

**The Discursive Construction of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” English
teacher identities in Japan**

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Faculty of Education
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Declaration

I declare that none of the work contained within this thesis has been submitted for any other degree at any other university. The contents of this thesis have been solely composed by the candidate Luke Lawrence.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Fiona Copland and Dr. Bethan Benwell for their time, support and invaluable guidance. I would also like to express my gratitude to my regular research partner Yuzuko Nagashima for inspiring me to finally take the plunge to attempt a PhD in the first place and for teaching me more about myself as a researcher than I ever could have learned by myself. Big thanks also to Robert Lowe, Daniel Hooper and Marc Jones for lending their collective ears and encouraging me right up to the final moments, and to Zhe (Zoey) Zheng for her support. Finally, thanks to Yoko and Nichika for your patience, this is for you.

Abstract

Over the last several years, teacher identity has become a prominent area of research in the fields of English Language Teaching (ELT) and applied linguistics. One aspect of teacher identity, that of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identity, has become especially prevalent. Building on Phillipson’s (1992) concept of linguistic imperialism, Holliday (2005, 2006) identified an ideology of native-speakerism in the ELT industry that marginalizes those teachers that are seen as being “non-native speakers” of English, whilst at the same time privileging “native speaker” teachers and Western teaching methodologies.

Taking a poststructuralist approach to identity as something that is fluid, unfixed and discursively constructed, this study aims to identify how and by whom “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identities are constructed, and how these constructions are either resisted or embraced by teachers. This exploration of identity construction was carried out using the methodology of linguistic ethnography (LE) in order to collect a variety of data at one research site in Eastern Japan. This data set included classroom observations, fieldnotes, teacher interviews, student interviews, photos and institutional online media. Once the data was collected, Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) and intersectionality were used as analytical tools.

The study found that macro discourses in the Japanese context, as well as institutional processes were powerful forces in perpetuating native-speakerist discourses and ascribing identity labels. However, in self-identification and in interactions with students, the picture was found to be more nuanced, with a complex picture of identity construction emerging that questioned the binary nature of the “native speaker/non-native speaker” duality. This complexity rested on an understanding of the intersectional nature of identity construction, and the importance of taking into account the intersectionality of a variety of identity markers when researching language teacher identity.

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Confirmation of ethics approval for the study

Luke Lawrence
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22 June 2018

Dear Luke

Ethics Application: The discursive construction of native and non-native speaker teacher identity– GUEP415(R)

Thank you for making the requested revisions to your submission of the above to the General University Ethics Panel. I am pleased to confirm that your application now has ethical approval.

Please note that should any of your proposal change, a further submission (amendment) to GUEP will be necessary.

Please ensure that your research complies with Stirling University policy on storage of research data which is available at:

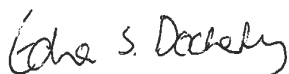
<https://www.stir.ac.uk/about/faculties-and-services/information-services-and-library/researchers/research-data/before-you-start-your-research/our-policy/>

If you have not already done so, I would also strongly encourage you to complete the Research Integrity training which is available at: <https://canvas.stir.ac.uk/enroll/CJ43KW>

If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely,



p.p. On behalf of GUEP
Professor William Munro
Deputy Chair of GUEP

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background – Discursively Constructed Teacher Identities and Native-speakerism

Teacher identity is a multifaceted area of research within Applied Linguistics that draws from many disciplines including traditional sociology, psychology and social anthropology to investigate a complex and dynamic phenomenon. One aspect of teacher identity, that of “native speaker” and “non-native” speaker status has been especially prominent in recent years in the field of ELT. These categorizations have become deeply contested in the field of ELT due to issues of discrimination and marginalization associated with being either a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” teacher. This discrimination is part of a wider ideology of native-speakerism that discriminates against teachers and teaching practices that do not adhere to dominant ideals of Western pedagogy (Holliday, 2006).

Although native speakerism has been widely discussed in books, journals, blogs and conference presentations in the seventeen years since Holliday (2005) gave it a name, it has been somewhat undertheorized, with debates largely focusing on who the victims are (see Houghton & Rivers’, 2013 re-definition of native-speakerism) or on (extremely worthwhile and important) fights for social justice and professional equity (e.g., teflequityadvocates.com). This has resulted in a haphazard approach to dealing with native-speakerism and “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teacher identities that fails to adequately understand where it comes from or how it is constructed.

In the wider field of teacher identity, Foucauldian concepts of identity as discursive construction have proved very useful in helping to establish a poststructuralist paradigm approach to teacher identity (Norton, 2000, 2013). This has led to a wide range of literature in the field of English teacher identity dealing with gender (Nagatomo, 2016), race (Kubota & Lin, 2006), social class (Block, 2014), and “native speaker”/ “non-native speaker” identities (A. Davies, 2003a, 2003b; Holliday, 2006, 2015; Lowe, 2020a; Paikeday, 1985). This artificial separation of the identity markers of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” has meant that researchers tend to only focus on one area of teacher identity, without considering how different identity aspects may be interlinked and mutually influencing of each other.

This study is an attempt to overcome these shortcomings in the field by identifying how and by whom teacher identities are constructed, what actions are taken to either accept or reject these co-constructed identities, and the impact of intersectional identities on the participating teachers. This is done by using strong theoretical underpinnings and a unique, but robust, methodology. By identifying the “how” and “who” of identity and ideology

construction it is possible to deconstruct it and offer suggestions on how to counter some of the negative impacts (Weedon, 1997).

In this introduction chapter I will first give a detailed personal biography to explain how I came to the point of undertaking the present study. I will follow this by laying out the motivations for the study and stating the research questions. I will finish the chapter by giving a very brief overview of the main aspects of the field that this study attends to (full accounts of the literature will be given in Chapter 2), and the methodological approach taken (full explorations of methodology, analytical framework and theoretical concepts can be found in Chapter 3).

1.2 Researcher Biography and Journey to Native-speakerism and Identity

In line with poststructuralist, reflexive concepts and what Bourdieu calls a “socio-genetic” (Grenfell, 2011) reading of research, my own biographical details as a researcher have been a prominent factor in the conception, planning, execution, analysis and writing of this study. Also, in view of my use of intersectionality in the data (I am aware that data is officially a plural noun, however, in this study I adopt the common use of the term as singular, as a personal preference) analysis that takes into account various aspects of identity and the biographies of the participants, I will sketch out a brief biography here that charts my career trajectory alongside my journey to becoming interested in issues of identity and native-speakerism.

I am a White, male, “native speaker” of English from the south-east of England and I have been living and working in Japan since 2002. As an undergraduate in the UK, I studied sociology, graduating in 1998 without a clear career plan. After working as a telemarketer and then a customer service representative in a call centre for a few years, during which time I took a CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults) course, I left for Japan in July 2002 with a vague plan to gain one or two years teaching experience in Japan, before coming back to work as a teacher in the UK.

The job in a conversation school, known as *eikaiwa* in Japanese, required me to teach eight classes per day of 40 minutes each, with a ten-minute “break” between classes. Classes were small and consisted of one to four students per class. All teachers in the company were so-called “native speakers”, which was a large part of the marketing and overall image of the company (Bailey, 2006). However, at this time I was not aware of the concept of native-speakerism and happily bought into the native-speakerist mindset that was prevalent at that time in the early-to-mid 2000s, and especially within that particular institution.

After working at the conversation school for a just under two years I was promoted to branch manager. This involved arranging the schedule for all instructors in the branch, carrying out teacher observations and feedback sessions, creating and delivering training sessions and liaising with the Japanese staff as well as my regular teaching duties. In 2007 the company went bankrupt, drastically changing the landscape of the private English teaching market in Japan and leaving a large number of foreign teachers (myself included) out of work. After initially claiming unemployment benefit, I managed to find irregular part-time work with two different eikaiwas, one a large chain, the other a small private enterprise. For the first time I found myself working alongside “non-native” teachers with Japanese, Taiwanese and Dutch colleagues at the larger eikaiwa. Although this might suggest a more inclusive approach, the system used by the company ensured that the identity of the teacher was placed front and centre. All instructors were obliged to provide a personal profile, along with a recent photo on the website of the school. These profiles were used by students to choose their preferred instructor when booking lessons. The conditions of employment for instructors were exceptionally insecure as they depended on whether or not they were a “popular” teacher. At the start of the month, teachers submitted their availability times and were then required to be in the school at these times regardless of whether or not students had booked lessons with them. Hourly pay rates were extremely low (even for the industry average) and teachers were only paid for the lesson times that they taught, regardless of how many hours they were actually present in the branch. This put pressure on me to present myself in such a way as to appeal to what I perceived the students might be looking for in a teacher and also to perform my identity (Goffman, 1959) (both personal and professional) in a certain way that could have been seen to be adhering to stereotypes of a “native speaker” teacher. My thoughts and feelings about this were not clear at the time as I was still unaware of the literature surrounding native-speakerism, but I did start to feel uncomfortable in some way with my role as “professional foreigner” (Heimlich, 2013).

After a few months of this unstable employment situation, I secured a job teaching business English. Although ostensibly “full time”, monthly salary depended on the number of hours worked and varied from month to month. The job itself involved being dispatched by the company to teach small business English-focused classes, tailored to the requests of the client in the offices of the client. This entailed travelling around Tokyo, sometimes teaching at four or five different locations in a day, from early in the morning to late at night. As far as I am aware all teachers employed by the company were “native speakers”, although it was the first time for me to experience a company in Japan that employed “native speakers” and

other non-Japanese as administrative staff, with the CEO of the company also being non-Japanese.

After 5 years of teaching business English, I began working for the British Council (BC), Tokyo. Again, the workplace was “native speaker” only with the added dimension that a focus was put on the “Britishness” dimension of my identity, which had been less important in my previous jobs, although not entirely absent. This was manifested in expected participation in various “cultural events” that the teaching centre organized for students that celebrated essentialised versions of (often traditional) aspects of British culture, such as afternoon tea. Again, although I did not yet have the linguistic tools or background knowledge to put my feelings into ordered thoughts, I felt more and more unease about what I saw as incidental aspects of my professional identity (my nationality) being pushed to the forefront. Outside of the cultural events, my main teaching duties involved working as a “team teacher” alongside a local English teacher in public secondary schools.

Whilst working at the British Council I started an MA in TESOL and Applied Linguistics by distance learning from a university in the UK. My MA studies exposed me to new ideas regarding second language acquisition (SLA), communicative language teaching (CLT), and world Englishes, but it did not include insights into identity or native-speakerism. However, towards the ends of my studies, all students were invited to an open call from a researcher looking for stories related to aspects of differentiated treatment of teachers based on “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” status. I responded to the call by relating an anecdote of an experience I had had when working as a business English teacher. This incident occurred when I was teaching the first class to a group of newly-recruited employees at a large international financial company. As it was the first lesson, an administrator from the company was observing the lesson. The room we were using for the lesson was extremely hot and was very cramped for the number of people in the room. After suffering with the heat for half of the lesson, I finally mentioned the heat to the administrator and asked if there was a way to turn up the air conditioning or move to a bigger room. Due to the fact that the administrator was not a student, but was merely observing I did not want to make assumptions about her English ability. To be on the safe side and as a gesture of politeness, I had addressed this request to her in Japanese. She was extremely angry about this and upbraided me (in English) in front of the students, telling me not to use Japanese in front of the students again. I perceived that she did not want the artificial bubble of the “native speaker” teacher to be broken. I submitted this anecdote to the researchers but did not receive a response and do not know whether or not this anecdote was used as data in their research.

Although it was only a short anecdote, the research call was my first introduction to the concept of native-speakerism as a field of research and was the first time I was able to put into writing ideas and opinions that had previously only been vague, muddled thoughts in my head. The fact that the researchers were looking for stories relating to discrimination faced by “native speaker” teachers, rather than “non-native speaker” teachers meant that my first encounter with the idea of native-speakerism came from the expanded side of the native-speakerism debate that highlighted discrimination of teachers perceived to be “native speakers” (Houghton & Rivers, 2013).

Soon after this, and quite by co-incidence, due to my role as team teacher I (along with the other team teachers) was approached by Professor Copland to take part in research she was conducting regarding collaborative teaching schemes around the world (Copland et al., 2016). This involved having my lessons observed and being interviewed by Professor Copland. The experience of talking about my experience of collaborating with local teachers to a knowledgeable researcher helped me to further hone my own ideas around native-speakerism and teacher identity. At the same time, it inspired me to start investigating the literature surrounding native-speakerism myself. This led to me undertaking a research project into the roles and responsibilities of “native speaker” teachers working on the same team-teaching project as me, using native-speakerism as the framework (Lawrence, 2016). As my interest in native-speakerism deepened, my focus shifted from issues surrounding teaching and practices to that of the identity of the teachers themselves and their experiences as they pertained to perceptions of teachers as “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers. Shortly after completing my MA studies, I became a full-time instructor at the university level, starting work at the research site of this study.

Over the course of the five years since this project began, I have deepened my understanding of the field of native-speakerism (see Lowe & Lawrence, 2018) and teacher identity (see Lawrence, 2020), and also expanded my research interests to include race, gender and sexuality (see Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020), translanguaging (see Nagashima & Lawrence, 2020), as well as queer pedagogy (see Lawrence & Nagashima, 2021).

1.3 Motivation for the Study

My inspiration for this study was triggered by some seemingly innocuous maps that were displayed in my workplace in the spring of 2017. These were maps that were created by the Japanese administrator working in the office of the English department where I was a full-time instructor. The maps showed an outline of the country where each instructor was from

with the hometown marked by a cross with the teacher's name attached to it (see Image 1 below for one example). These maps were displayed on a notice board in the common room of the department that served as a library for graded readers as well as a site for conversation sessions. This area was open to students and teachers and was designed as an interactive space for students to meet and practice English. Laminated copies of the same maps were also left on the table that formed the centre of the conversation area. In the department at the time there were three "non-native speaker" teachers (all from Japan) and ten "native speaker" teachers, the majority of whom were from North America. At the time, I was the only teacher from the UK, however I had my own map with my hometown marked and my name attached (see Image 2 below). As well as feeling slightly guilty that the administrator had gone to all the trouble of making, printing and laminating a map just for one instructor from the UK, I also noticed that there was no map of Japan, despite the fact that three of the teachers were Japanese. When I pointed out that there was no map of Japan to the administrator, she initially looked puzzled, seeing it as natural that there would not be, she then became embarrassed about this oversight and promised to rectify it as soon as she could. A few weeks after this, a map of Japan with the three Japanese teachers' hometowns highlighted appeared in the office (see Image 3 below).

It was clear from the actions and initial reaction of the administrator that a clear distinction had been made between the "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" teachers in the department. It was assumed that the students would be interested to know private information about the "native speaker" teachers and by extension that this information, rather than being superfluous or incidental, was seen to be of some importance. The logical implication of this was that the private lives of the "non-native speaker" teachers was of no interest to the students and of no consequence to their identities as teachers within the department.

This prompted me to think about how and by whom identities of "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" teachers were being constructed and how these were accepted, resisted and perpetuated by the teachers themselves and the people and institutions they come into contact with on a daily basis. In this case, although the creation and display of the maps was the individual decision of the administrator, this individual administrator was acting as a representative of an institution (the university), which as a public university in Japan, can be seen as a representative of the local government, which is situated within the wider milieu of Japanese society at a certain point in historical time. This small act, which on the surface may not be seen as significant, was the product of centuries of discourse (or several discourses) on

the role and place of the “native speaker” English teacher in Japan and the “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teacher in language education (see Chapter 2 for a history of English language teaching in Japan).

Image 1

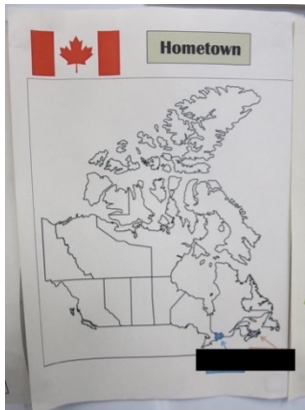


Image 2



Image 3



1.4 Research Questions and Research Site

The main questions that this study aims to answer are how, when and by whom teacher identities are constructed and in what ways are identities self-ascribed and imposed from outside. In doing so, this study goes beyond narrow conceptions of “native” and “non-native” speakers by adopting a situated, discursive approach that explores an as-yet under-researched identity marker in general studies of discourse and identity.

With this in mind, the research questions this study addresses are:

- If it is accepted that concepts of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identity are socially constructed, *how* and by *whom* are they constructed?
- What identities do individual teachers construct for themselves and how do they embrace or resist identity co-construction?
- What is the role of Intersectionality in the discursive construction of teacher identities?

In order to answer these questions, as well as collecting items related to the research site (such as Images 1,2 and 3 above), I carried out classroom observations and interviews with five teachers, as well as pair interviews with students from the class of each teacher. Added to this were detailed fieldnotes, photos, teacher worksheets and information and images from the website of the institution. This data was then arranged into detailed case studies for each

participant with findings arranged into themes (see Chapters 5-9).

1.5 Brief overview of literature review and methodology

This study is situated in the field of Language Teacher Identity (LTI), with a particular focus on “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” English teacher identities in the context of higher education in Japan.

In order to explore the complex phenomena of discursive identity construction I use linguistic ethnography (LE), which is seen as an emerging "theoretical and analytical framework which takes an epistemological position broadly aligned with social constructivist and post-structuralist approaches by critiquing essentialist accounts of social life" (Creese, 2010, p. 138). To analyse this large data set, I employ Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA), a subset of Conversation Analysis (CA) that focuses more on particular interactional settings and their categorisational aspects, rather than the sequential focus of CA analysis. In tandem with MCA, and as a response to the multiplicity of identity aspects that emerged from the data, I also make use of Intersectionality as an analytical framework. This approach recognises that (co)-constructed identities are made up of “many axes that work together and influence each other” (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 2).

1.6 Conclusion

The aim of this introductory chapter was to introduce the topic of this study: the discursive construction of language teacher identity, with a focus on “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identities. I have attempted to introduce myself as a researcher and explain my personal and intellectual journey to arriving at the topic, as well as my professional development during my time as PhD candidate and active teacher and researcher. I have also given a very brief introductory mention of the literature and a preview of the methodology involved.

Identity construction and the pernicious effects of native-speakerist discourses in ELT are one of the most prominent current issues in the field. Understanding how identities are (co)-constructed is the first step in dismantling unequal and oppressive structures such as native-speakerism. It is my hope that in the chapters that follow that I have been able to at least go some way towards achieving this understanding.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Teacher identity

In this first section of the literature review, I will first give a brief overview of teacher identity. This will be followed by a wider exploration of the meaning of identity, and a detailed look at Language Teacher Identity (LTI), including language teacher agency.

2.1.2 Overview

Teacher identity has emerged as a research field in ELT relatively recently, but has grown rapidly with increased recognition of its importance, not only for the teachers themselves, but also for learners in the classroom and the teaching field as a whole (Block, 2022; Gray & Morton, 2018). From initial teacher training, to professional development, to day-to-day teaching and administrative duties, it is becoming increasingly clear that teacher identity plays a significant role at all levels of teachers' personal and professional lives.

At first, most identity work in ELT was focused on student identity (Block, 2007; Norton, 2000) with classroom identity research giving way to a fuller "person-in-context" (Ushioda, 2009) approach taking into account various identity markers such as race (Kubota & Lin, 2006), gender (Norton, 2000), sexuality (Moore, 2019, 2021; Nelson, 1999, 2006, 2009), and to a lesser extent, social class (Block, 2014) beginning to feature in critical approaches to applied linguistics research.

Although learner identity was recognised as a crucial element in language learning, teachers were "seen as technicians who needed merely to 'apply' the right methodology in order for the learners to acquire the target language" (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 22) and their personal identity did not cross over into the professional realm. By the early 2000s, research in teacher identity in mainstream education that recognised "who teachers are and what they bring with them, individually and collectively, matters in what and how they teach" (Varghese et al., 2016, p. 548), spread to the ELT field (Duff & Uchida, 1997, Varghese, 2000; Morgan, 2004). In recent years this focus on teacher identity has increased rapidly with special issues dedicated to teacher identity published by *TESOL Quarterly* in 2016 and *The Modern Language Journal* in 2017, as well as a large number of edited books (e.g., Barkhuizen, 2017; Jain et al., 2021) and full-length monographs (e.g., Block, 2022; Gray & Morton, 2018; McEntee-Atalianis, 2019). However, before delving too deep into the complex realm of teacher identity, it may be useful to step back and define how I understand the concept of identity itself.

