Socio-Cultural Features of ICT Practice at Primary Schools: From Teachers' Perceptions about UK and Japanese ICT Use

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The purpose of this study is to clarify the features of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) utilization in Japanese primary schools by comparison with ICT practices in UK primary schools from socio-cultural viewpoints. The authors collected data from five Japanese researchers, who have studied ICT utilization of primary schools in the UK, through a structured interview including three questions; (1) "What do you see at primary schools in the UK?" (2) "Have you ever seen similar practices in Japan? If so, what?" and (3) "Do you think Japanese primary teachers have similar practices in their lessons? If so, why?" The data was analyzed in four phases based on the qualitative research method. First, the transcript was reduced to information relevant to the research questions. Second, the data was open coded. Third, the coded data was categorized. In conclusion, the features of ICT utilization in Japanese primary schools were explained relative to categories from socio-cultural viewpoints. As a result, six socio-cultural features were found: (a) ICT equipment available at schools, (b) digital content that fits conventional class format, (c) staff that support teachers using ICT, (d) class format mainly on conventional individual guidance, (e) the process of constructing meaningful use of ICT and (f) actual feeling of efficiency of using ICT.

Keywords: ICT, Socio-Cultural viewpoint, Primary School, Teachers' perceptions, UK and Japan

Research Backgrounds and Research Objective

The purpose of this research was to explore from cultural and social aspects how primary teachers use Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Since ICT, such as computers connected with the Internet, interactive white boards, digital textbooks, and mobile devices like iPads, have been rapidly introduced into primary schools, teachers have been seeking information on how to use ICT in teaching and learning processes. In Japan, projects that provide one computer for each student at schools fall under the policy named "Future Schools (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2014)" and "Learning Innovation (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2014)".

The ways in which digital learning tasks contribute to students' intrinsic motivation and learning outcomes have been examined (Van Loon, Anje, & Rob, 2013). Loon et al. showed that a digital learning task that combines autonomy support and structure had a positive effect on both the intrinsic motivation and learning outcomes in students. Also, Alexander, Bradley, Cody, and David (2013) examined the effect that a relatively new Computer Supported Collaborative Learning (CSCL) device, specifically an interactive tabletop, has on elementary students' attitudes toward collaborative technologies, mathematical achievement, and the gender gap in mathematics.

Thus, prior reviews show positive results of ICT utilization in an educational setting. It is, however, clear that these positive results are strongly related to socio-cultural aspects of the classroom. Prior reviews on educational change often stress the importance of cultural, institutional, and interpersonal factors that operate to constrain the reform process (Forman, Minick, & Stone, 1993). In addition, since competence arises from the collaboration between person and context (Fischer, Rotenberg, Bullock, & Raya, 1993), including the school system's construction and national system (Lave, 1996), social-cultural contexts have been closely examined to determine the practices in relation to certain streams of cross-cultural research (Cole, 1988). On the other hand, research on the educational uses of technology frequently overemphasizes the influence of technology (Oliver, 2011) as previously mentioned.

Therefore, the study of ICT in education must be examined within the broader context in which it is situated from a sociocultural approach (Valsiner, 2007). Prior reviews of ICT utilization in education tend to have the view that ICT

can be studied in isolation. Even if we use the same tool that was effective in a certain context, it does not always have the same result in another context. For example, Miyake, Kishi, Kubota, and Dong (2013) introduced "thinking tools" as an ICT tool for promoting higher order thinking to Chinese teachers, but it was found that the goal, process and assessment of the lesson using thinking tools at Chinese schools were different from those at Japanese ones. Chinese teachers used the thinking tools according to their context. Therefore, the lessons must be understood as cultural phenomena. To clarify how ICT is used, we must shift our attention towards the whole configuration of practice including the rules, interpersonal relationships, activities, and shared repertoires that are taking place in the context in which ICT is used.

