Regional Distribution (1999-2009)	Total amount of projects (US\$)
Global	46,912,798
Africa	22,630,603
Arab States	6,557,840
Asia and the Pacific	84,230,591
Europe and North America	3,970,016
Latin America and the Caribbean	11,462,434
Total	175,764,282

Source: UNESCO (2009:50)

The International Implementation Scheme was submitted to the High Level Panel on the Decade in 2004 and was presented at the 59th session of the UN General Assembly in October 2004 in New York. The Consolidated International Implementation Scheme was released at the UNESCO Executive Board session in September 2005. Meanwhile, the UNESCO Asia-Pacific region released its strategy for the UNDESD in July 2005 based on the concepts of the draft scheme and on the needs and priorities of stakeholders in the region. It is noteworthy that Japan's role was prominent in the Asia-Pacific Regional Launch of the UNDESD which was undertaken

by the Director-General of UNESCO, Koichiro Matsuura ²² at Nagoya University, Japan in 2005. Koichiro Matsuura was the Director-General between 1999 and 2009 and Japan's contribution through UNESCO on the Asia-Pacific Region has been noticeably large. There is no doubt that Japan had taken a lead role in introducing and distributing ESD, and its influence has been stronger especially in the Asia-Pacific area.

5.1.1. Necessity and chance

It is not often discussed that there was strong government interest in the proposal for the UNDESD. It is widely known that Japanese civil society played a main role in proposing the 'UN Decade' through public comments. However, as a matter of fact, it was engineered by the government. According to Nomura and Abe (2009), the director of the Ministry of the Environment's Environmental Partnership Office (hereinafter referred to as EPO²³) recommended proposing the 'UN Decade' as a proposal from the Japan Forum for Johannesburg (JFJ²⁴) (interview, 4 December 2007, requoted Nomura and Abe, 2009:486). From his work experience at the United Nations as a staff member from the Japanese Ministry of the Environment, the EPO director had chances to observe various kinds of UN decades initiated. If the UN initiates ESD as a decade plan, ESD gains more attention with support for facilitation and coordination. The idea of emphasising education is generally well accepted without resistance, which was the main reason for adopting education as the focus. Moreover, since the Johannesburg Summit had 'sustainable development' in its title, the World Summit on Sustainable Development, the proposal was adopted to be

qualified as 'ESD'. The proposal of 'sustainable development' by Japan was 'appealing to developing countries and likely to gain their support because of their expectations of an increase in Japanese international aid in that field' (interview, 15 March 2008, requoted Nomura and Abe, 2009:489). In the same sense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed to use the term ESD with recognition of the importance of paying attention to the needs of developing countries to make policy proposals at international conferences held in the global South, as was the case with the Johannesburg Summit. With such reason, the Ministry was interested in including other issues in addition to the environment, such as poverty, with reference to international efforts such as the Millennium Development Goals 3 (Nomura and Abe, 2009:489). This part also appears in the record of the Roundtables for ESD promotion in Japan. The interesting point here is that the advent of the proposal of 'the Decade' of 'Education' for 'Sustainable Development' occurred through adapting to circumstances at the time by a small number of stakeholders who were motivated by different interests.

5.1.2. Implementation at the global level

Although the WSSD was a critical moment for the UNDESD, unlike the Earth Summit, the Johannesburg Conference could hardly claim the same heady importance. The UN was hard pressed to avoid declaring the event an absolute failure (Egelston, 2006). On the one hand, the WSSD was held at a bad time as it occurred in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks in the United States, on the other hand, the conference was poorly organised and preparatory work was not done well due to an absence of adequate finances

to hold the initial PrepComs. Given this situation, the WSSD generally failed in its objective to further the states' implementation of the sustainable development agenda (*Ibid.*).

While the UN General Assembly wanted Johannesburg to be an actionoriented conference, it was difficult to achieve any meaningful results due to the geo-political status at the time. The North-South financial gap had grown wider while foreign aid decreased. The United States, in particular, had undergone a major shift in foreign policy with the change of its presidency from the President Clinton to President Bush. For instance, one of the Bush's first major foreign policy decisions was to withdraw the United States from the Kyoto Protocol (Cohen and Egelston, 2003). It seemed impossible to expect any agreement out of the WSSD process. Nevertheless, the WSSD in Johannesburg produced two significant documents; one is the Declaration on Sustainable Development and the other is the Plan of Implementation. The Summit enhanced sustainable development by repeating reassuring words of governmental support, but the governments attending the conference were unwilling to make meaningful long-term commitments to this international deal (Egelston, 2012:18).

Throughout the UNDESD, the Japanese government contributed to the global implementation of ESD through its significant financial contribution to the lead agency of the UNDESD, UNESCO and to the UN University (hereinafter referred to as UNU) headquartered in Tokyo, which, in 2003, established an ESD programme with funding support from Japan's Ministry of Environment. There is a long-standing debate on the definition of ESD,

but UNESCO defines it broadly as education as that

...empowers learners to take informed decisions and responsible actions for environmental integrity, economic viability and a just society, for present and future generations, while respecting cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2014:12).

It also explicitly acknowledges that ESD is 'intended to encompass all activities that are in line with the [ESD] principles irrespective of whether they themselves use the term ESD (or not)' (UNESCO 2013:1-2). Some of examples for these encompassing activities are environmental education, sustainability education, global education and development education. Of course, the examples such as sustainability education, global and development education can have a wide range of encompassing activities.

The progress of ESD remains unevenly distributed and requires different approaches in different contexts. In the coming years, there is a clear need for both developed and developing countries, civil society and international organisations to make significant efforts to: Mobilise adequate resources and funding in favour of ESD, in particular through integrating ESD into national development policy and budgetary frameworks, into UN common country programming processes and other country-level policy frameworks (such as sector-wide approaches), as well as into EFA and MDG initiatives. Promote and include ESD in the priorities of foundations and donors (The Bonn Declaration, 2009b).

As stated in the Bonn Declaration in 2009, the importance of ESD in line with EFA and the MDGs is consistently emphasised by governments and

international agencies, and in many ways, works as an enforcement mechanism to make both donors and recipient countries integrate ESD with national policy and practice. A number of countries incorporated ESD in their educational program regardless of their economic status although the degrees of integration vary. Even though UNESCO (2012) states that the matter of adopting ESD is beyond the authority of international organisations, it is important to note that international organisations are key actors in disseminating these world cultural ideas and policies. As with the Bonn Declaration in 2009, despite being a 'hard instrument', conferences can influence national policy development in both direct and indirect ways, and UN meetings have been a ritual in disseminating world cultural perspectives to countries (Lechner and Boli 2005; Steiner-Khamsi, 2012).

The MEXT through the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO²⁵ has been contributing to the UNDESD in the form of Funds-in-Trust to UNESCO since 2005 together with technical and research assistances. A number of projects to promote the goals and objectives of the UNDESD were funded by JFIT. Overall ESD related activities such as the development of the UNDESD website, of publications and advocacy materials to clarify and disseminate ESD concepts and principles to key stakeholders, the launch of forums and conferences for policy debates and information shared with various partners, the production of 'best practices' in ESD and the increase of teaching, training, learning and resource materials on ESD were supported by JFIT through UNESCO.

Japan's support has also helped strengthen UNESCO's role in advocacy

of the UNDESD (UNDESD Japan Report, 2014). For instance, the key UNESCO publications on the UNDESD such as 'Shaping the education of Tomorrow (2012)', Education for sustainable development: Sourcebook (2012) and 'Education for Sustainable Development Lens: A Policy and Practice Review Tool (2010)' benefited from JFIT. The UNESCO-Japan Prize on ESD was launched with funding from the Government of Japan. Japan-U.S. Teacher Exchange Program for ESD was launched by Fulbright US and Japan, the Journal of Education for Sustainable Development was established by Kartikeya V. Sarabhai 26, a member of the UNESCO Reference Group for the UNDESD. Japan also utilised Japanese I/NGO groups such as Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO 27, ESD-J to activate ESD, and encouraged Japanese public and private sectors to participate in domestic or international ESD related projects. By supporting networking of organisations, ESD was promoted both in Japan and other countries, especially in the Asia Pacific areas. This working system connects the Japanese governments with I/NGOs enabled that power relationships within the Japanese government to affect the implementation of ESD both domestically and internationally. In the relationship between the domestic and international activities the flows are interconnected as cause and effect. The MEXT has promoted formal ESD through measures to integrate ESD into the education policy and curriculum in Japan as well as through financial contributions to UNESCO. The MOE has promoted communitybased ESD through non-formal ESD measures and financial contributions to the UNU, which amounted to several million dollars annually over the UNDESD. While significant, this amount is miniscule compared to Japan's

Official Development Assistance (ODA) disbursement, which amounts to several billion dollars per year. Apart from a few exceptions, such as a school based ESD project in Mongolia funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, ESD was rarely implemented in developing countries with bilateral assistance (Mochizuki, 2017). Considering Japan's relationship with UNESCO, the project for ESD promotion funded by UNESCO or other UNESCO associated agencies especially in Asia-Pacific areas can be regarded as indirect but still largely assisted by Japan.

Table 5.3 presents a linear process of global and national promotion of ESD. It shows a circulation of movement from the Japanese national level to global level, and vice versa. For example, after determining the launch of the UNDESD in 2002, environmental Education Law was enacted in Japan in 2003. In the same year, Japan proposed to UNESCO on its international implementation plan for the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. It led to the UNESCO's draft of implementation plan for UN Decade of ESD, and the plan was approved by the UN General Assembly in 2005. In the following year, Japanese ESD implementation plan was drafted in 2006 and Fundamental Law of Education (MEXT's translation in English is the Basic Act on Education) and revised in 2007. Again Japan made a proposal to UNESCO to further promote the UNDESD, and the resolution was made at UNESCO General Conference, 34th Session to further promote ESD in 2007. Likewise, since Japan has been playing a constitutive role in launching and promoting the UNDESD, the inner and outer movements for ESD in case of Japan are interrelated. The main agencies for ESD

promotion have departments in charge of both international and national activities. The table also indicates that the active participation of MEXT in ESD promotion started since 2007 after revising Education Law. ACCU started to work as a Secretariat for UNESCO schools since 2008 (Interview 2-1, 2-2). In the same year, ESD Roundtables meetings were established and the International Forum on ESD Dialogue was hosted at United Nations University (UNU headquarter in Tokyo). Some interviewees pointed out MEXT's participation was made quite later compared to MOE and MOFA. In the field of environmental education, the inner and outer movements of ESD promotion are linked through Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) on Environmental Education by MOFA and MOE. These movements have decreased after ESD World Conference in Bonn in 2009. After the Great Earthquake in 2011, the Japanese ESD implementation plan was further revised focusing on disaster and reconstruction. UNESCO World Conference on ESD was hosted in Japan in the final year of the UN Decade of ESD at Nagoya City, Aichi Prefecture and Okayama City. These places were chosen through competition based on the promotion rate of ESD such as the number of UNESCO schools, environmental education related projects, and so on. For example, Okayama City has been promoting the 'Okayama ESD Project' with various stakeholders since 2005 (Japan Global Action Programme, 2017).

In March 2014, Japan made a proposal, *Invigoration of UNESCO Activities in an Era of Diversity: Building a Sustainable Society*, and ESD continues as in Target 4.7 of SDGs.

[Table 5.3] ESD activities on the national and global level

Year	ESD in International level	ESD in Japan	Japanese National Commission for UNESCO
1987	Concept of 'sustainable development' taken up by the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Committee)		
1992	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro) Agenda 21 recognises the importance of education for sustainable development.		
2002	World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg) At the recommendation of Japan, a statement on the 'Decade of ESD' is included in World Summit implementation plan		
	57 th Session of the General Assembly The decade from 2005-2014 is designated the United Nations Decade for ESD, with UNESCO named as the lead agency.		

2003	Start of ESD program at the United Nations University	Environmental Education Law enacted	Proposal for Law for Enhancing Motivation on Environmental Conservation and Promoting of Environmental Education Proposal to UNESCO on its international implementation plan for the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
2004	Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) 1st Dialogue on Environmental Education		
2005	ACD 2nd Dialogue on Environmental Education UNESCO drafts implementation plan for UN Decade of ESD, and plan is approved by the UN General Assembly Overall goal: To integrate the principles, values, and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education and learning.	UNDESD inter- ministerial liaison committee is established	
2006	ACD 3rd Dialogue on Environmental Education	Japanese ESD implementation plan drafted	

2007	ACD 4rth Dialogue on Environmental Education Fourth World Environmental Education Congress (WEEC) in Durban, South Africa Fourth International Conference on Environmental Education (ICEE) in Ahmedabad, India The resolution at UNESCO General Conference, 34th Session to further promote ESD	Basic Act on Education revised	Proposal to UNESCO to further promote the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
2008	ACD 5th Dialogue on Environmental Education International Forum on ESD Dialogue 2008 hosted at United Nations University (UNU headquarter in Tokyo) - Organised by MEXT, the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, UNESCO, and the Asia- Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU)	Curriculum guidelines (Course of Study) revised Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education drafted ESD Roundtables Meetings established	Proposal Regarding the Effective Utilisation of UNESCO Associated Schools for the Promotion and Dissemination of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)
2009	ESD World Conference (Bonn) Bonn Declaration adopted	Curriculum guidelines (Course of Study) revised ESD Roundtables Meetings	

2011		Amended 'Environmental Education Law Japanese ESD implementation plan revised ESD Roundtables Meetings	
2012	Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio de Janeiro) Declaration includes promotion of ESD beyond 2014		
2013		Second Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education drafted	
2014	UNESCO World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development Hosted in Japan in the final year of the UN Decade of ESD (Nagoya City, Aichi Prefecture and Okayama City)		Proposal Regarding Invigoration of UNESCO Activities in an Era of Diversity: Building a Sustainable Society
2015	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) ESD continues as in Target 4.7		

Source: Re-organised by the author based on the materials of UNESCO and Japanese National Commission of UNESCO)

5.2. The education reforms of Japan

This study focuses on the repeated statements of Japan and UNESCO that Japan made an effort to introduce ESD to the recent education reform and the revised Education Law in 2006. Among the various approaches, analysing education reforms is an effective way to clarify the predominant ideas that oriented such change or continuity of education in the society. This shows how ESD was integrated in association with the predominant ideology in education of Japan. Especially, the study focuses on the fact that changes in formal education are closely related to the broader socioeconomic context of Japan. This is connected to the key words such as knowledge, economy and academic ability that are emphasised in Japanese education. This research finds that the knowledge-based society explained by the MEXT is very similar to the notion of Bernstein's Totally Pedagogising Society (TPS). Usually, Bernstein's TPS is deployed with theoretical perspectives of globalisation for critical analysis on education changes, especially under neoliberalism. This researcher finds that the recent education reforms of Japan have been under the neoliberal influences like in many other countries based on the notions of TPS. Although Japan shows rather different modalities from neoliberal reforms of America and the United Kingdom by keeping its strong-state policy, the direction of reforms was mainly determined for knowledge economy in Japan, through which the role of ESD was defined. In this section, the background and traits of education reforms that occurred in the last decades are discussed. With the discussion, this section addresses the prevailing ideas of the

society that took core positions in the reforms. By merging into ESD during the recontextualisation process, these ideas play a dominant role in constructing the articulations of ESD.

As Japan is a non-Western developed country that shares historical legacies of colonial expansion and exploitation with the Western developed countries, there have been ongoing debates on the 'unique' characteristics of Japan and Japanese culture, especially the debates over *nihonjinron*²⁸, or discourses on the distinctiveness of the Japanese national character (Gordon and LeTendre, 2010:3). These debates also include a unique feature of education in Japan.

When the revision of the Basic Act on Education, the law that forms the basis of all education-related laws, was made in 2006, it brought attentions from many other countries since the revision had not been made since 1947. The revision followed a wave of education reforms that already started occurring in 1990s. Through radical reforms the Japanese government had significantly altered teaching conditions in public schools. Fujita (2010) explains the history of Japanese education reforms in three waves: the first wave emerged during the Meiji Restoration period in which the Government Order of Education was promulgated in 1872: the second wave emerged in the mid-20th century: and the third emerged in the 1980s. During the second wave after the end of World War II, the modern Japanese system with guiding ideas such as equal opportunity, comprehensive secondary education, and universal access to higher education was established. The third wave that still continues restructuring or reorganising

all aspects of school education today (Fujita, 2010:18). This third wave of reform embedding strong neoliberal ideas such as deregulation, outcome-based education, and tests has produced a number of debates among scholars (Fujita, 2000, 2010; Kariya, 2006, 2010).

5.2.1. Shift from *yutori* to *education for ability*

Previously MEXT launched the so-called 'relaxed education' (yutori kyoiku) reform in 1980, by revising the National Curriculum to cut down lesson hours and content in order to give schools, teachers, and students more freedom and autonomy, and thereby make schooling and learning free of pressure and more enjoyable. Considering the United States and the United Kingdom undergoing neoliberal reforms since the 1980s, this Japanese move was considered as opposite to the global trend in education reform. However, the administration of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone then established the ad hoc National Council on Educational Reform in 1984. The reports of the council suggested and initiated the series of neoliberal and market-oriented reforms. As consequence the organising principle of the school system shifted from equal opportunity to individual choice. The system has restructured gradually to expand differentiation of the learning process and educational opportunity according to student's ability. Grouping students by ability, school ranking and selectivity based on school choice for students and parents were introduced. In addition, the evaluation system for school and national assessment tests for students' academic performance for years six and nine were introduced in 2002 and 2007 respectively. The evaluation system of teachers, and the requirement to

renew teacher certification every ten years were established in 2007. The brief administrations of Prime Ministers Shinzo Abe (2006-2007) and Yasuo Fukuda (2007-2008) witnessed the reversal of several proposed reforms, including school vouchers, 'league-table' based on national testing, and school inspections. After the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe stepped down, the power of the Educational Reform Committee (Kyouiku saisei kaigi) also decreased. Although the council proposed school vouchers, 'league-tables' based on national testing, and school inspections, most of which were ideas borrowed from the United Kingdom, all those reforms stopped under the administration of Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda. In 2008, the new national curricula were decided upon and publicised. Reflecting on the failure of the former 'relaxed education' (yutori kyoiku) curricula, the new curricula revived some of the content that had been eliminated and reduced the number of classes used for comprehensive learning time while the content load of curricula were left the same and packed into a limited number of school days. MEXT planned to increase the number of teachers to reduce the teacher load, but the Ministry of Finance stopped the plan and restricted the expansion to only a limited number of part-time teachers.

Relaxed Education (Yutori Kyoiku) reform

The basic outline of the Japanese public school education is introduced with a series of documents by MEXT. Most important is the Course of Study (*Gakushu Shido Yoryo*) that provides specific guidance on teaching and learning to Japanese schools. The Course of Study determines critical matters such as the subjects to be taught and the minimum number of hours

to be spent on each subject at each grade level. In the late 1980s and 1990s, stakeholders in different sectors and educators of Japan expressed concerns about the rigid and overly intense school education that brings 'school disorder' of students, as well as discourages creativity, independence, and the desire for lifelong learning as schools are more focused on strong basic academic skills. The Course of Study (*Gakushu Shido Yoryo*) implemented in 2002 responded to these trends to implement the strongest version of 'relaxed education (*yutori kyoiku*)'. The ultimate desire was to instill in students 'a zest for learning'. Here, it is noteworthy that the Japanese education system has been regarded as an overly centralised system with strict standardisation. Standardisation contributed to equalising quality and quantity but failed to educate individuals with individuality and creativity (Kariya, 2010:12) as it suppressed autonomy of schools and teachers. The issues in education are also systemic.

MEXT implemented a number of reforms for compulsory education²⁹. The three points that have garnered the most attention are 1) the reduction in the number of school hours, 2) the reduction of the number of hours devoted to academic subjects, and 3) the creation of a course of 'Integrated Studies' (lesson hours of comprehensive learning). The reduction in school hours was accomplished primarily through eliminating Saturday classes, a reform that was gradually being implemented since the 1990s. In the Integrated Studies, schools and teachers would organise content and select relevant materials for exploratory learning or project learning, with topics that work across the curriculum, such as studying the natural environment, education for a global world, or studying 'information technology'. Its intention was to

allow schools the freedom to create a learning space outside the traditional bounds of the curriculum that would not be focusing on entrance tests or tightly defined learning outcomes. Since the early 2000s, however, there has been a movement back toward a classical approach to learning that places an emphasis on basic knowledge accumulation and testing.

5.2.2. Global standard and PISA effect

Shortly after the implementation of the new curriculum, Japanese student achievement on international comparative tests such as TIMSS and PISA declined. In response, a number of gradual changes were implemented and designed to help improve the academic performance of Japanese students while maintaining some of the benefits of the earlier reforms. Key changes included a gradual increase in the required topics to be taught in the standard academic subjects, a gradual increase in the number of hours devoted to these subjects, and the implementation of national standardised testing at the end of the 6th and 9th grades (National Survey on Educational Performance) in mathematics and Japanese for the first time in 2007. The tests were implemented with an aim to assess the skills of the students as a whole, and target areas which need for improvement. A significant concern was that the tests would be used as means to intensify greater comparison and competition among schools as well as increase pressure on students. The tests, which included extensive student and teacher surveys, provide a rich source of data regarding not just the strengths and weaknesses of Japanese students, but also diverse data regarding other factors that can

affect learning such as the amount of time spent for reading and the use of mobile phones to send emails each day³⁰.

In 2008, a new Course of Study was proposed and adopted. Parts of the content that had been previously eliminated were revived in the new curricula as mentioned already. The main reason for these reforms was to raise academic ability and achievement. Additionally, the 'PISA shock' with the effect of globalisation played a significant role in orienting the reforms.

