

The classroom as a reflection of a democratic society: The importance of teaching controversial issues in Japan

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Abstract

“A commitment to discussion and an honoring of the democratic experience are inseparable.” Brookfield and Preskill (1999)

In the current era of *globalization*, the importance of teaching controversial issues to young learners must not be underestimated. This paper offers a personal insight into why I believe that it is essential that controversial issues, often overlooked or sanitized during formal education in Japanese junior and high schools, be actively taught through rational debate and discussion in Japan, and why non-native Japanese university teachers of English are in possibly the best position to do this.

“She was a fanatic, a fundamentalist, and a fraud.”
Hitchens, 1995.

Few would equate this description with Anjezë Gonxhe Bojaxhiu, *the Saint Of the Gutters, the Blessed Teresa of Calcutta*, otherwise known to most of us simply as *Mother Teresa*. Perhaps only the late and much lamented iconoclast Christopher Hitchens would be so bold as to publicly describe the universally-adored Nobel Peace Prize laureate of 1979 in such a derisive way. But Hitchens substantiates this outrageous portrayal of the since beatified Macedonian nun with countless instances of the fanaticism, fundamentalism and deceit that surrounded her during her lifetime in his 1995 exposé, *The Missionary Position: Mother Teresa in Theory and Practice*. In an article in *Slate*, Hitchens maintains that,

“*MT was not a friend of the poor. She was a friend of poverty. She said that suffering was a gift from God. She spent her life opposing the only known cure for poverty, which is the empowerment of women and the emancipation of them from a livestock version of compulsory reproduction.*” (Christopher Hitchens, *Slate*, October, 2003)

In 2013, I conducted a simple survey with a group of 98 second and third-year Japanese students at a university in Tokyo (please refer to the appendix for a complete list of results of the ‘Mother Teresa experiment’).

The goal of the task was to establish to what extent the Mother Teresa phenomenon was known to these young, impressionable soon-to-be 社会人 (‘working members of society’). In retrospect, I feel obliged to confess that there was a slight element of mischievousness in my experiment. Yes, I wanted to *expose* the ignorance-or to put it more politely, the genuine naivety-of my young Japanese university students! My ulterior motive though was far from malicious. The truth is, in 2010, I had conducted a similar survey while investigating the rationales for the creation of an English language program I later implemented and came to call *Internet English*-I explained in detail the underlying principles of the course in an earlier paper (Lia, March, 2010). This time, my aim was to establish if anything had changed over the last few years with the current crop of university students well-embedded in the internet culture of SNSs, Wikipedia, Google and TED talks. Somewhat surprisingly, I found a remarkable similarity between both sets of results. Keeping in mind the aim of my little experiment, I must say the results of the most recent survey proved almost ‘too good to be true’.

To the question, *What was her job?*, 56 of the students replied that Mother Teresa was a nurse or a doctor. In response to

the questions, *What did she do in her lifetime?* and *Why is she so well-known?*, while 43 of the students replied that she had 'saved', 'rescued' or 'helped' the sick and the poor, 17 answered, *She did volunteer work/She built an orphanage/helped poor children*, while another 15 believed, *She helped people who were injured in the war/dispute in India/civil war/in a battlefield*. This last statistic together with that of the 56 students who thought Mother Teresa was a medical practitioner of some kind leads me to suggest that many of the students were in fact confusing the Macedonian nun with the British nurse of the Crimean War, Florence Nightingale. It is difficult to understand the confusion since these two women were from different ages and had absolutely nothing in common, except, curiously, the year 1910; Mother Teresa's year of birth and the year in which Florence Nightingale died.

No respondent guessed the nationality of Mother Teresa correctly, with 26 'don't know's, 18 saying she was Indian and 9 students suggesting she was from the United States. These findings add weight to my suspicions that despite (or perhaps as a consequence of) the numerous stories about Mother Teresa in Japanese publications, including some Japanese school text books, high school graduates remain oblivious, not only to the controversies and discrepancies concerning Mother Teresa, but even to the sheer audacity of such accusations. Indeed of the several English textbooks approved by 文部科学省 (the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology), *Sunshine English Course* (開隆堂出版: 2006), a textbook used in 2012 in 20% of junior high schools in Japan, devotes an entire unit to the 'charity works' of Mother Teresa shedding no light on any controversy whatsoever surrounding her life and what Hitchens would frequently refer to as her 'cult of death'. Instead it offers a safe and sanitized version of her life. The unit in *Sunshine* is entitled, *With Love and with Joy*. It is divided into three sections; *What kind of charity work did Mother Teresa begin?*, *Mother Teresa's charity works spread more and more*, and *Mother Teresa an organization for her charity works*. The junior high school students studying the text and most probably many of the teachers robotically preaching the virtues of the Mother Teresa phenomenon knew little, if anything, of the controversies surrounding her dubious associations and the millions of dollars in donated funds that mysteriously 'disappeared'. Hitchens asks pointedly,