Research Methodology

The purpose of the research is to clarify the socio-cultural features of Japanese primary schools in which ICT is used. Teachers in primary schools in Japan and also in other countries are trying to employ ICT. To describe the socio-cultural features of ICT use, the authors compare it with practices in primary schools in the UK. Comparing different cultures is one method to clarify the features of a culture. This method can reveal patterns of the culture of human perception, learning, and development and the rhetoric that patterns must be true for people in the culture.

Data Collection

This research adopts an interpretive approach, in which we understand the actions, thoughts, and feelings of those who live in certain situations (McEwan & Kieren, 1995). The features were clarified based on the story told by five researchers who study ICT utilization in primary schools in Japan. The authors consider them as belonging to the same cultural group (Berry, Poortinga, & Breugelmans, 2011) because of the following two reasons; (1) that they regularly visit primary schools in Japan and (2) that they visited UK primary schools several times as shown in table 1. Therefore, it is possible to describe how ICT is used in UK primary schools from their cultural perspective.

The data was collected through a semi-structured interview that included the questions (1)What do you find in UK Primary schools you have visited? (2)

Have you seen similar practices you saw in UK primary school in Japan? and (3) Do you think Japanese teachers can apply the similar practices in their lesson in Japan? Why? The first question is to clarify Japanese educational experts' perceptions about ICT use at UK schools. The second one is to discover the differences between UK and Japanese ICT use at schools. The third one is to identify socio-cultural features based on the differences relating with second question. The interviews were conducted allowing new ideas to be proposed as a result of interactions between the authors and interviewees, focusing on socio-cultural aspects of UK and Japanese schools.

Target	Date of	Interview	Gender	Research Experience of	Experiences of visiting		
	interview	Duration	(Age)	ICT utilization in primary	UK schools		
		(Hours)		schools			
А	4/15	2		Work as a primary school	Traveled 20 times from		
			Μ	teacher from 1983-1993.	2000 to 2012.		
			(53)	Researched from 1993 to	Visited about 60 primary		
				present as a professional.	schools.		
В	4/25	1.5	M (50)	Researched from 1990 as	Traveled 11 times from		
				a professional.	1993 to 2012.		
					Visited 30 primary schools.		
С	4/27	2		Work as a secondary school	Traveled 2 times on 2005		
			Μ	teacher from 1997-2002.	to 2012.		
			(42)	Researched from 2002 to	Visited 8 primary schools.		
				present as a professional.			
			м	Researched from 2002 to	Traveled 21 times from		
D	5/13	1.5	(41)	present as a professional.	2000 to 2012.		
			(41)		Visited 40 primary schools.		
Е	7/11	1	M (50)	Work as a primary school	Traveled 20 times from		
				teacher	2000 to 2012.		
				from 1987-1992.	Visited 30 primary schools.		
				Researched from 1994 to			
				present as a professional.			

Data Analysis

The data was analyzed in four phases. First, the transcript was reduced to information relevant to the research questions. Second, the authors did open coding. The interview data taken through semi-structured interviews were coded into meaningful sentences using MAXqda software (Sato, 2008). Third, the coded data were categorized. In conclusion, the generated categories were

explained as illustrated by the original interview data. For instance, a part of interview data of D "Japanese teachers need exact contents that fit to their lesson plans designed by respective teachers. Although companies provide digital contents that are useful for education, they are not interested in using it unless the contents can be embedded in their lesson plan. On the other hand, UK teachers think of lesson using current digital content. They create lesson based on the contents. Therefore, Japanese teachers perceive themselves as lacking digital contents because they need the exact content that fits their lesson plans." was coded as "lack of contents that exactly fit to lesson plan designed by respective teachers," and that of C "Whatever and wherever UK teachers need digital contents, they can access them easily. Students are also able to use the digital contents according to their need. In Japan, teachers and students use digital contents within limited access from viewpoints of copyright and e-safety" was coded as "limitation of access to digital contents." These codes indicate similar matter so that they were categorized into "Digital contents that fit to conventional class form".

Result and Discussion

As a result of our analysis, six socio-cultural features were identified. Table 2 indicates the numbers of codes generated in open coding. For example, the total numbers of codes generated through analysis of interview data to A was 91, and the number of codes mentioning ICT equipped at schools was 17.