Globalisation has taken place not only in the economy but also in knowledge, skills, and qualifications. There has been a push for global standardisation, which has emerged as a result of the information technology revolution and economic globalisation. This is an underlying reason that international comparative studies of students' scholastic performance such as OECD/PISA and IEA/TIMSS have drawn the attention of many researchers, policy makers, and the media across nations. Articulations such as 'TIMSS impact' and 'PISA shock' were more frequently used. Fujita (2010) claims that both PISA and TIMSS are measuring basically the same ability, not different ones. Similarly, any ability would not be developed without spending sufficient time and effort to train in content strategies. Moreover, he points out that the level of students' effort, including study hours outside school, is generally higher in East Asian countries than in many Western developed countries. The global standardisation and increased testing were emphasised for the goal of improving test scores.

MEXT had decided that the revised national curriculum would be enforced in the beginning of 2010, with a 10 per cent increase in total lesson hours, especially for math, science, English, and physical education. The increase in physical education is partially due to the ideological concerns of certain influential political leaders and partially due to the declining trend in physical strength and locomotive power of Japanese students. Another reactive strategy was the introduction of national assessment tests of students' academic performance for all sixth and ninth-graders throughout the nation starting in 2007, which was enacted despite strong opposition and criticism. While each local board of education for public schools and each private and national school could decide if they would participate or not, all national schools and all local board of education, except one, have participated. Only about half of private schools have participated (Fujita, 2010:26).

5.2.3. Education for knowledge economy

The target for reform is centralised, exam-driven, uniform education, which would deprive individuals of their choice and individuality. 'Both liberal and neoliberal reformers work together to destroy or deconstruct the old regime' (Kariya, 2010:12). The decentralisation of education administration and budget, the introduction of new curricula for 21st-century skills, the alleviation of entrance exam pressure, and the weakening of the standardisation of education are the results of the reform. Although they may have the backing of different political interests, their ideas

emerged for education reform through the alliance that strengthens the pressure toward neoliberal education reform (*Ibid.*).

The most frequently repeated reason for change by the proponents of radical reform in Japan is the concern with the need to improve educational standards for coping with such social changes as innovation in information communication technologies, globalisation, and the knowledge-driven economy (Fujita, 2010:22). This reason, fundamentally, relates to the economic depression called the 'Lost Decade' or the 'Lost 10 Years' (Ushinawareta Junen), and Japan's anxiety to recover. The Lost Decade originally referred to the years from 1991 to 2000, a period of economic stagnation in Japan following the Japanese asset price bubble's collapse in the late 1991 and early 1992, but recently the decade from 2001 to 2010 is often included 31. Hence the whole period is referred to as the 'Lost 20 Years' (*Ushinawareta Nijūnen*). The economic woes in the Lost Decade have pervasively influenced Japanese policymakers who continue to grapple with its consequences (Sohn, 2009). The effects of economic-centred discourse on education, with a strong voice of the Japanese media that blames the previous reforms such as the introduction of 'relaxed education' (yutori kyoiku) and lowered math standards for Japan's drop in PISA ranking oriented the latest education reforms. 'Employability' was emphasised as a means to reconcile between the choices of cutting the budget for social welfare without increasing socioeconomic inequality. The reforms regarding competitions were deemed necessary and inevitable in the global knowledge-based economy if Japan is to strengthen its national

economy. Under these circumstances, neoliberal reforms gained legitimacy to offer policies such as school choice, deregulation, decentralisation, and devolution to local boards of education and schools, as well as national testing and school evaluation. The 2010 guidelines were also governed by the perceived need to educate human resource for the 'knowledge-based society' of the 21st century (MEXT 2008:1-2). For the goal of academic achievement, phrases such as '21st-century skills', 'new competencies' and 'high skills' are frequently used. PISA standards such as problem-solving skills, communication skills, and skills for applying knowledge to daily life and work, are often emphasised and required (Gordon and LeTendre, 2010:11).

5.3. Understanding the traits of the reform process

5.3.1. Imbalanced architecture

The case of Japanese education reform shows the intervention of neoliberal ideas in constructing the national education agenda within the political struggle between the central government and the MEXT. The reform was a complicate process that produced uncertain outcomes. The case of Japan draws attention on the dominant reform ideologies and the change of power relations in the policymaking process, that is, the power shift from the education circle, including the Ministry of Education and its advisory body, to the political authorities such as the Cabinet and the advisory bodies to the Prime Minister (Takayama, 2007; Fujita, 2010:36).

The advisory bodies, the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy (CEFP), the Council for the Promotion of Regulatory Reform, the National Commission on Educational Reform, and the Council for Education Rebuilding 32 have exercised overwhelming influence in determining the basic direction of recent educational reforms in Japan. The Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy (hereinafter referred to as CEFP) is a consultative organ placed within the Cabinet Office and headed by the Prime Minister, which carries out surveys and discussions on important economic and fiscal policies in response to inquiries by the Prime Minister. The Education Rebuilding Council was set up in the Cabinet in October 2006, with the aim to rebuild education and structure an educational system befitting the 21st century (MEXT, n.d³³). The Council for the Promotion of Regulatory Reform was reorganised in January 2007, as the previous Council was established in April 2004. The new Council deliberates important issues on regulatory reform as an advisory body to the Prime Minister. It also took over the functions of Market Access Ombudsman Council. The new Council works in close cooperation with the Headquarters for the Promotion of Regulatory Reform which is headed by the Prime Minister. There are spokespersons for the government party and business interests. The private sector was also actively involved to promote regulatory reform. Private-sector participation was regarded as a keystone of the government's structural reform program by the cabinet. It is 'inspired by the principle that the private sector should be left to do the job wherever it has the requisite capabilities' (Council for the Promotion of Regulatory Reform, April 2004 - December 2006³⁴). This shows that all the bodies are under the control of the Prime Minister along with the Ministry of Education and its advisory body and the Central Council of Education (hereinafter referred to as CCE) which has initiated major educational reforms and policies for the last five decades, since the 1950s (Fujita, 2010:36). The dominant ideologies or ideas commonly shared by these bodies are neoliberalism, market and managerial efficiency, new public management, outcome-based education (Fujita, 2010), together with nationalism.

The First Abe Cabinet had revised the Basic Act on Education for the first time in about 60 years, and clearly stated items such as nurturing rich emotion and morals, respecting tradition and culture and developing an attitude of love for country and homeland as educational goals. (Council for the Implementation of Education Rebuilding 35, January 24, 2013)

When the CCE report was released, many dissenting voices were raised from various groups. All opinion surveys by newspaper companies and others showed that the great majority of respondents were negative about the revision, yet it was approved by the governing parties in December 2006. It shows unbalanced power relations in the policy making process, which still remains a critical issue. Education-related bills, including the revision of the Teacher Certificate Law, were also approved in 2007 under pressure of the administration of the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Worries on biased and irrational background that drove the revision were disregarded or ignored.

5.3.2. Trainability and decentralisation

The revised laws have also strengthened the administrative/managerial control over teachers and expanded the possibility of restricting and oppressing the freedom and autonomy of teachers (e.g. the renewal system of certification). In the revision process, teachers often became a target of blame for education failure. For example, the former Education Minister (from September 2004 to October 2005), Nakayama Nariaki in the cabinet of Junichiro Koizumi, who was later the Minister of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism under Taro Aso, was forced to resign in September 2008 due to his antagonistic statements such as 'I will stand at the forefront to destroy the Japan Teachers' Union, which is a cancer for Japanese education'³⁶ (Asahi Shimbun, 27 September 2008). He also announced an educational reform plan entitled 'Japan! Rise again!' which included five specific proposals: 1) amendment of the Basic Act on Education, 2) improvement of academic ability through the implementation of nationwide academic ability surveys and other measures, 3) improvement of the quality of teachers through the establishment of professional graduate schools, and the teacher qualification renewal system, etc., 4) school and board of education reform by placing importance on education on the ground, and 5) reform of the system of national treasury's share of compulsory education expenses carried out on the assumption that the national government must guarantee that the local governments can utilise their ingenuity to carry out a diverse range of measures without worrying about funding (MEXT, $n.d^{3/}$).

Apart from the increased responsibility, teachers are excluded from those who may exercise 'unjust control' (the term used in the Basic Act on Education, stated in Fujita, 2010:38) because political and administrative authorities established the laws and regulations that govern education and exercise control according to those laws and regulations. There had been ongoing resistances against introducing the teaching certificate renewal system although the CCE decided against proposing such system already in 2002. However, the Education Minister in 2004 submitted the Reform Program of Compulsory Education to CEEP under pressure of the Koizumi administration's policy platform for *structural reform without exceptions*. Moreover, large reductions of the cabinet's subsidy to teachers was planned to apply gradually, despite critiques that the Japanese government's expenditure for elementary and secondary education as a percentage of GDP is only 3.5 per cent, much lower than the average of 5 per cent among the OECD countries (OECD, 2007).

Decentralisation and self-responsibility

It is not surprising to observe a dramatic increase in cram schools since the introduction of nationwide rakings of schools and emphasis on academic achievements. It is well known that Japan is a degree conscious society, described as 'examination hell' by the OECD in the 1970s. While 'relaxed education' gained legitimacy, the growing tendency among reforms has been its reversal. The reforms have been made predominantly by financial concerns to cope with budgetary deficits as well as neoliberal ideology based on small state policy (Fujita, 2010).

One of the main strategies of Japan's small state policy is the decentralisation of the budgetary system, such as reducing the subsidy for

teachers. According to Kariya (2010), unlike the proposed small state policy, the state's centralised control over the national curricula or other regulations may be left unchanged. In a knowledge-economic society that requires 'high skills' (Brown and Lauder, 1992), there are continuous demands for schools to accomplish more difficult and complicated tasks to provide 'best practices' of education for all students. In turn, all the students must respond to the demands with globally competitive academic achievement such as PISA scores. In a neoliberal-led 'capitalist learning society' (Kariya, 2010:65) and under small state policy slogan, raising the academic standards is the students and schools' own responsibility.

The new Course of Study released in March 2017 keeps its focus on academic ability for improved human resource. The number of classes and learning load increased, goals and contents are emphasised and evaluation is strengthened. (Naoki Omori, Associate professor of Tokyo Gakugei University³⁸). It was predictable considering the education slogan of the Abe administration, 'rebuilding education to restore a strong Japan'.

Rebuilding education is the top prioritised issue of Japan, along with the revival of economy. Naturally, it is the top prioritised issue of the Abe administration. In order to restore a 'strong Japan', it is essential to rebuild the education of children, who will take on the future of Japan. The ultimate overarching goal of rebuilding education is to ensure the opportunity for acquiring academic ability and awareness of the importance of discipline at the world's top level (Prime Minister Shinzo Abe,

January 24, 2013 at the Council for the Implementation of Education Rebuilding)³⁹.

However, the responsibility for teaching methods and designs for education quality are largely left to teachers. Another effect of the decentralisation policy is the encouragement to collaborate with the society. The new Course of Study introduces 'a curriculum open to society' in which schools collaborate with the changing society. The idea of sharing responsibility can be regarded as handing the work of education over to the society, instead of the state. Yet there are still many different movements that hold high regard for those ideal features and seek to revitalise schools and local communities with those ideals (Fujita, 2010). The assertions that Japan needs a radical reform of schooling to solve the education issues have not been proven. Nevertheless, the reforms continue (*Ibid.*).

5.4. ESD in the education context of Japan

The results of content analysis of main policy materials show how the education context in Japan contributed to the formation of ESD modalities. While the articulations of ESD do not appear much in policy documents related to education reforms, regularities of strong bond of ESD ideas with academic ability were observed in many documents.

5.4.1. Lack of articulations of ESD in education policies

The finding shows the articulations of ESD do not much appear in the policy documents related to education reforms. As the word itself was deemed too difficult and sophisticated to understand⁴⁰, the word ESD or

Education for Sustainable Development (Jizokukanōnakaihatsu no tame no kyōiku in Japanese pronunciation) was not articulated much in Japanese documents (Interview 2, 5, 6). For example, a majority of prefectures do not include ESD in the basic plan of education (Table. 5.4). According to Table 5.4 produced by Japanese National Commission of UNESCO, among the education plans of forty-five prefectures, only five prefectures included the word ESD. Thirty-two prefectures did not include any of ESD-related key words such as 'ESD', 'Sustainable', 'Sustainable Development' and 'UNESCO School'. Admittedly, simply including these words in the plan does not prove that these prefectures actually integrated ESD. Interviewees also mentioned that 'sustainable society' is not a new term in Japan (Interview 3), and therefore it is difficult to regard the appearance of the word 'sustainable society' in policy as influenced by ESD. Moreover, although mentioning UNESCO School is also counted as including ESD in the plan, the interviewees explained that not all UNESCO Schools are integrating ESD (Interview 2-1, 5, 6). In the same sense, non-UNESCO schools also introduced ESD into their learning activities (Interview 4-1). However, the interviewees explained that generally UNESCO schools have more chance to be exposed to ESD projects than non-UNESCO schools. Thus, the teachers in UNESCO schools have a greater chance of knowing about ESD (2-1, 2-2, 4-1, 4-2).

..most of teachers in the UNESCO associated schools don't know what to do. They just registered. Sometimes the city helps all the schools get registered. So you can see in the map, some areas got a lot of associate schools and the rest do not have any.

So it's like kind of city or community support. (The researcher: so it's up to the local education government?) Yes. Even they helped. It depends but these schools don't understand what ESD is. They still do environment education (Interview 6).

Here, the map means a distribution map of UNESCO schools (see Appendix 4). In this sense, Table 5.4 is one example that shows the limited usage of the word ESD. As the word ESD is not much used, this has naturally led to the lack of awareness of ESD among planners and practitioners. For instance, the prefectures that clearly state the word ESD are Shizuoka, Aichi, Hiroshima, Okayama and Okinawa. Among these prefectures, Okayama and Aichi-Nagoya were chosen to host ESD World Conference in the final year of the UNDESD. Although ESD might be better known in these places, the questionnaire study of Miyakawa *et al.* (2009) shows the low recognition rate of ESD by Okayama citizens – only 8.3 per cent out of 864 respondents.

Instead of using ESD, the plans of the prefectures include key words such as: environmental education, future, new era, enhancement, challenge, peace, nature and people coexist, nature school, nature experience, solving issues, problems, cultivate rich mind, nurture human resource, human resource development, and sustainable society. These key words are mostly rooted in environmental education while also mixing the four different types of articulations of ESD (see figure 5.1.) but type I (education for sustainability focusing on the intrinsic role of education) is not seen.

In order to objectively show the process of selecting (or re-organising) articulations of ESD, and its connection with policy as a result of selection,

the meeting minutes on the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education⁴¹ and the records of the Roundtables are used. The records of fourteen meeting minutes of the Special Committee on the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education held from February 2007 to April 2008. The Basic Act on Education was revised in December 2006. The Basic Act on Education contains a preamble and 18 articles. The law sets out the purposes and objectives of education and provides for equal opportunity in education, compulsory education, coeducation, social education, political education, religious education, educational administration, etc. According to the law, the purpose of education is 'the full development of personality' (jinkaku no kanse)⁴². After the Basic Act on Education was revised, the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education was formulated to lay down the basic policies and measures to be taken to promote education (Art. 17, para. 1⁴³). On April 18th, 2008, the Central Council for Education submitted Regarding the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education For Realising and An Educationbased Nation (report). After adjustments made within the government, the first Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education in Japan was decided by the Cabinet on July 1st 2008 and was reported to the Diet. The government agencies that participated in the meetings were MEXT, Education Science Councillor, General Manager, Lifelong Learning Policy Bureau Director, Higher Education Bureau Director, the MOFA, Minister of the Cabinet Secretariat, etc.

[Table 5.4] Status of description of ESD of basic plan for promotion of education in each prefecture · ordinance designated city (As of August 2013)

No	Name of	Name of Plan	Period	Stated	Content
	Prefecture				
1	Hokkaido	Hokkaido Education Promotion Plan	Vision	Х	-
		(revised edition)	2008 -		
			2017		
			Measures		
			2013-		
			2017		
2	Aomori	'Aomori Prefecture Basic Plan Challenge	2009-	Х	-
		to the Future' – 'Education, Human	2013		
		Resource Development '(Education			
		Promotion Basic Plan)			
3	Iwate	Iwate Prefectural Citizen Plan	2009-	Х	-
			2018		
4	Miyagi	Miyagi Prefecture Education Promotion	2010-	Х	-
		Basic Plan	2019		
5	Akita	Educational promotion of Akita	2011-	Х	-
			2014		
6	Yamagata	The 5th Yamagata Education Promotion	2011-	Х	-
		Plan latter term plan	2015		
7	Fukushima	Sixth Fukushima Prefecture General	2010-	Х	-
		Education Program	2014		
8	Ibaraki	Ibaraki Prefecture Education Promotion	2011-	0	Promotion of education that responds to the new era,
		Basic Plan	2015		Enhancement of environmental education, Future challenges,
					Enhance environmental education based on the situation that
					construction of a sustainable society is required (abbreviated).
9	Tochigi	Tochigi Prefecture Education Promotion	2011-	Х	-
		Basic Plan 'Tochigi Education Promotion	2015		
		Vision'			
10	Gunma	Gunma Prefecture Education Promotion	2009-	Χ	-

		Basic Plan	2013		
11	Saitama	Saitama educational plan of living power and bond - Saitama prefecture education promotion basic plan	2009- 2013	0	Measures: Promotion of education to respond to the progress of the times, Direction of measures, Sustainable society structure that can live peacefully in the future, We will promote environmental education for construction.
12	Chiba	Chiba Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan 'Education Prefecture Chiba Plan' Tackled by Everyone '	2010- 2014	Х	-
13	Tokyo	Tokyo Metropolitan Government Educational Vision (Third)	2013- 2017	Х	-
14	Kanagawa	Kanagawa Education Vision	2007- 2026	Х	-
		Kanagawa Grand Design (Main Measures)	2012- 2014	Х	-
15	Niigata	Niigata Prefecture 'Yumekoshi' policy plan	2013- 2014	Х	-
16	Toyama	-	-	-	-
17	Ishikawa	Ishikawa's Educational Promotion Basic Plan	2011- 2020	0	Basic goal 1 - 'Policy 1-3' states that 'to create a society where sustainable society, nature and people coexist, forests and Satoyama preservation activities and Ishikawa Nature School and other activities such as nature experience activities and various environmental efforts are carried out.
18	Fukui	Fukui Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan	2011- 2015	0	We are promoting sustainable development education for UNESCO school participating schools as a promotion base for UNESCO schools for 'basic goal 2' - cultivate rich mind - 'promotion of environmental education.
19	Yamanashi	Yamanashi's education promotion plan	2009- 2013	0	Direction and Outline of Measures- Improvement of Environmental Education, to deepen the understanding of various environmental problems including global warming issues and nurture a practical attitude toward building a sustainable society.
20	Nagano	Second Nagano Prefecture Education	2013-	Х	-

		Promotion Basic Plan	2017		
21	Gifu	Gifu Prefecture Education Vision	2009- 2013	0	'Basic Philosophy' - Purpose of the Basic Philosophy. We are involved actively in creating sustainable environments, working together to work together to solve regional problems (abbreviated).
22	Shizuoka	Shizuoka Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan 'Creating a Virtuous Person' Action Plan	2011- 2020	0	Current status and issues of education - Education on important issues of the modern era, 'Promotion of environmental education, Tackle environmental education and environmental learning incorporating the concept of ESD, strive to nurture human resources is necessary.
23	Aichi	Action plan 2 on Aichi's education	2011- 2015	0	We will promote efforts on education (sustainable development education: ESD) aimed at building a sustainable society in Key Goal 4 - Major Measures.
24	Mie	Mie Prefecture Education Vision	2011- 2015	0	'Promotion of environmental education' - Fundamental approach towards the future, Promote environmental education systematically to realize a sustainable society.
25	Shiga	Shiga Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan	2009- 2013	Х	-
26	Kyoto	Kyoto Prefectural Education Promotion Plan	2011- 2020	Х	-
27	Osaka	Osaka Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan	2013- 2022	Х	-
28	Hyōgo	Hyogo Educational Creation Plan	2009- 2013	Х	-
29	Nara	-	-	-	-
30	Wakayama	Educational Promotion Basic Plan	2009- 2013	Х	-
31	Tottori	Tottori Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan	2009- 2013	Х	-
32	Shimane	Shimane Education Vision 21	2004- 2013	Х	-
33	Okayama	Okayama Prefecture Education	2010-	0	'Promotion of environmental learning' - Direction of measures,

		Promotion Basic Plan - Pioneering the Future (Hiraku Manufacturing Plan)	2014		Dissemination of ESD
34	Hiroshima	Hiroshima Mirai Challenge Vision	2010- 2019	Х	
		Hiroshima Prefectural Board of Education Main Measures Implementation policy	2011- 2013	0	Developing the power to live in a global society - Education for building a sustainable society advance , Main project, Thoroughness of ESD thinking and power to want to acquire with ESD
35	Yamaguchi	Yamaguchi Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan (plan) * Creating	2013- 2017	Х	-
36	Tokushima	Awako Mirai Educational Plan - Tokushima Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan (Phase 2)	2013- 2017	Х	-
37	Kagawa	Kagawa Prefecture Educational Basic Plan	2011- 2015	Х	-
38	Ehime	Ehime's future plan	2011- 2020	Х	-
39	Kochi	Kochi Education Promotion Basic Plan	2009- 2013	Х	-
40	Fukuoka	Fukuoka prefecture education policy implementation plan	2013	0	To cultivate children and young people who have rich human nature and will, live strong lives, Training children and young people with a rich mind, Implement human resource development challenging the world to 'sustainable Developing excellent human resources to support development
41	Saga	Basic policy of Saga prefecture education	2013	Х	-
42	Nagasaki	Nagasaki prefecture education promotion basic plan	2009- 2013	Х	-
43	Kumamoto	Kumamoto 'Bridge to dream' education plan (Kumamoto prefecture education promotion basic plan)	2009- 2013	Х	-
44	Oita	Shin Oita Prefectural Comprehensive Education Plan (Revised Edition)	2012- 2015	Х	-

45	Miyazaki	Second Miyazaki Prefecture Education	2011-	Х	-
		Promotion Basic Plan	2032		
46	46 Kagoshima Kagoshima Prefecture Education		2009-	Χ	-
		Promotion Basic Plan	2013		
47	Okinawa	Okinawa Prefecture Education Promotion Basic Plan	2012- 2033	0	'Chapter 1 General Review' - Train healthy young people who value the community and are proud, Enhance regional activities and experiential activities that nurture healthy young people, Education for young people who will lead the next generation' to 'ESD Implementation of workshops
	Total 45			13	ESD (5) / Sustainable Development (2) /UNESCO School (1)

Source: Translated by the author, the original document is attached as Appendix 3. * The original data marks as 'o' if the keywords such as 'ESD', 'Sustainable', 'Sustainable Development', and 'UNESCO School' are included in the plans.