2.1.2 Identity

Both the term “identity” and the theoretical concepts it embodies are relatively recent arrivals in the social sciences (Gray & Morton, 2018), although a plethora of related terms such as “subjectivity”, “self” and “self-consciousness” have been in existence and well-established for many years. In the field of discourse and identity, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) add “selfhood”, “position”, “role”, “personality”, “category”, “person formulation”, “person description”, “subject”, “agent”, “subject position” and “persona” (p. 5/6) to the list of synonyms or at least near-synonyms for identity. The broad range of terminology reflects the wide-ranging and amorphous nature of the concept itself that has been constructed, reconstructed and redefined by each new iteration and is dependent on each disciplinary context.

Understandings of identity can be crudely divided into modern and postmodern concepts of self. In early modern understandings, the self was seen as a fixed, essentialised, but overall agentive and rational being. This is embodied by Descartes famous epithet “Cogito Ergo Sum” (“I think therefore I am”), which presents the self as an isolated, logical, rational being that is in control of their own selfhood; identity as “an instrumental ‘project of the self’” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p.19) to be worked on. This enlightenment thinking gave way to a structuralist sociopsychological sense of identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that retained the idea of identity as fixed, something that you “are”, but situated it within the confines of group belonging, rather than a unique individualised essence (Gray & Morton, 2018). This challenged the idea of the self as a free agent able to cultivate their own chosen identity and emphasised the strictures of society that identified individuals in relation to in-group belonging – social class, religion, family, peer groups – which form the identity of the individual according to established cultures and norms of the group (Block, 2007). In “social identity theory” (SIT) (Tajfel, 1982) although the categories may be seen as socially structured and constructed, the process of social categorisation itself is achieved cognitively by the individual. As such we recognise ourselves by identifying with (or against) others.

Postmodern, poststructuralist concepts of identity reject the idea of a fixed essence in favour of a fluid, fragmented self that is constructed not by sociological categories, but in the process of discourse that can change from moment to moment (Giddens, 1991; Weedon, 1997). This discursive self emerges in interactions with others, with identity understood as simply “*who people are to each other*” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 6 italics in original).

This can be produced either through performance (Butler, 2007 [1990]; Goffman, 1959) or constructed in interaction, or as imposed historical structures that regulate identity from the outside. Thus, identities are seen as dynamic pluralities that emerge, or are constructed by others (or both), through performative situational context; they are both inhabited and ascribed (Blommaert, 2006). This tension between structure and agency is at the core of contemporary understandings of identity and human actions and interactions.

One attempt to reconcile this tension was suggested by Lave and Wenger (1991) using the concept of Communities of Practice (CoP). CoPs take the group categorisation process out of the hands of analysts and into the hands of the individual by extending the definition of social group to include any group of people that engage in a practice of some kind, or in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992) much cited definition: "an aggregate of people who come together around a mutual engagement in an endeavour" (p. 464). This allows individuals to move between permanent and temporary multiple groups and engage with the social groups that are meaningful to them personally. It may also include less meaningful associations and groups that are imposed on the individual. As they move between CoPs, multifarious aspects of identity are foregrounded and backgrounded. The same approach is also taken in positioning theory (B. Davies & Harré, 1990) wherein "identities are not merely given by social structures or ascribed by others, but are also negotiated by agents who wish to position themselves" (Norton, 2013, p. 5).

In their discussion of discursively produced identities, Gray and Morton (2018) reference Zimmerman's (1998) three levels of identity: discourse, situated, and transportable, as important to understanding discursive constructions of identity. In this analysis Zimmerman posits that the moment-to-moment (discourse) identities are observed in particular contexts (situated) and are seen against the backdrop of particular latent identities that "tag along" (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90) as transportable identities. The result of this is a tension between "visible" identities (for example, belonging to a particular ethnic or linguistic group) and the "oriented-to" (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 91) identity being, or attempting to be performed in that particular moment in a certain context. Thus, in the case of "native" and "non-native" teacher identity which this thesis focuses on, an individual may be seen as either a "native" or "non-native" speaker without deliberately orienting to this particular category and someone wishing to "pass" for a "native" or "non-native" speaker may be unable to do so due to their visible identity (such as race), putting them in a double bind (see Section 2.3 below).

Bucholtz and K. Hall (2005) offer a similar perspective on identity, arguing that identity is “the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices” (p. 585) which is always emergent. This sees identity as inherently flexible and capable of either accepting or resisting essentialist preconceptions of, for example, linguistic ownership. Like Zimmerman (1998), they also offer a three-level model of identity that encompasses “(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles” (Bucholtz & K. Hall, 2005, p. 592). Each of these different levels may emerge at different points in discourse and point to a multifaceted, fluid view of identity. However, Bucholtz and K. Hall (2005) also acknowledge the tension between structure and agency in this identity emergence by arguing that identity is intersubjectively, rather than simply individually produced

However, these theories do not completely solve the seemingly contradictory viewpoint of contemporary, poststructuralist thinking that argues for a non-innate, discursively produced, fluid view of identity that also allows the individual to claim membership of pre-defined categories such as gay, straight, male, female, or in the case of this study, “native speaker” and “non-native speaker”, as well as other emerging categories such as bicultural or world citizen. Gray and Morton (2018) identify this as an underlying problem not only with identity theory itself, but also with researching and writing about it as I am doing in this study. For example, feminist scholars may argue that gender is a fluid, situated, discursively produced social construct that has no basis in essentialised reality, but at the same time advocate for women’s rights as if “women” were a fixed, essentialised category. This “strategic essentialism” (Spivak, 1999) is a useful tool for claiming rights and fighting for social justice, but it presents a conundrum for researchers like myself that attempt to embrace a poststructuralist approach of fluid, discursively produced identities, in that in order to do so we are required to adopt essentialised categories to describe non-essentialised phenomena. Conversation analysis (CA) (see Chapter 3) can help solve this issue by focusing on how people articulate what matters to them, and exploring how people strategically invoke different identity articulations in different interactional contexts, to accomplish different goals.

The position that I adopt in this paper draws heavily from Weedon’s (1997) feminist poststructuralism that states that identities are discursively constructed emergent processes that are performed and constructed through micro (person to person), meso (institutional), and macro (societal) interactions, and that identities are at all times a “site of struggle over power” (Weedon, 1997, p.21). This creates a constant tension between structure and agency

in which it is perfectly legitimate to claim membership of fixed categories such as gender, race and social class in one context, but also to reject fixed categorisation in another. At the same time, it is also legitimate for others (as well as institutions and wider society) to ascribe fixed categories to individuals in one context and reject them in another. I see it as my role as researcher to “temporarily fix” (Weedon, 1997) the discursively constructed identities of my participants in order to understand how they come to be constructed in that particular way, in that particular context, at that particular time. I am also in agreement with hooks (1991) that “Postmodern critiques of essentialism which challenge notions of universality and static overdetermined identity within mass culture and mass consciousness can open up new possibilities for the construction of self and the assertion of agency” (p. 28, cited in Weedon, 1997). I hope that this study is able to do so in the context of Japan where essentialised notions surrounding race and nationhood are deeply entrenched (see section 2.4 below).

2.1.3 Language teacher identity

Language teacher identity (LTI) is a multifaceted concept that incorporates a wide range of cognitive, social and cultural theorising. Barkhuizen's (2017) definition highlights the ambiguity of teacher identity and the difficulty of pinning down the concept. It is worth quoting in full here:

Language teacher identities (LTIs) are cognitive, social, emotional, ideological, and historical - they are both inside the teacher and outside in the social, material and technological world. LTIs are being and doing, feeling and imagining, and storying. They are struggle and harmony: they are contested and resisted, by self and others, and they are also accepted, acknowledged and valued, by self and others. They are core and peripheral, personal and professional, they are dynamic, multiple, and hybrid, and they are foregrounded and backgrounded. And LTIs change, short-term and over time - discursively in social interaction with teacher educators, learners, teachers, administrators, and the wider community, and in material interaction with spaces, places and objects in classrooms, institutions and online.
(p. 4)

This “composite conceptualization” (Barkhuizen, 2017, p.3) is wide-ranging and gives a good indication of the paradoxical nature of teacher identity. It also shows how teacher identity theory and research has incorporated the history of identity theory and tailored it to fit the lived experience of teachers.

By stating that LTIs are “cognitive”, Barkhuizen is recognising the influence of the enlightenment rational self as teachers attempt to carve out the teacher version of themselves

that they aspire to be; their “imagined identities” (Norton, 2017). However, by placing this alongside “social, emotional, ideological, and historical” there is also the poststructuralist recognition that identity is negotiated through interaction with students, institutions and wider society (social). It is also affected by personal and professional desires and hopes (emotional), individual worldview or Weltanschauung (ideological), and that this rationalising is not always straightforward, but is affected by personal history such as the teachers’ own experience of being a learner (historical).

Additionally, by stating that LTIs are “both inside the teacher and outside in the social, material and technological world” the tension between structure and agency outlined above is also highlighted. This may be especially true in the case of LTIs as the global nature of the industry means that individual teachers may be situated outside of the geographical location where their pre-teacher identity was being constructed, reconstructed and negotiated (see Section 2.2 below). This intersection across personal biography and pre-teacher understandings of self (inside) and the local sociocultural and educational context (outside) can produce a unique tension in how LTIs emerge in each context (Duff, 2017).

The most salient part of Barkhuizen’s definition of language teacher identity for the present study, is the middle section which states:

They are struggle and harmony: they are contested and resisted, by self and others, and they are accepted, acknowledged and valued, by self and others. They are core and peripheral, personal and professional, they are dynamic, multiple, and hybrid, and they are foregrounded and backgrounded.

This poststructuralist approach outlined by Barkhuizen builds on Weedon’s (1997) concept of identity as a “site of struggle over power” (p.21) and addresses the conundrum posed above regarding claims to essentialised categories within a fluid, context-dependent view of identity. By acknowledging that LTIs can be contested and resisted by self and others, again the tension between structure and agency is shown to be a key component of LTIs. Additionally, the idea that different aspects of identity can be foregrounded in a particular context at a specific time, whilst other aspects are backgrounded fits squarely with poststructuralist interpretations of a broader definition of identity (S. Hall, 1996).

Other related contributions to LTI research have also influenced my approach to teacher identity in this paper, in particular the work of the Douglas Fir Group (2016) and their attention to micro, meso, and macro dimensions of identity. Although, mainly focused on

learner identities, as illustrated by De Costa and Norton (2017), the research can equally be applied to LTIs. In this framework, the micro (classroom level), meso (institutional level), and macro (societal level) are all seen as essential for the development of language teacher identities. At the macro level are ideological structures including belief systems and cultural, political, educational, and religious values. At the meso level, the sociocultural institutions of workplaces and family impact on identity construction, and at the micro level engaging with individuals using all available semiotic resources helps to shape and display identities. In this framework “the relationship between ideology at the macro level, institutional practices at the meso level, and social activity at the micro level, are all highly inter-related” and thus: “It is the integration of macro, meso, and micro practices that ultimately determines which teacher identities are legitimated in relation to language proficiency, practices, and skills” (De Costa & Norton, 2017, p.7), which again highlights the tension between structure and agency. This issue of legitimacy is of prime importance in the present study into “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identities, where questions of who constitutes a legitimate teacher can have real-world consequences in terms of discrimination and marginalisation. Additionally, an emphasis on the inter-relatedness of the three levels of interaction is also pertinent to the present study that was carried out in one institution in the wider context of Japanese society.

Barkhuizen’s composite definition, which was compiled by carrying out a content analysis of the 41 chapters in an edited book where prominent scholars from the field reflect on their own understandings of LTI and its place in the field, does a remarkably thorough job of capturing what is a complex and elusive concept. However, I feel that it does not go far enough in recognising the intersectional nature of language teacher identity, which is a gap in the study of LTI that this study aims to address.

Although alluded to by Park (2017) and explicitly called for by Block (2014) and Levon (2015) as yet there is little in the way of recognition of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) in language teacher identity, with studies only now beginning to emerge (Block & Corona, 2016 as well as in my own work: Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020; Nagashima & Lawrence, 2020, 2021). I will expand on the theory and definition of intersectionality in Chapter 3, but briefly stated it is a concept of critical social theory (Collins, 2019) as well as an analytical framework that takes into account the interrelatedness of various elements of social division and categorisation that argues that it is impossible to understand the impact of one factor, without also considering other factors. I believe that by acknowledging the existence of temporarily fixed categories, at least in the minds of those that impact on the lives and identities of language teachers (students, institutions and wider society), and the fact

that identities are not shaped by a single element, “but by many axes that work together and influence each other” (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p.2), a clearer understanding of LTIs can emerge. Another aspect of adopting intersectionality as an approach is its focus on power hierarchies. When adopting a discursive view of language identity, much of the research on LTIs ignores the inherent power imbalances that are unavoidable in all forms of human communication and interaction. This is another shortcoming of current LTI research that this study hopes to redress by using intersectionality as an analytical framework.

2.2 Language teacher agency

As already mentioned several times above, one aspect of LTI that is particularly pertinent to the present study is language teacher agency (LTA). LTA is seen as a “temporally situated phenomenon” (Tao & Gao, 2021, p.9) that has been defined as “a language teacher’s intentional authority to make choices and act accordingly in his or her local context” (Kayi-Aydar, 2019, p. 15). However, this intentional authority is situated within what Block (2022) calls “structuring spheres”, that limit the capacity of the individual teacher to make agentic choices. In this framework Block outlines eight structuring spheres: the environmental sphere, the physical/spatial sphere, the neurobiological sphere, the deep-level social sphere, the institutional sphere, the sociocultural sphere, the embodied/psycho-cognitive sphere, and the multimodal communicative event sphere. These spheres are seen as “permeable and intermeshed” (Block, 2022, p. 66) and can be experienced simultaneously.

Language teaching studies that have focused on agency and structure have produced mixed findings. For example, Vitanova’s (2018) study explored the intersection of race and gender in the professional discourse of language teachers in training. It was found that the teachers were required to take active measures to assert their agency against stereotypical discourse structures of race and gender. However, in Wernicke’s (2018) case study account, a Canadian teacher of French studying abroad in France used the concept of plurilingualism to assert agency and resist native-speakerist ideologies. In addition, in the Japanese context, Ishihara et al. (2018) found that “native speaker” teachers on the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program (see Chapter 2 Section 2.4.4) used their knowledge of the local culture and translingual identities in order to assert agency and subvert the imposed structure of top-down educational policies.

The tension between agency and structure is seen as a fundamental element in the discursive construction of teacher identity, which the present study explores in relation to intersectional teacher identity constructions.

2.3 Native-speakerism

As outlined in Chapter 1, native-speakerism is a complex and multifaceted concept within the ELT field that pertains not only to aspects of teacher and learner identity, but also to teaching technologies, classroom pedagogies, curriculum design, policy planning and beyond.

Holliday originally defined native-speakerism as “an established belief that ‘native speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which springs the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology” (Holliday, 2005, p. 6). This definition was later tweaked slightly to explicitly refer to an ideology, rather than just “beliefs”: “Native-speakerism is a pervasive *ideology* within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology” (Holliday, 2006, p. 385, *italics mine*). The consequences of this ideology are manifold and extend from negative perceptions (as well as negative self-perceptions) of “non-native speaker” teachers in terms of their ability to teach the English language, to outright discrimination in terms of employment, training course placement, publication in international journals (Jenkins, 2000) and countless other day-to-day teaching situations. It also elevates teaching practices and qualifications that emanate from Western scholars and institutions (Lowe, 2015) and undermines teaching practices and pedagogies as well as learner strategies from non-Western countries.

Although Holliday’s definition still holds as the most well-known and accepted explication of native-speakerism, an alternative definition was put forward by Japan-based researchers Houghton and Rivers in 2013 that aimed to expand the concept of native-speakerism to all teachers regardless of “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” status, with a focus put on the teachers themselves. Their “alternative” definition of native-speakerism states:

Native-speakerism is prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language *teachers*, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language, which can form part of a larger complex of interconnected prejudices including ethnocentrism, racism and sexism. Its endorsement positions individuals from certain language groups as being innately superior to individuals from other language groups. Therefore native-speakerist policies and practices represent a fundamental breach of one’s basic human rights.

(Houghton & Rivers, 2013, p. 14, *italics mine*)

This “expanded” definition initiated a debate on who can be considered the true victims of native-speakerist discrimination. Although acknowledging that the majority of negative prejudice is directed at “non-native speaker” teachers, when it comes to “native speaker” teachers working in an EFL context, such as Japan, Houghton and Rivers (2013) argue that there are a number of barriers emanating from racist, ethnocentric prejudices that prevent “native speaker” teachers from participating fully in the workforce.

In the understanding of native-speakerism put forward by Houghton and Rivers (2013), the discourse surrounding the categorisation of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” serves to restrict the functions and agency of all teachers. For example, “native speaker” teachers working in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context are often viewed as resources to be utilised and exploited (Hashimoto, 2013) (see below for a fuller exploration of this in the Japanese context), not as legitimate, qualified teachers. On the other side, “non-native speaker” teachers are seen as a deficient Other (Said, 1978), lacking the authenticity of language that “native speaker” teachers are assumed to possess (Creese et al., 2014; Lowe & Pinner, 2016).

Concepts of authenticity and legitimacy are good examples of how stereotypes are constructed and ascribed to different teachers based on perceptions of “native”/“non-native” identity, with “native” speaker teachers often seen as authentic speakers of English, but not necessarily legitimate teachers of the language. In terms of how perceptions of authenticity can have a detrimental effect on “non-native speaker” teachers, Lowe and Pinner (2016) identify three conceptual connections that link ideas of authenticity with native-speakerism: authority, culturism, and cultural capital. “Native speaker” teachers are often seen as the authority on what counts as authentic language use, with “non-native” teachers sometimes developing inferiority complexes and deferring to the “native speaker” despite being more qualified and experienced (Bernat, 2008). Culturism refers to a chauvinistic discourse “that uses ‘othering’ to marginalise non-Western cultures, and also Western cultures where English is not spoken widely as a first language, through processes which are both part of, and reproduced through, English language education” (Lowe & Pinner, 2016, p. 35). Finally, cultural capital, as identified by Bourdieu (1991) relates to the non-financial assets that can assist us in acquiring upward social mobility. In the case of English language teaching this can mean a preference for qualifications gained from a Centre institution (Lowe, 2015), such as an MATESOL from a British or American university and training from Western certification bodies such as CELTA in the UK and TESOL in the US. Due to the fact that these are seen to be more prestigious and despite evidence that they are often of little

practical use to “non-native speaker” teachers, or any teacher not working in an ESL context (Anderson, 2016; Govardhan et al., 1999; Lowe & Lawrence, 2018; McBeath, 2017; Papageorgiou et al., 2019), “non-native speaker” teachers often spend large sums of money, take time away from their families and interrupt their own careers in order to gain these qualifications, even when they may already have degrees and Qualified Teacher Status in their own countries. This strand of native-speakerism sees “non-native speaker” teachers as not only less authentic, but also lacking professional legitimacy.

This bias suggests a power dynamic that subordinates the “non-native speaker” and elevates the “native speaker” teacher based solely on assignment as a “native speaker”. Although this may be the case in terms of the examples given above, these power hierarchies are fluid and shift from context to context. For example, regarding the concept of legitimacy, it has been argued that “native speaker” teachers working in an EFL context are often seen as foreigners first and teachers second, regardless of their experience or qualifications, what has been termed a “professional foreigner” (Heimlich, 2013).

In my own view, both Holliday’s original definition and Houghton and Rivers’ “expanded” definition are both insufficient as they fail to take into account the fluid nature of identity construction and the context-specific consequences of this construction. Holliday’s view of native-speakerism as an “ideology” and “belief” that has come about as a result of historical biases may be seen to place too much emphasis on the ideology behind native-speakerism and not enough attention to individual discrimination faced by teachers. On the other hand, the definition put forward by Houghton and Rivers, although recognising the interconnectedness of race and gender, which is important for the present study, seems to put too much emphasis on teachers themselves and the discrimination that they face and not enough weight to the underlying history and ideologies that perpetuate the discrimination (Lowe, 2020a). I believe that both of these aspects are of equal importance in understanding native-speakerism, but that neither are useful unless understood in terms of the context and the discursively constructed identities that context creates. To give an example, a “native speaker” teacher may be teaching in the UK and seen as an experienced and respected, knowledgeable teacher. In this context their “native-speakerness” is less salient. However, if the same teacher decides to start teaching in Japan, their “native speaker” status immediately becomes incredibly salient, in some cases the only defining factor in their employment and they are reduced to being simply another “foreign” “native speaker” teacher and their qualifications and experience are often nullified. This is an extreme example, but it illustrates the power of context and how identities are affected not only by macro historical factors (as

Holliday's definition may be seen to imply) but by the integration of macro, meso and micro practices as outlined by De Costa and Norton (2017).