"...she was a friend to the worst of the rich, taking misappropriated money from the atrocious Duvalier family in Haiti (whose rule she praised in return) and from Charles Keating of the Lincoln Savings and Loan. Where did that money, and all the other donations, go? The primitive hospice in Calcutta was as run down when she died as it always had been...". (Ibid.)

Hitchens persists with further accusations against Mother Teresa and the Pope and the church he represents-the Catholic church was Mother Teresa's principle 'publicist' and sponsor and beatified her in an unprecedented fast-track beatification process. He goes on to say,

"Many more people are poor and sick because of the life of MT: Even more will be poor and sick if her example is followed. She was a fanatic, a fundamentalist, and a fraud, and a church that officially protects those who violate the innocent has given us another clear sign of where it truly stands on moral and ethical questions." (Ibid.)

Introduction

The aim of this short paper is to offer a personal insight into why I believe that controversial issues often overlooked or sanitized for a more palatable consumption during formal education in Japanese junior high and high schools, should be taught at universities in Japan, and why non-native Japanese university teachers of English are in possibly the best position to do this.

I shall begin by pointing out why the teaching of controversial issues falls within the purview of teachers and should not simply be left to the discretion of the parents. I shall then look in detail at some of the more important considerations for the teaching of controversial issues to Japanese university students and consider the major obstacles that might present themselves when doing so.

I shall conclude with a brief look at the importance of discussion in the classroom as a reflection of a democratic society.

Bursting the Bubble - The sharing of diverse cultural experiences

Unaware of Hitchens' fearsome debunking of the Mother Teresa myth and his vitriolic attack on the Catholic church, Japanese high school students move blithely on to further education with their saintly perception of the cherished nun firmly intact.

Every April, as I look at the innocent and impressionable young faces of my new charges, I often find myself asking an awkward question; As an English teacher at a Japanese university, would it be right (or prudent) of me to shatter my students' illusions by revealing to them some hard truths about the things they had been taught in high school? What gives *me* the right to burst the carefully inflated bubble that protects these children (if indeed we can still refer to them as *children*) from the harsh truths and realities that life flings at them, particularly when they are not *my* children? Aren't such things better left to the discretion of the parents? I believe this is a genuine dilemma that faces all educators in this age of globalization. This may be especially true for foreign teachers working in Japanese educational institutions; Is the onus on us to share our diverse cultural experiences and knowledge with our young and naive Japanese learners? If so, in what way and to what extent should this be done? Is it really 'our job' to teach our schoolchildren and university students to consider complex social and political issues (not to mention numerous other crucial global issues) from a variety of perspectives, the way *we* were taught to do in school and at university? After all, isn't this why we are here?⁽¹⁾

The children are listening! – When is it the right age to introduce controversial issues in the classroom?

Arguably, at the root of the dilemma is the question; If it is right to teach controversial issues in the classroom, from what age should it be done? Scruton and Ellis-Jones (1985) maintain that children under the age of 16 ought not to be exposed to controversial social issues and political controversies in the classroom. One of the main reasons for this is the genuine concern that pupils would in fact be indoctrinated by biased teachers. Supple (1991) points out that youngsters are more easily 'receptive to antiracist initiatives at a young age, as their views are not yet fully formed' (in Cowans and Maitles, 2012). However, the view that young learners are ill-equipped to discuss and debate complex, controversial social and political issues has been widely challenged in recent years. Cowan and Maitles (2012) argue that young children, exposed to such issues on a daily basis through the media and on the internet are not only keen to discuss and understand these issues, but are possibly in the best position to do so. They point out that, "...these type of issues can be better discussed by younger students in primary schools, as they have both the space in the curriculum and the disposition to discuss them." Indeed, there are those who advocate the introduction of 'elements of political and citizenship understanding' (Ibid. p. 2) at the early age of 5-a view most often opposed to by teachers and parents as well as some politicians. However, despite the ongoing debate about the age from which young learners should be exposed to the teaching of controversial issues in the classroom, Cowan and Maitles suggest that the more significant argument, "...may not be the ascertainment of the right age to teach and/or learn these types of issues, but the methodology that is used." (Ibid.)