The records of fourteen meeting minutes show how general interests and concerns regarding education in the Japanese society are articulated among the participants. It provides a broad discourse for certain topics that were discussed more frequently in the meetings. The fifteen members of the Special Committee for *Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education* were as follows:

[Table. 5.5] Special Committee for Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education

Name	Affiliation
Eiichi Kajita	Director, Hyogo University of Teacher Education
Akio Mimura	Vice Chairman of the Japan Economic Organisation Association, President and Representative Director of Nippon Steel Corporation
Yuichiro Anzai	Keio University
Akihiro Umeda	Japan PTA National Council Chairperson
Takashi Saito	Professor of the Graduate School of Education, the University of Tokyo, Principal of Secondary Education School attached to the University of Tokyo Faculty of Education
Okajima Takko	Otsuma Women's University School of Home Economics Professor
Emiko Okuyama	Sendai City Board of Education Committee Director
Kaneko Motoku	University of Tokyo Graduate school of pedagogy
Yasuyuki Kitabe	Hamamatsu mayor
Michiko Sato	Head of Ochanomizu University
Tetsuo Tamura	School corporation Shibuya Educational school president, Shibuya Educational school Makuhari junior high school · High school principal
Kakuda Motoharu	Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences · Principal Primary School Attached
Taro Ishiro	President, Mitsui and Co., Ltd. Strategic Research Institute, Chairman, Japan Research Institute, Japan
Kichiemon Nakamura	Kabuki actor
Masahiko Nakamura	Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education

Source: MEXT⁴⁴(n.d.)

The records of the Roundtables were kept from January 2008 to September 2014. Unlike the meeting minutes, the Roundtables were recorded as abstract summaries of each meeting. About 13~15 people from

various sectors such as NGO, university, schools and the government ministries attended. The *Basic Plan for the Promotion* that is translated into English was downloaded from the website of the MEXT, the other text materials were translated into English. The analysis is done on two stages; stage one examines the key words of the topics that drew more attentions from the members in the meetings, stage two looked at the word associations in relation to ESD ideas to understand the type of articulations. KH-Coder was applied in the following order:

- 1. Pre-process text data of documents
- 2. Extract the 150 words that appear with greatest frequency in the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education, the whole sessions of meeting minutes and the records of the Roundtables
- 3. Specify compound words and unnecessary words
- 4. Create a co-occurrence network and clusters among the extracted 150 words based on subgraph detection (the extracted words are based on frequency, but it is reduced to 30 in case of ESD in the Basic Plan for the Promotion due to low frequency)
- 5. Code the word clusters
- Create co-occurrence networks around specific words, in this case,
 ESD

Table 5.6 ranks the top 10 of the 150 words that appeared with the greatest frequency in each group of records. The most frequently used key words in the *Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education* and the meeting minutes are almost the same. The topics discussed through meetings,

although not all of them, were linked to the articulations of education issues in the policy.

[Table 5.6] Frequency of terms

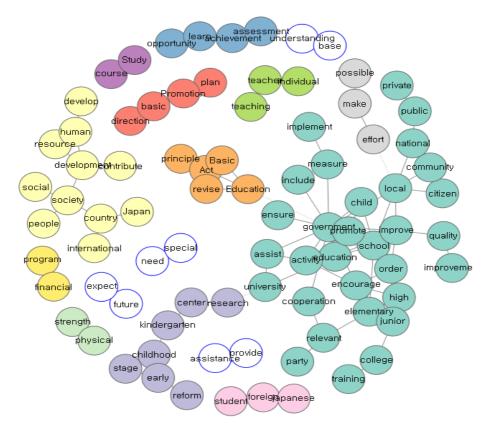
No.	Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education	Meeting minutes	Roundtables
1	education	school	ESD
2	government	university	Japan
3	school	child	effort
4	promote	teacher	education
5	measure	problem	school
6	child	educational	activity
7	university	plan	country
8	local	society	important
9	activity	student	UNESCO
10	improve	measure	report

Source: Composed by the author

There is no strong link between the general concerns on education that were articulated in the meeting minutes and the most frequently used key words of the Roundtables.

Analysis of word associations

In the co-occurrence network, strong co-occurrences between any two words were shown with a bold line. The words appeared in the circles with same shades belong to the same clusters. The key words regarding Japan's concerns on education were articulated with human resource/development, financial, quality, achievement, measure (assessment) and public-private cooperation for improvement. The Government of Japan stated that education reform incorporates the nation's concern to enhance the role of education and educators to develop human resource for the formation of a highly competitive global knowledge economy (MEXT, 2008).

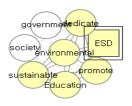


Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 5.1> Co-occurrence network communities of words in the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education

Chapter 3 in the *Basic Plan for the Promotion Education* introduces the importance of ESD as it is proposed by Japan and promoted by UNESCO. It states that ESD aims to 'raise individuals who have abilities to regard the issues concerning sustainability as their own, think globally, act locally, and become leaders in establishing sustainable society'. In the part about measures, the meaning of ESD is articulated in relation to promoting human resource development, and encourages the promotion of UNESCO Associate Schools as a main carrier of ESD in Japan. Also, the government assists Higher Education Institution, Private Sector, and NGO collaboration

for developing environmental specialists dedicated to establishing a sustainable society (UNDESD Japan Report, 2014).







Source: Composed by the author

<Figure.5.2> Co-occurrence network communities in the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education centred on ESD

As represented in the figure 5.2, the ideas of ESD were not much connected to the main topics of education reform. The articulations of ESD in the policy did not show regularity but fragments. According to the meeting minutes, the introduction process of ESD was indicated as top-down and one-way, which was done by the recommendation of the governments. The discussions on the rationale for its integration into the education reform did not appear. Throughout the entire meetings, ESD was explained twice

briefly in the third and seventh meeting by the president of Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, and by a principal of a senior and junior high school. He articulated ESD in relation to environmental education but pointed out that 'the development ESD is not only about preserving nature but also covering broader issues such as energy and development of a human society for the future'. He attempted to clarify some of the differences between ESD and environmental education as ESD was generally referred to as environmental education in Japan. His articulations did not include the conflict within ESD ideas and especially type I (education for sustainability focusing on intrinsic role of education). Given the limited chance to introduce ESD as well as low awareness and attention, sharing the articulations of ESD among the participants was not possible during the meetings. Meanwhile, OECD and PISA were considered as very important. The key words, OECD, PISA, competency, international standards and assessment were articulated by referring to each other in almost every meeting among a number of participants. These key words were often connected to 'increasing academic ability of children who are responsible for a knowledge-based society'.

[Table 5.7] Frequency of words in the meeting minutes for the *Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education*

Word	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ESD	0	0	10	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Sustainable society	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	3	0	0	0	0
Sustainable development	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Human resource	2	4	3	5	38	2	10	10	4	47	9	1	7	1
Academic ability/ skills/achievement	12	2	24	13	10	9	43	14	18	49	11	19	14	2
Environmental education	0	0	6	0	0	15	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0

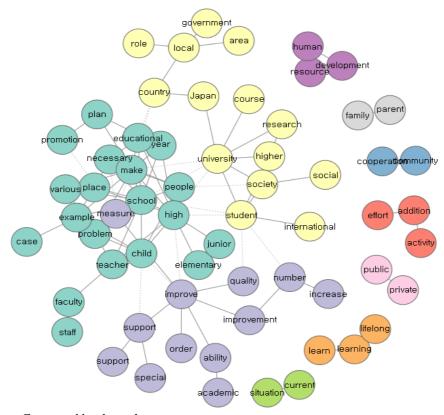
Source: Composed by the author

Table 5.7 is the list of word frequency composed to show the difference of attention given to certain key words. As it shows, ESD and its related key words did not gain attention from the committee members, and since ESD was a new term, most of the members were not aware of the term or the ideas.

5.4.2. Assimilation of ESD into academic ability

As shows in Figure 5.3, the key words such as quality issues of school education, measures for improvement, the importance of higher education, and the local governments' role were placed in the centre of the articulations on the direction of reform. Figure 5.3 indicates the measures for quality improvement are connected by bold lines. Gross and Nakayama (2010) asserted that

...the current education systems are still too rigid for the integrative nature of ESD. Thus countries still need to adapt their legislation and policy frameworks to the needs of ESD. Japan has meanwhile adapted ESD within a 5-year strategic policy into the *National Basic Education Plan* in 2008 (p.130).



Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 5.3> Co-occurrence network community of the records of meeting

Here, the meaning of 'the rigidity of education system' is linked to neoliberal influences that focus on decentralising the system to raise efficiency and effectiveness. In the same sense, decentralisation and raising efficiency and effectiveness appear in the recent education reform policy documents in Japan. The demand to improve and enhance both assessment measurements and methods for human resource building are within a broader discourse of the education context of Japan that is closely connected with reform policy. Through the analysis of an interim survey 45 on general barriers with a special focus on UNESCO's Action Goals (2009) for the 2nd

half of the Decade, Gross and Nakayama (2010) reveal deficiencies in the majority of the current curricula, supposedly showing them to be ESD-proof.

In most cases, ESD is articulated as environmental education and the contents are also based on environment issues. It lacks 'a rethinking of education, [and] the methods are not really suited to promoting values, sectoral initiatives prevail' (Gross and Nakayama, 2010:130), which is rooted in the articulations of type I. According to the survey in 2009 about the goals perceived to be realised by the experts from different countries, the Japanese experts had different opinions from the international and European respondents ⁴⁶ (Gross and Nakayama, 2010). It is not surprising that there is broad agreement between the international and European respondents because the perceived deficiencies are nearly alike in both cases, confronting a need for a global change in terms of cognitive perceptions, whereas the Japanese figures seem to confirm that there is predominately a lack of basic and practical prerequisites for implementing ESD (Gross and Nakayama, 2010:131).

[Table 5.8] Future steps to be taken for implementing ESD

	All respondents(111)	European respondents(34)	Japanese respondents(13)
1	Really rethink education	Really rethink education	Train administrators
2	Raise public awareness	Reform teacher education	Provide hands-on ESD materials
3	Reform teacher education	Raise public awareness	Focus on systemic thinking
4	Provide sufficient financial resources	Provide sufficient financial resources	Reform teacher education
5	Revise ESD curricula: subject oriented, based on competencies	Revise ESD curricula: subject oriented, based on competencies	Provide sufficient financial resources
6	Focus on systemic thinking	Provide hands-on ESD materials	Revise ESD curricula: subject oriented, based on competencies
7	Provide hands-on ESD materials	Develop national ESD indicators	Develop national ESD indicators

8	Develop national ESD	Focus on systemic thinking	Really rethink education
	indicators		

Source: Gross and Nakayama (2010:131)

Table 5.8 provides a ranking of the priority issues for implementing ESD at the practical level. This shows one significant difference between international/European and Japanese respondents in terms of the fundamental ways of perceiving ESD. Table 5.8 shows that Japanese respondents articulated 'train administrators' and 'provide ESD materials' as issues to be solved prior to 'really rethink education'. 'Raising public awareness' is not even on the list. Here, 'really rethink education' is in the category of education for sustainability, 'train administrators' and 'provide ESD materials' can be understood as categorised in the articulations of type II and VI (education for development), as it is focusing on trainings and skills for self-development but not necessarily reflective on the meaning of development. Presumably, the perception lying under this list of priority is that planners and practitioners already know what ESD is. If so, providing necessary materials and training would be effective and efficient. But on the contrary, from the beginning to the end of the Decade, Japan's reports and academic studies (NIER, 2012; Miyakawa et al., 2009) pointed out that lack of awareness, even among school teachers, is problematic. The result of interviews also provides some reasons for this phenomenon,

... so most Japanese teachers and educators are already involving sustainable development in ordinary educational activities in schools. (already there?) Yes. So MEXT was or has been announcing ESD as very important issue in education but

the receivers, teachers and local board of education are bit confusing... For Japanese teachers and schools, they do ESD already, but they do not think it is ESD, because again I told you, education is a sustainable activity; it is directly related to development. They do not think they are doing ESD, but they are doing ESD. (Interview 3)

Interviews 4-1 and 4-2 were also yielded same responses. Although the word ESD is not used, it is already practiced in schools. Therefore, there is no need to push teachers to use the term ESD. In this context, articulating ESD as environmental education may be a natural consequence of the limited circulation of ESD resulting in low awareness. These points appear in the responses of Japanese participants in the study of Gross and Nakayama (2012) as follows:

- the dominant perception of ESD as environmental education (EE) (75 per cent)
- supremacy of environmental aspects (75 per cent)
- no decision-making structures within the curricula (75 per cent)
- or curricula offering no methods suitable to promoting values (65 per cent).

These problems were well addressed in the records of the Roundtables. When looking at Figure 5.4, the articulations of ESD were mainly including purposes and goals of the DESD. These were all interconnected with ESD articulations of type II, III and IV. Human resource, teacher training, materials, best practice and measures indicate that ESD is an agenda with informal mechanisms. Also, the frequent articulations of cooperation,

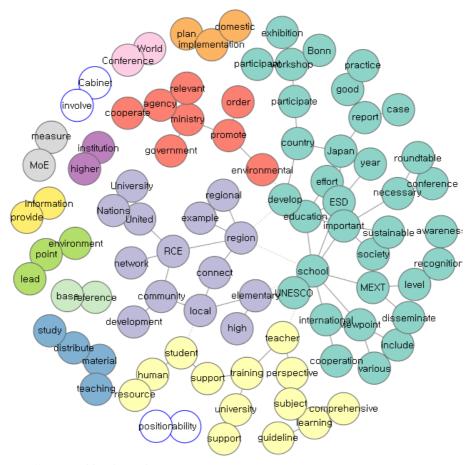
networks, NGOs, ministries, agencies and university show that ESD in Japan relied on soft governance.

These contents show that ESD was mainly articulated by referring to environmental education while lacking other elements. One predictable problem caused by articulating ESD as environmental education is a lack of awareness on ESD. For instance, one member was concerned that only one out of hundred people who attended a MEXT workshop knew about ESD. In order to reduce difficulty in understanding, some member(s) suggested conveying the concepts and contents rather than using the word ESD when trying to deliver ESD ideas. The matter of difficulties in understanding the concept of ESD was articulated in relation to type I, education for sustainability, transformative learning, transforming reality and so on. Several comments were made as follows.

ESD is reversing social orientation such as creating human relations and real society, so ESD will be a catalyst for reviewing Japanese education. Further training is also important. ... ESD is the creation of a new learning idea (concept) such as 'integrated learning'. ... It is also important to improve the awareness of ESD by making good use of existing efforts. (7th Roundtables)

Here, 'reversing social orientation', 'creating human relations and real society', and 'reviewing Japanese education' are close to type I. However, they are also connected to other types of articulations such as 'further training' and 'integrated learning'. 'Making good uses of existing efforts'

could be related to environmental education, trainings and Integrated Studies. This pattern shows there is a border line where the articulations do not exceed or go further toward the critical and progressive aspects of ESD. Some member(s) criticised that 'there are many things in ESD that we have not done but we are doing what we already have been doing' (7th Roundtables). The concerns on the difficulties or limitations of introducing ESD ideas into the curriculum were also occasionally mentioned in the records, but they were not clearly articulated.



Source: Composed by the author

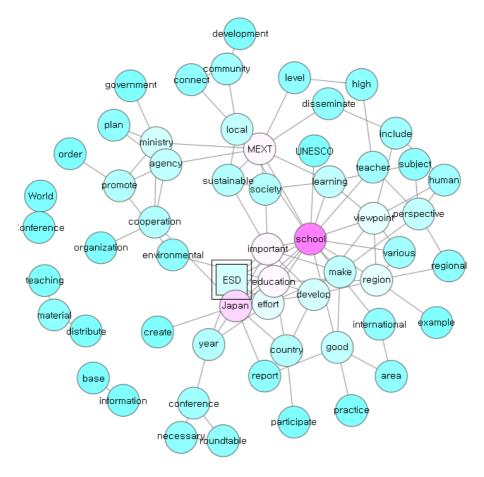
< Figure 5.4> Co-occurrence network of communities of the records of the Roundtables

5.4.3. Converging discourse on PISA as an evaluation method of ESD

Figure 5.5 shows the co-occurrence network of the word associations with ESD in the Roundtables. ESD is seen to have strong co-occurrence with the word Japan, effort, make, education, develop, school, MEXT and UNESCO. These articulations show some connection with types III and IV but are mainly related to the efficient way of ESD promotion rather than the characteristics. Some reflective questions rooted in type I, such as 'how to build and create a social system or theories and practice for ESD' and 'reality of ESD', are noteworthy yet did not progress further. Reflective questions on the role of ESD, such as 'difference from other UNESCO related education themes' and 'the necessity of using a name tag of ESD' were also raised, but did not gain enough attention to develop further.

The records of the Roundtables were mainly concentrated on achieving the goals of the UNDESD through various strategies based on soft governance. For example, the role of schools in producing good practices and the development of evaluation methods for ESD were considered important to strengthen the progress (See Kuroda 2014). As a strategy, the needs of trainings and guidelines for teachers in formal education were stressed. Also, there was suggestion to position ESD in the *Course of Study Guidance* to disseminate it effectively through school education. These articulations of the instrumental role of education and school education such as 'make good practices as outcome' are rooted in types III and IV. In this context, increasing the number of UNESCO schools was suggested to

promote ESD. This flow of articulations naturally led to the process of pedagogisation—producing pedagogic knowledge of ESD.



Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 5.5> Co-occurrence network of communities of the records of the Roundtables, ESD centred

In order to integrate ESD into school education, the curriculum and teaching materials were essential to practice teaching and learning. Accordingly, evaluation was required to assess the progress. For this, the National Institute for Educational Policy Research (hereinafter referred to as 'NIER') of Japan started a research project in 2009 for the promotion of

ESD in all schools. The NIER implemented the project, Research of ESD at School from April 2009 to March 2012. This research aimed to provide teachers with the ideal curriculum, teaching materials and teaching and evaluation methods. Through the research, the NIER tried to help teachers implement ESD at schools under the national curriculum standard based on the trends and issues for ESD, and develop basic principles for integrating and implementing ESD in a school setting (See NIER, 2012). In order to make a framework for application, the NIER research extracted abilities and attitudes that are considered complimentary to ESD ideas. These abilities and attitudes of ESD were organised into the seven abilities and attitudes based on the key competency of the OECD for academic abilities. These abilities of the framework are 1) ability to think critically, 2) ability to forecast the future to make strategies, 3) ability to think in multifaceted and comprehensive ways, 4) ability to communicate, 5) ability to cooperate with other people, 6) attitude of respect for connections and 7) attitude of willing participation, which are interrelated.

This explains two important points: 1) the articulations on producing pedagogic knowledge of ESD have led to the convergence of ESD discourse with a broad discourse of education for knowledge economy, such as raising academic abilities and emphasis on competency for human resource development. 2) If ESD was articulated as *rethinking* education by emphasising the learner's ability and attitude for academic achievement and international standards, it is an assimilation of the articulations of type I into type IV. Or it is the transformation of articulations of type I into type IV. Either way, there is a strong preference for type VI.

[Table 5.9] Relationship between abilities and attitudes with examples for ESD and Key Competency

		Competency	
		Ability and attitude emphasized by ESD	Key competency
(1)	Critical think- ing ability	Ability to see the essence based on reasonable and objective information and fair judgment, and to think and judge things in constructive, cooperative and alternative ways.	
	< <criticism>></criticism>	Example) Ability to adopt opinions of others and information after due consideration and understanding. Attitude to accept obtained data and way of thinking without questioning.	
		Ability to think of better solutions in proactive and constructive ways. Attitude to think in passive and negative ways and give up in a short time. Attitude to get only answers.	Tools are used
(2)	Ability to pre- dict future im- age for making plan <>Future>>	Ability to predict and expect ideal future images (visions) based on the past and future, and to plan things by sharing the ideal future. Example) O Ability to make plans with prospects and a sense of purpose. Attitude to do things without plans and extemporize. Ability to make a plan while imaging how others perceive the plan. Attitude to do things in egotistic ways.	in interactive ways.
(3)	Ability to think in multifaceted and compre- hensive ways	Ability to understand connections, involvement and systems of humans, things, events, society and nature, and think of them in multifaceted and comprehensive ways. Example) Ability to see waste materials as resources in some ways. Xuitude to think that useless things are unnecessary.	
	< <multifaceted>></multifaceted>	 Ability to think by associating various things with each other. Attitude to have perspective in unfocused and disconnected ways. 	
(4)	Ability to communicate	Ability to communicate one's own feelings and thought as well as respect feelings and thoughts of others and proactively communicate with others. Example) Ability to organize own ideas and communicate the organized ideas elliptically.	
	< <communica- tion>></communica- 	X Attitude to point out faults of opinions of others and not to tell own ideas. Ability to adopt opinions of others into own ideas. X Attitude not to listen to opinions of others.	Interacting in heterogeneous
(5)	Ability to co- operate with other people	Attitude to hold the same position as others and sympathize with ideas and actions of others as well as to do things in cooperation and in collaboration with others. Example) • Attitude to act in consideration of positions of others. × Attitude to only think about oneself.	group.
	< <cooperation>></cooperation>	 Attitude to act in a team while encouraging teammates. Attitude to act in self-centered and non-conformity ways. 	
(6)	Attitude to respect for connections	Attitude to have interest in own connections and involvement in humans, things, events, society and nature and to respect and value them. Example) O Attitude to have interests that we connect with various things. Attitude to have interests in only what surrounds one's self and is directly connected to one's self.	
	< <connection>></connection>	 Attitude to appreciate that we exist thanks to various things. Attitude to believe that I live by myself. 	Acting
(7)	Attitude to par- ticipate will- ingly	Attitude to take responsibility for our words and deeds in groups and society and to participate in things voluntary and independently, based on understanding of one's own roles. Example) • Attitude to take responsibility for what I say and keep promises. × Attitude to act in irresponsible ways and to disobey rules.	autonomously.
	< <participation>></participation>	 Attitude to willingly act for others. Attitude to only do what will benefit self 	

Note) The mark "<< >>" means abbreviation of practice cases.