Houghton and Rivers have been accused of not *redefining* the term native-speakerism as such, but of *appropriating* it to give undue weight to a subset of victims and undermining the broad inequality that exists at all levels of the ELT field (Lowe, 2020a). That is to say that although native-speakerism is an ideology in which both “native” and “non-native” speaker teachers can be, and are, victims of discrimination, it still upholds and perpetuates the interests of Western ELT practitioners and institutions, what Lowe (2020a) terms the “native speaker frame”. This is a viewpoint that I am broadly in agreement with. I believe that Holliday's definition was too narrow and failed to address directly large swathes of the world (and the teachers that work there) that do not fit neatly into the post-colonial framework, therefore I can understand why an alternative definition was seen to be necessary. However, the definition put forward by Houghton and Rivers does not seem to me to be an appropriation as such, but more of a highlighting of a separate issue, which perhaps should have been given separate terminology.

Despite these limitations surrounding definitions of the term, and concepts of “native”/“non-native” speaker as social constructions going back many years (see Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Paikeday, 1985) recent thinking in the native-speakerism field has finally begun to take seriously the notion that along with gender, sexuality and race, the category of “native speaker” should also be seen as a discursively constructed aspect of identity. This has prompted the original pioneer of native-speakerism, Adrian Holliday, to refuse to review any paper that does not recognize this fact in relation to “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers, stating that:

You can critique the constructed, imagined concepts of native-non-native speaker labelling. You can research the nature of the construction of the native-non-native speaker labels. What you cannot do is research the characteristics of ‘native’ and “non-native speakers” because these groups don't actually exist except as ideological constructions.

(Holliday, 2018b, no page number)

Although socially constructed, which is evident from the varied perceptions that different contexts bring to the conceptualisation of the phenomenon (see below for a detailed examination of the Japanese context in which this study took place), perceptions of “native” and “non-native” speakerness and the roles that they can and should occupy are seen as natural and taken-for-granted (Bourdieu, 1990; Kramsch, 2021) and are therefore often

invisible and unquestioned (Lowe & Lawrence, 2018). This “transformation of history into nature, of cultural arbitrariness into the natural” (Bourdieu, 2001) and the subtle framings (Goffman, 1974) of the lived social experience have far-reaching implications for how we interact, and are interacted with, in our daily personal and professional lives.

This study aims to honour Holliday’s assertions by focusing not on similarities or differences of character and experience of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers, but on the construction of identities in terms of self-identification, interactional construction in the course of everyday teaching, institutional ascription based on perceptions of fixed or essentialised notions of identity, and wider societal perceptions of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers in the particular context of Japanese society.

2.4 The Japanese context

As mentioned in the introduction, Japan has become a focal point for native-speakerism research over the last several years (e.g., various chapters in Houghton & Rivers, 2013 also Hooper, Oka & Yamazawa, 2020; Lowe & Pinner, 2016; Lowe & Lawrence, 2018). However, this is not to suggest that Japan is inherently “more” native-speakerist in outlook compared to other countries, but that its complex relationship with English over the last century and a half situates Japan in a unique position as regards the global phenomenon of native-speakerism (Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Nagatomo, 2012; Seargeant, 2009). This history is coupled with the ideological concept of *nihonjinron* (theory of the Japanese) that runs through academic and mainstream media discourse and the deliberate governmental policy of *kokusaika* (internationalization) that aimed to promote “Japaneseness” through foreign language study.

2.4.1 History of English and the “native speaker” in Japan

Due to the isolationist policy of the Japanese government that lasted from the 1630s until the borders were forced open by the American naval officer Commodore Perry in 1853, which heralded the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912), the history of English and the presence of “native speaker” teachers is relatively short (Nagatomo, 2012). Despite its brevity, it is a convoluted and complex history, seemingly lurching from one policy to the next, fueled by national and global political events and upheavals.

2.4.2 Pre-Meiji era

Although during the period of *sakaku* (isolationism), Japan was ostensibly closed to foreigners, there were some notable exceptions that may be seen to have set the precedent for a gendered native-speakerist approach to who can be considered legitimate English teachers.

Just prior to the closing of Japan in 1633, an Englishman named William Adams was shipwrecked off the coast of Japan as he was searching for trade opportunities. Although there were Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese traders already in Japan at this point, Adams is thought to be the first “native English speaker”. He acted as an interpreter between traders, was appointed as a tutor to Shogun, given samurai status and eventually settled in Japan with a Japanese wife and family (Farrington & Massarella, 2000). Although on the surface this may seem to mirror the contemporary experience of male, “native speaker” teachers in Japan (see Appleby, 2014), the conceptions of ethnicity, nationality and linguistic status that we hold today were not then developed to their current heightened state, meaning that it was likely that Adams’ accomplishments were more down to his own talents and luck than any native-speakerist advantage.

At the other end of the isolation period, in 1848, an American/Scottish adventurer, Ranald MacDonald entered Japan by posing as a castaway that had drifted to the island. He was set to work teaching English to the Japanese Dutch interpreters in anticipation of increasing trade with the UK and America (Appleby, 2014). MacDonald thus became Japan’s first “native speaker” English teacher. Although an historical anomaly, the ease with which he was given the rather important job of teaching English for the purposes of international diplomacy and trade purely on the basis of his “native speaker” status as well as his own claim that he had a “natural aptitude” (MacDonald, 1923 cited in Appleby, 2014, p. 35) for teaching can be seen in the criticisms of native-speakerism that surfaced over 150 years later.

2.4.3 The Meiji Era (1868-1911) and Pre-WW2

With the ushering in of the Meiji Era in 1868, a period of rapid industrialisation occurred that saw Japan attempt to catch up with the already industrialised West by importing ideas, technology and even whole political systems (Mason & Caiger, 1997). To this end, large numbers of Japanese were sent abroad to experience Western cultures and gain insights that could be brought back to Japan, whilst at the same time similarly large numbers of Western educators were imported into Japanese universities to teach not only language, but also science, architecture and medicine (in an early instance of native-speakerism that can still be seen in some institutions in the present day, the Western professors and specialists were given a considerably higher salary than the Japanese professors [Nagatomo, 2012]). This reverence

for all things Western resulted in English being adopted as the official language for all lectures in the newly established Kaisei School (the current Tokyo University) in 1872 and junior high school students receiving six foreign language lessons per week by 1881 (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006).

However, as Japan grew in economic and diplomatic strength, it began to assert its newly gained power by engaging in war; first with China in 1894 and again ten years later against Russia in 1904-5 (Mason & Caiger, 1997). Japan's success against these formidable enemies sparked a wave of patriotism that replaced the reverence for the West with a nationalist pride that inevitably leaked into language studies. Subsequently, Japanese once again became the language of teaching at Tokyo University and the numbers of Japanese being sent abroad to study declined (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). At the same time as this major socio-political change was occurring, the natural passage of time meant that the Japanese who had been sent abroad to study during the early Meiji Era were beginning to return home and teach, which negated the need to import foreign educators. Also, works of literature, science and philosophy, which had previously only been in the original language or in English, began to appear in Japanese translations. This further reduced the necessity of English and turned the study of language from a pressing need with immediate practical applications into just another school subject that was able to be taught by Japanese teachers (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006).

In the early 1920s, foreign educationalists were once more welcomed into Japan with the prominent British educational theorist Harold E. Palmer (1877-1949) being invited by the Japanese government as a linguistic advisor to the Department of Education. Palmer quickly set up the Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET) as a semi-official organisation within the department (R. C. Smith & Imura, 2004a, 2004b) and proposed a number of ideas that were seen as progressive for the time. However, despite his proximity to the power brokers in Japanese education, Palmer's plans were never implemented, and his legacy was largely inconsequential outside of some localised projects and textbook developments. Palmer left Japan in 1936 as a wave of political nationalism that had swept through Japan in the 1920s and 1930s was reaching a fever pitch and would eventually result in Japan's involvement in the Pacific War. As in the late nineteenth century, the natural result of this ultra-nationalistic feeling was an emphasis on Japanese language and a de-emphasis on foreign languages, to such an extent that calls were made for the complete abolition of English language learning in schools and a reduction in English curriculum time (R.C. Smith

& Imura, 2004b; Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). Once more “native speaker” teachers and foreign influence were out of favour.

2.4.4 The Post-war period to the present day

In light of the US occupation of Japan in the immediate aftermath of World War II, the political mood once again switched. A group of American academics and educators in the guise of the English Language Exploratory Committee (ELEC) unsuccessfully attempted to develop a teaching methodology for Japan based on Fries’ Aural-Oral Approach, with the expressed ambition of “revolutionizing the Japanese English-language-teaching (ELT) system” (Henrichsen, 1989, p. 1). The reasons for failure, although complex, have been placed in two areas: insufficient cultural consideration of the historical Japanese educational context by American ELEC leaders, and a lack of flexibility and an unwillingness to change by not only Japanese ELEC members and the Ministry of Education, but also the thousands of Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) across Japan dealing with the practicalities of teaching on a day-to-day basis (Henrichsen, 1989; R.C. Smith & Imura, 2004b).

After Palmer’s unfortunate timing and ELEC’s misjudged proclamations, the next, and so far last, great undertaking in English language education in Japan came this time from inside Japan (albeit with considerable foreign input and influence) in the form of a two-pronged effort towards internationalisation (*kokusaika*) by increasing cultural awareness of foreign countries as well as an appreciation of Japanese language and culture. These were the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme, launched in 1987 and the Course of Study issued in the same year.

The JET programme was (and still is) an ambitious project that pairs young (there is an age limit of 35 years old [Miyazato, 2009]), trained and untrained new-to-Japan “native-speakers” with JTEs to work together as team teachers within the same secondary school classroom. The concept behind the programme was that students would benefit from being exposed to “real” English and cultural insights from the “native speaker”, whilst having the security of the JTE to explain in Japanese and deal with classroom management issues. In a move that was perhaps intended to placate and preserve the pride of JTEs concerned about their authority being usurped by untrained foreigners, the “native speaker” teachers were designated as *Assistant Language Teachers* (ALTs) (R.C. Smith & Imura, 2004b; Miyazato, 2009). Although this initiative has nominally been heralded as a success logistically (McConnell, 2000), there is little evidence that this ambitious and extremely costly enterprise has produced positive results in terms of improved language ability or cultural development.

The key semantic decision to allocate “native speaker” teachers as “assistants” and the seemingly ideological decision to hire mostly untrained, young teachers that would not challenge the authority of the JTEs has resulted in widespread complaints of “native speaker” teachers being used as “human tape-recorders” (McConnell, 2000 p.190). At the same time, many JTEs have complained of ALT classes as being a mere sideline to the real business of teaching English, citing the youth and inexperience of ALTs as a key factor in this (McConnell, 2000). The result of the JET programme has been the emergence of two parallel English classes within secondary Japanese schools that run concurrently but do not overlap: “serious” exam-oriented grammar-focused core English teaching done by Japanese teachers and the fun, throwaway lessons team taught by the Japanese teacher with an assistant “native speaker” teacher (R.C. Smith & Imura, 2004b). This *eigo* (grammar-based “serious” English classes taught by Japanese teachers) versus *eikaiwa* (fun, conversation-based English classes taught by “native speaker” teachers) divide is a prominent issue in the native-speakerism debate in Japan (Hiramoto, 2013; Hooper, Oka & Yamazawa, 2020; McVeigh, 2004; Nagatomo, 2016).

This familiar pattern of invitation and rejection (or at least ambivalence), which may also help to explain Palmer and ELEC’s lack of impact on the Japanese educational system, seems to portray an interest in and desire for Western methodologies and the input of “native speaker” educators and specialists, but when it comes to actual policy implementation, “native speakers” and their suggestions are ultimately rejected. This is an apparent paradox that elevates “native speakers” to the status of respected experts on English teaching methodologies, but at the same time asserts the power of the Japanese authorities and administrators over the foreign educators to let them know their place. I also found this pattern of “responsibility without power” on a smaller scale in my own research into team teaching between “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers in Japanese secondary schools (Lawrence, 2016).

The second prong of this *kokusaika* effort towards internationalisation were the Course of Study documents issued by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (MEXT) approximately every ten years, beginning in 1989. Although MEXT had been issuing broad directives regarding English education since 1947 (see Tahira, 2012 for an overview), the Course of Study published by MEXT in 1989 and implemented in 1994, was the first to explicitly promote communication skills in English as the main priority of the curriculum (Browne & Wada, 1998). This was followed by subsequent pronouncements in 2002, 2011 and 2016 that committed to an ever-stronger CLT approach for Japanese teachers to follow.

On the face of it, this can be seen as a move to combat the potentially native-speakerist *eigo/eikaiwa* divide by encouraging JTEs to take on the role of communicative English teacher that was formerly the domain of “native speaker” teachers only.

However, a closer look at government documents reveals a deeply embedded native-speakerist mindset disguised as progressive, inclusive policy. For example, the 2011 Course of Study (MEXT, 2011a) states that “team-teaching classes conducted in co-operation with native speakers, etc. should be carried out in order to develop students’ communication abilities” (p.7), implying that only “native speaker” teachers can develop communication abilities and that that is all they can do. Similarly, the Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication (MEXT, 2011b) offer what is supposed to be a frank and honest assessment of the “problems” inherent in the Japanese English education system and a clear, progressive set of proposals. However, within this document “native speaker” ALTs are referred to in a purely utilitarian manner as “a valuable asset” (p.7), and hence “it is important to efficiently *utilize* ALTs in out-of-school activities, such as clubs and circles” (p. 7 *italics mine*). It laments the fact that for ALTs on non-government employment contracts “teachers cannot give instructions to such native speakers” and thus “the Government should take appropriate steps, while education boards should address this problem by, for example, revising employment contract terms, so as to make possible efficient use of ALTs” (p.8). The proposals also call for efforts to be made “for wider employment of Japanese with rich overseas experience and excellent English proficiency” (p. 8) and “taking into account approaches adopted in foreign countries” (p.5). Another document (MEXT, 2003) states that “(T)o have one’s English understood by a native speaker, increases the students’ joy and motivation for English learning. In this way, the use of a native speaker of English has great meaning” (no page number).

In these proclamations, which are attempting to promote a progressive, outward-looking global approach to English education, a native-speakerist mindset that sees foreign teachers as resources to be utilised and Japanese teachers with overseas experience as being automatically better teachers is evident. Also, the reference to “approaches adopted in foreign countries” without specifying what these approaches are or which countries these might be sets up a differentiation between Japan and “foreign countries” with the “native speaker” seen as the only validator of Japanese learners’ English ability.

A separate issue, which may also be seen as pertinent to “native” and “non-native” speaker teachers in the Japanese context is the gendered (Appleby, 2014) and racialised (Kubota, 2011; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013) construction of the idealised “native speaker”

teacher as a Caucasian male. In a largely female-dominated industry, male teachers make up the large majority of English teachers in Japan (Appleby, 2014; Nagatomo et al., 2020). The reasons cited for this anomaly (which can also be seen to slightly less extent in Korea) are complex and far-reaching, highlighting the importance of social and political context in the construction of identity.

2.4.5 *Nihonjinron*

A key ideological concept in understanding this differentiation and native-speakerism in the Japanese context is *nihonjinron*. The word *nihonjinron* (日本人論) itself is made up of two parts: *nihonjin* (日本人) – the Japanese people and *ron* (論) – theory, which directly translates as “theory of Japanese people” (the term *nihonbunkaron* [日本文化論], “theory of Japanese culture” is also used to refer to the same concept [Befu, 1983]). *Nihonjinron* is an ideology in both academic and popular discourse that flourished in the post-war years in Japan right up to the 1990s that promoted “an essentialised set of beliefs about the uniqueness of the Japanese people and culture” (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013, p. 200) that are not only unique but “uniquely unique” (Liddicoat, 2007, p.34). Aspects of this supposed uniqueness include racial, geographical, climatic, linguistic, and psychological elements (Bouchard, 2017).

The theory of racial and geographic uniqueness purports that the Japanese are a homogenous and distinct race and that their geographical location as an island nation has prevented them from being influenced by outside forces (Dale, 1986). In terms of language, the fact that Japan is a unique, isolated island country means that the language is also unique and that “(a) only people of Japanese blood can comprehend the subtleties of the language, and (b) Japanese people are poor foreign language learners” (Bouchard, 2017, p. 38). Thus, race, geography, culture, and language are seen as synchronous (Befu, 2001) and any race, culture or language deemed to be not Japanese is seen as not only “not Japanese” but as completely anathema and Other (Sugimoto, 1999).

This mindset sees “Japaneseness” as an essence that is common and natural to all Japanese, which prioritises the emic, or insider, knowledge above the etic, outsider, and by extension holds a “cultural disbelief” (to hijack a favourite phrase of Holliday’s) that anyone other than Japanese can have real knowledge or understanding of Japanese people, culture and language. It also implies an essentialised view of Japanese people as homogenous with a single, static, unchanging culture. In terms of the native-speakerism debate outlined above,

the nationalistic, dichotomising force of *nihonjinron* can be seen as the key driver in the fact that the first alternative definition of native-speakerism (Houghton & Rivers, 2013) emerged from Japan, rather than European or other Asian countries. It may also affect attitudes to English learning by producing a reluctance to becoming too proficient in English as “knowing a foreign language too well, it is feared, would erode the uniqueness of the Japanese people” (Reischauer & Jansen, 1988 cited in Nagatomo, 2012).

This discourse of *nihonjinron* is prevalent in the literature surrounding native-speakerism, however Bouchard (2017) questions the actual adherence to its ideology amongst the general populace and points out that by attributing a wide swathe of “problems” to *nihonjinron* ideologies, critics of *nihonjinron* run the risk of essentialising the very phenomenon that they accuse of being essentialising. However, it should also not be dismissed as fringe subset of obscure academia. The far-reaching mainstream effect of *nihonjinron* ideology can be seen in prime-time television shows such as “You何し日本へ” (“Why did you come to Japan”) (TV Tokyo, n.d.) that feature “foreigners” being approached by a TV crew upon arrival at the airport or in other public places and made to give their impressions on a range of “typical Japanese” foods and cultural experiences, all the while showing astonishment and wonder at each new experience and failing to distinguish between tourists and “long-term sojourners” (Copland et al., 2020, p. 349) (personal observation). I have also been informed by students on many occasions that the reason why they are unable to speak English is because “I am Japanese” (see also Mielick, In press). With *nihonjinron* concepts embedded in the public consciousness, the roles of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teacher in the English classroom come loaded with clear expectations and demarcations that sets it apart from native-speakerist concepts experienced in other countries.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have given a detailed overview of the literature in the field pertaining to identity theory, situating the current study within the framework of Weedon’s (1997) feminist poststructuralist theory. I then examined Language teacher identity by breaking down Barkhuizen’s (2017) wide-ranging definition of LTI into its constituent parts and suggesting that more attention be paid to the intersectionality of disparate elements. This was followed by an overview of native-speakerism. After closely examining different definitions of the term (Holliday, 2005, 2006; Houghton & Rivers, 2013), I then critiqued each one and offered my own view of the nature of native-speakerism. This view stated that more attention needs

to be paid to the systemic nature of native-speakerist ideology as it is embedded in wider discourse, and that a contextually-based discursive approach is necessary in order to understand how “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identities are constructed and maintained. To this end, the chapter finished with a detailed look at the history of English in Japan and the form that native-speakerism takes in the Japanese context. In Chapter 3 I will outline my methodological approach to the study.

Chapter 3 – Theory and methodology

In this chapter I will outline the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the research project and document my own intellectual journey regarding these theories. Kubota and Miller (2017) argue that due to the maturation of the field of critical research over recent decades, in which conceptual frameworks unique to the field have been created, it is not always necessary to draw on grand theories. However, I believe that in order to fully understand the interpretative process outlined later in the thesis and the conclusions reached, that it is necessary for the study as a whole to be grounded in solid theoretical and methodological foundations.