Categories	А	В	С	D	Е
ICT equipment in schools	19%	25%	12%	25%	13%
Digital contents that fit to conventional class form	8%	9%	5%	2%	6%
Staff that support teachers to use ICT	9%	1%	4%	6%	6%
Class form mainly on the conventional individual guidance		4%	7%	27%	25%
The process of constructing meaning of using ICT		33%	35%	16%	30%
Actual feeling of efficiency of using ICT	32%	27%	36%	24%	20%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2. Categories generated by data analysis and the rate of the applicable categories

ICT Equipment at Schools

Japanese primary schools are not equipped with ICT so that teachers can use

it in their daily lessons. There are several reasons for this. First, it takes time to prepare ICT when they use it. For example, using computers for a lesson requires a teacher to receive the key to a computer room from administrative staff and move the students to the computer room. By that time, 10 minutes will have passed since the lesson started. Second, there is insufficient ICT equipment provided for use in a classroom. A teacher often has to share a few projectors and computers with other teachers. Therefore, they are not able to use ICT whenever they need it. Although the national curriculum guidelines indicate when and how to use ICT in lessons, teachers feel that using ICT is inconvenient because of the uncertainty of using ICT equipment when they need to and they feel that it takes too much time to prepare for its use.

On the other hand, UK primary schools have been equipped with ICT under the support of a vast number of budgets. UK teachers are able to use ICT as a teaching aid whenever they need. Needless to say, the reason why UK teachers use ICT daily for their lessons is not only due to well-equipped ICT environments but also due to digital contents that fit the conventional class form, staff that support teachers using ICT, classes formed mainly on conventional individual guidance, the process of constructing meaningful use of ICT, and actual feeling of efficiency of using ICT.

Digital Content that is Tailored to Conventional Class Format

Digital content that fits the conventional class format helped UK primary teachers use ICT. UK primary schools are equipped with digital content as well as ICT equipment. For example, when the UK government equipped UK primary schools with interactive whiteboards, they provided digital content that can be used with the black boards. A teacher downloads digital content in reference to the national curriculum and uses it for their class. Since the contents are developed according to the national curriculum, they fit the conventional class format of "introduction by mass teaching - individual work - conclusion by mass teaching". Also, UK primary schools have budgets to buy digital content that teachers need for their lessons.

Japanese primary teachers find it difficult to use ready-made content. They need digital content that fits their own lesson plan. In Japanese primary schools, class format and lesson plans are quite varied depending on the teacher. Japanese primary teachers make a detailed lesson plan based on a "unit" consisting of several lessons. The teachers first set up the goals of the

unit and then design the details of the lesson plan in each lesson. To achieve the goals of the unit, respective teachers examine how to structure the lesson according to the learning situation of their students. Japanese primary teachers employ mass teaching formats and construct lessons based on their interaction with students. Therefore, it is important for Japanese primary teachers to be able to improvise according to the dynamic learning situation. Ready-made content does not fit such dynamic lessons.

UK primary teachers accumulate and reuse content for the next school year; they take charge of the same grade in the same classroom from year to year. Once they produce digital content, they are able to make use of it again by modifying and adding information. The digital content can be gradually elaborated year by year. In Japan, teachers do not know what grade they will take charge of until the end of each school year; therefore, they have to search for digital content that fits the new grade and students each time at the beginning of the new school year.

Staff that Supports Teachers Using ICT

At UK primary schools, teachers take care of approximately 30 students with the support of multiple staff. Once a principal decides to focus on ICT for education, he/she employs ICT coordinators and/or ICT curriculum coordinators. UK primary teachers use ICT with the support of these staff members. For example, when teachers face any problems using ICT, the ICT coordinators support them to solve the problems. When the teachers do not know how to use ICT related to a subject, an ICT curriculum coordinator will advise and suggest usable digital content. In addition, a teacher often has more than one teaching assistant who is always with him/her during lessons. Therefore, a few teachers with teaching assistants can carefully monitor and support approximately 30 students using ICT for individual learning.