These efforts of Japanese governments and the NIER to promote ESD through school education resulted in the enhancement of the type IV articulations of ESD. By becoming pedagogic knowledge, ESD is articulated as a learning model with a framework including goals, contents and teaching methods. Although the contents were mainly from environmental education, it was not regarded as problematic in general. However, as the framework of abilities is descriptive, the ambiguous criteria of 'cooperation', 'connection' and 'future' were difficult to connect to evaluations. Thus the part of evaluations remained as unsolved.

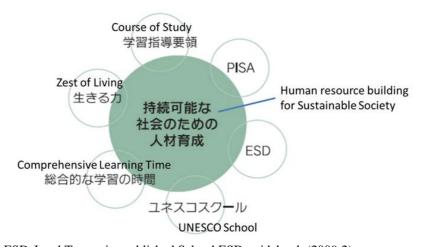
This problem of missing evaluation was also connected to academic ability and international standards. In the records of the Roundtables in 2009⁴⁷, the articulations that link ESD and PISA appeared as a way to raise academic ability. It is claimed that PISA test can be promoted by ESD in terms of problem solving ability.

In the similar context, in the guidebook for ESD in schools, 'Learn from Tama's case (*Tama-shi no jirei kara manabu*)⁴⁸' issued in 2010 by ESD-J, the purpose of ESD is to develop human resources with problem solving abilities. Moreover, the relationship of ESD with the new Course of Study, the key competencies of OECD and academic achievement test of PISA was addressed (p.4) (see Figure 5.6).

With this objective, the New Course of Study guidance, OECD key competency and PISA academic achievement test are deeply involved. PISA is a test of problem solving skills as a true academic ability in order to measure key competencies (capabilities required for task assignment). PISA shock, which

triggered the discussion on the issue of low academic ability of Japanese students, also influenced the revision of the instructional guidelines. (ESD-J and Tama-city published School ESD guidebook, 2009:2)

There was a popular articulation of the so called 'PISA shock' in Japan in 2009 and 2010 after Japan's near-the-top rank on international standardised tests fell, or dropped lower than its rival Asian countries like South Korea and Singapore. With PISA shock, some changes were made in Japanese education with emphasis on the improvement of academic standards. In a move, some worried that Japan was going back to the past after a 10-year experiment in 'yutori (relaxing, more room for growth: pressure-free education)'.



Source: ESD-J and Tama-city published School ESD guidebook (2009:2) <Figure 5.6> Human resource for Sustainable Society

It is not much known how the linkage between PISA and ESD was actually made in schools. However, the articulations connecting ESD and PISA were circulated more in 2009 and started to appear more often. The

linkage between ESD, academic ability, PISA, DeSeCo, human resource and international standards is rooted in the articulations of type IV, education for development or education for knowledge economy. This study conceives that ESD can be interlinked with PISA when focusing on the phrase: acknowledging and solving real-life challenges. For example, in the UNDESD Japan report, the aim of ESD is defined as follows:

It aims to help individuals 'become people who serve to build a sustainable society by having a global perspective to perceive a variety of issues as their own problems and taking action nearby (think globally, act locally)' and to transform their awareness and actions accordingly. Improving the ability to acquire a systematic understanding of the backdrop to problems and phenomena, the ability to think of alternatives with an emphasis on critical thinking, and communication skills are all important to achieve this (the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014) Japan Report⁴⁹, 2014:4).

ESD helps individuals to raise critical thinking and communication skills to perceive their own problems and take actions. And, this is the aim of PISA test:

Every PISA survey tests reading, mathematical and scientific literacy in terms of general competencies, that is, how well students can apply the knowledge and skills they have learned at school to real-life challenges⁵⁰.

Perceiving real-life challenges and solving them with knowledge and skills is similar to what ESD aims for. However, there is a big gap between the

awareness rate of PISA and ESD. The articulations of linkage between ESD and PISA enhance the influence of PISA but reduce that of ESD. From the mid-point of the Decade, the connection of PISA with ESD started to appear more frequently in the records of the Roundtables.

Schools have a great responsibility to fulfill ESD promotion ... We should also look at the relationship with PISA type academic ability and ESD... I would like to develop children's academic ability like PISA to solve problems.... To that end, it is desirable that ESD becomes effective from the kindergarten to the university for a long period of time according to the developmental stage, and the learning itself become sustainable... PISA has been conceived as an international trend and ESD has been promoted since 2002, too. School version PISA test is developed, and conducted and compared in several schools. (6th Roundtables)

The articulations emphasising schools' responsibility for ESD promotion were linked to the pedagogising ESD for school education and academic ability. Moreover, the articulations of life-long learning were added to sustainable learning. The efforts to connect ESD with PISA can be attributed to the articulations of the necessity of evaluation. Occasionally EFA was compared to ESD from the aspects of evaluation and monitoring. 'EFA can represent its outcome in a numerical value as it has a system of evaluation and monitoring. ESD is about quality activity, but we should clarify how to evaluate it' (6th Roundtables). Therefore, digitised goals were suggested to make ESD results 'visible' (8th Roundtables). Use of

international assessments was suggested several times as an alternative way to monitor the achievement of ESD (See ACCU ESD forum, 2008). These types of articulations were spread through national and international forums. Finally, the connection of ESD with OECD competency and PISA appeared officially in UNESCO's final report, Shaping the future we want in 2014 (cf. Shaping the education tomorrow in 2012/ESD+ TVET in 2012a/ESD lens: A Policy and Practice Review Tool in 2010/ Framework for the UN UNDESD International Implementation Scheme in 2006 do not mention about PISA). The articulations were constructed through interplays between various groups in meetings and forums. The fragmented articulations in the policy documents such as the new Course of Study that embeds influence of PISA shock also resulted in more emphasis on competencies and academic abilities. This has strengthened the articulations of type IV again. This can be seen as a result of selection, as articulating ESD as a good measure to build human resource for global competency is an effective way of promotion in knowledge economy society. Although deviating from the original sense, the connection of ESD with PISA was preferred by more stakeholders.

Table 5.10 shows how ESD is stated in the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education. In 2008, it was a 5-year plan. 'Realisation of a lifelong learning society', 'philosophy of UNESCO', 'a global perspective', 'problem-solving', 'responsibility of individuals' and 'a sustainable society' and 'global society' were key words to articulate the characteristics of ESD. As for the purpose of ESD, protect or reduce 'resources and energy',

'environmental destruction', 'poverty' and 'live peacefully in the future' were connected. Furthermore, 'awareness-raising activities', 'strengthen cooperation', 'develop and educate human resources', and 'UNESCO school' were connected to the promotion of ESD. The *Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education* includes the mixed articulations of all types but type I is still weak. On the contrary, type IV and environmental education gained more attention as the purpose of ESD. This tendency became stronger in 2013 by adding 'raising competency' to 'relationships' and 'connections'. Moreover, instead of stating as UNESCO's philosophy, ESD is clearly connected to the Japanese education theme 'zest of living'. 'Zest of living' is a phrase that can be connected to all types of ESD, but it made ESD more opaque and transformable. 'A sustainable society' is used more in 2013, the articulations for ESD characteristics are reduced and abstracted.

[Table. 5.10] ESD in the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education (June 2013, with the supervision of MEXT)

Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education (Decided by the	Second Phase Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education (Decided
Cabinet on July 1, 2008)	by the Cabinet on June 14, 2013)
	Part 1 Overall image of future education in Japan
	Four basic directions
	(1) Raising strength to live in a society (zest of living) - Independence
	and cooperation of individuals in a diverse and varied society -
	(The way of learning in the future)
	o From the standpoint of building a sustainable society, promotion of
	'Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)' that fosters
	individuals who can respect 'relationships' and 'connections' is
	required, \cdot It also leads to raising 'competency'.
Chapter 3 Measures to be comprehensively and systematically	Part 2 Educational measures to be implemented in the next 5 years
tackled in the next 5 years	Measures based on four basic directions
(1) Basic concept	1. Raising strength to live in a society
② 'Vertical' connection: realisation of a lifelong learning society	(4) Efforts to promote through each stage of lifelong
based on a consistent philosophy	Basic Measures 11 Promotion of Learning in respond to
UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural	Contemporary and Social Issues
Organisation) has been advocated and the UNDESD from 2005	【Basic idea】
to 2014, with a global perspective, regarding various problems	o Think about contemporary and social issues from a global
as our own, thinking from, making efforts from near places,	perspective, treat them as our own problems, start to solve from
educating one by one to become a person who is responsible	
	near places, educate one by one to become a creator of a

for creating a sustainable society. Building a sustainable global	sustainable society (Education for Sustainable Development:
society is one of the key ideas for the way of education in	ESD).
Japan.	
(3) Measures for each basic direction (4) Create the environment where you can learn anytime and anywhere Measures	[Major efforts] 11-1 Promotion of learning in response to contemporary and social issues Promote education (Education for Sustainable Development: ESD) towards the creation of a sustainable global society by increasing both quality and quantity of the UNESCO school.
 Promotion of efforts related to education to build a sustainable society 	
In order everyone to realise finiteness of resources and energy on the Earth, environmental destruction, poverty problems and to regard these problems as our own, thus we can live	
peacefully in the future, ESD is important as a way to realise a sustainable society. Therefore, we will broadly conduct awareness-raising activities, strengthen cooperation among	
related ministries and agencies, and develop and educate human resources who will support such education and	
educational programs. In particular, we aim to increase UNESCO school affiliated schools and support UNESCO's worldwide school network leading the ESD.	

Source: MEXT (2013), Translated by the author, the original version in Japanese is attached as Appendix 2.

5.5. Understanding through the political frame

5.5.1. Strong state's cooperative approach

The Japanese government contributed to evolving sustainable development and ESD as the global agenda, and the efforts to promote sustainable development in the domestic context have continued. The United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted a resolution to declare the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNDESD) from 2005 to 2014 in 2002, acting on a Japanese government proposal made in partnership with Japanese non-governmental organisations (NGOs). This movement was considered a corporatist approach used in tandem with the preparation process for the Summit. This is why Japanese NGOs often claim that it is the product of their initiative, and this 'non-state origin' has been emphasised to mobilise more groups for the movement (see ESD-J 2003). Although most of the NGOs working for the UNDESD were funded by the Japanese government, ESD was also promoted and practiced by other groups and individual educators.

The politics of civil society organisations and the Japanese government support, especially in the field of education, led to the strong state's cooperation with civil society movement. Nomura and Abe (2009) argue that, in contrast to a commonly-held perception, this particular movement was engineered largely by the Japanese state and was not in fact a 'bottom-up' collective action. This situation is argued as typical of the conventional corporatist approach employed by the Japanese government towards civil society groups and movements. This corporatist approach of Japan has

continued for the promotion of ESD, especially in the informal education sector, but it had clear limitations with formal education.

NGOs were not invited in the decision-making process. Their role was more focused on implementation after the Decade was endorsed, and not to make policies (related in an interview with the Forum Secretary, 4 December 2007, requoted Nomura and Abe, 2009). This position continued after the Summit, as reflected in its development, and the involvement of ESD-J, the NGO consortium in charge of ESD promotion in policy implementation. As the Ministry of the Environment has dominated the policy process, the voice of the NGOs could not be strong.

The interesting point here is that this position of NGOs in Japan contributed to later stunted growth of ESD. Additionally, since the major numbers were from environmental organisations and supported by the Ministry of Environment, ESD steadily became inclined toward environment education.

After UNESCO became the lead agency of the Decade, ESD policies were institutionalised accordingly by its counterpart in Japan, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). MEXT managed ESD in formal education whereas the MOE concentrated its ESD efforts on the non-formal sector. It is noteworthy that the term 'ESD' was introduced by government officials without broad agreement and support on the use of the term among civil society groups, which meant a lack of awareness of the term in both formal and non-formal education sectors.

This convergence of discourse can be understood within the wider frame of education in Japan, 'national rebuilding through education'. In this context, Japan Council on the UNDESD (ESD-J), produced policy documents which include policy suggestions to the government, and open letters to political parties since 2003. The UNDESD demanding papers which contain NGs suggestions for the improvement of ESD policy and practice were produced in 2004, 2005 and 2008. The open letters were sent to the political parties in 2009, 2012 and 2013 before the elections. These documents were reviewed to shed a light on what concepts of ESD were particularly recognised by the political parties. Before looking into the election manifestoes, a brief history of political development is provided to understand the structure of political parties in Japan.

5.5.2. Change of Regime in Japan

Several political parties exist in Japan, but the Liberal Democratic Party (hereinafter referred to as LDP) dominated the politics of Japan since 1955 and several times the Democratic Party of Japan (hereinafter referred to as DPJ) was the significant opposition party. The reign of LDP started losing hold since 2006, and the perennial ruling party was defeated by DPJ in the August 2009 general elections, allowing the DPJ to bring about a historical regime change. Although LDP had previously lost power in 1993, this was due to a weak coalition government and the party soon regained political control. The regime change in 2009 is regarded as the meaningful and true change, but DPJ's ruling did not last long. The overall evaluation of DPJ administration was a disappointment, criticised that there is nothing

particularly different from LDP. As a result, LDP and its ally New Komeito managed to secure a huge majority by winning 325 seats for the Lower House in the election held in 2014. The opposing DPJ lost its ruling power again. LDP and New Komeito provided their fiscal policies and programs, 'Abenomics', the self-titled fiscal policy of the current prime minister Shinzo Abe, which is largely supported regardless their critical neoconservative movements. Shinzo Abe was sworn as the 97th Prime Minister on 24 December 2014 and his agenda focuses on economic revitalisation and structural reforms in Japan.

5.5.3. Open letters

ESD-J sent almost identical questions to the parties in 2009, 2012 and 2013. Among them, the answers for the questions 1 and 2 were taken for consideration for the research.

[Table. 5.11] Open letter questions of ESD-J

Open letter questions			
Q1. What is the vision of 'sustainable society'?			
How do you assess ESD?			
Q2. In order to promote the ESD, does your election manifesto contain			
measures?			
What are the measures? / What is the position of ESD in your manifesto?			

Source: ESD-J website 51

There are other small political parties, but this paper only included the ones which had submitted the answers from 2009 to 2013 in a row.

[Table 5.12] Key words in perception of ESD in the open letter answer ⁵²

Party	2009 open	2012 open letter	2013 open letter	Remark
	letter answer	answer	answer	
Liberal Democratic	Nature, bio-diversity	Bio-diversity, Low-carbon,	Bio-diversity, Low-carbon	No Renewable energy

Party(LDP)	Low-carbon, Global warming Environmental education Leading role of Japan in Environment	Global warming Human resource, Environmental education	Global warming, Human resource, Environment education Importance of Environmental Education	Emphasis of World level of Academic ability, conformity to social norms, respect history and culture of Japan (2013)
Democratic Party(DPJ)	Environment, Global warming, Change of life style and awareness, Bio-diversity, Economy	Social security, Economy, Energy, Diplomacy-Security, Global warming East Japan Earthquake- reconstruction of Fukushima, Creation of jobs, Water resource protection, Environmental Education	Reconstruction of Fukushima, Life economy, Social security, Future, Women, Children, Education, Diplomacy, Economic revival Leading role of Japan in Environment issue	Supporting The Act on Enhancing Motivation on Environmental Conservation and Promoting of Environmental Education
New Komeito Party(NKP)	Low-carbon, Co-exiting with nature Introduction of new subject 'environment' in primary and middle schools	Global warming, Nuclear energy policy, Human right	New energy, Human resource School- Business- Administrator Coordinator for ESD Leading role of Japan in UNDESD Conference	Supporting The Act on Enhancing Motivation on Environmental Conservation and Promoting of Environmental Education
Japanese Communist Party (JCP)	Global warming, Peace, Poverty, Social studies education No learning by rote	Nuclear-renewable energy, Peace, Environment, Poverty, Human right	Nuclear- renewable energy, Peace, Environment, Poverty, Human right Leading role of Japan	
Social	Need more	Environment,	Environment,	Mention of

Democratic	attention to	Gender, Human	Gender, Human	a lack of
Party (SDP)	Development,	right,	right,	understanding
	Gender, Peace,	Cultural diversity,	Cultural diversity,	of ESD in the
	Human right,	Co-existence	Co-existence	public, suggest
		Experiential	Experiential	use of the mass
	Experiential	education	education	media for
	education			advertisement
	Problematising			(2013)
	only focusing on			
	environment	No learning by rote	No learning by	
		, No nationalism	rote	
	No learning by		, No nationalism	
	rote			
	, No nationalism			
Frequency	Environment(29	Environment(46)	Energy(34)	
of)	Nuclear(18)	Environment(29)	
keyword	Global	Energy(18)	Nuclear(25)	
usage	warming(7)	Global warming(5)	Global	
	Diversity(5)	Peace(5)	warming(6)	
	Energy(4)	Diversity(2)	Human right(5)	
	Peace(4)	Human right(2)	Peace(5)	
	Human right(2)		Diversity(2)	

Source: Composed by the author

According to the answers, most of the adjectival forms of ESD such as biodiversity, peace, human right and gender were acknowledged by the parties, but environment issues were predominant. SDP's criticism on rote memory education, nationalism, and environment centred ESD in the answer of 2009 draws attention. In 2013, SDP also pointed out lack of understanding of ESD by the public. The key words, energy and nuclear energy drastically increased from 2012 in the answers of every party. The final Conference of the UNDESD was held in Japan in 2014, so the leading role of Japan in ESD appeared in most of the party's manifesto in 2013. Any country that played a long-term leadership role in global governance has a long-term interest in the legitimacy of global governance, as well as in its status as a leader (Keohane, 2003). Similarly, leading ESD was a long-term interest of Japan, and thus was consistently emphasised in most of the relevant documents. The answers of the open letters were open to the public via the website of ESD-J. The political parties tended to show that their interests respond to the public's concerns in order to appeal to more voters. The answers show how ESD is articulated by integrating into the current concerns of Japan.

The final UNDESD Japan report in 2014 indicates that the Great East Japan Earthquake, which occurred on March 11, 2011, and the Tokyo Electric Power Company's Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station accident affected Japan's ESD in various ways. Through the disaster and accident, Japan could reassess the value of ESD (p.10-11). Similarly, in the election manifestoes after 2012, the majority of the answers was related to the concerns on accidents and nuclear energy. Since Japan is one of the countries most affected by natural disasters, stressing the importance of environment education which parallels with disaster education is not a new trend in Japan. More than a third of NGOs in Japan registered in the environmental NGO directory were established in the 1990s (Nomura and Abe, 2009). Environmental education was taking the biggest part of ESD in Japan. *De facto* ESD was an extension of environment education. Through the UNDESD, the role of environmental education was strengthened.

[Table 5.13] Concepts related to 'Sustainable Society-Building'

	Related concepts, etc.	Related keywords
Japan's Action Plan for the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (Liaison Com- mittee among Ministries and Agencies, 2006)	Fairness among the generations, Fairness among regions, Equality between men and women, Social tolerance, Reduction of poverty, Maintenance and recovery of environment, Maintenance of natural resources, Fair and peace society	Coexisting, Cycle, Balance, Correla- tion, System, Diversity, Multifaceted nature, Limitation, Future, Limit, Life- time, Time, change, Conservation, Human rights, Respect for life, Maintenance of health, Living stand-
Japan Council on the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development ESD-J(ESD-J, 2006)	Human dignity, Socially and economically fair society, Responsibility for next gener- ations, Humans are a part of nature, Re- spect for cultural diversity	ard, Right, Equality, Justice, Equality of opportunity, Non-exclusivity, Equi- ty, Fairness, Voluntary, Autonomy, Responsibility, Duty, Future image,
ESD Resource Review Tool (Department for Education and Skills, 2005)	Interdependence, Citizenhood and active involvement, Needs and rights of next generations, Diversity, Quality, equality and fairness of life, Environmental capacity, Uncertainty in actions and preventive measures	Decision-making, Citizenhood, Toler- ance Action, Transformation, Interde- pendence, Co-existence and co-prosperity, Cooperation, Collabora- tion, Harmony, Non-violence, Peace

Source: NIER (2012)

However, the overall concepts and keywords related to ESD, which is more inclusive than just environment, are well mentioned in the policy documents, ESD-J reports, education materials of MEXT and The National Institute for Educational Policy Research (NIER). For example, the concepts related to 'Sustainable Society-Building' in the NIER report in 2012 are widely covering ESD-related key words as represented with Table 5.13. The concepts are similarly descriptive and inclusive, covering the objectives of the three pillars - society, environment and economy.

Dissonance

LDP's manifesto in 2013 entails the emphasis on global-level academic ability for Japanese students, conformity to social norms, respect for history and culture of Japan. The LDP is considered a conservative party whose focus is on economic revitalisation and development of human resource. This idea was also reflected in the revision of Education Law in 2006. The Democratic Party addressed its concern on the creation of employment after the Fukushima accident in 2012, and economic recession in 2013. SDP's claims such as significance of experimental education, peace and diversity were opposite to the LDP's. This dissonance between the parties resulted in plunging ESD into confusion, in which ESD is subsumed within the education frame of the dominant party.