The choice of methodology for this project was driven by what I felt would be appropriate and effective means to capture the information that I was attempting to understand. However, I was also drawn to the methodologies based on their theoretical undergirding which matched my own view of social life, based on lived and observed experiences as well as intellectual leanings. I believe that it is important that this reflexivity and awareness (itself a key theoretical component covered in Chapter 4) is recognised and explicitly stated for full transparency in any form of research. With this in mind, in the following sections I will give a brief account of the influence that ideas from poststructuralism and critical theory have had on my intellectual development, my approach to the study and my overall positionality as a researcher. Then, I will give a brief account of the current state of critical applied linguistics (CAL) and ascertain the place of this study in the CAL landscape. Following this, I will give detailed accounts of the main methodologies employed in this study: linguistic ethnography, membership categorisation analysis, and intersectionality as well as the social theory from which they are built. In addition to this I will attempt to justify why I chose these methodologies and why I believe they are appropriate for the present study.

3.1 Social Theory, Critical Theory and Critical Applied Linguistics

To begin this chapter, I would like to situate this present research project within the ELT/applied linguistics field as well as in the broader history of social and critical theory. The qualitative approach and focus on exploring power hierarchies, structure and individual agency integral to this study put it firmly in the category of Critical Applied Linguistics (CAL). At the beginning of this project, I wanted to make sure that I had a solid understanding of the major concepts of social theory that underpin a lot of the concepts

behind this seam of research. With this aim, I attempted to familiarise myself in a broad manner with the main ideas of Foucault, Habermas, Derrida and Bourdieu as they connect to education and research (the various chapters in Murphy [2015] and Pryke et al. [2003] were very helpful in giving me clear overviews of their main theories) and attempted to connect these ideas with my own understandings of the world, the concepts of CAL and the present study. This was initially satisfactory for me, and I felt secure in the epistemological and ontological basis of my research as part of the CAL field. However, throughout the course of my academic journey for this project I became slightly disillusioned with what I saw as the indiscriminate use of the CAL term for any research that was seen as vaguely “progressive” in nature, which although it often included references to social theory (for example poststructuralism’s roots in Foucault), there appeared to be a dearth of criticality. This led me to an exploration of the origins of critical theory and a deep contemplation of its place in the type of research that this study represents. In this section I will give a brief overview of pertinent aspects of social theory to this study (in particular to teacher identity), critical theory and CAL and attempt to justify that the present study is deserving of a place in this grand tradition and is not simply jumping on the bandwagon of a popular contemporary buzzword.

3.1.1 Social theory and teacher identity

In order to explore the social theory that underlines a great deal of teacher identity work, it is useful to once again return to Barkhuizen's (2017) definition of teacher identity, that sees LTIs as being:

core and peripheral, personal and professional, they are dynamic, multiple, and hybrid, and they are foregrounded and backgrounded. And LTIs change, short-term and over time - discursively in social interaction with teacher educators, learners, teachers, administrators, and the wider community. (p. 4)

The overall postmodern and post-structural message that teachers can be one and the other at the same time can be traced to thinkers such as Deleuze and Guattari, Derrida, and Foucault, whose writings paved the way for a more nuanced approach to social life and individual identity. In the field of learner and teacher identity, this poststructuralist thinking has been picked up by researchers such as Block (2007) and Norton (2000, 2013), who draw heavily on Bourdieu's (1991) ideas around the symbolic power of language and the “legitimate speaker” (see also Kramsch, 2021). In this poststructuralist thinking, identities are considered

as "neither unified or fixed" and "a site of struggle over power" (Weedon, 1997, p. 21) which echoes the context-focused perspective of Derrida's theory of "deconstruction" (Critchley, 1999) to view identities as being constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed in each specific context.

This idea of teacher identity as discursively constructed is also in line with Foucault's discursive formation theory (Foucault, 1972) which puts social interaction at the heart of social and individual identities. Foucault (1972) describes discursive formation as happening "whenever between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations)" (p. 41). Although Foucault was dissecting the more traditional scholarship of medicine, economics, and grammar, when the theory is applied to a complex and personal concept such as individual identity his ideas can seem even more powerful as they allow us to see an aspect such as gender or linguistic status, which appears simple and fixed on the surface, to correlate with and against others in each context to change positions and transform from moment to moment. This line of thinking has also made Foucault a significant point of reference in Intersectionality theory (Collins, 2019), although his influence is somewhat contested in the field, with scholars arguing for a move away from White, male, Western thinkers as foundational touchstones (Hancock, 2016).

In terms of the more specific area of native-speakerism and teacher identity that this study explores, two thinkers should be given special prominence: Erving Goffman and Pierre Bourdieu. Goffman's conception, put forward in "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (Goffman, 1959), that all social interaction can be seen as a performance, with each participant, or "actor", employing a range of sophisticated techniques in order to play a role seems extremely relevant to the idea of socially constructed "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" identities in Japan. For "native speaker" teachers this may manifest itself in playing the "professional foreigner" (Galloway, 2014; Heimlich, 2013) role that may be implicit in the expectations of the students or explicitly demanded by the institution they are working for. This involves presenting an idealised version of the "native speaker" that meets expected standards, causing the teacher to "forgo or conceal action which is inconsistent with these standards" (Goffman, 1959, p. 41), for example hiding language ability and cultural knowledge. For the "non-native speaker", I found Goffman's ideas around "rhetoric of training" (1959, p. 46) useful to draw on. This is the idea that training and qualifications serve to "in part maintain a monopoly, but in part to foster the impression that the licensed practitioner is someone who has been reconstituted by his learning experience" (Goffman,

1959, p. 46). This may result in “Centre qualification bias” (Lowe, 2015) and a feeling of inferiority, or even illegitimacy, if a “non-native speaker” teacher’s academic attainments are obtained outside of the Inner Circle of Western education (Anderson, 2016; Lowe & Lawrence, 2018).

Additionally, Goffman's work on stigma (Goffman, 1963) is also pertinent to notions of native-speakerism. In an industry that privileges and idealises the White “native speaker” Inner Circle teacher and has rigid notions about who and what constitutes that ideal, it is often difficult for “non-native speaker” teachers to enter the field and gain respect from students. In Goffman's presentation of the concept, any unwanted trait identified in a social setting will undermine any positive attributes that the individual may be seen to possess “a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated” (Goffman, 1963, p. 5). Therefore, regardless of training and experience, the simple fact of not being a “native speaker” may prevent “non-native speaker” teachers from obtaining certain jobs. Similarly, “native speaker” teachers may be stigmatised as unprofessional and untrained, which may prevent them from attaining promotion.

Although all of the social theorists mentioned thus far influenced my thinking in some way in the writing of this thesis and have allowed me to see connections between wider social concepts and my own narrow field of enquiry, the one thinker whose influence shines through the most in this study is Pierre Bourdieu. In particular, his concept of “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and ideas surrounding “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1990) and the reproduction of power (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) that stem from it, resonate strongly with the implications of this study.

The basic premise of cultural capital was borne from a critique of inequalities within the educational system that led to unequal achievements between children from different classes (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). According to Bourdieu this can be divided into three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied cultural capital refers to the way in which the cultural capital is displayed in the individual and can include mind and bodily traits such as accent and looks. This connects with debates around authenticity and “real” English within the native-speakerism literature (Lowe & Pinner, 2016) and the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach, as well as with racialised views of idealised native speakers (Kubota & Lin, 2006). Secondly, objectified cultural capital refers to “cultural goods” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17) that are seen by others as signifying the cultural capital (or lack of) that the individual possesses. In Bourdieu's example this could include “pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 17) and in

terms of the present study may be extended to include artefacts brought from the “native speaker” teachers’ home countries that add to the perceived authenticity of them as “other” from “non-native speaker” teachers (although this aspect of cultural capital may be losing its power in today’s globalised technological world, where representations of objects are a simple Google search away). Finally, institutionalised cultural capital refers to credentials and qualifications that symbolise the ability and authority of an individual. Again, this has direct resonance within the native-speakerism literature that has identified a qualification bias that favours “non-native speaker” teachers that have obtained CELTA qualifications (Lowe & Lawrence, 2018) and Master’s degrees from Inner Circle countries (Lowe, 2015).

Linked to embodied cultural capital is the concept of “habitus”, which is defined by Bourdieu as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (1990, p. 53). Thus, individuals with a common embodied culture, such as class, nationality or language, also share certain “durable, transposable dispositions” that determine the way that they perceive the social world around them and in turn reproduce and shape the social world as it is (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). In the field of ELT where “native speaker” teachers from Inner Circle countries hold a dominant status position and “non-native speakers” face ideological and real-world discrimination, Bourdieu's ideas around habitus are profound and powerful and help to frame ideas around perpetuation of the “native speaker fallacy” (Phillipson, 1992).

As already alluded to, the three forms of cultural capital outlined by Bourdieu combine together to reproduce power structures in education and society as a whole (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). As such, the dominant group perpetuates “symbolic violence” against the non-dominant group in order to secure its future dominance. This idea can clearly be seen within the broader structures of the ELT industry wherein Western pedagogic practices are disseminated throughout the world through Western-based textbooks and materials (Phillipson, 1992). It can also be applied to individual relations between “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers in deference shown by “non-native speaker” teachers to their “native speaker” peers (Hua & Kramersch, 2016) and is embodied in the “native speaker frame” (Lowe, 2020a) that views Western pedagogy as an unnamed ideological construct.

On top of these three central concepts, Bourdieu's commitment to deconstructing dichotomies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and his emphasis on putting reflexivity at the centre of social research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) is in line with principles of linguistic ethnography (Copland & Creese, 2015) and fits with my own approach to this study.

3.1.2 Critical theory

Critical theory refers to the thoughts and writings of a group of mid-twentieth century thinkers known collectively as the Frankfurt School, with the most prominent members being Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse. Their contention was that the teachings of Marx represented a new conceptualisation of thinking about social life that did not fit any pre-existing epistemologies and thus necessitated a radical re-think of our approach to knowledge (Geuss, 1981). Geuss (1981) outlines three essential features of critical theory: 1) it is aimed at producing enlightenment in agents, 2) it has cognitive content (forms of knowledge), 3) it differs epistemologically from the natural sciences in that natural science is objective, whilst critical theory is reflective (adapted from p. 2). This rejection of the “objective” epistemology of positivism is central to the conceit of critical theory. Positivism is rejected on the grounds that although it may be able to advance science and technology (for example) it does so without a subjective, reflective moral element, as Horkheimer (2013 [1947]) puts it: “According to the philosophy of the average modern intellectual, there is only one authority, namely science...The statement that justice and freedom are better in themselves than injustice and oppression is scientifically unverifiable and useless” (p. 15). This deification of objective reason leads to acceptance of the status quo as a natural fact which is to be respected, which in turn leads to the absence of any inclination to change the situation even in the face of oppression as “minds are closed to dreams of a basically different world” (Horkheimer, 2013 [1947], p. 106). Critical theorists see this as a basic moral failing of society as a whole. In the narrower context of language teaching that this study is situated in, the main ideals of the Frankfurt School have been translated into the field of Critical Applied Linguistics.

3.1.3 Critical applied linguistics

Critical Applied Linguistics (CAL) is described by Pennycook in his seminal book “Critical applied linguistics: A critical introduction” (2001) as simply “a critical approach to applied linguistics” (p.1) (this was adjusted slightly to “a critical approach to the theory and practice of applied linguistics” [Pennycook, 2021, p. 22] in the substantially rewritten recent updated version). He then goes on to avoid a concrete definition, preferring instead to map out the different aspects of what may be considered a critical approach. These aspects cover a lot of the same ground as the Frankfurt School’s critique of modern society: the acceptance of the

status quo, the over-reliance on quantitative models of research, lack of acknowledgement of oppression and injustice, and a focus on deconstructing power hierarchies.

Since Pennycook's concretization of these ideas and concepts that had been building up in the applied linguistics field for many years (i.e., the critical pedagogy of Freire [1970], hooks' education as the practice of freedom [1994]), the popularity of CAL has grown exponentially (a Google search for the term produces over 50 million hits). However, as it has done so, it appears that the core components of CAL have been diluted (Pennycook, 2021), co-opted as tokenistic gestures, or forgotten entirely (Kubota & Miller, 2017), becoming "more of a methodology than a political engagement" (Pennycook, 2021, p. 2). However, by even raising this criticism or concern I realise that I am unsheathing a double-edged sword. Kubota and Miller (2017) outline this conundrum clearly:

trying to draw a rigid line between what is critical and what is not would contradict a postmodern consensus that meanings are neither fixed nor singular, but rather multiple and shifting. However, a relativistic view can obscure the commitment to justice, equality, and antioppression, and this tension between relativism and absolutism is difficult to resolve (p. 131).

I agree. It has been one of the most difficult aspects for me to reconcile as I undertook this study. The conclusion, or possibly compromise, that I have come to is that the theoretical underpinnings of this study are firmly rooted in the tradition of poststructuralist (drawing heavily on Weedon's [1997] feminist poststructuralism) critical applied linguistics, with a key focus on the Marxist-inspired critical theory that places a premium on reflexivity and the recognition that social (or scientific) inquiry should come from a subjective moral standpoint, i.e. the alleviation of oppression in all its multifarious forms and incarnations. With this broad overview of the theoretical underpinnings of the study in mind, I will now move on to the specific methodologies that were employed in this study.

3.2 Linguistic ethnography

Linguistic ethnography (LE) is an emerging "theoretical and analytical framework which takes an epistemological position broadly aligned with social constructivist and poststructuralist approaches by critiquing essentialist accounts of social life" (Creese, 2010, p. 138). This is done by combining the situated context of ethnography and its fieldwork methods of observation, fieldnotes and interviews with the attention to detail that linguistic analysis offers.

3.2.1 History and key concepts of linguistic ethnography

Although its roots reach far back into the beginning of the twentieth century and Sapir's (1921) insistence on the mutual co-existence of language and culture, it was not until 2001 that a loose collection of interested scholars formed the Linguistic Ethnography Forum (LEF) (Rampton, 2007a; Rampton et al., 2004). This formalising of LE went some way towards establishing LE as a movement, but its proponents state that it cannot yet lay claim to being a clearly defined approach (Shaw et al., 2015).

Linguistic ethnography draws heavily on the cultural anthropology of Hymes' "ethnography of communication" (1964), which argued for the importance of analysing linguistic practices from a perspective of context that the discipline of ethnography can offer, such that "it is rather that it is not linguistics, but ethnography - not language, but communication - which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described" (Hymes, 1964, p. 3). As well as Hymes, Copland and Creese (2015) identify three other key thinkers whose ideas have greatly influenced LE: John Gumperz, Erving Goffman and Frederick Erickson. Gumperz' (1982, 1999) ideas around interactional sociolinguistics focus on how people interpret the signs and signals of everyday conversation that uses knowledge that goes "considerably beyond the grammatical competence we need to decode short isolated messages" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 1), to also include a view of the larger social picture that shows "how conversational analysis can serve to establish direct explanatory links between interpretive processes and participants' history and ethnic backgrounds" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 8). This approach is explicitly referenced by Rampton (2007b) in his linguistic ethnographic study of social class in interaction in an inner London multi-ethnic comprehensive school. Goffman's contribution to LE is his focus on the social situation and the rituals, routines and performances that these situations require (Copland & Creese, 2015). His attention to the concept of performance (Goffman, 1959) as it pertains to identity has been especially influential. Finally, Erickson's "microethnography" takes a similar starting point to Gumperz but places stronger emphasis on the link between the micro-interaction of everyday discourse and the macro influence of wider society. In this he maintains that although local, moment-to-moment factors determine our social and linguistic interactions, it is "profoundly influenced by processes that occur beyond the temporal and spatial horizon of the immediate occasion of interaction" (Erickson, 2004, p. viii). These theoretical origins of LE are all pertinent to the present study that aims to link participants' backgrounds to their immediate interactional circumstances, as well as the role of performance in institutional identity construction, while connecting the micro-

level of interactions to the wider social landscape of Japanese society.

One of the key differences between LE and its US counterpart, linguistic anthropology, is that in the US the crossover came from anthropologists taking an interest in language and linguistics, whilst in the UK, the LE movement has been largely driven by applied linguists turning to ethnography as a means to broaden the scope of linguistic research. It also largely deals with institutions and communications within the UK itself, and goes further even than other ethnography that aims to “make the familiar strange” by often focusing on arenas to which the researcher has a direct connection (see Copland, 2011 for example). It has also led to an interdisciplinary approach (Shaw et al., 2015) that on one hand may be preventing LE from becoming a clearly defined entity, but that may be seen as a useful method for uniting disparate fields and opening up the silos that so often limit the scope of academic research. Rampton et al (2015) identify the current stage in interdisciplinarity in LE as “Mode 2” interdisciplinarity that goes beyond simply borrowing methods from other disciplines to overcome a particular problem (Mode 1). “Mode 2” interdisciplinarity is rooted firmly in real world issues wherein “it is the multi-dimensional complexity of the problem that motivates the mixing” (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 21).

In addition to the core thinkers behind LE identified above, LE's commitment to a “heightened methodological reflexivity” (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 15) and researcher transparency (Copland & Creese, 2015) can be seen to echo Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) call for a “reflexive sociology” that acknowledges and makes explicit the position and outlook of the researcher in the research process. As Bourdieu stated: “A research presentation...is a discourse in which you *expose yourself*, you take risks...The more you expose yourself, the greater your chances of benefiting from the discussion” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 219 original italics). As well as this, LE's emphasis on the importance of the “beneficial societal impact” (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 11) of research may also be seen to complement Bourdieu's view of the academic as political actor who uses science to produce and promote truth (Rawolle & Lingard, 2013).

3.2.2 Theoretical background of linguistic ethnography

Although LE has been utilised by researchers operating in a variety of fields and for a variety of purposes, from purely academic to utilitarian policy planning, all LE research shares the same theoretical view that “language and the social world are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday

activity” (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2). This postmodern/poststructuralist approach rejects the face value of fixed assumptions, arguing that power structures and social relations as they pertain to gender, race, class, sexuality and any other identity categories are not inherent, but discursively constructed and reproduced (Copland & Creese, 2015). Thus, in this discursive construction, “meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain” (Rampton, 2007b, p. 3). This approach aims to deconstruct dichotomies and essentialisms, something that ethnography has been criticised for failing to do in the past, and allows for a richer, more nuanced picture to emerge in terms of new and emergent outlooks on culture and diversity (Copland & Creese, 2015).

Added to this is the micro/macro (or emic/etic) perspective that “sees the analysis of small phenomena as set against an analysis of big phenomena” (Creese, 2010, p. 139). This concept, taken from ethnography, is one of the key theoretical concepts that allows LE practitioners to address real world issues and to situate the minutiae of everyday interactional discourse within wider social frameworks, with a recognition that they are mutually interconnected, with each part affecting and influencing the other.

3.2.3 Justification for using LE as a methodological framework

The aim of the present study is to investigate the discursive construction and co-construction of teacher identity as it pertains to concepts of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker”. Although perhaps seemingly simple on the surface, notions of native-speakerness do not solely depend on linguistic status, but (especially in the case of “native speakers” of English) are bound up with notions of racial and ethnic background (Holliday, 2015; Kubota & Lin, 2006), nationality (Singh, 1998) as well as self-identification as a native speaker (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) (see Chapter 2). Additionally, this study attempts to explore both sides of the native-speakerism debate that pits Holliday's (2006) definition of native-speakerism as referring to “a pervasive ideology within TESOL, characterized by the belief that “native speaker” teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology” (p.385) against Houghton and Rivers' (2013) argument that “native speaker” teachers also face discrimination in the form of typecasting and glass ceilings (see Chapter 2 for a full exploration of these definitions).

Against this complex background, I was looking for a methodology that would allow me to analyse interactional discourse within micro and meso contexts, within the wider

macro society of Japan, where the study took place. In order to achieve this, I chose the subfield of Conversation Analysis (CA) (which LE researchers often draw on) known as Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1992; Stokoe, 2012) (see below for a full explanation and justification of MCA). However, I felt that analysing discourse by itself may not be enough to capture the everyday experiences of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers within an institution in Japan. By adding an ethnographic element, I was able to take into account the wider surroundings of the institution through observations, informal chats (“go alongs” [Kusenbach, 2003]), institutional representations of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers in official literature, physical environment, or any other aspects that may be seen as pertinent to understanding how identities are constructed.