In Japan, one teacher takes care of approximately 40 students. Teachers who are unfamiliar with ICT feel uneasy about using it because technical trouble such as computer breakdown or mishandling may occur. In addition, students are not accustomed to using ICT equipment, so teachers are afraid of students breaking the equipment by mistake. However, there are some schools that encourage teachers to use ICT under the support of strong leadership by the principal, other teachers who are skillful in ICT, and a grant for ICT in education.

Class Format Based Mainly on Conventional Individual Guidance

The way of using ICT is strongly related to the conventional instructional format. In the UK, primary teachers had emphasized individual learning before schools were equipped with ICT; the format did not change even after ICT was introduced. UK primary teachers instruct by mass teaching format, make individual or small groups for individual learning according to the students' academic level and interest and finally, gather students together and conclude the lesson by mass teaching again. The importance in the lesson is placed on individual activity. Teachers provide appropriate tasks and tools to the respective students according to their academic level and interest. For example, the teachers provide the task of movie production using an iPad to upper level students to nurture expressive and creative skills based on their knowledge and experience. Alternatively, they provide practice using paper worksheets to foster understanding of basic knowledge. During individual learning, teachers carefully monitor and support students' learning. Teachers record the details of the learning situation in a portfolio and think of subsequent tasks for students based on these details. Thus, the teachers use ICT as an alternative tool along with books, worksheet, references, drill-practice sheets and so on. Therefore, UK teachers experience no conflict using ICT instead of conventional teaching tools. An Interactive White Board is utilized instead of a white board to give instruction at the beginning of the lesson and to conclude at the end of the lesson. Teachers started using ICT without a big change from the conventional instruction format applied in UK primary schools.

In the case of Japanese primary schools, teachers apply a mass teaching format. The mass teaching format is not only a teacher teaching students and/or constructing students' knowledge based on interaction between the teacher and students and among students themselves, but a teacher providing individual learning activities with the same contents or different activities aiming to achieve the same criteria. Although a teacher gives different learning activities, the goals for all students are the same. In other words, the teachers support all students in achieving the same level simultaneously rather than focusing on individual learning. The important aspect in Japanese primary school is collaborative learning. Therefore, teachers take time to interact with students by asking questions to encourage them to think and collaborate. Teachers usually use ICT to promote interaction between a teacher and students, and among students, by sharing ideas and by visualizing

one's own ideas to share with others.

The difference between UK and Japanese primary teachers relates to the teachers' beliefs. Both UK and Japanese teachers consider "fairness of education" to be important but interpret it differently. UK primary teachers consider it fair for students to be given individual tasks according to their academic level. Therefore, they carefully observe students' learning process and think of the most appropriate task and tools for students. They consider it a better teaching strategy to give advanced tasks to gifted students to enhance their capacity. Therefore, it is normal for UK primary teachers to provide students in the same class with different kinds and levels of tasks. To identify an appropriate task according to students' academic level, the teachers use ICT instead of conventional tools of observing and supporting.

Japanese primary teachers feel it is unfair to give different tasks aiming at different goals. A student works with a drill and practices according to his/her academic level and a teacher gradually provides different tasks on an individual basis. Primary teachers, however, consider it unfair to treat students differently or to assign different tasks based on the students' educational level in the same classroom. When a teacher wants to use an iPad, for example, they want to give opportunities to use the iPad equally to all students. This is happening not only within a classroom but across classrooms.

The Process of Constructing Meaningful Use of ICT

Teachers use different processes to decide to use ICT for their lessons. UK primary teachers use ICT under strong leadership from principals. The principal discusses effective ways of using ICT with the teacher for his/her lesson. UK primary teachers basically have to follow the vision suggested by the principal. The principal in most state schools will be following the detailed expectations of the National Curriculum, National Strategies and National Assessment Frameworks. The system in the UK is much more centralized than in Japan. It is certainly 'top-down' Therefore, once the principal decides to work on ICT utilization in education, all teachers must think of how to apply ICT to their lessons. The principal can employ necessary staff and provide the necessary equipment and digital content because of his/her authority over personnel matters and budget implementation.