Conclusion

This case presents the findings of analysis. 1) Since the term ESD was not widely known in Japan, the articulations of ESD did not take an important place in policies for education reform in Japan during the DESD. The interviews also reveal that the implications of ESD for the national education system were not significant. The policies directly related to ESD promotion were not found except the National Action Programme. 2) A wide range of environment activities were rebranded and articulated as actual practice of ESD, but conflicts between environmental education and ESD were not seen. 3) Japan made an effort to take a leading role in the UNDESD, in which involved actors contributed to promote ESD as an education model through pedagogisation regardless of its low internal impact. This phenomenon can be attributed to Japan's desire to construct a

good image as a initiator of the UNDESD. This is related to Japan's slogan, *nation rebuilding* by raising 'soft power' (Nye, 2004). 4) The education context of Japan is strongly influenced by knowledge economy. This contributed to recontextualising ESD by converging articulations for human resource building and academic ability. 4) The mechanism that was established for ESD promotion in Japan enabled power relationships within the Japanese government to affect the implementation of ESD both domestically and internationally by controlling (or constructing) articulations of ESD following the government's preferences.

The finding reveals that ESD and the DESD did not have a hegemonic profile in Japan. There was no clear evidence of conflict and resistance between articulations or groups supporting different types of articulations in the process of pedagogising ESD for academic ability in Japan.

CHAPTER VI. DISCUSSION

The case shows that ESD could not have a dominant feature in Japan regardless of Japan's consent to mobilise the governments and related ESD. Nevertheless, promote ESD evolved through pedagogisation into an education model for academic ability during recontexualisation. This was possible because the characteristics of ESD were conceptualised as an empty signifier, and because Japan is a knowledge-based society where the mechanism of production, recontextualisation and reproduction of knowledge plays a central role in sustaining knowledge economy.

6.1. Convergence of ESD and knowledge economy

6.1.1. Revisiting structural logic of empty signifier through ESD

Is ESD an empty signifier?

With previous studies, this researcher explains that the impact study of ESD in Japanese education can be differentiated by the concept of ESD and meaning of impact. If impact is analysed by the frequency of the appearance of ESD articulations in education policies, the impact of ESD does not seem so significant in Japan. But by applying Laclau's empty signifier with Bengtsson's analytic method, four different types of ESD articulations could be identified in policy documents and interviews. In the policy documents, the regularity was found that the type IV articulations were enhanced when explaining the purpose of ESD in Japanese education. This type of articulations focuses on the instrumental role of education for development,

often linked with key words such as human resource, academic ability and competency. According to Laclau's conceptual logic, conflicts among these different types of articulations and their supportive groups occur to result in a central meaning, but such not appear in the policies. During the interviews, however, there were some aspects showing this conflict.

The main members (of ESD-J) are from those areas (environment NGOs), I mean their background is environment education. And environment education is so good word. So the schools can take it. Teacher can do it much easier than ESD or development education. In fact, development education, the word is not used by ministry of education. That was the ministry of foreign affair's word. It's different always. Then the national curriculum never used development education. But environment education. (Interview 6)

Here, the use of different terms by ministries to articulate ESD such as environmental education, ESD and development education is explained. The term development education was occasionally seen in the document, but environmental education was used predominantly in Japan. If each term is general equivalent consisting of ESD, groups supporting environmental education were the Ministry of Environment, main groups of ESD-J and MEXT whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affair supported development education. These groups all supported ESD, but since it was a new word, and the terms – environmental education and development education – were more familiar to planners and practitioners, the usage of the term ESD did not gain enough support to grow and the complex meanings of ESD could

not have many chances to be discussed. Thus, the representative meaning of ESD was environmental education in Japan. However, strong conflict did not appear. The frequent use of environmental education to describe ESD originated from the affinity with the curriculum that has built over time; it is the result of the MEXT's selection and the accumulation with the extracurricular involvement of environmental education NGOs. Moreover, the MOE's contribution in launching the UNDESD and the promotion of ESD on the national level was significant whereas the MOFA was involved in ESD promotion in the global level.

From a slightly different angle, a discussion focusing on two contradictory dimensions of 'education for sustainability' and 'education for development' can be provided in terms of the structural logic of empty signifier. The general equivalents of ESD are multiple and contested thus invite various criticisms for ambiguous use of language in implementation (Chatzifotiou, 2002; Huckle, 1996). But conflicts between 'education for sustainability' and 'education for development' did not appear. The two dimensions even converged into 'education for development for a sustainable society'. This proves that two key terms 'sustainable' and 'unproblematically complementary' (Stables, 'development' became 2004:42) to support stability, when there are links and complexities in the terminology of ESD. In overall policy documents, despite internal contradictions (Bonnett, 2002), ESD was used to represent a vision to generate a sustainable society by getting commonly used by politicians, educators and entrepreneurs. Although there was criticism that it is such

'tragic optimism' (Gonzáles-Gaudiano, 2016), this reveals that ESD is a stable structure of contested general equivalents leaving its meaning still unclear and empty, an empty signifier.

Operation of hegemony

An empty signifier can arise out of a specific political process or an aspiration for hegemony, by which a particular statement, signifier or practice is transformed into a universality. In this way, any meaningful object can be transformed into an empty signifier. For example, above this environmental education, 'transformative learning or quality education' took a core place in the chain of ESD equivalents but it is not certain if it embodies totality or universality. In order for 'transformative education' to embody totality, the operation of hegemony through political process is necessary. In case of Japan, 'transformative education' or 'quality education' was converged in a greater discourse of human resource and national rebuilding. As explained above, one demand in a chain begins to represent the 'totality' that is the (impossible) ambition or aspiration of a discourse but this happens through hegemony. 'No social fullness is achievable except through hegemony; and hegemony is nothing more than the investment, in a partial object, of a fullness which will always evade because it is purely mythical' (Laclau 2005:116).

However, ESD cannot quite be described as embedded in policy and practice as a result of the process of hegemony. The issue is not the simple of ESD but more about *what* aspect of ESD. According to post-structural hegemony theory (Howarth, 2010; Howarth and Griggs, 2012) of a specific

relational logic, ESD can be conceived as in the process of structuring of meaning, and in socially stabilised structures of meaning. Socially stabilised structures of meaning are called 'discourses' (Jeffares, 2007). If ESD is a set of discourses that aim to make systemic changes (or improvements) to education towards 'sustainability' and 'development', the discourse inevitably produces controversial debates on hegemony such as defining 'sustainability' and 'development', and their orientations. However, it did not much appear in Japan, and this debate was rather assimilated into 'environmental education' and 'education for development'.

ESD as you mean is not only environment education or development education. They have much broader meanings. They are including human right education, gender issue, international cooperation so at that ESD-J got more members from diverse backgrounds. Although we also helped as a member of ESD-J but then five years or three years after they are changing, that's my opinion. They became more toward environment education. Our board member also he stopped going to that forum. You know as a board, he realised that they do not really talk about sustainable development. Sustainable development is more important issues to think about. It is called ESD, Education for Sustainable Development so what is sustainable development? It doesn't help only preserve environment but also they think about what is development. Because development is all related to our life. (Interview 6)

If ESD discourse was hegemonic within the society or a certain policy realm, strong conflicts or discordances would have appeared in the process of acceptance. Therefore, in order to activate debates over 'a systemic change for sustainability' and 'the priorities' for 'development', it needs the operation of hegemony which should be bigger than the one sustaining the current system for development. However, this study shows that convergence also can occur as a result of such process of hegemony. 'Every discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity by expanding signifying chains which partially fix meaning' (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:112). When the partially fixed meaning represents a whole chain of general equivalents through hegemonic operations, it can dominate other meanings of equivalents. It is rather clear among the three articulations environmental education, development education and ESD environmental education dominated ESD. Between 'education for sustainability' and 'education for (economic) development', education for development was dominant over education for sustainability in Japan, so the latter was converged into the former. Through this process, a discourse that became hegemonic has succeeded in being accepted as a common articulation so frequently used without resistance. This means, the general practice produced under the concept of ESD, which attempts to balance the needs of the society, the economy and the environment, can put pressure on certain groups to adopt or accept it. In doing so, these groups may have to adopt a different meaning of ESD or sustainable development. In the same sense, the articulations of ESD converging with and merging into academic

ability, international assessments such as PISA, can be accepted by a society and not necessary accompany resistance or conflict. The reason for the absence of resistance or conflict can be found in a broad discourse prevailing in the society that subsumed ESD.

Personally, I don't think we need to care so much about standard like PISA, but it is also a tool to get wider people involved. The movement of transformation of learning and educating and also even fulfilling for global standard like PISA, the transformation of the ways of learning and educating will benefit. I do believe. By motivating learners to develop themselves. To be able to participate in the society and people in Japan are attracted by Finnish education. Some people. Finland has been always highly ranked in PISA. They have very different style of learning and educating in ways from ours and those global standards. They also have some problems and issues from the ground. But still their ways of learning share the value with what we call ESD (Interview 5).

Here, again, the connection of ESD with academic standards gains legitimacy within the articulations of 'education for development'. Political interest is arising out of a political process in which the positions that people perceive as important and appropriate are determined, which applies to the construction of articulations of ESD. Considering that political processes are conflict-ridden spaces, inevitably actors must struggle to establish the representation of general interest. This is why the process of ESD gaining a

representative meaning in a certain context is a political process stemming from a general or common interest. PISA, global standards and Finnish education are a few key words that are keenly related to common interests of the Japanese people. By integrating these key words, ESD can gain more attention and importance. In the same sense, Laclau emphasises that the 'presence of empty signifiers ... is the very condition of hegemony' (Laclau 1996a:43). The convergence of all types of articulation of ESD into type IV, education for (economic) development can be seen as ESD merging into a general or common interest rooted in a hegemonic discourse of the Japanese society.

6.1.2. External enemy of ESD

UNESCO explains that 'ESD is not a particular programme or project, but rather an umbrella for many forms of education that already exist, and new ones that remain to be created'. According to the position of UNESCO, ESD is in the process of structuring its meanings. Also, a social structuring of meaning encourages to 'rethink educational programmes and systems (both methods and contents) that currently support unsustainable societies' (UNESCO n.d. ⁵³). So, what is 'education that supports unsustainable societies?' González-Gaudiano (2016) raises the same question of Bengtsson's study on ESD in Vietnam. Because Bengtsson (2013) mentions that

... empty signifiers are condemned to live a political life, where the limits of their capacity of continuous persuasion is an external enemy, in the case of ESD, this ultimate enemy

would be education for unsustainable development (p. 485).

This question about *external enemy* of ESD is related to the structure of ESD equivalents. Laclau explains that the whole chain of empty signifiers becomes strong when an opposite side which is oppressive and are separated from the demands of most sectors of society by a political frontier exists. By placing 'education for unsustainable development' (Bengtsson, 2013:485)' as an external enemy, can the structure of general equivalents of ESD convey stability?

Foucault mentions social identities that are interwoven with and guided by discourses in which the identities are also affected and changing (Foucault 2007, 2008). Likewise, since the production of identities stemmed from a hegemonic process of discourse, an empty signifier should have a hegemonic identity in order to maintain its structure of a whole chain of general equivalents (Laclau, 1994). In the same sense, the external enemy of ESD should have a hegemonic identity but not dominant over ESD. Wullweber indicates that 'a hegemonic discourse expresses a horizon of truth and everyday practices while simultaneously being shaped by those very practices' (2015:83). A hegemonic discourse is a mechanism to dominate without force and coercion. The notion of values that represents what is 'natural' or 'normal' for a society is achieved with cultural hegemony of certain power, which must exert intellectual and moral leadership, and make alliances and compromises with a variety of forces (Gramsci, 1971). Applying these explanations led to Japanese education context where under strong influence of knowledge economy, the meaning

of education that supports unsustainability seems close to education for knowledge economy. Then is education for knowledge economy same as education for unsustainable society?

In reality, rational arguments are often bounded by socio-economic issues. If a fundamental goal of school education is predominantly driven by knowledge economy, there is no room to 'reflect of the different intentions articulated in policy documents and curriculum goals' (Hasslöf and Malmberg, 2015:252). This applies to the case of ESD. 'The complexity, uncertainty and necessity that characterise questions of sustainability' disappeared while emphasising efficiency (Scott and Gough 2003; Stevenson 2007; Hasslöf, Ekborg, and Malmberg 2014). ESD did not gain enough attention to generate conflict or resistance as it was absorbed by the predominant discourse of education for knowledge economy in Japan. Therefore, education for knowledge economy cannot be placed as an external enemy of ESD. Here, this researcher claims that no education for sustainable development - not knowing about ESD - may be an external enemy in reality. Simply, there would be no chance to live a political life as Bengtsson stated above if it is not known or circulated. Instead of being absorbed by knowledge economy, the structure of ESD has survived by enhancing the dimension of education for development. This may be an inevitable consequence of pedagogisation of ESD within a knowledge-based society.

6.1.3. Assimilation of ESD into knowledge economy

'Knowledge-based society' that MEXT describes is analogous to Totally

Pedagogising Society (TPS) that Bernstein explains. Knowledge-based society is where new knowledge, information and technology become the basis and defining feature of domains of life, including politics, economy and culture (MEXT, 2005). ESD as new knowledge requires learners to acquire it through training and learning programs. The Japanese government stresses that ESD should be promoted by every sector of a society. ESD itself does not have a strong regulatory discourse in valuing the work and identity of students and teachers, but it gains more power in relation to academic ability.

MEXT proposed a new plan to equip workers with the skills to compete and cooperate in the global economy. Students as future workers are required to be flexible learners so they can continuously update their thinking with new knowledge (MEXT, 2008:1-2). ESD is related to key themes such as capacity building for life-long learning, communication and global awareness to cope with the new requirements of work and life (MEXT, 2011 in Kodama, 2017:70-71). This proposal is largely influenced by the OECD's leverage and the OECD's Definition and Selection of Key Competencies Project (hereafter referred to as DeSeCo), which set out in 1997 to define the skills necessary for a successful life and a well-functioning society in a world. It was the government's decision that placed OECD's key competencies in the centre of education reform. Within this context, the connection between ESD and DeSeCo could be constructed. Japan and OECD determined to launch a two-year project together to develop an education model to improve *new learning ability* of students in

Japan and the world in 2015 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 7 May 2014). The project was proposed by Angel Gurría, OECD Secretary-General, to Prime Minister Abe, as Gurría was impressed by Japan's return to high ranking at PISA in six years.

Japan's interest in academic ability was also related to its philosophy of education, 'zest for life'. It aims at improving ability for thinking, decision-making and self-articulation in addition to acquiring knowledge and skills. 'Poor in natural resources, Japan put great value on "education" in promoting development based on human resources' (UNDESD Japan Report⁵⁴, 2014:1). Human resource is a key word for Japanese education, which was used over thirty times in the UNDESD Japan report. 'Zest for life' is inclusively used in Japanese education, as well as for articulating ESD rather than sustainability *per se* (Kodama, 2017:75). This shows how ESD can be incorporated into the interests of any knowledge economy society. In the same sense, the Roundtables suggested distributing ESD to Asia and Africa through ODA (6th Roundtable). The academic model of ESD can appeal to the field of education of developmental states concerned with global competency and human resource.

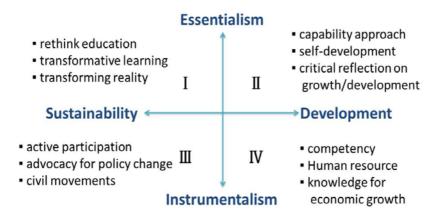
Japan's dependence on OECD educational policy stems from the economic recession that penetrated the whole society (Kodama, 2017:71). The aspect of education for sustainability in ESD aims to help students to learn how to respond flexibly to the challenges of the global economy, for which it also requires students to 'transform' the current society, alienating

the dominance of global economy, to a sustainable orientation. 'Rethink about education', 'transformative education' and 'quality education' are the articulations of ESD to emphasise the aspect of education for sustainability. However, this aspect was not much recognised during the recontextualisation process when ESD was introduced into Integrated Studies.

According to Kodama (2017), there are clear differences between ESD and the investigative learning methods of Integrated Studies endorsed by MEXT. 1) While ESD is clearly oriented towards the cultivation of values relating to sustainable development, the Integrated Studies does not espouse a particular set of values. 2) Integrated Studies is based on a liberalistic theory of competency cultivation, whereby a learner in the process of resolving a given issue acquires the values included in the issue. These values then converge as the learner starts to 'think about his or her way of life' (MEXT 2008:53-55). On the other hand, ESD practices and programmes seek to reorient contemporary society towards environmentally, socially and economically balanced development, and advocate the building of a sustainable society through actions. However, these differences were generally neglected when integrated into the model of academic ability. The 2010 guidelines and methodology proposed for the period for Integrated Studies was endorsed, and ESD was delivered through Integrated Studies.

Kodama (2017) conceived the type II articulations are close to the original sense of ESD that is conceptualised as a successor in the lineage of 'human development' proposed in 1990 by the United Nations Development

Programme (UNDP), or in Amartya Sen's capability approach. The reason that ESD could be merged into type IV, according to his explanation, is because of strong discourse of knowledge economy and global competency. As the prevailing focus of education is on international competition, efforts to introduce ESD is generally regarded as just one more instance of global education during the reformative period (Kodama, 2017:72). Due to such reason, ESD was integrated into the national curriculum as an instrumental model for academic ability, without fully examining its diversity and a wide range of spectrum. As a methodology, Integrated Studies was proposed to deliver ESD, and such integration was done successfully.



Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 6.1.> A sample of four types of ESD articulations

The conceptual discussion of ESD in the context of Japan explains the regularity of enhancement of certain type of ESD articulations that dominate over other types. Conceptualising ESD as an empty signifier is not sufficient to explain the process of localisation of ESD, but perhaps possible for the outcomes. Empty signifier as a conceptualising framework conveys 'the

precise theoretical possibility' of the concept of global agenda which points to 'the discursive presence of its own limits' within the hegemonic process of signification (Laclau 1996a:36). However, this process is not as simple as stated.

UNESCO addresses that the essential characteristics of ESD can be implemented in myriad ways so that ESD programs reflect the unique environmental, social, cultural and economic conditions of each locality. In the countries where economic development is a priority, a hegemonic process would guide the representation and definition of ESD based on developmentalism. Richmond asserts,

It [ESD] is an instrument of mobilisation and advocacy, through which governments, international organisations, civil society, the private sector and local communities around the world can demonstrate their practical commitment to learning to live sustainably (2010:19).

However, as it involves a wide range of stakeholders, the attempts to translate ESD into action can differ enormously. At local levels, the fact that ESD is practiced based on socio-political priorities becomes more apparent. The degree of relevance between the objectives of ESD and the local contexts can be seen or judged differently by the planners or the practitioners. Moreover, it can also be interpreted in the context of wider socio-cultural influences in which both formal and informal learning take place (Kopnina, 2013). The concept of the empty signifier does not imply

that a term has different meanings in different contexts, nor does it possess many meanings in the same context. If the same signifier were attached to different signifieds in different contexts because of the arbitrariness of the sign, or if the signified of the term is over or underdetermined, it prevents the term from being fully fixed. Both situations are examples of floating signifiers (Laclau 2005:129-154). That is why *meaning* should be interpreted within *context*.

From this aspect, an empty signifier does not provide explanations on the process of ESD becoming knowledge for school education and how it evolved into an education model for academic ability. The empty signifier is related to a further decision-making process, which needs a theoretical framework to explain.

6.2. Recontextualisation of ESD through pedagogisation

6.2.1. Revisiting recontexutalisation through pedagogic device

The process of ESD becoming knowledge for school education and evolving into education model for academic ability is further discussed with concepts of pedagogic device and recontextualisation. Integrating a global agenda with the national curriculum could be interpreted as a hegemonic process constructed within a pedagogic device.

Symbolic control

The case of Japan shows how the reform ideas of neoliberalism borrowed from Western societies such as the United Kingdom and the United States invade the territory of the national educational policy, orienting public schooling for knowledge economy. Educational 'borrowing' as a

transnational phenomenon has become far more complex than a simple model of knowledge transfer can sustain. A model takes into account the political viability of reforms as they cross borders and become established under the political volatility of educational regimes within nations (Gordon and LeTendre, 2010:4-5). Decentralisation, strong corporatism between the central governments and NGOs, and weakened voice of teachers under the strong-state policy are the source of unbalanced growth of ESD and biased operation of pedagogic device in Japan. Bernstein explains that the pedagogic device is the object of a struggle for domination, for the group who appropriates the device has access to a ruler and distributer of consciousness, identity and desire. The recent education reforms in Japan show the aspects of pedagogic device under a strong state. In this case, a recontexutalisation process is largely decided by Official Recontexualisation Field.

Within this context, there is more chance for ESD as one source of global education to be subsumed and recontextualised for a greater discourse, education for (economic) development. In the last decade, Japanese politicians have used mirroring strategy, delivering the language of crisis such as PISA shock. They have often referred to foreign education systems to legitimise radical education reforms (Takayama, 2007). This tendency has contributed to the enhancement of type IV articulations which were naturally linked to pedagogisation of ESD for academic ability.

ESD for academic ability proves that only certain ideas of ESD were chosen as meaningful knowledge for Japanese education through

recontextualisation. Bernstein (1990, 1996, 2000) argues that any pedagogic device elaborates the different classes of knowledge and attempts to regulate the available 'potential meaning'. By regulating other potential meanings, especially the articulations of education for sustainability, ESD could have a representative meaning to evolve into a pedagogic model. In general, conflict and resistance occur during the regulating process but not in Japan's case as mentioned several times. This reflects the unbalanced power relations of the state, the academia and the NGOs, and more specifically, between the groups consisting of the Official Recontexutalisation Field and the Pedagogic Recontextualisation Field. For example, the orientation of evaluation was set to be reviewed 'in line with the research status of pedagogy and sociology, or discussions at the UNESCO' (Japan Action Plan⁵⁵, 2006:17-18). Although there were diverse participants involved in the evaluation process (Japan Action Plan, 2006)', it is not clear how these participants were selected and how they influenced the choice of the evaluation method (Interview 6). Likewise, although diverse groups participated in building and promoting ESD, ESD was led by environmental educators mostly in Japan (cf. Mochizuki, 2017). Academics and practitioners of diverse areas such as development education, education for international understanding, human rights education, peace education, and adult education participated in the discussion of ESD, but their participation was not seen as equal or horizontal. (See DEAR⁵⁶, 2014)

Some European and North American scholars have characterised ESD as UNESCO promoted, policy driven, then dismissed. Hence, it was complicit

with neoliberalism and globalisation forces (Jickling and Wals 2008; Torres 2009; Selby and Kagawa 2011; Huckle and Wals 2015). The case presented in this study demonstrates why such was the result, even though ESD inspired many educators, academics, civic groups and local communities in Japan.