It is my hope that by using the tools of ethnography: participant observation, fieldnotes and interviewing that I have been able to capture at least a sense of the research site environment that may have an influence on the identity of the participating teachers. Using classroom observation allowed me to witness and document first-hand the interactions that took place between students and teachers, which offered me some insights in terms of conversational topic selection and teacher-student interaction that were pertinent to the present study. The accompanying fieldnotes helped me to focus my attention on relevant interactions and give initial interpretations in real time. Interviewing participants using the semi-structured reflexive interview approach helped to provide a view from the participants' side and allowed a chance for reflection and interpretation. This allowed participants space to corroborate, or as was often the case, refute, my interpretations of what I had observed. In addition to this, interviewing the participants' students added a further dimension by allowing me to compare and contrast perceived perceptions with reported perceptions (see Chapter 4 for a fuller account of data collection methodology).

LE's commitment to a postmodern and poststructuralist viewpoint is also useful for the present study in the way that it attempts to deconstruct social constructions. As Copland and Creese (2015) state: "Linguistic ethnography investigates the construction and robustness of social categories and categorisation processes; taken-for-granted assumptions about groups, categories and peoples are the objects of their research, as are the processes of diversity and change" (p. 26). In the present study, it is the categorisation of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” English teachers that I am attempting to understand and deconstruct.

Linguistic ethnography as a still emerging methodology and framework that marries linguistic interactional research with a holistic ethnographic approach seemed to me to provide the ideal vehicle for me to carry out a research project into the discursive construction of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teacher identities, which I believe it has successfully done.

3.3 Conversation Analysis and Membership Categorisation Analysis

Within the broader methodology of LE, the study uses approaches from Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) in order to interpret the data. I will first give a brief overview of Conversation Analysis (CA), then explore MCA in detail, before giving a full justification for its selection for this study.

Conversation Analysis (CA) is an analytical approach to sociological research that grew out of Garfinkel's (1967) concept of ethnomethodology that seeks to treat practical activities, circumstances, and sociological reasoning as “topics of empirical study, and by paying to the most commonplace activities of daily life the attention usually accorded extraordinary events, seek to learn about them as phenomena in their own right” (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 1). This is done by focusing on “actions-in-context” (p. 10) and how they pertain to common understandings of everyday actions.

This approach was more finely sculpted by Sacks (1992) and his colleagues (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) into CA and ethnomethodology (sometimes shortened to EM/CA), which sees conversational interaction as “a form of social organization through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done” (Schegloff, 1996, p. 4) and was previously defined as involving “the study of technical transcripts of recordings of everyday and institutional talk of various kinds, focusing on the turn-by-turn organisation of interaction” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 36). This analytical approach consists of audio recording everyday and institutional talk and transcribing selected short extracts into a finely detailed script that describes not only the words uttered, but also the multitude of other inflections (pauses, sniffs, pitch, breath, intonation, overlaps etc) that make up the minutiae of our spoken interactions. This is then analysed to identify patterns and uncover commonalities, for the purpose of solving social problems. However, as CA has evolved, this Schegloffian technical focus has expanded somewhat, allowing attention to space, place and social context to emerge (see various contributions to R.J. Smith et al., 2021).

One aspect of CA that is relevant to the present study and the decision to use MCA, rather than straight CA is its relationship to context. In pure CA, the “recurrent, observable

form and sequential organization” (Sanders, 1999, p. 130) of the talk in interaction provides the context, and it is only this that should be analysed. Evidence and knowledge that is external to this (such as the participants themselves and the researcher’s own experience and knowledge) is seen as irrelevant and a form of bias.

Often seen as a subfield of CA, Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) has struggled to establish itself within the social sciences in the same way that CA has been able to. The key difference that sets MCA apart from CA is that it allows researchers that have a specific interest in aspects of identity, such as gender, sexuality, or in the case of this study, “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” status, to study them “as members’, rather than analysts’, categories” (Stokoe, 2012, p. 278) (i.e., as products of the interaction with participants, rather than pre-assigned *a priori* categories imposed by the researcher). This results in an alternative analytical approach to CA that focuses much more on particular interactional settings and their categorisational aspects, rather than the sequential focus of CA analysis. In this way, MCA is not a method of analysis per se, “but rather a collection of observations and an analytic mentality towards observing the ways and methods people orient, invoke and negotiate social category-based knowledge when engaged in social action” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 6). I understand this to mean that it is an approach to research analysis that focuses on the interactions and utterances, which can be seen to be category-bound orientations. Therefore, this is the approach I attempted to take in my analysis.

This focus away from sequential analysis of micro-interactions often means that MCA analysis, although no less systematic and thorough than CA, often produces case studies that are analysed through context (indexicality), inference and implications (rather than the rigid adherence to context as plainly and explicitly seen in interaction, as outlined above). Indexical order is described as “the concept necessary to showing us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 193) and is broadly concerned with how these larger macro-social frames are oriented to (indexed) through social interaction (Gray & Morton, 2018) and should not be imposed by the researcher (Stokoe, 2012). In the case of language teacher identity, the macro-level identity of “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” may at any moment be referred to or implied in interaction, which can have a profound effect on the identity we are then able to perform. Although this may take place in the here-and-now of interactive communication, it has wider implications for personal and professional practice (Gray & Morton, 2018) and for how we see ourselves and are seen by others.

3.3.1 How MCA is used in analysis

Stokoe (2012) offers ten key concepts of MCA in order to explain how MCA analysis is carried out in practice. Although all ten concepts informed my overall approach to the analysis, I will outline only the pertinent ones here that I refer to explicitly by name in my analysis.

The “lynchpin for the analysis” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 8) that inform categorisation work in MCA analysis is the concept of the Membership Categorisation Device (MCD), which refers to “the apparatus through which categories are understood to ‘belong’ to a collective category” (Stokoe, 2012, p. 281), the link between categories and activities (certain people linked to certain activities), relational pairs, positioned hierarchies, and the common reductive nature of single category categorisation (p. 281). MCDs are identified by implicit and explicit references to categories by members (in this study these members are my main teacher participants in both their interview answers as well as their actions and inferences as I observe them in the classroom setting) and non-members (in this case it is the students of the participating students, as well as the department manager and the institution of the research site), and involve a working background knowledge of the expectations and legitimate actions of differently categorised members (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015). Once referenced, categories are then used to “form co-memberships with other categories in an organisational and situational relevant device” (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 8). This means that references to, for example “non-native speaker” and “native speaker”, will be placed in the MCD of “English teachers in Japan” and organised in relation to one another and situated within the context of teaching English in Japan.

Also relevant for the present study is the concept of relational pairs. In Sacks’ classic example of “The baby cried, the mommy picked it up” (Sacks, 1972), a powerful, but mundane and unconscious categorical understanding is generated that the two categories of “baby” and “mommy” are inextricably linked and that it is that particular baby’s mother that is being referred to. In the present study, the widely recognised relational pair of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” English teacher categories is explored and deconstructed, along with a wide range of other categorisations that emerged from the data.

The final concept that I explicitly refer to in my analysis is category-bound activities. Category-bound activities refer to activities “that are, in situ, linked to categories” (Stokoe, 2012, p.281). For example, in this study classrooms activities such as playing games and using silly voices may be category bound to “native speaker” teachers. In contrast, classroom

activities such as studying grammar and memorising word lists may be category bound to “non-native speaker” (or perhaps only Japanese) teachers.

Further to these key concepts, Stokoe (2012) also offers five guiding principles for carrying out MCA projects: collecting data across different settings, building collections of explicit as well as category-resonant mentions of categories, locating the instance of categorisation within the interaction, analysing the conversational turn within which the instance happens, and looking for evidence of how respondents accept or resist these instances (p. 280). I attempted to keep these key concepts in mind as I analysed the data

3.3.2 Justification for use of Membership Categorisation Analysis as an analytical approach

Ethnomethodological approaches, using both CA and MCA have been used to study identity in a number of different contexts (see Antaki & Widdicombe, [1998a] for a range of examples) and in my own field of ELT, MCA has been employed by Richards (2006) to examine teacher identity representations in classroom discourse.

Antaki & Widdicombe (1998b) put forward five general principles for the application of CA to identity. These state that to have an identity is to be put into a category with *associated characteristics*, which is *indexical* and *occasioned* (i.e. context and occasion-specific), relevant to the interaction at hand, which is evidenced by the visible consequences of the interaction, and taking place within established interaction structures (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998b, p. 3). Although these principles can offer a diverse approach with a number of advantages, they may also be limiting and suffer from several disadvantages.

One advantage of taking a CA approach to identity is the nuance and depth of identity analysis that it affords. As Tracy (2002, cited in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) indicates, not only “master identities” such as gender, class, or in my area of research, linguistic status (as well as nationality, race, age, class, and gender), but also “interactional” (context-driven), “relational”, and “personal” (personality) identities (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 70) can be investigated using EM/CA. As well as being able to focus on these different identity aspects, the in-depth level of analysis that CA demands allows for a deep exploration of a narrow topic or area, which can lead to new insights and connections that a mere surface analysis might otherwise miss. Another advantage is EM's original commitment to empirically capturing everyday conversation in real life, which allows us as researchers to view conversations, or “talk-in-interaction” (Schegloff, 1987), as they occur in the organised chaos of multi-person communication (e.g., a language classroom).

Many of the disadvantages of employing an EM/CA approach to research are the logistics and practicalities of the research method itself. The detailed transcriptions that CA requires are extremely labour-intensive for the researcher. This may put a lot of researchers off doing this kind of research or force them to employ the services of outside transcription services, which means that the researcher may have less engagement with the material and lead to certain nuances being missed if the transcribers have no knowledge of the field. As well as presenting difficulties for the researcher, the large number of transcription signs and symbols that have built up since CA's first inception (see Jefferson, 2004) can also render the final text incomprehensible to the reader. The result of this is that CA may stay within its own academic, institutional bubble and is unable to reach lay people as well as other researchers who may have similar interests in terms of topics, but are not able to access the work due to the exclusionary nature of transcription conventions. CA proponents argue that this detailed level of representation is necessary in order to fully understand and analyse the multitude of nuances that CA is so adept at capturing and that simple journalistic-style renderings can even lead to misrepresentation of the data (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017). There is also the fact that in strict forms of CA, the transcript contains the complete context. Therefore, it is necessary for the transcript to be as detailed as possible in order to create the necessary contextual information.

At the beginning of my engagement with CA, I was more on the side of the detractors and believed that the high level of detail given was entirely unnecessary and possibly even elitist. However, my participation over the last year in Scottish Ethnomethodology Discourse, Interaction & Talk (SEDIT) sessions organised by the University of Edinburgh have helped me to see the benefit of close transcriptions and attention to detail and I have softened my stance somewhat. Although, I still believe that when transcriptions become so bogged down in detailed transcription that they are almost unreadable, they do more harm than good to the data that is being presented, I now see the value of striking a balance between detail and readability. Taking both sides of this issue into account, the present study uses simple, non-detailed, relatively clean transcriptions to represent the data. For example, significant pauses, false starts, micro pauses, laughter, strong emphasis of individual words and speech overlaps are included in the transcripts. However, insignificant shifts in pitch, speed, and loudness of speech (for example) are not represented (see Appendix for transcript guide). The reason for this decision is partly in order to make the work as readable and accessible as possible and to allow the data to flow quickly and easily as it is represented in case studies. However, the

main determinant is the value that the transcription level can bring to the analysis. I believe that the level of detail given matches the needs of the study.

One criticism of MCA is that if the researcher is explicitly focusing on socially constructed identity categories then there is a danger that by using MCA they are already pre-fixing the categories (Widdicombe, 1998), rather than allowing them to emerge from the data. This was a problem that I wrestled with in the early stages of the research as I was recruiting participants based on my own categorisation of them as “native” and “non-native” English teachers. I attempted to mitigate against this by focusing on how each participant self-identified when building a complete profile of each participant (see individual case studies for full participant biographies). I also agree with Weedon (1997) that “(A)s postmodernists we can use categories such as ‘gender’, ‘race’ and ‘class’ in social and cultural analysis but on the assumption that their meaning is plural, historically and socially specific” (p. 178).

Another reason for using MCA was that it can complement linguistic ethnography (LE) very well (see K. Hall, 2011 for example). The focus on context that LE takes from Hymes (1964) and the interactional sociolinguistics of Gumperz (1982, 1999) both have clear links to CA. However, the ethnographic approach of LE (observations, fieldnotes, photos etc.) allows for a wider picture of the research site and participants to emerge in order to place the CA analysis within a precise context. I believe that this added an extra depth that a straightforward CA study may not have provided. With regard to the topic of the study, “native” and “non-native speaker” teacher identities, in which the “native speaker frame” (Lowe, 2020a) may be seen to affect every aspect of the lived experience of “native” and “non-native” teachers alike, I saw it as essential that the study was able to capture the wider experiences of the participants. As Widdicombe (1998) describes it: “The important analytic question is not therefore whether someone can be described in a particular way, but to show *that* and *how* this identity is made relevant or ascribed to self or others” (p. 191, emphasis in original). I hope that by taking a CA (with particular use of MCA) approach to this research that I have been able to answer this analytic question.

3.4 A Short Note on Tensions Between CA, Linguistics and Ethnography

In utilising MCA within an LE framework, this study goes beyond the usual constraints of CA, which holds the belief that it is the sequential organisation of talk in interaction that provides the context and that only this should be analysed (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, Hammersly, 2007) to take into account the background and history of the participating

teachers, as well as the wider social and historical context of Japan, even when such contexts are not explicitly referenced in the interactions analysed.

I am aware of the existing tensions between CA and ethnography. For example, Sanders (1999) contends that “in principle, necessarily, culture is an unapparent and functionally unimportant element of routine everyday interactions – from the perspective of participants and analysts alike...Culture does not exist *in* interactions but *between and across* them” (p. 130, italics in original). I fundamentally disagree that culture is an unimportant element of everyday interactions, however I do believe that it does require a researcher with knowledge of the context and culture under analysis to be able to identify and interpret references and inferences. For example, in her study of masculinity, class, sexuality and gender in India, K. Hall (2011), a linguistic anthropologist, successfully melds ethnography with CA, arguing that “the conversations that precede and follow a stretch of talk – whether distanced by days, months, or even years – are just as crucial for understanding the localised ways in which speakers orient to abstract concepts” (p. 144). In this way, conversation (in the present study, conversation analysed is classroom interactions between teachers and students, as well as reflexive interviews between the researcher and participants and researcher and participants’ students) is always a product of the specific social and historic context (in my case, an educational institution in Japan at the end of the second decade of the 21st century) and the social meaning of the interactions analysed, “can only be determined by attending to the local worlds of discourse that control that meaning-making” (K. Hall, 2011, p. 144).

I am also in agreement with Hammersly (2006) that to shut out culture and context “ignores the traditional ethnographic commitment to understanding people’s perspectives” (p. 10) and that traditional CA is not the only rigorous way to examine social phenomena (Hammersly, 2007). Antaki (2011) identifies six types of Applied Conversation Analysis: foundational, social-problem oriented, communicational, diagnostic, institutional and interventionist. The present study would fit into the category labelled by Antaki as social-problem applied CA. In this type, CA is used to explore large-scale macro issues in society, for example, Kitzinger’s (2005, cited in Antaki, 2011) study of societal assumptions about sexuality. I believe that for the purposes of the present study, examining teacher identity with a focus on “native/non-native speaker” constructions, the social-problem oriented CA/MCA that I adopt is fully compatible with that of LE, and although perhaps unorthodox, it is not without precedent.

I am also aware of the tension between ethnography and linguistics, with the more flexible, reflexive approach of ethnography’s rhetorical forms often seen as being at odds

with the careful, standardised empirical features of linguistics (Rampton, 2007a). However, as Rampton (2007a) indicates, it is possible to treat these differences as complementary strengths, with ethnography “*humanising language study*” (Rampton, 2007a, p. 596), and linguistics helping to “produce ethnographies that are more subtle and detailed” (Rampton, 2007a, p. 596). It is my hope that by adopting MCA (rather than pure CA) as part of a wider LE methodology that these tensions can be resolved, and that the value of context and comparison that LE allows can be used effectively.

3.5 A Short Note on Ascribing Labels

One key epistemological conundrum that the research premise as described thus far throws up is the problem of pre-categorisation of the participants into “native” and “non-native” speaker identities. If the aim of the study is to explore and deconstruct these identities as the socially constructed categories they are purported to be, then pre-categorising participants in this matter may negate the overall aim of the research. In order to circumvent this issue, it is important to reject the essentialist group description “native English teachers in Japan” (or “non-native English teachers in Japan”) and instead seek to understand how “native” and “non-native speaker” circulates as a representation in Japanese discourse, “how it settles on particular humans, how it comes to channel and constrain their position and activity” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 35). By viewing identities as “semiotic potential” brought about by practical self-identification through interaction, I have tried to avoid the reductionist essentialising that the “constructivist language that is required by academic correctness” (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 6) may imply. However, in order to retain clarity and to allow the labels to be made relevant by the data (rather than the researcher) I have chosen to use the labels as they are understood by the subjects and the participants themselves as they emerged from the data.

A further argument for retaining labels is put forward by Skeggs (2004a, 2004b). Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1977b) concepts of value and exchange, Skeggs (2004a) argues that if identity ascriptions are attributed value, then the “refusal to accept inscription and be bound by its value is a significant act in challenging the dominant symbolic order” (p. 13). When considering marginalised people as lacking (i.e., the “non” in the “non-native speaker” label) it is important to understand and recognise alternative value systems that may be in place (Skeggs, 2004b) and that the label itself may give an impetus for resistance. This is a pertinent point that is also taken up by intersectionality scholars (Crenshaw, 1991) as well as that put forward by Bourdieu (2001) in the context of fighting male domination: “how can

people revolt against a socially imposed categorization except by organizing themselves as a category constructed according to that categorization...?” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 120).

3.6 Intersectionality

In order to help me interpret the wide array of identity categories that emerged from the data, in tandem with MCA, I also made use of intersectionality as both a theoretical approach as well as an analytical tool.

The term intersectionality was coined by US lawyer and civil rights activist Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980s (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991), and was originally theorized as a way to analyse and represent the unique experience of oppression faced by black women in the US. After decades languishing in relative academic obscurity, the term intersectionality has now come to prominence as part of everyday social and media discourse (Carastathis, 2016; Hancock, 2016). However, with the popularising of any complex concept, recent popular uses of intersectionality have been criticised for viewing intersectionality as simply the intersection of different identity categories or different issues, without recognising the power hierarchies and the historical and contextual narratives at work (Mack, 2020). Collins and Bilge (2016) define intersectionality as “a way of understanding and analysing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences” and that in terms of social inequality, “people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race, gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other” (p. 2). As this succinct definition shows, the organisation of power and the oppression and privileges that the organisation engenders is key to intersectional analysis. Collins (2019) expands on this concept by offering six core constructs of what she terms “intersectionality’s paradigmatic ideas”: relationality, power, social inequality, social context, complexity, and social justice. These are accompanied by four guiding premises: 1) race, class, gender and other systems of power are interdependent and mutually constructing, 2) intersecting power relations produce complex interdependent social inequalities, 3) the social location of people and groups within these intersecting power relations shapes their experiences, 4) solving social problems within a given context requires intersectional analyses (adapted from Collins, 2019, p. 44).

In the applied linguistics field, although long called for (Block, 2014; Levon, 2015), research that utilises intersectionality has been slow to emerge. Block and Corona (2016) used intersectionality to analyse the experiences of Latina immigrants in Spain and Park (2017) used narratives given by female East Asian teachers to explore and expose the

complexity of privilege and marginalisation in different teaching contexts. In addition to this, my own research has used intersectionality as an analytical tool in order to investigate the intersections of race, gender, sexuality and native-speakerness (Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020) as well as the role of identity in approaches to translanguaging (Nagashima & Lawrence, 2020) and different aspects of marginalisation felt by female, “non-native”, non-Japanese English teachers in Japan (Nagashima & Lawrence, 2021).

3.6.1 Justification for use of intersectionality

A key reason for applying the theoretical lens of intersectionality is to allow the study to focus on the power dynamics and hierarchies, both in the macro context of wider society and the micro context of individual interactions that can lead to discrimination and marginalization. Addressing social issues is seen as one of the key features of LE (Copland & Creese, 2015; Shaw et al., 2015), with one of the main elements of LE being to “aspire to improve social life” (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 5). Similarly, intersectionality has the more explicitly direct purpose of achieving social justice for those that may be discriminated against or marginalized (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

With regard to the native-speakerism debate that this study attempts to deconstruct, it could be argued that the current debate in and around native-speakerism has tended to treat all “native” and “non-native” English speakers as monolithic entities, a view that fails to consider the diversity of identities each individual contains. The result of this has been to push for equity and justice for some idealised “non-native speaker” at the expense of other categories that an individual teacher may identify as, often leading to the marginalisation of the most vulnerable, i.e. female “non-native speaker” teachers from Outer and Expanding Circle countries (this is not to suggest, of course, that all teachers meeting this criterion should automatically be seen as oppressed victims, to do so would be to impose a Western, “White saviour” rhetoric onto a diverse population). Therefore, I see one of the key aims of this study as aspiring to directly expose the structures and ideologies that lead to discrimination against both “non-native” and “native speaker” teachers and seeking clues as to how this may be mitigated against in the future.