What's in it for the kids? – Key rationales for teaching controversial issues

In response to those critics who believe in shielding our young learners from the 'dangerous consequences' of discussing controversial issues in the classroom, Humes (2012) claims,

"The disputed nature of the territory makes it all the more essential to present challenging material in order to encourage young people to engage constructively with the complexities of the modern world."

Hess (2009) concurs and adds that discussion of such issues is, "...a key aspect of democratic education."

The pertinence of Humes's observation becomes apparent when we consider how young people 'accumulate' knowledge and information in the current age of Wikipedia, Google and TED. In a recent critique of TED in The Guardian, Benjamin

Bratton decries the ‘dumbing down’ of the issues presented in the ubiquitous talks. He writes, “*TED of course stands for Technology, Entertainment, Design...I Think TED actually stands for: middlebrow megachurch infotainment.*” His main criticism of the talks is that they provide “*a vicarious insight, a fleeting moment of wonder, an inkling that maybe it’s all going to work out after all...a spiritual buzz.*” Bratton hits the nail squarely on the head with his observation on the limitations of the ‘sound bites’ and ‘personal stories of inspiration’ found in some TED talks when he says,

“Problems are not “puzzles” to be solved. That metaphor assumes that all the necessary pieces are already on the table, they just need to be rearranged and reprogrammed. It’s not true.” -Benjamin Bratton, The Guardian, Monday 30 December 2013.

However, in response to Bratton’s scathing attack on TED, Chris Anderson, also of The Guardian points out that,

“The critics pushing the oversimplification argument seem to believe that if only people weren’t wasting their time on silly TED talks, they’d be reading books, taking evening classes, poring over scientific papers, or at the very least subscribing to the critic’s uniquely brilliant blog. Alas, I suspect that assumption is false.” -Chris Anderson, The Guardian, Wednesday 8 January 2014

It is at this point of the debate that we as responsible educators, need to use our position and influence to not simply ‘teach’ the facts of controversial issues, but enable our students to look at these issues more deeply and from a variety of perspectives. Also, it is essential that young learners not only research and digest facts, but that they learn how to evaluate them and in time learn how to respond to them. Hess (2009) elaborates on this point when explaining that one of the aims of an educator teaching controversial issues to young learners is, “*...an overarching one...for them (the students) to have opinions on issues and be able to state them, defend them and know how to do it.*” The importance of discussion of controversial issues in the classroom should not be underestimated, nor should the democratic freedom that allows us to participate in it. Far from being a ‘novelty’ or a ‘diversion’ from what some parents and even teachers might call ‘real learning’, as Hess points out, “*...discussion is not only a way to learn, but is also a skill to be learned. It cultivates skills and habits and a deeper understanding of public issues.*” Hess goes on to list several of the beneficial consequences of controversial political debate and discussion. Claiming that such discussions,

“...facilitate students’ understanding of and commitment to democratic values, such as tolerance, equality and diversity,⁽²⁾ increase their comfort with the nature and ubiquity of conflict existing in the world,⁽³⁾ advance their interest in engaging in public life,⁽⁴⁾ teach them how to break down historic divides and, in turn, forge bonds between social groups in a community or nation where people are markedly different from one another⁽⁵⁾”. (Ibid.)

So what’s stopping you? – Some considerations when embarking on the teaching of controversial issues

In this section, I will take a look at some of the potential obstacles specifically related to introducing and teaching controversial issues in English at a Japanese university. This list of considerations is in no way exhaustive, but based on my personal experience of teaching at Japanese universities for 15 years. For the purpose of clarity, each point is preceded by a short title.

- An embarrassed silence

Any foreign teacher with experience of teaching English in Japan will find that blood indeed cannot be drawn from a stone. Perhaps the greatest challenge facing native-English teachers in Japan is not so much in getting Japanese students to discuss and debate serious, controversial global issues, but in getting them to speak about anything remotely ‘important’ in the first

place.

It may sound bigoted to suggest that the majority of English language university students in Japan would prefer to hold a debate on which of the Disneys (*world* or *land*) would constitute a more fun day out than, say, a debate on the legalization of marijuana, on same-sex marriage, abortion, or the banning of the burqa in public places. However, bigotry is not the driving force behind my assertion. The former debate would be more favorable to Japanese students simply because it would be 'easier'. Language limitations aside, the former debate would go down better because the Disney experience is something tangible in the lives of most young Japanese. Of course, it would be a mistake to suggest that Japanese teenagers are unaware of global controversies and unpalatable issues such as war, genocide, rape and suicide bombings. Indeed, television, newspapers and the internet are awash with detailed accounts of such atrocities committed daily, worldwide. But it is precisely this desensitization of controversy that needs to be addressed especially as high school students move on to university and embark on their four-year journey of discovery.