This unbalanced growth of ESD in Japan shows that the DESD could not play as one source of the 'exogenous shocks' to provide Japanese education with the foundation for a new logic of action to cause changes (Meyer and Rowan, 2006: 9). Conversely, the education context of Japan strongly reshaped the modalities of ESD.

6.2.2. Asymmetric power relations between ORF and PRF

The pedagogic device is a space where curriculum and teaching (re)contextualise social relations, making hegemony as well as counter-hegemony in the field of education (Bernstein, 1990/2009). This space of making hegemony cannot be discussed without power and actors that Laclau's empty signifier is not based on. Power differentials between actors are important in constructing the relationship between ORF and PRF. Here, power is interpreted as the ability to influence decision making and put them into practice. Since this power is vital in making policies and institutions either work or not, the power of these Fields and their relationships were considered as one of the major influences guiding the direction of ESD policy and practice through recontextualisation.

The field of production, recontextualisation and reproduction

Bernstein states that the fields of production, recontextualisation and reproduction are hierarchically related. Thus recontextualisation of knowledge cannot take place without its production, and reproduction cannot take place without recontextualisation. From this aspect, the production of new knowledge takes the highest position of this ladder of pedagogic device. In case of ESD that was historically accumulated by a number of diverse actors, the production could not be dominated by one typical sector of education institution. The production took place mainly in global and national institutions of higher education and international organisations such as UNU, UNESCO and ACCU (Bernstein, 2000; Castells, 2000). By financially supporting these groups, the Japanese government has directly or indirectly exerted its influence, and Japanese academics and NGOs were involved in this field through various channels. Although Japan had its autonomy in recontexualising ESD to its education context, these groups were not clearly divided into ORF and PRF. For the analysis, this study categorises the government ministries, the National Commission for UNESCO as ORF, and NGOs/CSOs such as the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO and the Japan Council on ESD as PRF. In a similar sense, this study conceives, for example, the Cabinet's official documents, Prime Ministers speeches and the contents of MEXT's websites as ORF, and the meeting minutes and the records of Roundtable as PRF. The Course of Study and the UNDESD Japan reports, to name a few, are conceived as the result of interplays between ORF and PRF. However, in

many cases the members participating in the meetings and the Roundtables are in many cases involved in both the ORF and the PRF, as well as the whole process of pedagogisation – from the production to recontextualisation and reproduction of ESD discourse. In addition, as the governments outsourced the promotion of ESD to NGO groups, these groups work closely with the government upon financial support, but mostly remain out of the decision-making process. This means that there was a lack of independence of PRF from ORF.

What they wanted is not making voices. They want to get some fund to be more sustainable for themselves. Now they are under the government. ESD centre was built by MOE and MEXT, (which means) they are under the government. Of course, they get fund and (will be) more sustainable but what to do is really unclear. (Interview 6)

Although this statement is rather critical about the position of the NGO consortium for ESD promotion, the important point is the role of PRF in constructing ESD discourse in an impartial way. Bernstein states that the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field may be strongly classified internally by producing sub-fields specialised to different levels of the educational system that can determine their own recontextualising independent of the state. However, the state may have a relatively larger measure of control over the recontextualisation of the private sector and agencies through funding (Bernstein, 1990:198). The result of convergence of ESD into academic

ability shows the state's control over the recontextualisation, and the dominance of ORF over PRF in many aspects. Even without coercion, controversial articulations of ESD were neglected while linked to an academic competency model of DeSeCo.

Theoretically, agents within the PRF struggle to control the set of rules or procedures for constructing pedagogic discourse that generate different pedagogic texts/practices. Thus, pedagogic discourse is a 'recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings' (Bernstein, 1990:184). If the PRF functioned as Bernstein's theory, there should have been debates over controversial meanings of 'education for sustainability' and 'education for development'. Moreover, it would have produced resistances from certain groups to ESD against the focus on academic competency. A weak function of PRF was also related to its inner structural deficiencies.

We can't do all kind of advocacy at the same time. But what I can say is, especially this education earlier, all those people who are in the policy making process are mostly from academia, more like professors. And we don't have many education NGOs in Japan. Youth work is YWCA and YMCA. They are not very strong now. And social education is not very strong. There are some free schools, but they don't have power much. (Interview

6)

The interviewee also added that 'if some NGO push the government get more budget, they should work on. But such kind of NGO do not exist here (in Japan) to push the Ministry of Education'. A small number of education NGOs and a lack of vocal power of the PRF explain why there was no sign of resistance in the process of recontexualising ESD for academic ability. On the other hand, the interviewee explained the situation of the Ministry of Foreign Affair is different from the Ministry of Education. A number of international NGOs and global cooperation NGOs push the government with board meetings and roundtables in several places.

The reproduction of ESD was relatively easy since predominant articulations were environmental education and education for (economic) development. Various education activities of environmental education, development education and international cooperation were rebranded with ESD. Moreover, since the recent education reform was under strong influence of knowledge economy, ESD, as one source of global education, contributed to the enhancement the methodology of Integrated Studies as Kodama explains. Although Integrated Studies have decreased after the reforms, many adjectival forms of ESD were introduced through Integrated Studies, such as environmental education, human rights education, peace education, gender education, global education, HIV education, multicultural education. When the hour for Integrated Studies was introduced before the Decade, many teachers did not know what to do in the beginning, so they opened school doors to NGOs, mostly environment NGOs (Interview 6). Although environmental education has been playing the largest part in

contemporary ESD activities in many other countries, the engagement of environmental education and disaster prevention/post-disaster construction has been particularly stressed in Japan (the UNDESD Japan report, 2014).

Bernstein defines pedagogic discourse with two related discourses, a discourse of competence that discipline specific knowledge into a discourse of social order. In order for ESD to get into pedagogic knowledge, it needs power with which stakeholders are able to persuade or force others into making decisions, and following certain courses of action. This power may derive from the nature of a stakeholder's organisation, or their position in relation to other stakeholders, such as the direction of policy line of the ministries which control budget. Asymmetric power relations between ORF and PRF were inevitable in the context of Japan.

6.2.3. ESD as new pedagogic knowledge

In societies where discourse of knowledge prevails, there has been an exponential growth in the volume and complexity of esoteric knowledge (vertical discourse or discourse of specialised knowledge) in practically every sphere of work and life (Ungar, 2000; Singh, 2010). This is how the concept of a knowledge-based society connects to Bernstein's Totally Pedagogising Society. This study shows that pedagogising ESD is articulated in accordance with life-long-learning from early childhood to adult education, and every sphere of work and life from home to school and enterprise. All types of articulations of ESD emphasise learning, new values and new way of thinking, which requires the production of pedagogic

knowledge.

The case of ESD shows that growth in ESD knowledge and related sectors has implications for educators and knowledge gap. Only certain groups of stakeholders knew ESD and controlled the articulations. However, the produced knowledge of ESD did not grow due to a shortage of supports and resources to convert or translate the new knowledge into an accessible form. The translating or decoding work is largely undertaken by the agencies of recontextualisation, within the interplays between ORF and PRF. Bernstein states that when the arena of recontextualisation expands, the question of what knowledge is pedagogised becomes more significant. In the case of ESD, what aspects of ESD are pedagogised was important. Here, the state agencies contributed to recontexualisation of ESD with school education, yet it did not simply lead to universal acquisition of ESD. Not all aspects of ESD were produced as pedagogic knowledge. Although every aspect of ESD could be accessible through a discourse of knowledge economy, the capacity to grasp this controversial concept varied by individual. Consequentially, even though the specialised knowledge of ESD grew in the knowledge economy, it did not contribute to increase the 'degree of knowledge grasp' (Ungar, 2000), thus the awareness rate of ESD was not improved. The ironic logic of Totally Pedagogising Society is that although the production of specialised knowledge is growing, at the same time the demand for new knowledge increases despite the disparity of knowledge grasp. This unawareness or even ignorance of ESD, ironically, has resulted in promoting ESD as an education model through

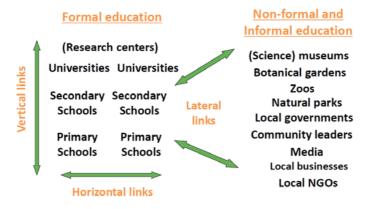
pedagogisation while reducing conflict and resistance. Preference for different key words to articulate ESD clearly existed, originating from different orientations. Accordingly, conflicts existed among the involved groups during the DESD. However, these conflicts did not come up to the surface because the recontextualisation was under the direct or indirect influence of the government and the ministries. This system enhanced the cooperative relationship between NGOs, while at the same time suppressing discordance in producing ESD as new pedagogic knowledge.

This case shows there have been continuous questions to identify ESD despite increasing materials and resources on ESD knowledge. For instance, with regard to the implementation of the measures relating to ESD, for close cooperation among relevant administrative organisations and the comprehensive and effective promotion, the Cabinet launched the government ministry liaison meetings (hereinafter referred to as 'liaison meeting'). The UN University (UNU) headquarters in Tokyo established its ESD program in 2003 with funding support from the Ministry of Environment of Japan. The program consists of two flagship initiatives: one is Regional Centres of Expertise on ESD (RCEs) and the other is Promotion of Sustainability in Postgraduate Education and Research Network (ProSPER.Net). RCEs are regionally based multi-stakeholder network and ProSPER.Net is academic alliance in the Asia-Pacific region to integrate ESD in post-graduate education and curricula.

It (ProSPER.Net) is a unique system, yet other countries do not have it. It's a network of universities, or sometimes it's just department, part of universities. They are devoted to working on ESD with UNESCO schools. So they voluntarily formed a network, now it is called ASPUnivNet. They support us (Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO-ACCU), ACCU and also MEXT in implementation of projects and even when schools applying to become a member of ASPnet. They give us advice, they function as advisory and they can be a trainer for trainings that we organise for school teachers. (Interviewee 2)

This statement addresses how pedagogic knowledge can be controlled by pedagogic device of production, recontextualisation and reproduction within the Japanese society. Moreover, increasing connections among universities, NGOs and schools could expand the chances of increasing the arena of pedagogic device while reducing the recontexualisation process of the government ministries.

Regional Centres of Expertise on ESD (RCEs)



Source: RCE Network 57

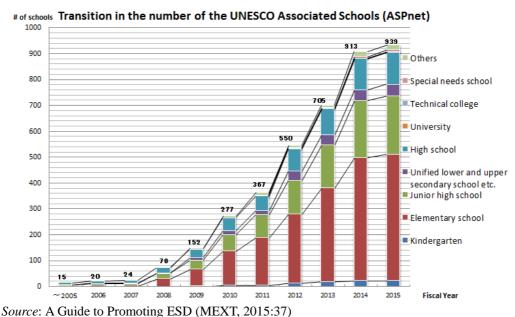
<Figure 6.2> Education through multi-stakeholder partnerships in implementing the Biodiversity Agenda

Decoding or translating ESD into more applicable forms of pedagogic knowledge has been done by NIER, ACCU and ESD-J, but increasing networks mean increasing applicability of pedagogic knowledge. This applies to the Regional Centres of Expertise on ESD. These networking systems make the distribution and reproduction of ESD possible by circulating not only within but also out of the country. In addition, in Japan's case, there is ASPUnivNet. These cooperative works are funded by the MEXT, and RCEs are funded by the MOE. However, there is no clear evidence that shows the effectiveness of this system of networking but only disconnection.

Disconnection between recontextualisation and reproduction

A sense of responsibility was often coupled with a sense of national pride emanating from the fact that Japan proposed the UNDESD. This may have pushed Japan to show visible progress resulting in the rapidly increase of UNESCO schools. The number of UNESCO schools was 939 in May 2015, the highest in the world (see Figure 6.3). However, as discussed earlier, the increased number of UNESCO schools is not directly related to more integration of ESD into school education. For instance, although the number of UNESCO schools steadily increased, the funding for ACCU that is in charge of the registration of UNESCO schools decreased until 2010 then slightly increased later (see Figure 6.4).

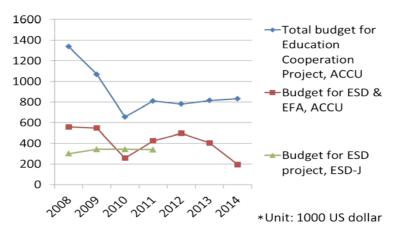
The list of ESD budget includes eco-schools, Comprehensive Youth Experience Activity, agricultural experience activity promotion project and so on (See Appendix 1). The governments' budget support focused on environment education. The budget amount for ESD was not so large and not so small considering that it was a new agenda (Interview 3). As ESD is quite new, in that sense, the amount of finance support for ESD can be considered significant, but if compared to the promotion of English as a subject in primary school or science and technology education in higher levels, the support for ESD was quite low (Interview 3).



<Figure 6.3> Transition in the number of UNESCO schools

Figure 6.4 shows a rapid decrease of budget for ESD and EFA activities for ACCU, and ESD-related activities for ESD-J in 2010. The year of 2010 was a difficult time for Japan as its economy was overtaken by China, and its fourth Prime Minister resigned in three years. The government remained unable to jolt an economy entering its third decade of stagnation. In the aftermath of a long economic recession, ESD needed to compete with the

numerous education agendas for financial support, which was not successful.



Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 6.4> Budget for ESD related programs of ACCU and ESD-J
* The detailed budget data of ESD-J's ESD programs from 2012 was not found.

With conceptual, financial and operational limitations of the DESD, ESD could have been dismissed as business as usual (Huckle and Wals, 2015). Instead, the focus of ESD was narrowed down to environmental education and served as an education model for the national rebuilding project. This can be linked with Japan's desire for leading the DESD. Phrases such as 'Japan's lead', 'Japan's efforts' and 'Japanese experience' in the meeting records and other relevant materials show DESD was conceived as a strategy to increase *soft power* (Nye, 2004) from a nationalistic perspective. This motivation provides a good reason to develop ESD into a more influential model to be shared widely to increase its significance. Collaboration with other countries such as South Korea, China and India is considered as one of the strategies to help 'Japan's lead in the world's ESD' (7th Roundtables). This collaboration was systemically made through

international conferences and forums, which enhanced the articulation of ESD as an education model (See Charles Hopkins, 2015⁵⁸).

6.3. ESD through pedagogisation: distortion or evolution?

In chapter 2, the researcher mentioned that for those who support type I articulations of ESD - 'education for sustainability' focusing on intrinsic role of education - may see the articulations of type IV - 'education for development' focusing on instrumental role of education - as distortion or even deformation of ESD. However, a thorough investigation of the discourse on sustainable development shows that all of four types of articulations can possibly co-exist within ESD. This is to say, the articulations of type IV are not distortions of ESD, especially in the context of Japan, but a predictable transformation. This study defines the pedagogisation of ESD into an education model for academic ability as *evolution*.

Literally, evolution means change in the heritable characteristics of biological populations over successive generations (Hall and Hallgrímsson, 2008). Evolutionary processes give rise to biodiversity at every level of biological organisation, including the levels of species, individual organisms, and molecules. This teleology is the quality whereby the process of natural selection creates and preserves traits that are seemingly fitted for the functional roles they perform (Darwin, 1859). The processes, by which the changes occur from one generation to another, are called evolutionary processes or mechanisms (Scott-Phillips *et al.*, 2014). The pedagogisation of ESD for academic ability can be conceived as a way to maximise the

usefulness of ESD in a knowledge-based society, resulting in the enhancement of type IV articulations. Moreover, this selection led to the promotion of ESD as an education model which produces philosophy, methodology, contents and evaluation for teaching and learning, the so called pedagogic knowledge. Produced as pedagogic knowledge, ESD increased its significance and provided legitimacy to support its networked agencies. This is why eight out of nine interviewees stated that ESD had some influence in Japan, although not significant. It initiated and maintained the working mechanism of ESD promotion and a large number of agencies associated with it, increasing the *governance* of education.

Actually, the DESD of Japan was not successful in fulfilling its initial intent, which was to share lessons learned from Japan's past 'mistakes' in prioritising economic growth at the expense of environmental sustainability and human wellbeing (Mochizuki, 2017:2). There is a gap between the Japanese government's commitment to progressive initiatives through its financial support extended through the UN mechanisms and its domestic promotion. Although the Japanese government has been one of the most important international sponsors of the UNDESD, their efforts to promote ESD policy and practice in Japan fell short of expectations (Mochizuki, 2017:4). Nevertheless, a deep-seated sense of crisis about the future of Japan underlies this pedagogisation of ESD. Japan's slogan of *national rebuilding* includes Japan's desire to improve its self-image as a respectable country that upholds the ideals of ESD, thus increasing *soft power* (Nye, 2004). Soft power is a concept developed by Joseph Nye of Harvard

University to describe the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce (hard power) by using force or giving money as a means of persuasion. Soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction. Therefore, a good reputation with best practices of ESD and taking a leading role in the DESD can contribute to build a good image of Japan. Moreover, highly ranking at international assessment and producing academic ability models to lead global competency can be regarded as one way of increasing soft power. Promoting ESD as an education model for academic ability may satisfy these two aspects. ESD as an education model also simplified the process of recontexualisation into a package of applicable pedagogic knowledge. This feature is similar to the one of soft power that it is non-coercive. Pedagogic knowledge of ESD is the result of filtering out or hiding through the pedagogic device, the controversial elements of culture, political values, and foreign policies. Nye (2012) explains that with soft power, 'the best propaganda is not propaganda'. rather than pushing other countries to adopt the idea of ESD, ESD as an education model for academic ability would promote its adoption with much less resistance. From this perspective, Japan succeeded in sharing its education model of ESD via UNESCO, although Japan failed at sharing its experience of mistakes in the process of rapid development (Interministerial Meeting on the UNDESD 2009).

During the past decade, ESD has evolved from *new forms of teaching* and *learning* (the UNDESD Mid-Report, 2012) to *pedagogy* (the UNDESD Final Report, 2014). The Final Report has a section for *Pedagogy and*

Practice of ESD that covers the entire field of education, from early childhood to non-formal education and training sector. PISA is also mentioned in the Final Report that 'international assessments of learning attainments are beginning to incorporate aspects of ESD' by including of environmental science topics in school curriculum (OECD, 2009, quoted in the UNDESD Final Report, 2014:98). By referring to PISA results, this report points out that 98 per cent of the students in OECD countries are taught environmental topics in schools, whereas the opportunity of students to learn about environmental issue in non-OECD countries varies to a much greater extent (the UNDESD Final Report, 2014:98). In this context, PISA and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) are suggested as examples to monitor and evaluate the progress of the environmental aspects of ESD (Ibid.). Japan's Integrated Studies is introduced as a case of ESD pedagogy that actually shows 'the possible correlation between ESD learning approaches and academic achievement'. This provides legitimacy for 'further scrutiny to make a stronger case for ESD as an integral element of quality education' (Report on the National Assessment of Academic Ability, 2013, quoted in the UNDESD Final Report, 2014:87). Recognised by UNESCO, ESD pedagogy and ESD model for academic ability became official. This feature suggests that implementation of a global agenda can occur separately from its original purposes or recommendations of an international organisation.

This shows the possibility of expansion of pedagogic device under the effect of globalisation. The pedagogisation of a global agenda becomes

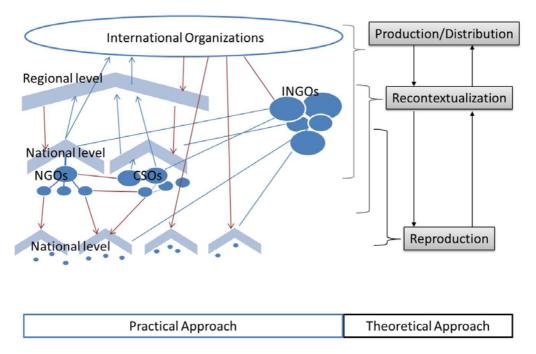
possible when the recontextualisation field is close to the decision-making arena. If the relationship between the government ministries, academics and NGOs plays a key role in minimising conflicts in the domestic level, the relationship between the national states and the international organisations plays a key role in pedagogising the agenda in the global level (displayed with Figure 6.5). Even without the absence of hard law, a global education agenda can serve via policy experiments as a *de facto* governance system regardless of whether the program is a complete disaster or a much herald success. For instance, environmental education intuitively makes sense to many states and is acceptable without pressure, resulting in the launch of corresponding trial programs.

The UNDESD came to a close in 2014 and the world embarked on a new set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. The SDGs, comprising of 17 goals and 169 targets formally adopted by heads of state, include in Target 4.7 'education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development' as a means to equip all learners with knowledge and skills to promote sustainable development by the target year of 2030 (UN, 2015). This speaks to the international recognition of the importance of value-based and transformational education in enabling a global transition to sustainability. ESD's enshrinement into a SDG target suggests that somehow the UNDESD was successful in laying the foundation for ESD implementation on a wider

scale in the post-2015 global development agenda. If the ESD model for academic ability makes sense to many states as beneficial, and thus acceptable, more trial programs of ESD will be launched in the era of the SDGs. Because ESD is known to transcend the typical frame 'which bifurcates the world into donor and recipient', ESD may possibly 'without being relegated to the field of development assistance'. Unlike the preceding global development frameworks of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA), ESD has been promoted as a universal agenda equally relevant to both developed and developing countries' (Mochizuki, 2017). Mochizuki (2017) also claims that ESD contributed to develop horizontal partnerships with their counterparts in other countries, which this study does not agree. The case of ESD and Japan well informs that a country equipped with capacities to build an effective mechanism of pedagogisation can accord significance to a certain idea to be widely accepted. Furthermore, if the country is deeply involved in the global decision-making process, it can both directly and indirectly influence other countries. This mechanism of global production of pedagogic knowledge through promotion of agendas can be represented as figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5 can be related to the world-system of Wallenstein (2004) that refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor which divides the world into core countries, semi-periphery countries, and the periphery countries. Dividing countries by the fields of knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction, core countries with close connections with supranational bodies are involved in the field of knowledge production.