Additionally, although in the present study the focus is on construction of identity as it pertains to identification as a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” English teacher, studies have shown that perceptions of who is seen to be a “native speaker” are not confined to linguistic status but are extended to include notions of nationality (Singh, 1998), ethnicity (Kubota & Lin, 2006), and even name (Ali, 2009), with “native speaker” often used as a

proxy for Whiteness (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013). Therefore, I also consider the teachers in my study as diverse, multiple selves, which I believe the extra dimension of laminating intersectionality onto LE methodology allows me to explore more fully. As Block and Corona (2016) argue, “injustice is never about just one dimension of being... by grasping this complexity and confronting it as such, researchers are more likely to be able to propose action on behalf of those who suffer injustice” (p. 519). It is my hope that this study goes some way towards achieving this aim.

However, I also hope to go beyond this. In research that utilises intersectionality, the default setting is to focus on discrimination and the marginalised. Whilst this is definitely part of this research project, by including both “non-native speaker” teachers (the nominally marginalised) and “native speaker” teachers (the nominally privileged) I would like to stretch the remit of intersectionality to investigate privilege as well as discrimination, seeing them as two sides to the same coin.

Despite the inroads that intersectionality has made into the ELT and applied linguistics fields, I feel that there is a lot of unexplored potential for using intersectionality. For example, the international EFL context, which this study is situated in, contains broad globalised power structures (such as native-speakerism, racism and sexism) that are contextualised within localised power structures, with their own historically-situated idiosyncrasies. This complexity provides a rich seam for intersectional understandings of social phenomena.

Despite this optimism regarding the potential of intersectionality for the ELT research field, I do have some misgivings and apprehensions about using it as an analytical tool in this research project. In recent years, as intersectionality has become more mainstream, as well as being “misappropriated and diluted” (Mack, 200, p. x) there is a concern that it is being “whitened” (Bilge, 2014; Calafell et al., 2020) as it is adopted uncritically and taken out of its original conception in Black feminism. By co-opting intersectionality as a metaphor for complexity, White scholars are seen to erase the political aspect of intersectionality. Additionally, by erasing or de-emphasising race (and the foundations laid down by Black feminists) from research that purports to be intersectional, White scholars are accused of re-centring intersectionality to the dominant White norm (Calafell et al., 2020). For example, in the present research, the emphasis from the outset was on perceptions of participants as “non-native”/“native speakers” and not race. Critics of this approach would point out that by de-emphasising the role of race and treating Whiteness as an unmarked norm that this is a White imperialist takeover of intersectionality that allows researchers to use it indiscriminately.

Lugones (2013) also criticises White scholars who pay lip-service to this criticism by prefacing their research with brief passages of reflexivity (as I am doing now) and then proceeding to engage uncritically with the literature and their own data that inevitably re-centres Whiteness and erases differences.

As a White, male, so-called “native speaker” researcher carrying out research in Japan in the ELT field, I am very aware that this represents a great distance from intersectionality’s Black feminist roots in the USA. However, as I engaged in the data analysis for this project and as my understanding of intersectionality grew, it became clear that the power structures that were emerging from the data could not be explained or analysed by a one-dimensional approach to identity and that a recognition of the intersectional complexity of discursive identity construction was inevitable. In addition, I would counteract some of the criticisms that charge that intersectionality is being co-opted and misappropriated by White scholars and popular culture by pointing out that the origins of intersectionality in Black feminism and institutional law were very narrow and it was inevitable that it would break out of this narrow domain at some point. As intersectionality crosses into different academic fields and the historical/social/political context of the research sites change, it is only natural that intersectionality adapts and is adapted to fit the field and the context. Additionally, the role of race in the US, where the concept originated, is unique to its own historical-social context (where race has a far closer relationship with class, for example) and has very different conceptions and meanings when transferred to different contexts (in this case, Japan). However, I take these criticisms and concerns very seriously, and I am conscious that my own intersectional analysis will be filtered through my own lens of experience as a White, male, “native speaker” from an inner circle country (Kachru, 1995). I have attempted to mitigate against these concerns by trying to uphold the core constructs and guiding premises outlined above as I analysed and interpreted the data, putting genuine reflexivity at the heart of the research (see Chapter 4), and resisting the urge to see any aspect of identity as unmarked or normative.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have given a comprehensive overview of the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the study. I have outlined my intellectual journey and grounded the study in what I hope are firm epistemological and ontological foundations. I have also attempted to explain and justify my usage of LE in combination with MCA and Intersectionality as

analytical tools. In the next chapter, I outline the data collection process, and introduce the research site and the participants.

Chapter 4 Data collection, ethics and participants

In this section I will lay out in detail the methods of data collection that were employed in this study as well as giving an overview of the research site and the five participants. I will finish with a brief overview of ethics and reflexivity as they pertain to the study.

4.1 Fieldwork in this study

I will first outline the data collection method and methodological approach of the study.

4.1.1 Pre-field preparation

Pre-field preparation is carried out prior to actually physically entering the research site and should entail the researcher making themselves familiar as far as possible with the context that they are entering. Blommaert and Dong (2010) divide this context into 'macro' and 'micro' context. Macro-contexts refer to the broader social, political, cultural, historical and institutional contexts that the research site is a part of. These can be assumed to be fairly stable and predictable, thus having some background knowledge of these areas helps ethnographers to understand and interpret actions more clearly and also lower the risk of offending cultural or political sensibilities. Micro-contexts on the other hand are the changeable, unpredictable incidents that occur in daily life. For linguistic ethnography in particular this context-specific background knowledge is seen as especially important (Copland & Creese, 2018).

In terms of preparation and familiarising myself with the research site, I was already familiar with the research site (see below for full details of the site) on the macro level of Japanese society and a higher education institution in Japan. As outlined in Chapter 1, at the time of data collection I had been living and working in Japan for over 17 years and in the higher education sector in Japan for 5 years. This gave me a strong grounding in the broader social, political, cultural and historical landscape of the research site. However, it should be noted that my understanding of society, politics, culture and history that falls outside of my own direct lived experience is mostly gathered through English language media and literature, that may present an ethnocentric, anglicised view of Japan. That is not to undermine the value of lived experience and less formal literature (C. A. Davies, 2008). It is difficult to quantify the cumulative knowledge that the thousands of conversations with students, colleagues, friends and family and the countless daily interactions that come with living and working in Japan have allowed me. The same is also true of the natural exposure

by osmosis that the simple act of watching the Japanese nightly news has had on me as a researcher that is researching in their “home” environment. My status as an “outsider” embedded inside (but never quite completely) the macro space of the research site provides me with an interesting starting point.

I was also familiar with the research site as I had formerly been employed at the institution as a full-time teacher of English in the same department that I was researching. This full-time employment had ended in the previous academic year and at the time of data collection I was employed as a part-time teacher in the same department teaching two *komma* (90-minute classes) a week. This meant that I already possessed an insider’s knowledge of the language programme in the department, but at the same time I was at a certain distance from it. This may have produced drawbacks as well as benefits. The familiarity might have led me to accept certain aspects of the research site at face value and not notice certain key points that a less-familiar researcher might have noticed. On the other hand, I believe it allowed me to skip some of the initial steps of traditional ethnography that involve gaining trust and getting a feel for the site. This was an indispensable benefit for me as a busy, working teacher and researcher. It also allowed me ready access to willing participants, most of whom I already had a professional relationship with (Copland & Garton, 2010).

4.1.1.1 Pilot study

Another large part of my pre-field preparation for this study was a small-scale pilot study that I conducted in July 2018. The full results of the pilot study were published as a journal article in the *Journal of Society, Culture & Language* (Lawrence, 2020), I will give a brief overview of the study here and say how it influenced how I proceeded with the main study.

The pilot study consisted of two participants at the same research site as the main study. The participants were Daniel (a pseudonym), an American male teacher who was a long-term resident of Japan, and Yusuke (a pseudonym), a Japanese male teacher with an international background. The data set consisted of two classroom observations and two “communication hour” (lunchtime free conversation sessions in the lounge area of the department in which multiple students come and go freely, eating lunch and chatting with teachers in English) observations per teacher, as well as one interview with each teacher. Added to this were photos from the research site, fieldnotes and informal observations of the research site.

The main results were that in their interactions with the institution of the research site there was a traditional divide between “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers

that “pointed to an entrenched view of fixed identities” (Lawrence, 2020, p. 123), but that there was scope for flexibility and nuance in terms of identity construction in teachers’ interactions with their students in the classroom and in communication hours.

Although the communication hour observations proved to be fruitful in terms of eliciting rich data, I was unable to observe these in the main study. The main reason for this was access and the logistics of scheduling. At the time of the pilot study, I was still a full-time teacher at the research site and thus able to be on hand to observe any communication hour during my lunchtime, which was easily possible with only two participants. However, by the time of data collection for the main study I had changed jobs and was only able to attend the research site twice a week at most. This made it impossible to attend the communication hours of all participants which were distributed throughout the week. Also, one participant (Teacher 5) was employed part-time and was not required to teach in the communication hours. In addition to this, I found that the free nature of the communication hour in which multiple students came and went at will, made it very difficult when it came to the logistics of issuing information forms and giving out and receiving ethics permission forms. Therefore, communication hour observations were not included in the main study.

The other main difference between the pilot study and the main one was the addition of student interviews. In one of the key instances in the pilot study, I overheard students talking in one of the classroom observations saying that they believed the intention of the task set by Yusuke was for the students to “speak like foreigners” (see Lawrence, 2020, p. 121). This student-generated piece of data (uttered out of earshot of the teacher) made me realize that student perceptions were a key part of how teacher identities were constructed. Therefore, I decided to add student interviews to the data set of the main study.

4.1.2 Fieldwork - the research site

Traditionally, fieldwork involved living amongst the community being studied for an extended period of time (at least a year) and engaging in a variety of data collection methods. However, modern ethnographies put less emphasis on length of time in the field and may even be carried out without physically going to a research site, for example in internet-based online ethnographies (C. A. Davies, 2008). This is especially true for LE, where familiar home settings are the norm (Rampton, 2007a).

The research site was a small-sized (under 5000 students) public university located in a semi-urban area in the East of Japan, in this study I will refer to it using the pseudonym “East Japan Public University” or EJPU for short. In Japan, the university ecosphere is fairly

complex with an array of different universities and college types available for students to choose from. In terms of universities (as opposed to vocational colleges or similar), there are three main types: central state (known as “national” universities), local state (known as “public”), and private. In general, national and public universities tend to be ranked higher than private universities (although there are a number of highly ranked private universities that are seen as prestigious) and are often seen as more desirable due to lower tuition fees than private universities (McVeigh, 2002). EJPU is a fairly prestigious public (i.e., under the jurisdiction of the local government) university that was voted one of the Top 20 “small” (under 5000 students) universities in the world in 2016 (reference omitted in order to preserve anonymity). Many of the students at EJPU come from the surrounding area due to the fact that tuition fees, already reasonably low compared to equivalent private universities, are even lower for local students.

The department within which the study took place is a semi-stand-alone department (officially part of the International Liberal Arts faculty, but very much independent of it), with English teachers employed in the department occupying a nebulous, ill-defined role within the university. All teachers are technically on 1-year contracts, however, in practice these are renewed every three years and, unlike in most universities in Japan, teachers are able to renew as many times as they wish.

The language programme of the department, which I will refer to with the pseudonym Real English (RE), is a compulsory course for all first-year students, unless they achieve a score of 500 on the TOEFL iBT test that is administered to all students before the start of term (a TOEIC score of 600 is also accepted). If a student achieves this score, they are exempt from the compulsory RE programme and are free to study in one of the elective Advanced RE courses if they choose to do so. If they do not achieve this (the vast majority of students) they are automatically enrolled in the RE programme. This course consists of three classes per week on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in the morning, with classes focusing on Listening, Reading and Grammar, respectively (although oral communication is supposed to be at the heart of all lessons). At the end of the first semester (the academic year in Japan consists of two long semesters with the first semester running from April to July and the second semester from September to February), students again take a TOEFL iBT test. Students who score above 500 on the test “pass” RE, are no longer required to attend compulsory classes, and are free to choose an elective course or study another language. Again, at the end of the second semester, the remaining students again take the TOEFL iBT test. Students that do not pass at this stage are required to take the second year RE

programme, which is also three classes a week and runs in the afternoons. As well as achieving a test score, students are also required to have an attendance rate of 80% and to complete online learning activities. If students have still not passed the course by the end of their second year, they are required to repeat the second-year course until they pass it. Passing the course is a requirement for graduation. This means that most students are very keen to pass the course as soon as possible in order to open their schedule for other activities (sports, other languages etc.), which results in fairly high levels of motivation. The high rate of TOEFL achievement is also touted in the prospectus as an example of the university's excellence, in order to attract students.

All of the participants in the study teach both the first-year and second-year courses as well as a variety of electives. In the case of the first-year classes, the same teacher teaches the same class for all three of their weekly lessons. For second-year classes, the general tendency is for each individual class to have different teachers for each of the three weekly classes. This means that there is more time for the teacher to build a relationship with students in first-year classes than with students in second-year classes who they would typically only meet once a week. The elective classes are generally seen as more desirable by the teachers as they generally cater to higher level students and allow a greater amount of flexibility and autonomy on the part of the teacher. Due to limited scheduling opportunities, the lesson observations in this study were carried out in first-year classes with four participants, and in second-year classes with one participant (see data collection timetable below).

4.2. Participants

The participants in this study are five teachers of English working in the same English language department of a public university in Japan. Of the five teachers, four were full time employees at the university and one was employed on a part-time contract. Teachers were recruited partly based on their availability and willingness to participate, but the initial decision of which teachers to approach was based on a desire to represent a diversity of gender, nationality, age, and experience in the study. This pre-selection immediately raises an epistemological dilemma, as by pre-selecting I am already assigning participants according to fixed, pre-conceived identity categories that the study seeks to deconstruct. I accept this criticism and although it is difficult to reconcile, I believe that the decision to do so was justified by the final conclusions of the study that different aspects of identity were foregrounded and backgrounded at different points by different parties for different reasons.

Similarly, the decision of how much and what biographical data to include about each participant provided one of the biggest dilemmas for me, both when eliciting information from participants and when presenting it in the final paper (as I am doing now). Again, if the premise of the research is that various aspects of identity are discursively produced and do not represent fixed categories, then it is reductive to use these as a starting point when introducing the participants. Holliday (2018a) and Holliday & Amadasi (2020) for example, deliberately keep certain identity markers vague when presenting examples from research. However, by not presenting any information it is difficult to discuss who or what is being analysed. One way to circumvent this paradox is to rely on participant categories, rather than researcher categories. However, in my view this is overly optimistic in terms of the amount of agency that individuals have over the construction and presentation of their own identities; the self-perceived categories may not match how various identity markers are constructed by forces outside of the control of the individual.

My solution to this epistemological conundrum is to provide a short biography of each participant based on the narratives provided by the participants when asked to talk about their background and how they identify as a teacher at the start of each interview. If broad categories were explicitly mentioned by the participants, or implicitly understood, they will be included in the biography, if not, they will not be included. Although, as the biography data in the case studies will show (and as mentioned above), the construction of identity may at times be outside of the control of the individual, by using their own words as a starting point, this affords a certain degree of agency for the individuals to present themselves as they wish to be perceived. I use the names “Teacher X” as pseudonyms for the participants in order to avoid assigning essentialised versions of gender and nationality markers at the beginning of the study.

Full biographies are provided at the beginning of each case study in order for ease of retention for the reader, however, I will give a very brief outline of the participants in broad identity categories here. These categories were selected due to their relevance to the study. Other information such as experience, qualifications and length of service are included in the case studies, if and when they were relevant.

Table 1 – Overview of participant biographies

Name	Nationality	L1	Gender	Age
Teacher 1	Japanese	Japanese	Female	Mid-thirties

Teacher 2	Australian	English	Male	Mid- thirties
Teacher 3	Italian	Italian	Male	Late-thirties
Teacher 4	Japanese	Japanese	Female	Early-fifties
Teacher 5	Filipino	Tagalog	Male	Late-thirties

4.3 Process and timetable of data collection

All of the data collection was carried out at the research site between 2 October 2019 and 22 January 2020.

4.3.1 Classroom observations

Observation in ethnographic research was previously divided into ‘participant observation’ and ‘non-participant observation’, however, a postmodern approach to ethnography that embraces reflexivity (see below) tends to take the view that all observation is participant observation. Rather than seeking to erase the presence of the researcher and their impact on the study, it should be fully integrated into the structure of the research itself (Gobo, 2008).

In this study, each participating teacher was observed three times, with each observation being carried out at least two weeks apart. For all participants the same class of students was observed in all of the observations. This was decided based purely on scheduling possibilities and may have had benefits and drawbacks for the study. The benefit was that I was able to see the evolution of the relationship between the participating teachers and one group of students evolve over the six to eight weeks of the observation period. Additionally, on a practical level it also made it easier in terms of administering permission forms and gaining consent to be recorded from students. As a drawback, it meant that I was only able to observe one type of lesson for each teacher; seeing a wider variety of lesson types may have yielded different types of interaction. Except for Teacher 5, all of the classes that were observed were first-year Reading focused classes. In the case of Teacher 5, the observed class was a second-year Listening-focused class. Each lesson lasted 90 minutes.

In order to capture the data, I used two video cameras, mounted on tripods and set on either side of the classroom. The exact position of each camera was adjusted for each class to match the physical set up of tables and chairs decided by each teacher. The decision to use two cameras and to place them on the sides of the classroom was made after informal trial runs in my own classes. In these trial runs I found that putting a single camera at the back of the class was unintrusive, but that a lot of the dialogue was missed. This was due to the fact

that students tended to huddle together in small groupings. Although I did not trial it, I felt that having a camera at the front of the classroom, looking directly at the students would prove to be too intrusive and have a detrimental effect on the data. I also found that with only one camera there were a number of blind spots. Therefore, in order to capture as much of the movement and communication in the class as possible, with the minimum intrusiveness, the above decision was taken. In terms of capturing the dialogue and the movement of the students, I believe that the two-camera strategy was very successful. In addition, aside from initial awkward grins when the cameras were turned on or adjusted to match the outlay of the room, they did not appear to influence the behaviour of the students in any way.

A small audio recorder was also put into the pocket of each participating teacher and switched on for the entirety of the observed class. This was done as a back-up and to ensure that the teachers' words were captured even if they went out of the range of the video camera. Unfortunately, this was less successful and despite having no problems when I tried it myself, the recordings were often muffled and difficult to hear clearly. Fortunately, these recordings were not needed in the end as the cameras had captured all dialogue adequately.

As the researcher, I was present in all classroom observations, sitting to one side of the classroom (usually near one of the cameras in case of technical problems) taking fieldnotes. These were written by hand and focused on lesson contents as well as any implicit or explicit identity/categorisation work. I attempted to keep my presence inconspicuous, but I was ready to help out or join in if invited to by the teacher, which did occur on a few occasions.

Table 2 - Timetable of classroom observations

	Observation 1	Observation 2	Observation 3
Teacher 1	2 October 2019	23 October 2019	13 November 2019
Teacher 2	2 October 2019	23 October 2019	13 November 2019
Teacher 3	9 October 2019	30 October 2019	27 November 2019
Teacher 4	16 October 2019	20 November 2019	18 December 2019
Teacher 5	17 October 2019	21 November 2019	19 December 2019

4.3.2 Teacher and department manager interviews

Traditional approaches to research interviews tended to distinguish between vague ideas of 'structured', 'semi-structured' and 'unstructured' (see Dörnyei, 2007 for accounts of these

types) with little theorisation going into the choice of interview type or the interview process itself. Interviews in this study adopted a reflexive approach (Mann, 2016) (see reflexivity section below) that sees a research interview as an active, socially-situated “speech event” that is co-constructed by the interviewer and the interviewee; interview as “social practice” (Talmy, 2010).