I recently asked three questions to a group of 15 Japanese third-year English language seminar students. The first was if they had been to Tokyo Disney Resort on more than one occasion. The second question was if they had ever knowingly met or spoken with an openly homosexual person and the third was if they had ever had any experience with marijuana. In response to the first question, all 15 hands were raised without hesitation. In response to the second, three students raised their hands (interestingly, two of the three had recently returned from an overseas study trip) while several others looked around quizzically. "Homosexual?", I heard some students mutter. As for the third, no hands were raised and an embarrassed silence was punctuated only by nervous stares and giggles of incredulity that the question might have been asked in the first place, and moreover, by a university teacher. It was clear that on the one hand, the Disney experience was more real and relevant to the students' lives than any experience of engaging with a member of the gay community and certainly to that of rolling a spliff! This certainly would not be the case at a university in, say, London, Milan or San Francisco-quite the contrary, I would think.

Such a simple classroom activity can prove extremely useful. Opening students' minds to what is really important in the world is only the first step in helping youngsters become 'global citizens'. Once aware of their limited knowledge and lack of experience in certain spheres, it is quite surprising to see how quickly and suddenly they acquire the taste to know more.

- Neither educational nor relevant: the causes of unexpected tensions

Andrew M. A. Allen (2011) suggests that,

"...introducing and raising, or taking up controversial issues with students may cause unexpected tensions in their classroom because of the potential conflicting views or perspectives with students and other school personnel."

Let me take the issue of the decriminalization and legalization of marijuana as an example of a controversial issue that can indeed cause tension among fellow school and university personnel. As Colorado enjoyed its first day of sales of legal medical marijuana on January 1, 2014 and following the recent decision by its government to make Uruguay the first country to openly legalize the sale and consumption of marijuana in April of the same year, it is clear that rational debate on the viability of legalising soft drugs has been ongoing for some time in the aforementioned parts of the world. Can we then as educators not introduce the debate into a Japanese university classroom? The truth of the matter is that the stigma attached to the prosecution for the possession of even a tiny amount of marijuana in Japan (which can result in social ostracism, a failed career or even a jail term) renders such a debate undesirable to say the least. Indeed, every year, at a number of Japanese universities the teachers are instructed to show what I would describe politely as a somewhat alarmist film outlining the 'dangers' of marijuana in order to 'educate' senior students. One teacher at my university refused to comply on the basis that similar measures were not taken to educate our students about what he perceived as the far greater dangers of tobacco and alcohol consumption and addiction and that it was therefore hypocritical. Also, he complained about the biased and misleading content

in the film which he considers to be out of date and neither educational nor relevant, except to simply point out the obvious—that it is illegal to produce, possess and consume marijuana in Japan and the consequences of breaking the law can be severe. However, without wishing to create waves being fully aware that ‘it’s more than his job’s worth’, the teacher in question withdrew his complaint though conveniently ‘forgot’ to show the tape to his students and has continued to do so for the last few years. But the tension persists. This is the same teacher that holds an open debate on the issues of the decriminalization and legalisation of drugs with his seminar students year after year.

- You can’t say that!

Because of its homogenous makeup, the tensions between students inside a Japanese university classroom tend to be relatively rare in comparison with the more heterogeneous nature of university classrooms around the world. However, disagreements and disputes can and do occur and are most often between students who have never travelled overseas and those who have lived abroad and have received some education outside Japan (so-called ‘returnees’). One consequence of this is that many Japanese university students tend not to be experienced debaters. As a result, they can often inadvertently insult their debate opponents with improper use of language or hopelessly inadequate generalizations. Over the years I have made notes of some such language used in my seminar classes. Here I have listed just a small random selection.

“There’s no discrimination in Japan.”

“Homosexuality is unnatural so many people cannot understand it.”

“Black people are different.”

“There aren’t any gay people in Japan.”

“Religious people are crazy.”

“Japanese are different from foreigners.”

“In Japan, men and women are equal.”

“The Japanese work harder than people from other countries.”

“All killers should face the death penalty. They should pay for their crime.”