This handful of core countries play a main role in the field of recontextualisation and produce applicable forms of knowledge by decoding and translating. The reproduction through practice is done in the rest of the world, especially the developing countries. The IOs actually contribute to materialising this mechanism.

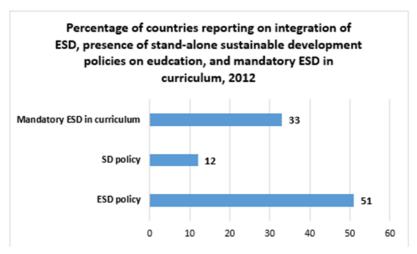


Source: Composed by the author

<Figure 6.5> The circulation of global education agenda through pedagogic device

Figure 6.6 was produced by analysing 57 Country Reports of 2012 from UNESCO member states. This reveals that more than half of the member states have integrated ESD into their national education policies. This analysis was commissioned by UNESCO based on the fourth and fifth consultations on the implementation of the *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and*

Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974) in light of Target 4.7 of the SDGs. According to the analysis, 51 per cent of responding countries positively reported that they are integrating ESD into national education policies.



Source: UNESCO website 59

<Figure 6.6> Percentage of countries reporting on integrating of ESD

Meanwhile, the percentage of countries reporting to have a stand-alone national education policy, plan or law for sustainable development was 12 per cent. In 2012, 33 per cent of reporting countries reported that ESD is mandatory in curricula. The development of specific education policies on sustainable development, however, appears to lag behind the rate at which the education sector is integrating an overall ESD agenda in national education policies. UNESCO will be monitoring the progress towards the achievement of Target 4.7, with a focus on ESD and Global Citizenship. Regular reports, news, analyses, publications and links to data sets will be produced by UNESCO.

This study presents a big gap existing between these policy talks and reality. Since UNESCO's research on the progress of ESD mainly relied on policy documents, considering that they might only be 'cosmetic institutional changes', the result of such political discourse analysis is not meaningful (González-Gaudiano, 2016:221).

CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION

Summary

With the case of the DESD in Japan, the study focuses on the modality of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) that is promoted as an education model for academic ability in Japan. The study reveals four main findings. 1) Generally, the articulations of ESD did not much appear in policy documents of education. Also, the analysis shows the regularity of articulations on 'education for development focusing on instrumental role of education' were strengthened when explaining the purpose of ESD. Both the analysis of policy documents and interviews reveal that the impact of ESD on national education system in Japan was not significant regardless of its prominent role in launching the UNDESD. 2) The pattern of regularity in the use of ESD articulations shows that the DESD has provided legitimacy for continuous or increased support for environmental education but other elements of ESD remain stunted. 3) Japan made an effort to take a leading role in the DESD in which involved actors contributed to accord hegemony to ESD by promoting it as an education model for academic ability regardless of its low internal impact. Japan is a knowledge-based society where discourse of knowledge economy takes a key role in the education context. This has contributed to recontextualising ESD for human resource building and academic ability by merging with DeSeCo and PISA as one of the global education ideas. This is why a certain type of ESD articulations gained more legitimacy than the others. 4) The mechanism that was established for ESD promotion in Japan enabled power relationships within

the Japanese government to affect the implementation of ESD both domestically and internationally.

The finding reveals that ESD and the DESD did not have a hegemonic profile. There was no clear evidence of conflict and resistance in the process of promoting ESD as an education model in Japan due to imbalanced structure of recontextualisation. Recontextualisation in this study is the process of transformation of ESD, which was conducted within the complex web of social, political and economic contexts of Japanese society. As a result of this recontextualisation, ESD assimilated into the predominant education discourse of human resource building for knowledge economy in Japan. This study insists that this was possible because Japan, with a desire for a leading role in the DESD, is a knowledge-based society where the mechanism of production, recontextualisation and reproduction of knowledge plays a central role in sustaining the knowledge economy.

The case of ESD and Japan informs that a country equipped with capacities to build an effective mechanism of pedagogisation can accord significance to a certain idea, merging it into pedagogic knowledge. By getting pedagogised, a global education agenda can serve via policy experiments as a *de facto* governance system, even without the absence of hard law. This is why this researcher defines the process of ESD becoming an education model as the process of evolution though pedagogisation.

Implications for further studies

With this study, this researcher attempts to open a space for academic

debates on the role of global agendas in a knowledge-based society by connecting the concepts of knowledge, global agenda and pedagogic knowledge. All these concepts have their own limit of ambiguity in formalising and modelling their definitions. Nevertheless, this researcher finds they can be discussed within a field of education with Bernstein's Totally Pedagogising Society. From this perspective, this study finds the case study of Japan valuable as it expanded the applicability of TPS in the field of global agenda studies by providing theoretical elements to characterise the Japanese society as a knowledge-based society. The concepts of pedagogic device and TPS had been typically deployed with theoretical perspectives of globalisation for critical analysis on education changes, especially under neoliberalism. Although many scholars criticise the neoliberal tendency in transforming global agendas during localisation, a proper theoretical framework to explain this trend has not been provided. It is partly due to the disconnection of the discussion of global agendas from the education context which has been under the effect of neoliberalism and the predominant discourse of knowledge economy. By connecting the key components of knowledge economy, human resource and human capital with pedagogisation of a global education agenda, this researcher conceives the connection between global agendas and its pedagogisation for knowledge economy in a more natural way.

This study applies an experimental analytic method of Bengtsson, Laclau and Mouffe in modified form. This study specifies a role of an empty signifier as a conceptualising method and a tool for identifying global

education agendas with an actual case. Empty signifiers and discourse analysis of Laclau have not been widely used, and received less attention compared to Foucault's critical discourse analysis. As stated in this study, applying Foucault's critical discourse analysis to the actual case study had a clear limit due to ambiguous concept of the global agenda and discursive associations of stakeholders. Empty signifier and Laclau's discourse analysis are critical in visualising the structure of a global agenda and its articulations as derivations. This enables the analysis of an ambiguous concept and its impact on policy. Re-structuring the global agenda with articulations and conceiving policy documents as articulations can provide a new methodological approach that can be applied to the studies of different fields such as global education agenda with informal mechanisms and impact studies in education.

Nevertheless, this study points out a deficiency in the explanatory power of empty signifiers in its relation to an external enemy. Laclau explains that the dichotomic frontier enables the presence of the whole model of equivalent chains, but this dichotomic frontier has not been clearly defined. For the post-2015 agendas, ESD and Global Citizenship Education (hereafter referred to as GCED) have been included as global education agendas in the SDGs. The advent of GCED as the rival agenda may play a role of an *external enemy* which can revitalise the identity and structure of ESD. Or conversely, ESD may lose its significance due to overlapping ideas with GCED. Actually, after the Decade, there has been a resurgence in Japan; the official support for ESD⁶⁰ was announced in 2014, and *A guide to*

promoting ESD (1st edition) was published in March 2016 by the MEXT⁶¹. Although little of the progress is known, some of the repercussions were observed, such as a stronger voice from Japan Environmental Education Forum (JEEF) for making environmental education as a subject for school education (Tetsuro Suwa, 2014). If the concept of external enemy is essential to clarify the identity and structure of a global agenda, what is a logical way to define it? This question applies to all other global agendas with informal mechanism such as Peace Education and Education for International Understanding and Global Citizenship Education, which needs further discussion.

This study suggests rethinking about the taken-for-granted phenomenon of pedagogising global agendas for effective promotion. Within the discourse of knowledge economy, life-long learning, re-trainability, and employability are the common words that are associated with capacity building. Then how does pedagogisation of a global agenda contribute to construct this phenomenon? This study shows how a global agenda as new pedagogic knowledge is introduced to every possible domain of life from home to school and community. Bernstein's key notion for TPS is that the circulation of knowledge production, recontexualisation and reproduction is essential to sustain a pedagogising society. This reinterprets the meaning of pedagogisation of a global agenda in relation to the operation of this mechanism of knowledge circulation. This pedagogisation of a global agenda has been rather neglected in the articulation of localisation and

transformation. It is often argued that transformation is necessary to fit into local contexts, while at the same time, a number of studies discuss the issue of gaps between policy and practice. This study suggests a rather different view on the issue, that the gaps exist from the basis – the concept of the agenda itself – and is thus natural. This discordance between policy and practice of a global agenda should invite diverse ways of interpretations. For example, this researcher states that the different stances of groups who support different types of articulations may argue the meaning of distortion, transformation and promotion in different ways. How can we define distortion and transformation of a global education agenda and what would be the reasons? This study conceives these questions are related to the role of IOs. The direct and indirect involvement of international organisations in the national education system has strengthened over time under the effect of globalisation. The case of Japan shows how the state reacted to maintain its power to mediate or even restrict that drive. In addition, a pedagogising process of a global education agenda in Japan suggests possible ramifications of the agenda for the rest of the world. This is to say, the agenda, subsumed under national education policies of powerful countries, affect changes in the education of other countries both directly and indirectly.

Chapter five of this study on the education reforms in Japan under neoliberal influence explains that education policy 'borrowing' as a transnational phenomenon has become far more complex than a simple model of knowledge transfer can sustain. A global agenda as one source of global education must account for the political viability of reforms as they cross borders and become established under the politically volatile education regimes within nations (Gordon and LeTendre, 2010:4-5). Especially the impact of this transnational culture of education on those economically marginalised countries is even larger as they are easily swayed by other national and transnational organisations such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank as well as UNESCO or UNICEF. Much has been debated on the role of international organisations in dispersing the transnational culture of education, which is also closely related to the discussion on the hybrid process of generating valuable knowledge in education between powerful nations and transnational agencies. Pedagogising a global education agenda and promoting it as an education model for academic ability may increase the role of international organisations in dispersing new pedagogic knowledge. Increasing the influence of transnational culture means increasing governmentality. The web of various national and transnational agencies contributes to the creation of hegemonic system or governmentality in education with or without intention. It provides a solid ground for explaining isomorphic institutionalised patterns of knowledge and resource allocation in many countries under predominant discourse of the time without 'important, if often local, adaptations of core educational practices or rationales' (Gordon and LeTendre, 2010:4). This is why more studies have to be conducted focusing on influential countries, the lenders and borrowers of global

education culture. From that aspect, this study of Japan would be a good sample for comparative studies.

The study shows that integrating a global education agenda into school education was dependent on its usefulness for the interest of the state. The study addresses the importance of process and context. How can the vulnerability of a global education agenda be reduced in predominantly centred views on economic growth? This study emphasises that resistance or conflict during the process of integration is natural and essential to construct appropriate meanings and values of a global education agenda for a society. For this, equal and horizontal relationships between diverse actors are priority. The roles of academics, NGOs and CSOs must be actively discussed. These advocacy groups' autonomy from the government is critical. The structural limit of the pedagogic device which brought unbalanced growth of the global education agenda explains how political and financial bonds possibly hinder democratic relationships among the involved groups. Moreover, although it is such a cliché, transparency in the decision making process and selection process of participants are essential as the interviews reveal.

This study suggests the applicability of the pedagogic device of a society to a global level. The processes of launching the global education agenda, ESD, were managed mainly by a handful of nations and INGOs/CSOs. These groups had the capacity to produce strategies and resources for implementation. The capacity was built upon the cooperative relationships

between UNESCO, the OECD and the core countries that contributed to the expansion of pedagogic device. This study conceives that this cooperation plays a key role in generating and distributing new pedagogic knowledge as the case of Japan with the UNDESD showed. Over time, an increased number of global educations such as Peace education, Education for International Understanding and Global Citizenship Education were involved in the education of many countries through international aids, projects and exchange programmes. This study shows of how one of these major countries have involved in dispersing these global education agendas. By taking a top position in a global production system of knowledge, these countries and IOs play a central role in producing global standards and values.

The evolution of a global agenda through pedagogising can be seen as an outcome of a complex round of negotiation between interests, choices and competitions. New pedagogic knowledge needs to be distributed to gain more hegemony. Among many options, an academic model of a global education agenda may maximise its utility in line with global standards and competency in many countries. If so, soft governance through a global education agenda can increase without being relegated to the field of development assistance by spreading to both developed and developing countries. The phrases such as voluntary adaptation, horizontal partnerships and essential knowledge for sustainable future will empower the expanded pedagogic device.

Lastly but most importantly, this study provides the differentiated indepth discussions on the impact of global education agendas on education by looking into the phenomenon of recontexualisation, which has not been systemically developed in the academia. Moreover, this study shows the applicability of a new complementary research approach by conceptualising global agenda as an empty signifier and analysing through a theoretical framework of pedagogic device for the study of global agendas. Potentially, this study lays a foundation stone for further study from the aspects of theory, policy and practice in two ways: expanding theoretical discussions on the potentials and limits of the conceptual logic of empty signifier, and the applicability of the framework of pedagogic device for the impact study of global education agendas.

Limitations

This study provides a theoretical discussion both on the potentials and limits of the framework of pedagogic device, which focuses on an in-depth case study. In the global era, an increasing source of knowledge production has resulted in competitions for pedagogic device. The device cannot capture every source of knowledge, and thus must expand. The case of the DESD and Japan shows a potential for the expanded pedagogic device as a framework to apply in a supranational level, but it needs more evidence from empirical studies. Moreover, conceptualising a knowledge-based society may restrict the applicable countries especially with a lack of capacity for pedagogic device. The concepts and theoretical frameworks need careful modification when applying to other contexts of societies,

especially in developing countries. This will need more case studies to be proved.

¹ In this study, NGO is used as a word that covers NPOs

- Published by SAGE Publications, India in Association with Centre for Environment Education, since 2007 Editor-in-Chief is Kartikeya V Sarabhai
- ⁴ http://nest.unescoapceiu.org/new2014/about/about.php (Accessed 7 August 2015)
- http://www.unesco.org/en/aspnet/study-areas/education-for-sustainable-development (Accessed 10 December 2015)
- ⁶ Chapter 36, 'Promoting Education, Public Awareness and Training'
- http://www.unescobkk.org/education/esd-unit/definition-of-esd/ (Accessed 7 September 2014)
- ⁸ http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001887/188799e.pdf (Accessed 14 July 2016)
- ⁹ NGO and NPO are often interchangeably used in the Japanese documents, the study is using NGOs as a word that covers NPOs
- 10 http://www.mofa.go.jp/j_info/japan/opinion/kawaguchi.html (Accessed 5 August 2016)
- http://sankei.jp.msn.com/life/news/130115/edc1301151702003-n1.htm (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- http://sankei.jp.msn.com/life/news/140724/edc14072415000001-n1.htm (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- ¹³ http://www.sankei.com/life/news/170728/lif1707280015-n1.html (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- ¹⁴ http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/kyoiku/news/20140507-OYT8T50076.html (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- International Cooperation through UNESCO/Japan Funds-in-Trust, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001857/185768M.pdf (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- ¹⁶ The US stopped funding UNESCO since 2011 and lost its voting right
- There are five Funds-in-Trusts; Flemish FIT, France-UNESCO Cooperation Agreement, Japanese FIT, Netherlands FIT and Spanish FIT. See http://whc.unesco.org/en/funding/
- http://en.unesco.org/themes/education-sustainable-development/japan-funds (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- ¹⁹ 2013 Permanent Delegation of Japan to UNESCO, http://www.unesco.embjapan.go.jp/htm/jpfundsintrust.htm (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- The Australian Research Institute for Environment and Sustainability, http://aries.mq.edu.au/UNDESD/History/ (Accessed 5 July 2016)

² https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmintdev/c616-i/c61601.htm

- ²¹ http://www.mext.go.jp/english/unesco/1304519.htm (Accessed 1 July 2017)
- ²² UNESCO Director-General between 1999-2009 (elected to a six-year term on 15 November 1999; re-elected in 2005)
- The Ministry of the Environment's Environmental Partnership Office (EPO), established in 1996 to better involve civil society groups and people in environmental issues), started an open meeting series ('opinion exchange forums') about the Summit, in August 2001
- ²⁴ The predecessor of ESD-J, the Japan Forum for Johannesburg (JFJ) was established on 12 November 2001, under the initiative of the EPO
- The Japanese National Commission for UNESCO is an institution established under the Japanese law (the Law Concerning UNESCO Activities) to provide advice, planning, liaison, and surveys regarding UNESCO activities in Japan. In partnership with UNESCO, other countries' national commissions for UNESCO, and relevant ministries and agencies, the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO is actively engaged in the promotion of ESD in Japan and overseas as one of its key tasks.
- ²⁶ Kartikeya Sarabhai was a member of the Indian delegation to United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) at Rio in 1992 and World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) at Johannesburg in 2002 and was the coauthor of India's report for UNCED.
- Since its establishment in 1971, ACCU has been implementing various regional cooperative programs in the fields of culture, education, and personnel exchange in close collaboration with the countries of Asia and the Pacific. In response to the start of the UNDESD, ACCU has promoted the UNDESD by reviewing its past projects from the perspective of ESD and conveying the principles of ESD to governments, NGOs, universities, and other partner organizations in Japan and abroad through trainings and projects. It also spreads ESD to teachers and the general public by producing ESD learning materials and holding ESD photo message contests and photo exhibitions. ACCU supports educational activities such as non-formal education, which focuses on the community level of the Asia-Pacific region, especially people who are disadvantaged in socio-economics, it contributes to the promotion of ESD by fulfilling the role of connecting various wisdom and practices rooted in and rooted in discussions on sustainable future in international society.

- 28 日本人論, "theories/discussions about the Japanese"
- ²⁹ Primary and middle school (through the completion of the third year of Junior High School, roughly 9th grade in the U.S. system)
- Both test questions and summaries of results for each year can be accessed online (in Japanese) at: http://www.nier.go.jp/kaihatsu/zenkokugakuryoku.html (Accessed 10 December 2016)
- https://www.reuters.com/article/japan-economy-estimate-idUSL4E8JH1TC20120817
- ³² Succeeded by and reorganized as the Meeting on Education Rebuilding since 2007
- http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpab201201/detail/1344908.htm (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- 34 http://www.cao.go.jp/en/reform/previous_reform.html (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/actions/201301/24kyouikusaisei_e.html (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- https://www.iol.co.za/news/world/new-japanese-minister-calls-union-a-cancer-418030 (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/elsec/title02/detail02/1373866.htm (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- 38 http://saitamakyoso.com/2016/10/27/2017学習指導要領批判 (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- ³⁹ http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/actions/201301/24kyouikusaisei_e.html (Accessed 9 August 2017)
- After the Decade MEXT started to recommend to use the term ESD (http://www.esd-jpnatcom.mext.go.jp/about/ nickname .html)
- In July 2008, "Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education" was formulated as the first comprehensive plan by the Government about education. The Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education" shows the state of education to be achieved in the next ten years and is to promote comprehensively and systematically the measure to be worked on in the next five years (2008-2012)
 - (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpab200801/detail/1292575.htm)
- http://www.mext.go.jp/english/lawandplan/1303462.htm
- http://www.mext.go.jp/en/policy/education/lawandplan/title01/detail01/1373797.htm (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- 44 http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo7/shiryo/07022801/001.htm

- (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- The analysis of the surveyed Action Goals presented here, conducted by international experts in 2009, classifies UNESCO's goals as perceived as likely to be realized satisfactorily, nearly satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily, concerning the possible extent of successful implementation by 2014 and taking national peculiarities into account (See Gross and Nakayama, 2010)
- See IGU-CGE 2012 Symposium Proceedings, Experience-based Geography Learning 2012 Symposium, 22 August – 25 August Institute of Geography and Geography Education, UE Freiburg, Germany
- http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/seisaku/kokuren/entaku21/dai1/1gijiyousi.html (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- 48 http://www.esd-j.org/project/school (in Japanese) (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- ⁴⁹ See http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/seisaku/kokuren/pdf/ report_h261009_e.pdf (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- ⁵⁰ http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisafaq/ (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- ⁵¹ See http://www.esd-j.org/wp/wp content/uploads/2015/09/8.open_letter_answer_ 2009.pdf (in Japanese)
- See http://www.esd-j.org/wp/wp/content/uploads/2015/09/8.open_letter_answer_2009.pdf
 - http://www.esd-j.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/12.election_answer_2012.pdf http://www.esd-j.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/13.election_answer_2013.pdf (all in Japanese) (Accessed 5 July 2015)
- http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-sustainable-development/education-for-sustainable-development/(Accessed 16 September 2014)
- October 2014, The Interministerial Meeting on the "United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development"
- http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/other/micro_detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/ 05/19/1385403_01.pdf (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- Proposal for Citizens' Participation in ESD Policy Making, http://www.dear.or.jp/org/advocaty2014_esdeng.pdf. (Accessed 5 July 2017)
- ⁵⁷ Source: https://www.cbd.int/cepa/cepafair/2016/presentations/unu-rce.pdf
- ⁵⁸ UNESCO Chair, Exploring the global action programme in the context of TLN, The

learning teacher Network, Zagreb, 2015 (Presentation)

⁵⁹ http://zh.unesco.org/node/271107 (Accessed 5 July 2017)

⁶⁰ http://www.mext.go.jp/unesco/001/2014/1348748.htm (Accessed 5 July 2017)

http://www.mext.go.jp/component/english/ icsFiles/afieldfile/2016/11/21/1379653 01 1.pdf (Accessed 5 July 2017)