Interviews were mostly conducted sometime after the final lesson observation and were scheduled according to mutual convenience between myself and the participant. All interviews were conducted at the research site, either in the office of the participating teacher or in a free classroom. The only exception to this was Teacher 5. Due to scheduling issues, the interview was carried out just prior to the final classroom observation and took place in a café in central Tokyo. The interviews were recorded using a small audio recording device placed on the table between myself and the participant. The audio data was transferred to the University of Stirling secure data storage site as soon as possible after the completion of each interview and erased from the recording device immediately afterwards. At the end of the interview (i.e., the final part of the data collection process), each teacher was given a small gift as a token of gratitude for their participation and co-operation.

Interviews schedules were semi-tailored to each participant. In the first part of the interview, the questions were the same for all participants, with questions about background, identity as a teacher and perceptions of how they are seen by the students, the institution of EJPU, and wider Japanese society. In the second part of the interviews, questions were based on incidents that I had witnessed and ideas that I had picked up from classroom observations. The purpose of this was to see if the participants’ own interpretations matched my own initial analyses.

I did not originally intend to interview the department manager (DM), but due to certain statements from teachers during the interviews, it became clear that it would be useful to obtain the DM’s viewpoint in order to triangulate the data. After making an informal request for an interview, he agreed, and I interviewed him in his office. After establishing some general background information, the questions were directed towards specific issues that had emerged from teacher interviews as well as my own observations.

Table 3 - Timetable of teacher interviews

Teacher	Date	Length of interview
Teacher 1	9 January 2020	1hr 04 min 59 sec

Teacher 2	18 December 2019	56 min 21 sec
Teacher 3	4 December 2019	35 min 29 sec
Teacher 4	9 January 2020	53 min 27 sec
Teacher 5	12 December 2019	1 hr 50 min 21 sec
Department Director	22 January 2020	38 min 14 sec

4.3.3 Student interviews

Student interviews were all conducted on the day of the final observation of the teacher whose class they were in. In some cases this occurred just prior to the final class and in other cases just after the final class was observed. Interviews were conducted in pairs and participating students were selected by the teacher after first self-volunteering to take part. Students were given an Amazon gift card for a small amount as a token of appreciation for taking part. Interviews were scheduled to last for 30 minutes, but often went beyond this. In the case of the interview with Students of Teacher 2, the conversation had continued after the interview had already wrapped up and sensing that the follow up conversation may be interesting, I turned the recorder back on, resulting in a further seven and a half minutes of data. As the table below shows, unfortunately there is no recorded data for the Students of Teacher 3. Although the interview was recorded, the recording device malfunctioned as I attempted to transfer the interview data to secure storage and all of the data was completely lost. Upon realising this, I attempted to recall as much of the interview as I could and made notes accordingly.

Table 4 - Timetable of student interviews

Students of which teacher	Date	Length of interview
Students of Teacher 1	13 November 2019	36 min 17 sec
Students of Teacher 2	13 November 2019	36 min 01 sec + 7 min 28 sec
Students of Teacher 3	27 November 2019	Unknown
Students of Teacher 4	18 December 2019	37 min 39 sec
Students of Teacher 5	19 December 2019	37 min 28 sec

4.4 Ethics

As Dörnyei (2007) points out, qualitative research, such as ethnography, often involves a higher degree of ethical considerations due to the sensitive and intimate nature of being in close contact with research subjects. In this “situated” research environment it is the responsibility of the researcher to exercise "ethics of care" (Kubanyiova, 2008), by striking a balance between “macroethical” and “microethical” principles. Macroethics refer to the various codes of conduct and generic “best practice” guidelines laid down by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) in each academic institution that all academic researchers are required to attend to. As a counterpoint and a supplement to this, microethics are the everyday dilemmas that researchers may encounter in the course of carrying out the research (Kubanyiova, 2008); what have been termed "procedural ethics" and "ethics in practice" (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Kubanyiova (2008) points to the tension between these two principles in that just because a certain action, or inclusion or exclusion of certain information, may be technically allowed according to macroethical principles, it is up to the researcher to decide whether or not it meets microethical standards. In order to make this decision, four guiding principles have been suggested: *autonomy*, *beneficence*, *non-maleficence* and *justice* (Murphy & Dingwall, 2001, cited in Copland & Creese, 2015). Thus, the researcher should aim to protect the autonomy of the subjects at all stages. They should also ensure that the ultimate purpose of the research should be beneficial in some way to those under investigation, although Appleby (2016) has pointed out that this is sometimes difficult when researchers “study up” (C. A. Davies, 2008) and research those in privileged positions.

In terms of macroethics, before starting the project, I approached the Director of the department that I was planning to research in to ask for permission to do so. After being granted official permission by the Director, I tentatively approached a number of instructors to gauge their willingness to participate. Once I had oral agreement from participants, I began the formal ethics process.

First, I prepared bilingual Information and Permission Forms for students and teachers, following the guidelines and templates laid down by the University of Stirling. The Japanese language parts were translated by a bilingual Japanese colleague. These forms were submitted alongside an official Ethical Approval Form to the University of Stirling General University Ethics Panel (GUEP). After, minor revisions, my ethics materials were approved by the GUEP and I began the pilot study and sometime after I initiated the main study.

For the classroom observations, at the beginning of the first observations I asked the teacher for a few minutes to introduce myself and explain my study. After doing this I

distributed the bilingual Information and Permission forms to all of the students (and the teacher) and collected them immediately after answering any questions. One potential problem that occurred at this point was that of students that were absent on that particular day. In order to overcome this, I asked each teacher to provide me with a list of which students were absent on that day (this was usually only two or three students per class). When I returned for the second observation, I checked my list and gave information sheets and permission forms to the students that had been absent in the previous lesson.

For the interviews, permission forms were given and collected at the start of each interview and teachers were assured of their anonymity and given the chance to ask any questions.

In terms of microethics, although (thanks to careful planning) the overall process was largely smooth, there was one incident that required “ethics of care” (Kubanyiova, 2008). During the data collection process, one of the participating teachers was engaged in a dispute with the university. This led to a number of discussions on this topic between myself and the participant during the lesson observations (initiated by the participant) as well as in “go alongs” (Kusenbach, 2003) between classes (again, these were always initiated by the participant). This became a large part of my fieldnotes and research journal for this participant and was a central part of their story. Although, the participant had initiated these conversations with me and they had taken place during observations when the participant was aware that they were being recorded, I felt an unease about including the information in the study. At the end of the interview, I raised this issue and asked the participant for their opinion on that part of the story being included in the data. Their initial response was very positive, and they were keen to have their story told and their voice heard about what they felt was a very important issue. However, approximately a week later, I received an e-mail from the participant stating that they had changed their mind and that they would prefer me not to include this information in this study. Of course, I readily accepted this request and assured them that no part of that data would be included in the study.

4.5 Process of analysis

As linguistic ethnography (LE) has evolved as a multidisciplinary practice it has become more difficult to pin down what the main methodological focus of LE is, with different researchers placing priority on different parts of the data set according to their own needs (Copland & Creese, 2018). Therefore, which data set is given priority in terms of time spent

analysing it, or being attended to first in the analysis stage, may result in interpretations and conclusions becoming skewed in a certain direction.

In the present study the first data set that was attended to was the fieldnotes. This was done in real time as I was observing the classes by adding asides and personal comments as I was writing, meaning that observation and initial analysis happened simultaneously. The next stage happened very soon after as I typed up the handwritten fieldnotes either the same day or the following day after the observation. With what I had observed still fresh in my mind I added extra asides, comments, and half-formed ideas.

The next set that I turned to after all of the data collection was complete was the audio interview recordings. These were transcribed by me using a combination of the Dictate function on Microsoft Word and the transcription software tool Express Scribe. The audio was first played aloud into Microsoft Word Dictate to get a (very!) rough first transcription with many mistakes and large gaps in the data (in the case of the student interviews, this method proved to be less efficacious, presumably due to the non-standard accents of the students that the software struggled to parse). I then pasted this first rough draft into Express Scribe software and completed the transcription by myself manually. This gave me a very simple “clean” transcription of each interview. These transcriptions were then printed out onto A4 paper and read through repeatedly. As I read through the first time, I underlined potential points of interests and also annotated them with comments offering initial opinions and identifying potential themes. On the second read through I began allocating colour coding using coloured pencils to the themes that I had identified in the first read through (see Image 1 below for an example of this). After this I transferred the same colour codes to the digital Word documents using the highlight function (see Image 2 and 3 below). The colour codes represented references and inferences to different categorisations by different actors. For example, in the Image 2 and 3 below, blue highlight represents a reference to “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” identity, red indicates a reference to physical appearance, brown shows a reference to student perception, dark blue shows self-identity or self-perception, and pink indicates a reference to career, education or training. The decision to carry out the first stage of this using an “analogue” approach was a purely personal preference, based on my own comfort with tactile objects, no doubt a product of my upbringing in a pre-digital era. However, I also wanted a digital version of the data for two reasons. Firstly, I wanted to make the data more easily searchable in order to find relevant extracts quickly and efficiently. Secondly, I believed that it would act as a further layer of analysis, which indeed proved to be true as new insights were found and interactions that

were previously coded one way were changed to new categories. The more detailed transcriptions mentioned in Chapter 3 were only applied to the extracts used in the study, not to the entire transcription.

Image 1 – Example of transcript colour-coded and annotated by hand

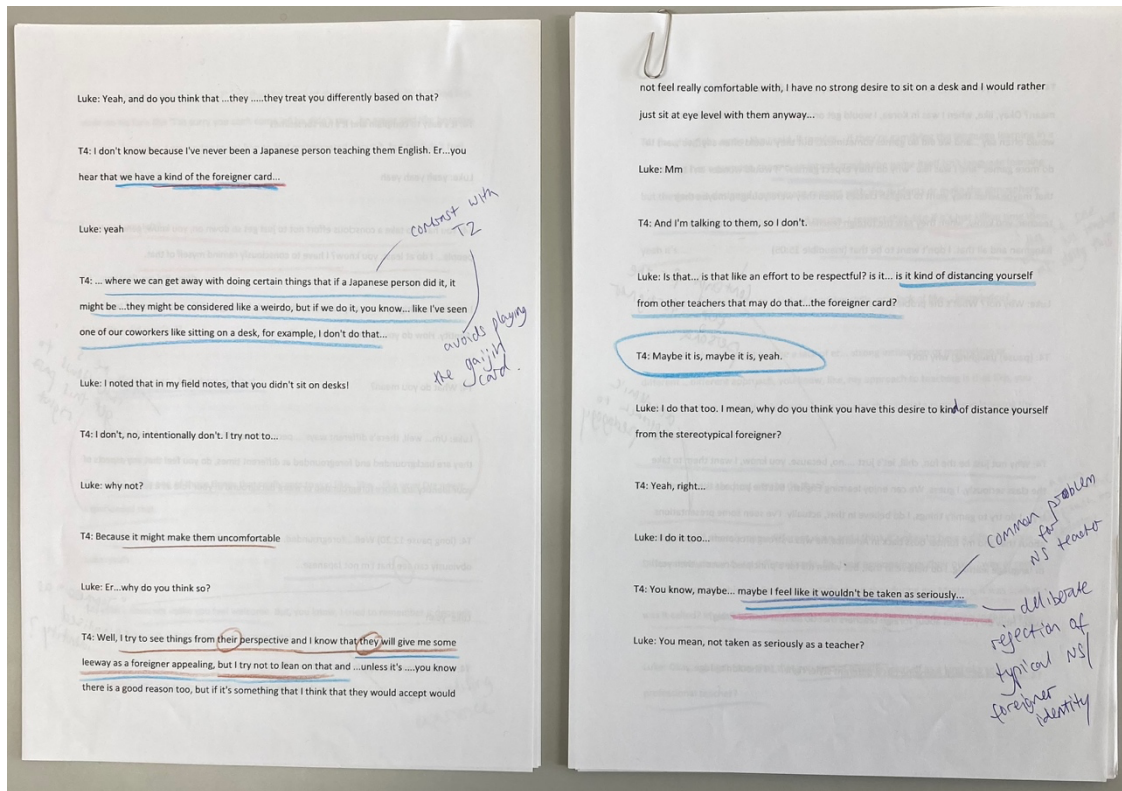


Image 2 – Example of transcript colour-coded and annotated digitally

T4: I don't know because I've never been a Japanese person teaching them English. Er...you hear that we have a kind of the foreigner card...

Luke: yeah

T4: ... where we can get away with doing certain things that if a Japanese person did it, it might be ...they might be considered like a weirdo, but if we do it, you know... like I've seen one of our co-workers like sitting on a desk, for example, I don't do that...

Luke: I noted that in my field notes, that you didn't sit on desks!

T4: I don't, no, intentionally don't. I try not to...

Luke: why not?

T4: Because it might make them uncomfortable

Luke Lawrence
Puts me and him in the same category

Luke Lawrence
My anecdote about this on my CELTA course (Lowe & Lawrence, 2018) is a perfect example of this. Is he being over-sensitive??

Image 3 – Example of transcript colour-coded and annotated digitally

Luke: Is that... is that like an effort to be respectful? is it... is it kind of distancing yourself from other teachers that may do that...the foreigner card?

T4: Maybe it is, maybe it is, yeah.

Luke: I do that too. I mean, why do you think you have this desire to kind of distance yourself from the stereotypical foreigner?

T4: Yeah, right...

Luke: I do it too...

T4: You know, maybe... maybe I feel like it wouldn't be taken as seriously...

Luke: You mean, not taken as seriously as a teacher?

Luke Lawrence
Conscious rejection of typical NS role in order to be taken seriously

After all of the interviews were transcribed and coded in this way, I turned my attention to the video and audio recordings of the lesson observations. In order to attempt to capture a complete picture of each class, I watched the class by triangulating the first camera, second camera and audio recorder to ensure that I caught as many of the classroom interactions and as much of the dialogue as possible. This entailed me beginning my viewing

on one camera and then jumping to the other if it appeared that I might miss a potentially interesting interaction. If the dialogue was not quite clear, I switched to the audio recorder in the teacher's pocket (although these recordings were often less clear than I had hoped). In this way I was able to get a fairly accurate and complete picture of the whole class. As I watched I made handwritten notes, which were later compared and contrasted with my initial fieldnotes for new insights as well as any inconsistencies. This data was then cross referenced with the key themes that I had identified in the interview transcripts.

It is difficult to assess what impact my decision to focus on transcribing and coding interviews before reviewing observation data may have had on the study. Although I focused on the interviews first and it was very time-consuming to manually transcribe them by myself, due to the greater length and volume of the observation data, I estimate that slightly more time was spent with the classroom observation data. As mentioned earlier, the classroom observations were carried out before the interviews and specific incidents were referred to and followed-up on in the interview, therefore in the data collection stage the interviews were informed by the observations. I was using the interviews (in part) to confirm, challenge, or explain what I had observed. However, in the analysis stage this was reversed, by holding up the observations to what had been said in the interview and using it to confirm, challenge, and explain (this time in my own interpretation) I was using observation data to support the data from the interview. This can be seen as a dialectical process between observation data and interview data over two stages of the research process.

4.6 Presentation of data

Due to the high volume and variety of data, I felt that the clearest way to present it in a meaningful way was through case studies. This decision was inspired by Norton's (2000) study of female immigrant language learners in Canada that used participant case studies to great effect.

In the present study, each participant is assigned their own case study, which contains a full biography, along with a presentation of the relevant data, which is divided into themes. Within each theme, I draw on multiple data elements in order to triangulate a wide picture of the theme being explored. The data extracts in each theme are analysed using the tools of MCA (as outlined in Chapter 3) and interpreted using an intersectional approach. Each case study concludes with a discussion on the role of the analysed data in co-construction of teacher identity.

4.7 A short note on reflexivity

Overlooking and tying together all of the core components of this research: the ethnographic method itself, fieldwork, observation, fieldnotes and ethical research, are modern conceptions of reflexivity. As ethnography moved away from essentialised representations of fixed Others, it adopted new a postmodern interpretive epistemology that attempted to reflect the multifaceted nature of the method as well as the “chaotic” (Blommaert & Dong, 2010) nature of the fieldwork it entails.

In fieldwork, particularly observation, this reflexivity is shown by a move away from the idea that there are facts to be discovered and that it is the job of the ethnographer to present them as given, with the researchers’ presence erased from the final report. In reflexive ethnography (C.A. Davies, 2008) the researchers’ role is made explicit at all times with an awareness of the influence they may have. In practical terms, this means that it is up to the researcher to be reflexive and sensitive to the situation they are in. Therefore, the choice between when to observe and when to participate is seen as a continuum that may vary within one study according to circumstances.

This mindset is distilled in Etherington’s (2004, p. 11) suggestion to researchers of four questions that they should pose to themselves before conducting research and which I kept in mind throughout the research process:

- 1 How has my personal history led me to my interest in this topic?
- 2 What are my presuppositions about knowledge in this field?
- 3 How am I positioned in relation to this knowledge?
- 4 How does my gender/social class/ethnicity/culture influence my positioning in relation to this topic/my informants?

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have given an account of the specifics of how each data collection method was carried out in the present study. I also very briefly introduced the five participants and outlined my process of analysis of the data. This was followed by an overview of reflexivity, which is a key underlying component of the study. In the next five chapters I will introduce each participant in detail using case studies. These case studies will be followed by a final discussion chapter where I attempt to pull together the findings from all of the case studies, and a conclusion chapter in which I place the present study within the literature of the field.

Chapter 5

Teacher 1 Case Study

5.1 Biography

Teacher 1 (T1) is in her thirties and was born and grew up in Japan. She received a typical public education up until her third year at university, when she transferred to a university in the USA. After completing her undergraduate degree in the US and working for a year as a translator (among other jobs not related to English teaching), she began a Master's degree course at a different university in the US, studying Second Language Studies. After graduating, Teacher 1 participated in a teaching practicum in Thailand, which was her first experience of teaching. As T1 reports: "and then that's when I realized that I actually wanted to teach. When I started my Master's I didn't know If I wanted to be a teacher". After completing the practicum, she returned to the United States and took temporary (1 year contract) teaching jobs as an Adjunct Professor teaching English. As her contract neared its end, and amid visa concerns, T1 applied for her current job and moved back to Japan after being offered the position. At the time of data collection, she had been working in her present job for six years.

5.2 Overview

Participant name: Teacher 1

Types of data used: teacher interview, student interview, observation fieldnotes, teaching materials (reproduced with permission of participant), website screenshot

Themes: Feelings of incompleteness, status as a language learner and "emergent bilingual", social class and personal and professional identity

Teacher 1 (T1) represents a complex example of the nature of identity construction and a clear demonstration of the impossibility of separating out identity categories in analysis. As well as "native speaker/non-native speaker" status, gender, nationality, social class, and age all feature prominently in the identity construction of T1 observed in this study.

5.3 Theme 1: Status as a language learner and "emergent bilingual"

In this first theme, I explore T1's status as a learner of English and how this is connected to her sense of identity. Data is drawn from the teacher interview, lesson materials, fieldnotes and student interviews.