Japanese primary schools can be said to use "bottom-up construction". The principal does not have authority over personnel matters and budget implementation like UK principals, so the principal cannot force teachers to use ICT in their lessons. In Japan, the process that teachers use to apply new technology and ideas is basically through "Lesson Study", the same process that is applied to introduce any new teaching practices or tools. Lesson Study is used to promote teachers' collaboration in an effort to improve teaching and learning in schools (Stigler & Hierbert, 1999; Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992). It has traditionally been employed in Japanese educational settings as a teacher professional development program. The teachers share the same objectives, for instance, to apply ICT to improve lessons through Lesson Study. By working with other teachers with different viewpoints and experiences, teachers can think critically and creatively about how to improve their lessons (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). The group of teachers can evolve naturally because of the teachers' common interest in a particular domain or common goal to gain knowledge related to their field. Through interaction with one another in Lesson Study, teachers collaboratively construct meaning for action. They find appropriate ways to use ICT that fit their own lessons. Of course, if the teachers agree that ICT is not effective for their lessons, they reject using it. Since the national curriculum does not force teachers to use ICT, teachers are able to select whether or not to use it.

Actual Feeling of Efficiency of Using ICT

The actual feeling of efficiency of using ICT is different between Japanese and UK primary teachers. Since UK primary schools place ICT as a subject in the national curriculum, skills nurtured by ICT practice such as expression and creativity are evaluated in activities such as cartoon making, music and movie production using ICT. Therefore, ICT can support nurturing such information literacy.

In contrast, the Japanese educational system has no requirement for ICT classes as a formal subject. The Japanese government promotes teachers using ICT relating to a given subject, such a simulation in geography, investigating in science and making stories in Japanese language. Although student enjoy learning with ICT and are motivated to learn the achievement is evaluated conventionally, which cannot evaluate information literacy skills such as expression and creativity.

In spite of this, young teachers who are experienced in using ICT have become primary teachers and use ICT for their lessons. However, they are first required to make lessons using mass teaching format in order to achieve the goals of a teaching unit. The goals of the units are supposed to be achieved through conventional mass teaching format even without using ICT, and cannot be achieved through ICT alone. Of course, some teachers use ICT in effective ways to achieve the educational goal. For instance, the teacher can use an overhead projector to magnify small things in their hand and share individual outcomes of students with others. Most of these practices were conducted in well-equipped ICT environments. With limited equipment and digital content, teachers cannot experience making lessons using ICT, so it then becomes difficult for Japanese primary teachers to have a clear expectation of how to design lessons using ICT.

Conclusion and Future Direction

In this research, the authors clarified the socio-cultural features of Japanese primary schools where ICT is used. By comparing these schools with primary schools in the UK, six socio-historical features that organize lessons utilizing ICT were found. The study indicates that the current situation of ICT utilization in Japanese primary schools is strongly related to political, historical, and cultural aspects. Therefore, it is necessary to consider socio-cultural aspects in order to promote ICT use in Japanese education. For example, since Japanese teachers conventionally apply the mass teaching format, it is important to develop ways to improve this conventional format using ICT as well as innovating new formats.

This research implies that it is important to focus on socio-cultural aspects of the contexts in which ICT is used. The research on the educational uses of technology often overemphasized the impact of technology. This research proposed the questions about the socio-cultural contexts in which technology is used. Prior reviews showing the influences of technology in education are useful for educational researchers and practitioners. However, it is important to pay more attention to the socio-cultural aspect in order to understand under what context the influence of ICT is found.

At the same time, ICT can be a tool for changing and innovating teaching strategies beyond the constraints of the socio-cultural context. If ICT is used

to engage students in active, constructive, intentional, authentic and cooperative learning, then students will derive more meaning from their learning (Jonassen, Howland, Marra, & Carismond, 2007). Some innovative practices are reported beyond the conventional ways. The authors will research on how these teachers overcome such socio-cultural constraints.

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