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資料1-2

平成21年度 国連ESDの10年関連予算 概算要求主要事項				
1. 初期段階における重点的取組事項	平成21年度概算要求額 (平成20年度予算額)	担当府省		
(1)地域における実践	※単位は百万円			
〇 国連持続可能な開発のための教育(ESD)の10年促進事業	61(23)	環境省		
〇 エコツーリズム総合推進事業	172(134)	環境省		
○ 環境教育総合プログラム開発事業	489(新規)	文部科学省		
〇 青少年体験活動総合プラン	540(246)	文部科学省		
○ グランドワーク推進支援事業	41 (44)	農林水産省		
○ 地域活動支援による国民参加の緑づくり活動推進事業	153の内数 (168の内数)	農林水産省		
(2)高等教育機関における取組				
○ 持続可能な開発のための教育(ESD)を担う アジア高等教育機関人材育成事業	185(75)	環境省		
2. 国内における具体的な推進方策				
〇 環境教育推進グリーンプラン	86(55)	文部科学省		
○ SATOYAMAイニシアティブ推進事業	145の内数 (126の内数)	環境省		
3. 各主体に期待される取組				
○ 豊かな体験活動推進事業	1, 146(1, 012)	文部科学省		
○ エコスクールの整備推進に関するパイロット・モデル事業 *内閣府で要求している沖縄県分の金額を含む	【文科】 193,510※の内数 (114,971※の内数) 【農水】12,653の内数 (9,692の内数) 【経産】 (95,484の内数) 126,978の内数 【環境】 462(864)	文部科学省 農林水産省 経済産業省 環境省		
○ 交通と環境に関する環境教育(交通エコロジー教室の開催)	12(12)	国土交通省		
 4. 国際協力の推進				
○ ユネスコ持続可能な開発のための教育交流・協力信託基金	420(420)	文部科学省		
○ 日本/ユネスコパートナーシップ事業	150(28)	文部科学省		
○ 国連大学拠出金(持続可能な開発のための教育10年 構想事業費)	181(150)	環境省		
O アジア協力対話(ACD)環境教育推進対話	9. 3(9. 3)	外務省		

Appendix 2. Original version of ESD in Education Promotion Basic Plan

平成25年6月 文部科学省国際統括官付

教育振興基本計画におけるESDについて

教育振興基本計画(平成20年7月1日閣議決定)	第2期教育振興基本計画(平成25年6月14日閣議決定)
	第1部 我が国における今後の教育の全体像 Ⅲ 四つの基本的方向性 (1) 社会を生き抜く力の養成 ~多様で変化の激しい社会での個人の自立と協働~ (今後の学習の在り方) ○ 持続可能な社会の構築という見地からは、「関わり」「つながり」を尊重できる個人を 育成する「持続可能な開発のための教育(ESD)」の推進が求められており、これは 「キー・コンピテンシー」の養成にもつながるものである。
第3章 今後5年間に総合的かつ計画的に取り組むべき施策 (1) 基本的考え方 ② 「縦」の接続:一貫した理念に基づく生涯学習社会の実現また、ユネスコ(国際連合教育科学文化機関においては、地球的視野で考え、様々な課題を自らの問題として捉え、身近なところから取り組み、持続可能な社会づくりの担い手となるよう一人一人を育成する教育(「持続発展教育/ Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)」)が提唱されており、2005年から2014年までの10年間は、「国連持続発展教育の10年」と位置付けられている。地球的規模での持続可能な社会の構築は、我が国の教育の在り方にとっても重要な理念の一つである。 (3) 基本的方向ごとの施策 ④いつでもどこでも学べる環境をつくる 【施策】 ◇ 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた教育に関する取組の推進 一人一人が地球上の資源・エネルギーの有限性や環境破壊、貧困問題等を自らの問題として認識し、将来にわたって安心して生活できる持続可能な社会の実現に向けて取り組むための教育(ESD)の重要性について、広く啓発活動を行うとともに、関係府省の連携を強化し、このような教育を担う人材の育成や教育プログラムの作成・普及に取り組む。特に、ESDを主導するユネスコの世界的な学校ネットワークであるユネスコ・スクール加盟校の増加を目指し、支援する。	基本施策11 現代的・社会的な課題に対応した学習等の推進 【基本的考え方】
携を強化し、このような教育を担う人材の育成や教育プログラムの作成・普及に取り組む。特に、ESDを主導するユネスコの世界的な学校ネットワークであるユネスコ・スクール加盟校の増加を目指し、支援する。	

Appendix 3. Original version of Status of description of ESD of basic plan for promotion of education in each prefecture

参考5

各都道府県・政令指定都市の教育振興基本計画のESD記載状況

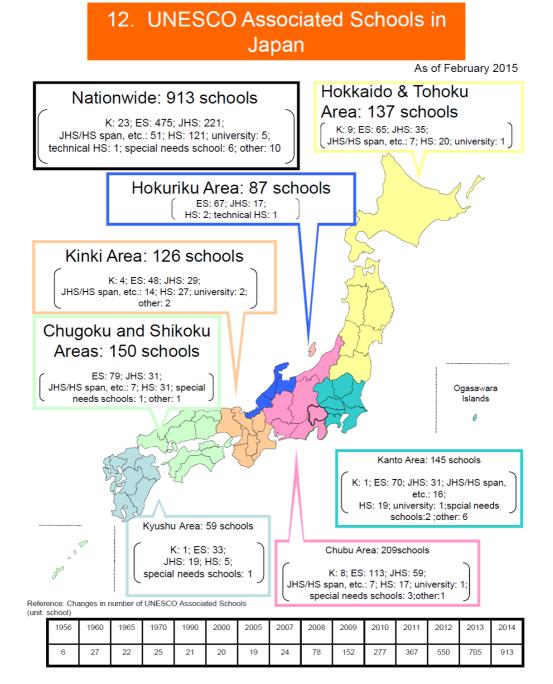
1 都道府県 平成25年8月現在

	都道图	付保			平成25年8月現在
	都道府 県名	計画名	計画期間	記載状況(※)	記載内容 (例示)
1	北海道	北海道教育推進計画(改定版)	ビジョン編 H20~29年度 施策項目編 H25~29年度	×	-
	青森県	「青森県基本計画未来への挑戦」—「教育、 人づくり分野」(青森県教育振興基本計画)	H21~25年度	×	_
	岩手県	いわて県民計画	H21~30年度	×	_
	宮城県	宮城県教育振興基本計画	H22~31年度	×	_
		あきたの教育振興に関する基本計画	H23~26年度	X	_
	山形県	第5次山形県教育振興計画後期プラン	H23~27年度	×	_
7	福島県	第6次福島県総合教育計画	H22~26年度	Х	
8	茨城県	茨城県教育振興基本計画	H23~27年度	0	「新しい時代に対応した教育の推進」-「環境教育の充実」-「今後の課題」に、「 <u>持続</u> 可能な社会の構築が求められている状況を踏まえ、環境教育の充実を図る(後略)。」
9	栃木県	栃木県教育振興基本計画「とちぎ教育振興 ビジョン」	H23~27年度	×	_
10	群馬県	群馬県教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	×	-
11	埼玉県	生きるカと絆の埼玉教育プラン-埼玉県教育 振興基本計画-	H21~25年度	0	「施策:時代の進展に対応する教育の推進」-「施策の方向性」に、「将来にわたって安心して生活できる <u>持続可能な社会の構築に向けた環境教育を推進します。</u> 」
	千葉県	千葉県教育振興基本計画「みんなで取り組 む『教育立県ちば』プラン」	H22~26年度	×	-
13	東京都	東京都教育ビジョン(第3次)	H25~29年度	×	_
14	神奈川県	かながわ教育ビジョン	H19~38年度	×	_
14	県	かながわグランドデザイン(主要施策編)	H24~26年度	×	_
	新潟県	新潟県「夢おこし」政策プラン	H25~36年度	×	_
16	富山県	-	ı	-	_
17	石川県	石川の教育振興基本計画	H23~32年度	0	「基本目標1」-「方針1-3」に、「持続可能な 社会、自然と人が共生する社会の構築に 向けて、森林・里山保全活動や「いしかわ 自然学校」等における自然体験活動など 環境問題に対する様々な取組を行ってい ます。
18	福井県	福井県教育振興基本計画	H23~27年度	0	「基本目標2」-「豊かな心の育成」-「環境教育の推進」に、「ユネスコスクール参加校の拡大(中略)持続発展教育を、ユネスコスクールを推進拠点として進めています。」
	山梨県	やまなしの教育振興プラン	H21~25年度	0	「施策の方向及び概要」「環境教育の充実」に、「地球温暖化問題をはじめ、様々な環境問題への理解を深めるとともに、 <u>持続</u> 可能な社会の構築に向けた実践的な態度を育みます。」
20	長野県	第2次長野県教育振興基本計画	H25~29年度	X	
21	岐阜県	岐阜県教育ビジョン	H21~25年度	0	「基本理念」-「基本理念の趣旨」に、「 <u>持続</u> 可能な環境づくりなどに主体的に関わり、 互いに協働して地域の <u>課題解決に取り組</u> むとともに、(後略)」。
22	静岡県	静岡県教育振興基本計画「『有徳の人』づく りアクションブラン	H23~32年度	0	「教育の現状と課題」「現代の重要課題に 関する教育」「環境教育の推進」に、「ESD の概念を取り入れた環境教育・環境学習 に取組み、(中略)、人材の育成などに努め ることが必要です。

	都道府	=1== 0	-L	記載状	원부수호 /워크〉
L	県名	計画名	計画期間	況(※)	記載内容(例示)
23	愛知県	あいちの教育に関するアクションプラン2	H23~27年度	0	「重点目標4」-「主な施策」に、「持続可能 な社会の構築に向けた教 育(<u>持続発展教育:ESD)に関する取組を推 進します。」</u>
	三重県	三重県教育ビジョン	H23~27年度	0	「環境教育の推進」-「今後の基本的な取組 方向」に、「 <u>持続可能な社会の実現に向けて、計画的に環境教育を推進します。」</u>
	滋賀県	滋賀県教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	X	_
	京都府	京都府教育振興プラン	H23~32年度	X	_
	大阪府	大阪府教育振興基本計画	H25~34年度	Х	_
	兵庫県	ひょうご教育創造プラン	H21~25年度	X	_
29	奈良県	-		_	_
	和歌山県	教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	×	-
	鳥取県	鳥取県教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	X	-
32	島根県	しまね教育ビジョン21	H16~25年度	X	_
33	岡山県	岡山県教育振興基本計画ー未来を拓(ひら) く人づくりプランー	H22~26年度	0	「環境学習の推進」「施策の方向」に、「ESDの普及」
		ひろしま未来チャレンジビジョン	H22~31年度	Х	_
34	広島県	広島県教育委員会主要施策実施方針	H23~25年度		「グローバル社会に生きる力の育成」-「持 続可能な社会の構築に向けた教育の推 進」-「主な事業」に、「ESDの考え方及び ESDで身につけさせたい力の徹底」
35	山口県	山口県教育振興基本計画(案)※作成中	H25~29年度	X	-
36	徳島県	阿波っ子みらい教育プラン~徳島県教育振 興基本計画(第2期)	H25~29年度	×	-
37	香川県	香川県教育基本計画	H23~27年度	Х	-
38	愛媛県	愛媛の未来づくりプラン	H23~32年度	X	_
39	高知県	高知県教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	X	-
		福岡県教育施策実施計画	H25年度	0	「豊かな人間性や志を持ち、たくましく生きる子ども・若者を育てる」-「豊かな心を持った子ども・若者の育成」-「世界に挑む人材育成事業の実施」に「国際社会の持続的発展を支える優れた人材を育成」
	佐賀県	佐賀県教育の基本方針	H25年度	X	_
42	長崎県	長崎県教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	Х	_
Ь	熊本県	くまもと「夢への架け橋」教育プラン(熊本県 教育振興基本計画)	H21~25年度	×	_
	大分県	新大分県総合教育計画(改訂版)	H24~27年度	X	_
	宮崎県	第二次宮崎県教育振興基本計画	H23~32年度	X	_
46	鹿児島 県	鹿児島県教育振興基本計画	H21~25年度	×	
47	沖縄県	沖縄県教育振興基本計画	H24~33年度	0	「第1章 総論」-「地域を大切にし、誇りに思う健全な青少年の育成」-「健やかな青少年を育む地域活動・体験活動の充実」-「次代を担う青少年育成推進事業」に「ESD研修会の実施」
	計	45		13	

[%]「ESD」、「持続可能」、「持続(的)発展」、「ユネスコスクール」といったキーワードが、今後の方向性、実施項目として計画等に記載されているものを「〇」とした。

Appendix 4. UNESCO Associated schools in Japan (UNESCO ASPnet and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), February 2015, Japan National Commission for UNESCO)



국문초록

페다고지화 된 사회와 글로벌교육의제의 재맥락화: 일본의 지속가능한 발전교육 사례연구

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'지역화'를 통한 글로벌교육의제의 재맥락화는 국가나 지역 사회 내에서 의제의 효과적인 파급을 위해 불가피하거나 필요한 과정으로 인식되어왔다. 글로벌교육의제의 효과적인 파급과 이행을 위해 국제기구는 이를 교육과정이나 교육정책과 같은 국가교육체제에 통합하는 전략을 장려해 왔으며, 이러한 과정에서 글로벌교육의제는 사회의 우선시되는 교육의 가치와 관념에 동화하거나 저항하며 변형되는 양상을 보여 왔다. 본논문은 이러한 재맥락화의 과정이 글로벌교육의제의 변형양상에 주요한영향을 미치고 있음을 주장하며, 사례연구를 통해 증명하고 있다.

본 연구는 2004년부터 2015년까지 시행된 유엔의 지속가능한 발전교육

10년(UNDESD)과 이 의제의 형성과 도입에 주요역할을 한 일본의 사례를 통해 글로벌교육의제가 국가교육에 미치는 영향과 국가의 교육 환경적 성격이 글로벌교육의제의 변형양상에 미치는 영향에 대해 분석하였다. 특히 본 연구자는 일본에서 지속가능한 발전교육이 학력을 위한 교육모 델로 변형된 양상에 주목하였다. 연구를 위한 질문은 다음과 같이 구체 화되었다. 첫째, 지속가능한 발전교육 10년이 일본의 국가교육시스템에 미친 영향은 무엇인가? 둘째, 지속가능한 발전교육이 일본에서 어떻게 학력을 위한 교육모델로 변형되었는가? 셋째, 글로벌교육의제는 페다고 지화를 통해 어떻게 재맥락화되는가? 연구를 위해 문헌 자료, 정책문서, 회의자료 등의 문서를 분석하였으며, 문서 분석에는 Bengtsson과 Laclau 의 분석방법을 연구에 맞게 수정보완하여 적용하였다. 일본에서 ESD라 는 용어 자체가 많이 알려지거나 사용되지 않은 만큼, 정책문서를 ESD 의 표현 형태 (혹은 표현한 결과)로 보고 ESD가 문서 속에서 어떤 유형 으로 나타나는지 조사하였다. 표현의 유형은 총 네 가지, 1) '교육의 본 질적 역할에 중점을 둔 지속성을 위한 교육', 2) '교육의 도구적 역할 에 중점을 둔 지속성을 위한 교육', 3) '교육의 본질적 역할에 중점을 둔 발전성을 위한 교육', 4) '교육의 도구적 역할에 중점을 둔 발전성 을 위한 교육'으로 나누었다. 많은 양의 질적연구자료를 분석하기 위해 소프트웨어(KHcoder)를 사용하였고 정책 분석의 한계를 보완하기 위해 전문가 인터뷰를 시행하였다.

본 연구는 세 단계의 분석과정을 거쳐 진행되었다. 먼저 라클라우(Laclau)의 빈 상징 기표(empty signifier)를 통해 다중의 하위 개념을 가진 포괄적인 용어인 동시에, 정의가 분명하게 규정되지 않는 지속가능한 발전교육을 맥락에 따라 하나의 대표적인 의미로 표현될 수 있는 개념으로 해석하였다. 그리고 번스타인의 '페다고지화 된 사회'(Totally

Pedagogising Society)의 개념을 바탕으로 지난 20년간 일본에서 일어난 교육개혁을 살펴보고 일본 사회에서 우선시되는 교육 가치와 특질은 무 엇인지 분석하였다. 마지막으로 이 두 가지를 바탕으로 지속가능한 발전 교육이 일본의 교육적 맥락에서 교육모델로 발전하는 과정을 번스타인의 '페다고지화 장치(pedagogic device)'를 적용하여 논의하였다. 이러한 분석을 통해 본 연구는 다음과 같은 네 가지 주요 분석결과를 도출하였 다. 1) 정책문서 전반에 지속가능한 발전교육을 표현하는 개념적 요소는 많이 나타나지 않았다. 또한, 분석을 통해 '교육의 도구적 역할에 중점 을 둔 발전성을 위한 교육'유형의 표현이 ESD의 목적을 정의하는 부분 에서 강하게 나타나는 규칙성을 발견하였다. 정책문서 분석과 인터뷰 모 두 일본이 지속가능한 발전교육 10년을 제창하고 실천을 주도하는 데 큰 역할을 했음에도 불구하고, 일본의 국가교육에 대한 지속가능한 발전교 육의 영향은 미미했음을 보여주었다. 2) 정책문서에서 나타나는 정형화 된 지속가능한 발전교육의 표현 양상은 지속가능한 발전교육 10년이 환 경교육에 대한 지속적이고 추가적인 지원에 타당성을 부여했으나, 환경 교육을 제외한 다른 하위개념들의 성장에 대한 관심은 상대적으로 저하 되었음을 보여주었다. 3) 일본 내의 미미한 영향에도 불구하고 일본의 지속가능한 발전교육 10년을 주도하려는 노력은 결과적으로 지속가능한 발전교육을 학교와 사회에서 적용 가능한 교육모델로 발전시키는데 기여 하였다. 일본의 교육적 환경은 지식경제사회에 대한 담론이 팽배하여 이 로 인해 지속가능한 발전교육이 인적자본개발을 위한 여러 가지 국제적 교육 흐름 중 하나로 표현되는 결과를 가져왔다. 또한, 이는 PISA와 DeSeCo 같은 국제평가 기준과 결부되어 표현되는 양상을 보였다. 4) 지 속가능한 발전교육을 증진하기 위해 구성된 일본 내 부처들의 권력 관계 속에서 선택되고 주목받은 표현양식은 다시 유네스코와 같은 국제기구와 교류 활동을 통해 국내외로 재확산되었다.

사례를 통해 본 논문은 포괄적이고 다의적이며, 그로 인해 의미와 역할이 불안정한 글로벌교육의제가 사회의 교육에 대한 지배적 담론과 결부되어 변형되어 가는 양상을 보여준다. 학력 향상을 위한 교육모델이라는 지속가능한 발전교육의 변형된 양상은 일본의 사회, 정치 그리고 경제적상황이 만들어 낸 지식경제와 인적자본개발이라는 교육의 가치에 지속가능한 발전교육이 흡수되며 나타난 재맥락화과정의 결과라고 논의된다. 또한, 이 재맥락화는 일본 사회가 선택한 교육의 효용 가치와 일본의 유엔지속가능한 발전교육의 증진에 주도적 역할에 대한 열망이 재맥락화과정에 반영되었기 때문인 것으로 해석된다. 글로벌교육의제의 교육 모델화는 의제 그 자체보다 더 쉽게 교육정책과 실제에 접근할 수 있으며,더 많이 적용될수록 중요성이 증가하게 된다. 이런 이유에서 일본에 의한 지속가능한 발전교육의 학력을 위한 교육모델화는 왜곡된 형태의 변형이 아니라 글로벌교육의제에서 교육지식으로의 '진화'라고 정의할수 있다.

본 논문은 국제기구와 핵심 국가의 협력적 관계 사이에서 구성되는 지식의 생산과 분배의 메커니즘 속에서 글로벌교육의제의 역할과 의미는 무엇인가에 대한 깊이 있는 관찰과 논의가 더욱 필요하다고 역설한다. 세계화 속에 초국가적 기구의 국가교육에 대한 영향력은 점점 커지고 있다. 그러나 국가는 이런 영향을 제한하거나 변형시킬 수 있으며, 국가의 교육관심사와 사회의 팽배한 관념에 따라 글로벌교육의제는 본래의 의미와 상관없이 다른 형태로 진화할 수 있음을 본 연구는 증명하고 있다. 이는 글로벌교육의제가 본래의 의미대로 발전하기 위해 갈등과 저항의 과정은 당연히 필요한 것이며, 다양한 이해관계자 사이의 수평적이고 평등한 관계가 형성되어야 함을 보여준다.

본 논문은 기존의 학술연구에서 체계적으로 다뤄지지 않았던 글로벌교육의제의 재맥락화 현상을 살펴봄으로써 교육에 미치는 글로벌교육의제의효과에 대한 깊이 있는 논의를 제공한다. 또한, 다의적이고 포괄적인 의미를 지닌 글로벌교육의제를 빈 상징 기표로 개념화하고 페다고지 장치를 이용한 구조로 분석함으로써, 글로벌교육의제에 관한 연구에 적용가능한 새로운 방식의 연구 접근법을 제시하고 있다. 이를 통해 본 연구는이론, 정책 그리고 실제의 측면에 기여할 수 있는 글로벌교육의제에 관한 연구의 기반을 제공하며, 빈 상징 기표 (empty signifier)의 개념적 논리를 기반으로 한 글로벌교육의제의 확장성 및 다변성에 관한 연구와 글로벌교육의제의 영향에 대한 분석 틀로서 좀 더 정교하고 확대된 페다고지화 장치의 적용 가능성과 한계에 관한 이론적 논의를 후속 연구로 제안한다.

주제어: 페다고지화 된 사회, 페다고지 장치, 빈 상징 기표, 글로벌 의제, 일본, 지속가능한 발전교육, 교육 개혁, 지식경제, 변형

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