“All religions and beliefs however different from our own should be respected.”

“A person who kills must be killed. It’s fair.”

The teacher’s decision on how to react to comments of this nature depends on a number of factors such as the context of the utterance; the way it is delivered, by whom and how frequently. From my experience of working with Japanese university students, I have found that a conciliatory approach (rather than admonishment) usually pays off. In short, we need to educate our students in debate and discussion protocol, something most of them are not familiar with and particularly so when using a foreign language. This policy of appeasement does not always go down well with all the students, let alone the teachers. However, once most students become aware of the dos and the don’ts of rational discussion and debate, they rarely make the same mistakes again.

- Opening a can of worms

Controversial issues introduced in the relative privacy of the classroom may well raise questions about the actual program and institution in which the students find themselves enrolled, particularly when such issues force students to question the ideology of the program and the moral and educational principles of the program developers and administrators. This can create a dilemma and some anxiety for the course instructor in terms of whose side he or she should be on depending on his or her personal views and moral principles.

An example of this came to light in my own seminar class in which we discussed matriculation procedures at universities around the world. My students discovered the inflexibility of course enrollment regulations in Japanese universities (including

my own!) compared with those in America and many parts of Europe. Further research and discussion of other very diverse issues raised even more controversial questions. For example, the awarding of scholarships and prizes based entirely on a student's academic record, not taking into account the hardships and unfortunate circumstances that prompted the student to seek the scholarship in the first place. Also, the direct manipulation of student grades by administrators, often overriding instructors, as a result of a perceived extra-curricular indiscretion (the precise details of which are often down to rumour and hearsay or misunderstanding). And, finally, the curious political machinations of an institution when bestowing promotions on its staff members, based usually on seniority and compliance through the years, whilst ignoring genuine candidates for promotion based on their political dalliances and personal ethics. The main problem for the teacher here is in deciding which role in the discussion to assume. 'To disclose or not to disclose' is a problem all educators need to address when teaching controversial issues. Hess (2009) suggests that, "*Rather than thinking of teachers as either "disclosers" or "non-disclosers," it is more accurate to think of teacher disclosure along a continuum.*" The various roles a teacher assumes along the continuum depends on a number of factors, not least the socioeconomic status of the students. The lower SES background, the more students "*...misinterpret what they see in the classroom.*" (Ibid.) Hess argues that such students often mistake the teacher's role of devil's advocate as genuine disclosure and are also apt to misunderstand humour or misinterpret inflections and pauses in the teacher's speech.

- Painful introspection ultimately pays off

Especially for teachers unaccustomed to the task of introducing controversial issues to Japanese university students in English, according to Jakubowski & Visano, 2002 (in Allen, 2011), the development and implementation of a programme of this type "*...requires painful introspection" and course developers are required to "...question their power as teachers and their social position in society and (this) may precipitate a sense of vulnerability.*"

Jakubowski & Visano were in fact referring to teacher candidates (would be trainee teachers), but I believe these sentiments apply equally to even experienced teachers embarking for the first time on the teaching of controversial issues in Japan. Integrating the teaching of English language within a content-based curriculum at a Japanese university in accordance with one's own principles and ethics (not to mention political affiliations and religious beliefs etc.) can create genuine difficulties.

By its very nature, the teaching of controversial issues requires a multidisciplinary approach to discussion in the classroom. This can be quite disconcerting to many teachers who may excel in a particular area of specialization but feel they do not possess the skills nor the qualifications to 'stray' into other disciplines. Furthermore, some teachers feel that they do not possess the necessary skills to control or direct spontaneous and open-ended discussions (Cowan and Maitles-2012), particularly at university level. Teachers must work to overcome these fears of inadequacy if they are to be successful in creating an effective programme for the teaching of controversial issues.

Based on my own experience, I find it prudent to first create a loose and flexible framework and then allow the course to develop 'naturally' within it. When this approach works, it seems to 'liberate' young Japanese learners. Once given the opportunity to share their own personal perspectives on global issues and a forum in which to do so with no form of censorship, where nothing is taboo, they quickly acquire the taste for free thought, serious discussion and debate. Once this state of affairs has been attained, the course begins to develop its own momentum and with careful nurturing has the potential to develop into one of the most illuminating and meaningful learning experiences of the university student's life. As fanciful as these words may sound, they are based on a number of years of experience and feedback from many grateful students who have since gone on to pursue successful careers as upstanding 'members of society' in various fields such as education, publishing, international business, translating and interpreting and aviation.

Conclusion - A democratic way of life

According to Humes (2012), “The teaching of controversial issues presupposes commitment to a set of fundamental values and principles essential to a democratic way of life.” Critics find a disconnect between actual classroom discussion and the real world and suggest that discussion as a form of teaching is a ‘gimmick’ and classroom time is better spent ‘learning real things’. However, Brookfield and Preskill (1999) claim that, “...a commitment to discussion and an honoring of the democratic experience are inseparable.” They go on to add,

“...the respectable engagement with others that lies at the heart of discussion encapsulates a form of living and association that we regard as a model for civil society that has undeniable political implications.” (Ibid.)

There can be little doubt that the teaching of controversial issues constitutes an essential part of a young person’s education. Notwithstanding the controversies surrounding the age at which controversial issues should be introduced to our youngsters, certainly by university age students should be well and truly immersed in the democratic process of rational and fair debate on any issue with nothing considered taboo.

In the more conservative and homogenous environment of the Japanese education system, a number of obstacles persist. High school graduates insulated by sanitized school text books arrive at university with little knowledge of the controversial issues that surround them in today’s world. More pertinently, they are blissfully unaware that it is in their interests to *become* aware in order that they might graduate from university and become responsible and knowledgeable citizens.

Amongst the many obstacles facing teachers teaching controversial issues at Japanese universities, the reluctance of young Japanese to engage in controversial debate is perhaps the most difficult to address. Furthermore, once this hurdle has been cleared, many others appear. These, as we have seen include; discussion leading to unexpected tensions either inside the classroom or among school personnel, the necessity to teach the basics of debate and discussion protocol to young learners with little or no experience of serious debate, the dangers in uncovering related, often unpalatable truths that arise from discussion of controversial issues and the common feeling of inadequacy teachers may feel when engaging in a multidisciplinary curriculum.

Despite these difficulties, for the learner the benefits of the discussion of controversial issues in the classroom far outweigh the disadvantages to the teacher; Students learn to understand democracy and democratic principles, they learn important values such as tolerance, equality and diversity, they come to understand and appreciate the differences between peoples and communities and many are inspired to engage in charity work and in public life.

Brookfield and Preskill (1999) summarize this final point accurately, with reference to the importance of perspective and introspection when they refer to discussion as, “...a way of talking that *emphasises the inclusion of the widest variety of perspectives and a self-critical willingness to change what we believe if convinced by the arguments of others.*” They go on to describe succinctly the complex processes involved in democratic discussion and debate and the importance of *grasping the nettle*, of seizing the discussion from the instigator (the teacher) and making it their own,

“Taking discussion seriously moves the center of power away from the teacher and places it in continuously shifting ways among group members. It parallels how we think a democratic system should work in the wider society. In this sense, classroom discussions always have a democratic dimension.” (Ibid.)

Appendix: The Mother Teresa experiment

In 2013, 98 freshmen at a university in Tokyo, Japan, were asked three questions about Mother Teresa. The student responses are listed in the table below.

<i>What did she do? What was her job?</i>		<i>Where was she from?</i>		<i>What did she do in her lifetime? Why is she so well-known?</i>	
nurse/doctor	56	don' t know	26	She helped/saved poor people	43
nun or sister	24	India	18	She did volunteer work/She built an orphanage/helped poor children	17
don't know	12	USA	9	She helped people who were injured in the war/dispute in India/civil war/in a battlefield	15
teacher	3	Italy	8	She cured people/as a doctor/helped people from illness/took care of patients	13
volunteer worker	1	Australia	6	She took care of people's hearts and comforted people about dying	6
fortune teller	1	France	5	She helped rich and poor people	1
carer of children	1	Pakistan	5	She helped poor people and cured them for free	1
		Middle East	5	She taught people about Christ and to pray	1
		UK	4	She taught children English	1
		Indonesia	4		
		Israel	3		
		Arabia	2		
		Switzerland	1		
		Hungary	1		
		Yugoslavia	1		
<i>Total</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>51</i>

Notes

- (1) The issue of the rationale for the employment of foreign teachers in Japan is an intriguing topic worthy of deeper research and discussion, though it is beyond the scope of this paper.
- (2) Lockwood & Harris, 1985
- (3) Hibbling & Theis-Morse, 2002
- (4) Zukin et al, 2006
- (5) McCully, 2006
- (6) Here I was careful not to allow anything to get lost in translation and explained that I was referring to 大麻, (or 'taima')-cannabis in Japanese.

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