Near the beginning of the teacher interview, after eliciting a biography from T1, I asked her how she identified. T1 was the first person I interviewed and at this stage of the research process, I had not formulated a clear, or satisfactory, way to phrase this question, as the beginning part shows:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: Allright (.) as you know this study is looking at different aspects of teacher
2 identity (.) how do you identify (.) as a teacher?
- 3 T1: Um:: (5.0) that's a difficult question. Um:: (3.0) what do you mean by that?
- 4 Luke: Erm:: hhh (2.0) difficult to explain. Er:: you can interpret it however you want
- 5 T1: (2.0) I mean like, I understand How do you identify as a teacher, but I'm not really
6 sure how it's connected to the sentence before, This study is looking at different aspects
7 of teacher identity so do you mean like (2.0) how is this sentence related to the
8 question?
- 9 Luke: Um: OK if you take out the sentence before, how do you identify as a teacher?
- 10 T1: Um::: I:: I I I how do I identify as a teach[er?]
- 11 Luke: [yeah]
- 12 T1: Teacher, I'm a language teacher, [I'm]
- 13 Luke: [yeah]
- 14 T1: [an En]glish teacher (0.5) and I love it (0.5) an::d
15 (1.0) um::: (3.0) I also am an emergent bilingual teacher heh English teacher (.) an::d
16 um:: (.) maybe
- 17 Luke: Why do you say emergent bilingual rather than bilingual?
- 18 T1: (1.0) I feel like that term was reserved for certain people and I don't belong there.
- 19 Luke: Bilingual?
- 20 T1: Yeah.
- 21 Luke: Why don't you belong there?
- 22 T1: (.) I think in the conventional sense (.) bilingual means (.) from a young age.
- 23 Luke: Really?
- 24 T1: Yeah like in terms [of]

- 25 Luke: [Ah] I never thought that
- 26 T1: Bilingual (.) bilingualism is usually interpreted as someone who speaks two
27 languages since they were young
- 28 Luke: I don't (.) take that nuance from it at all
- 29 T1: I think that's how they define it in the [(inaudible)]
- 30 Luke: [OK, then] how can you be an emergent
31 bilingual?
- 32 T1: How can (.) Any[one]
- 33 Luke: [But] how can you be emergent if it can only be from when you
34 are young? Only a baby is emergent if they are becoming a bilingual (.) If you are never
35 going to become a bilingual then you are not an emergent bilingual
- 36 T1: 01.0) Right↑
- 37 Luke: Doesn't make £sense£
- 38 T1: Yeah I guess I will be forever emergent bilingual [heh heh] according to the
39 definition I just set up, yes heh
- 40 Luke: [heh heh]
- 41 Luke: Yeah (.) why do you think you are reluctant to call yourself bilingual; Which
42 you pretty much are
- 43 T1: Um:::
- 44 Luke: What more could you do? What more could you do to be more bilingual?
- 45 T1: Er (.) reading and writing
- 46 Luke: [hhh] ((in disagreeing, disbelieving tone))
- 47 T1: [I do] think I (0.2) there's still a significant space for me to improve in terms of
48 reading and writing

I also asked directly if she saw herself as a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” of English:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 2

- 1 Luke: Um: (.) we talked about it before but do you see yourself as a (.) as a native
2 speaker or non-native speaker or something in-between?

3 T1: hhh:: um:: (3.0) if we assume that those labels already exist (.) I definitely belong
4 to non-native English speaker.

5 Luke: OK (.) if we don't assume that?

6 T1: .hhh I::

7 Luke: If we assume that they are discursively constructive (.) construction (.) then
8 where do you fit?

9 T1: I feel like I belong somewhere where I don't (.) have (.) anything to claim as first
10 anything

11 Luke: (0.5) O::[K::]

12 T1: [Lik]e (0.7) that's how I really feel like getting rid of all the categories
13 and labels that we tend to assume (.) I feel like I don't (0.2) really have first or second
14 language anymore

15 Luke: Mm:: mm:

16 T1: I don't have like (2.0) yeah it's=

17 Luke: =just become like amalgamated?

18 T1: (.) Hm::: (3.0) I guess you could say it's some form of (.) hybrid but also it has
19 (.) something to do with the fact that I've lost part of my first something too (.) like as
20 Japanese

21 Luke: [ah]

22 T1: [not] just language but culture and just=

23 Luke: =Is that because you were out of the country for so long?

24 T1: Yeah (.) and I valued it so:: much

25 Luke: The American culture?

26 T1: Yeah (.) um and also I don't have (.) working experience

27 Luke: Right (.) and study experience I guess;

28 T1: Hm:?

29 Luke: Higher level study experience in in Japanese

30 T1: Right, right right like I don't know how to write papers in Japanese either (.) um
31 (0.5) so:: it's not just combined (.) like I think some of them are also lost.

This “*some form of (.) hybrid*” identity claim is undermined somewhat by their identity performance in the classroom as demonstrated by an activity I observed in the first lesson observation. The following data is a part of the worksheet given to the students by T1. The activity is a supplement to the textbook topic of the US justice system:

➤ **Group work: "Is Justice Served?"**

1. Each person in your group reads out loud a part of the story of T1 to your group members. After each sentence, please say “**Do you understand so far?**” and answer any questions that they might ask you. Call T1 if you need any help.
2. When everyone in your group reads out the story, use what you have learned about the American justice system on the flowchart on P. XXX.
3. Do you think "justice was served"? In other words, **was T1 considered innocent until proven guilty?** If not, **what part of the criminal court process is missing from this story?**

Student A

T1 travelled to America to study abroad. While in America, she met her old RE teacher Mr. Lawrence one day for coffee. The next day, the police came to T1's apartment and told her, "Mr. Lawrence is dead. We think you did it! You are under arrest!" The police silently arrested T1 and took her to the police station. They wrote her name and the charge of "murder" in a book at the station.

Student B

T1 had no criminal record and her aunt and uncle lived nearby. However, T1 spent the next two weeks in jail before her hearing, where she was brought before a judge and given a lawyer. The lawyer from the district attorney's office had a witness who said that she saw T1 kill Mr. Lawrence. T1's lawyer said that the witness was drunk. The judge decided that there was enough evidence to hold a trial and T1's court date was set for two weeks later.

Student C

Two weeks later, at the trial, the judge and jury listened to the evidence that the two lawyers presented. The judge decided that T1 was guilty and the next day she came back to

the court for sentencing. At the sentencing, the twenty people of the jury told T1 that her punishment would be to study English for the next 20 years in prison. T1 was very sad.

Due to technical difficulties in this initial observation, there is no video of this part of the lesson. However, in my fieldnotes I wrote:

Fieldnotes (T1 Obs. 1)

- *I think the most interesting point came near the end in an original activity that T1 had created on the worksheet given to the students. The worksheet featured a funny, imaginary story featuring T1 and myself (“Mr. Lawrence”) that was very cleverly designed to check the st. understanding of the text they had studied that day. In the story T1 presents herself as an English learner, just like the students. The story begins:
“(T1) travelled to America to study abroad. While in America, she met her old RE teacher Mr. Lawrence one day for coffee.”*
- *Here she is positioning herself as a learner and an obviously NS teacher as her English teacher. She could have chosen any of the English teachers in the department (or indeed just made one up) but choose a person/name that supports the NS teacher/Japanese (including herself) as learner. This lesson was created previously, before T1 knew I would be observing, so it was somewhat of a co-incidence and a source of great delight to the students when she told them that I was the real Mr. Lawrence. It gave some kind of authenticity to a very far-fetched story. Also, at the end of the story as T1 is convicted of murder: “At the sentencing, the twenty people of the jury told (T1) that her punishment would be to study English for the next 20 years in prison. (T1) was very sad.”. Again, here she positions herself as someone who still needs to study English despite her (in my opinion) very advanced level of English which is indistinguishable from even the most standard standards of what people consider to be a NS.*

In the interview, I asked T1 to comment directly on this activity. She seemed surprised that I had singled out that activity and told me that she did not actually make the original activity, but that she had changed the story and personalised an existing activity. I focused on the part that portrayed herself as a learner similar to her students:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 3

- 1 Luke: I found it interesting that you are comfortable positioning yourself as someone
2 that needs to learn
- 3 T1: Oh really↑?
- 4 Luke: Even though I don't think you do need to learn English
- 5 T1: I mean (.) it's it's (.) it makes sense to me although I probably didn't make that part
6 It still makes sense to me because I did study English
- 7 Luke: Yes but you don't need to study for another 20 years=
- 8 T1: =£Right£ heh heh
- 9 Luke: I think you are £good enough£
- 10 T1: heh heh right
- 11 Luke: You seem to be kind of positioning yourself in a similar (.) not the same position
12 but you know a similar position to your students as a learner
- 13 T1: Hm:: (0.3) I think maybe (.) maybe (.) not for that particular material (.) but I also
14 want to emphasize (.) and let the students know that I:: was once in (.) their place=
- 15 Luke: =yeah
- 16 T1: =They don't believe it but it's true (.) it's like really £true£ like I wasn't really born
17 like this (.) like I started just like them um: (.) so like I do talk about that sometimes in
18 class that I was in their position before and um:: (.) I studied really hard
- 19 Luke: Yeah
- 20 T1: (1.0) Yeah like I went to (.) elementary school and junior high school and high
21 school just like them (.) my English level was basically the same as them
- 22 Luke: (2.0) Erm (.) yeah I thought it was interesting

This direct claim to a “non-native speaker” identity appeared to be something that T1 had worked hard to instil in the consciousness of her students, who may otherwise make alternative assumptions based on her accent and teaching style. This extract from the student interview highlights this:

T1 Student Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: So, when you first met T1 what was your impression?
- 2 S1: (3.0) 第一印象? ((first impression?))
- 3 Luke: Yeah (.) yeah yeah yeah (.) yeah
- 4 S2: She's pretty active and energy person
- 5 Luke: Yeah yeah do you think so?
- 6 S1: At first I am surprised (.) er: (.) I am surprised that she is Japanese
- 7 Luke: Oh:: (.) why why?
- 8 S1: RE class is あの (erm) foreign teacher so foreign teacher tell (.) us (.) English
- 9 S2: Last semester?
- 10 Luke: Yeah, last semester was it a foreign teacher? How about you? ((to S2))
- 11 S2: Last semester I was taught (.) from *Yusuke
- 12 Luke: OK £OK£ Japanese teacher (.) so were you surprised?
- 13 S2: I'm not surprised T1 is Japanese
- 14 Luke: Mm were you surprised that her English is so good?
- 15 S2 : Yes
- 16 S1: Yes
- 17 S2: She's almost native speaker
- 18 Luke: ye:ah:: you say almost native (.) not native? Do you think she's a native
- 19 speaker? Almost native speaker?
- 20 S2: Almost (.) but she says she's not native speaker

*Pseudonym for another Japanese teacher in the Real English (RE) department (see pilot study)

5.3.1 Theme 1 Analysis

T1's claim to a hybrid identity as an "emergent bilingual" appears to come from a deficit perspective, as something lost, an incompleteness, rather than an identity added to. The self-categorisation of "emergent bilingual" shows a knowledge of technical terminology in

linguistics and evidence of deep self-analysis outside of this interview. The relational pair to the category of “emergent bilingual” is not readily apparent, however as the interview unfolds it seems clear that it is meant as a relational pair with “(fully) bilingual”, rather than with “monolingual” or “native speaker of X language”. When challenged on her definition of the term, she admits that it is limiting, but defends her use of the term by stating her lack of proficiency in reading and writing in English. In this co-constructed “socially situated speech event” (Talmy, 2010), myself as the interviewer can be seen to be attempting to persuade T1 that she is more than an “emergent bilingual”, but even this aspect is hedged somewhat by my use of the phrase “pretty much” (“*Luke: Yeah...why do you think you are reluctant to call yourself bilingual? Which you pretty much are*”, Teacher Interview Extract 1, Line 41-42). This reluctance on both of our parts to fully commit to the label “bilingual” for Teacher 1 suggests that there may be some truth to the definition that T1 gave, at least in our perceptions of the meaning of the word.

In the second part of the interview extract, when asked directly about being a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” of English, the categories of “non-native English speaker” and “hybrid” are given, with T1 stating that she doesn’t have a first anything (“*I feel like I belong somewhere where I don't have anything to claim as first anything*”, Teacher 1 Interview Extract 2, Line 9-10). T1 attributes this in part to placing too much value on acquiring American language, culture, and with it an American identity. This led to a loss of Japanese language, cultural knowledge, and academic skills. This feeling of incompleteness differs from her feeling of incompleteness in Theme 2 (see below). In Theme 2, the incompleteness is seen as she perceives herself to be in the eyes of the institution of EJPU and the RE Department, in comparison with “native speaker” teachers. Here, the dichotomy of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” is complicated as the idea of a hybrid identity is introduced and T1 paints herself as incomplete as a Japanese person, as well as a Japanese English teacher and academic living and working in Japan.

This frustration with labels (“*I really feel like getting rid of all the categories and labels that we tend to assume*”, Teacher 1 Interview Extract 2, Line 12-13) displayed by T1 in the interview is somewhat at odds with how she presents herself to her students via personalized teaching materials. On one hand, it could be argued that T1 is taking a Western-style, communicative approach by personalizing the materials and including herself as the main protagonist (a category-bound activity). However, on the other, she is taking great pains to present herself as a learner of English and someone who is in a similar position to the students. In MCA terms, “Mr Lawrence” (RE teacher, Western name) is the relational pair to “T1”

(former RE student studying abroad in America) in the narrative constructed. This suggests that T1 went through the same process of learning as her students, which of course is not true, as the department did not exist when T1 was a university student. In the final part of the story, she is sentenced to study English for 20 years in prison. Here, T1 is not only positioning herself as someone in need of 20 extra years of English study, she also puts herself on the side of the students (and possibly against the institution) by playfully portraying English as a punishment to be endured. In short, T1 appears to be leveraging her identity to align herself as empathetic to the students' learning position as well as making a conscious claim to "non-native speaker" identity (seen by the choice of using herself as learner and a Western name for her teacher). A more positive interpretation can also be put forward that she is providing a model to students of a Japanese English teacher who is able to negotiate identity across languages and cultures.

This deliberate positioning by T1 appears to have been effective in terms of how she is perceived by her students. In the brief extract presented above, Student 1 (S1) follows up Student 2's (S2) observation of T1 as a "*pretty active and energy person*" (T1 Student interview Extract 1, Line 4) by stating that "*At first I am surprised (.) er: (.) I am surprised that she is Japanese*" (T1 Student interview Extract 1, Line 6). However, this is then followed by S1 stating that "*RE class is あの (erm) foreign teacher*" (T1 Student interview Extract 1, Line 8). It is not clear, therefore, whether they are surprised because an active and energetic teacher is Japanese, or because an RE teacher is Japanese. This points to a number of ingrained assumptions that the student held regarding the role and behaviour of "non-native speaker" teachers (again, what in MCA terms may be called a category-bound activity). This perception could also be seen as a result of the native-speakerist view of the department cultivated by EJPU in its publicity materials, as noted below.

Her advanced proficiency in English also challenges the expectations of a Japanese person for both of the student interviewees. This may be part of a wider nationalist discourse in Japanese society related to *nihonjinron* ideologies (see Chapter 2) that sees Japanese people as naturally incompetent English speakers (Bouchard, 2017). At the end of the extract, S2 states that although they personally see T1 as "*almost*" a "native speaker", the fact that T1 says that she is not a "native speaker" is enough for the student to accept the identity that T1 has claimed for herself.

5.4 Theme 2: Feelings of incompleteness

In this second theme, Teacher 1 expresses feelings of incompleteness in comparison to her “native speaker” colleagues, based on a perceived difference of treatment. By triangulating these claims with the department manager interview, it appears that this feeling is borne out by reality and points at a powerful role for the institution in identity construction.

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 4

- 1 Luke: How about the institutions? Do you think that they see you similarly or
2 differently to how you see yourself?
- 3 T1: Institutions as in like RE Centre or [EJPU?]
- 4 Luke: [Yeah], it can be both yeah...
- 5 T1: (5.0) Hm::: (3.0) for RE Centre I (.) still feel like I'm the (.) incomplete version
- 6 Luke: Of what?
- 7 T1: ...of other RE teachers [who are] =
- 8 Luke: [OK] =
- 9 T1: = native English speakers, um: (2.0) but that's okay (.) kind of thing heh
- 10 Luke: Oh::
- 11 T1: I'll let you do your job we are nice enough to offer you this job although you are
12 not complete
- 13 Luke: Right
- 14 T1: That's how I feel (.) like they are doing they are doing me a favour heh
- 15 Luke: heh OK
- 16 T1: Yeah I don't really see my (0.4) Japanese background as a resource
- 17 Luke: oh really?
- 18 T1: I don't think they see it that way (0.2) as a teacher
- 19 Luke: As a teacher right but they do use it for other things?
- 20 T1: They used to but not really any[more]
- 21 Luke: [Hm]
- 22 T1: [I don't...]

23 Luke: [Used to] like ah (0.3) what did you used to do like extra (.) like not admin stuff
24 but;

25 T1: Like (.) ah I had to like (.) take care of junior high school teachers.

26 Luke: That's right

27 T1: Um: (.) and I always had to demonstrate (.) class for high school teachers.

28 Luke: Do you still do that?

29 T1: Sometimes, but not always (.) like I had no choice (.) before like I had to do it

30 Luke: Is that because you were a (.) newer teacher?

31 T1: No, no no it's just because I was Japa[nese]

32 Luke: [OK]

33 T1: yeah yeah um: (0.2) so like me and Yusuke* were always doing it every
34 semester (.) um:: (0.2) I had to help entrance exam I don't have to do it anymore.

35 Luke: Oh really? You had to help with the entrance exam? Doing what?

36 T1: Grading

37 Luke: You needed to read Japanese to do it?

38 T1: Yeah yeah yeah they were looking for Japanese teachers.

39 Luke: But you didn't get (0.1) were you paid extra?

40 T1: Oh:: yeah it was a lot of money (.) a LOT of money(.) yeah, it was very nice I
41 actually wanted to do it again heh but they never asked me (.) um (.) things like
42 that

43 Luke: OK (4.0) Can you think of any specific incidents? You said you feel like an
44 incomplete version of a:

45 T1: Erm:: (.) like I never have a chance to teach content classes.

46 Luke: Right

47 T1: Like I never I probably will never (.) be offered to teach like ((inaudible)) or
48 British culture in literature class, or (.) that Martin** is teaching or (.) um
49 multilingualism class that Brad*** is teaching and also American education course
50 that Brad was teaching last semester(.) like, those content classes um not offered by
51 RE Centre but outside (.) I'll never be offered (.) those classes.

52 Luke: Why do you think so?

53 T1: Because I I am not even offered to teach AdEng****3 and 4

54 Luke: Which are the wri::ting classes?

55 T1: And (.) yeah writing and AdEng4 is like now it's like [business (.) =

56 Luke: [Yeah yeah] =

57 T1: = more like content (.) focused. Like um: we talked about this again but like I
58 pushed really hard to (.) for them to let me teach AdEng2

59 Luke: yes

60 T1: and also:: because they didn't let me teach AdEng3 I made my own
61 version of AdEng1 [for writing] =

62 Luke: [That's right] =

63 T1: = Yeah, like I (0.5) and like other teachers like they immediately get offered like
64 in the first year (.) you know like hey can you teach AdEng3?

65 Luke: Yeah

66 T1: Or like hey here's a class AdEng3 and blah blah blah and (.) but for me like
67 when I asked them if I could teach like create a new course for AdEng1 (.) they
68 basically asked me to make a whole syllabus and lesson plans

69 Luke: Right

70 T1 To kind of prove that I can do it =

71 Luke: Hm =

72 T1: = or I don't know why but, so like (.) that kind of thing (.) also if the media comes
73 I would never be there.

74 Luke: OK, you're not in the [photos...]

75 T1: [Never] No no

76 Luke: That's surprising because they usually they usually go for younger people and
77 you're one of the younger (.) members of the department.

78 T1: Younger White men

79 Luke: Younger White [men] heh

80 T1: [yes]

- 81 Luke: Yeah yeah (.) what do you feel about tha (.) I mean how do you feel about that?
- 82 T1: I think it's so stupid are you serious? It's not like I want to be in the [picture] =
- 83 Luke: [Yeah] =
- 84 T1: = or I want to be videotaped and get on Youtube or anything I don't want to do it
85 heh honestly I don't want to do it but it's so intentional but it's so subtle but so
86 intentional (.) like if you don't think about it or like if you never thought about it
87 before like you don't really notice it but it's so [intentional] =
- 88 Luke: [yeah] =
- 89 T1: = Like I know they picked Rob***** like I know (.) like it's very very particular
90 about (.) you know (.) it cannot be me
- 91 Luke: No, no no, yeah
- 92 T1: So that's kind of stupid but also it also made me feel like they think I'm not
93 [(1.0) the full package...]
- 94 Luke:[Ok, that's the] incomplete vers[ion?] gotcha
- 95 T1: [Yeah] yeah so it's not just about my language
96 ability but also my physical appearance =
- 97 Luke: Yeah =
- 98 T1:= as well

*= Pseudonym for a male Japanese teacher in the department (also a participant in the pilot study)

**= Pseudonym for another teacher in the department who is a Canadian male

***= Pseudonym for another teacher in the department who is an American male

****= Pseudonym for the Advanced English elective classes that the department offers

*****= Pseudonym for a new teacher in the department who is a young, White, American male

In the first part of the long extract T1 states that she feels like an “incomplete version” (L5) of other (“native speaker”) RE teachers. Instead of stating directly the reason for this feeling, the discussion went on a slight detour in which T1 described how she felt that her background as a Japanese national, with useful Japanese language skills, were not fully appreciated or utilized by the institution. Although, in the past, she took advantage of this skill set in order to earn extra income, it also served as a burden that incurred extra work for her and one other Japanese

teacher. After this (not unrelated) diversion, I attempted to steer the conversation back to the issue of feeling “incomplete”. She first mentioned the fact that she was not given the chance to teach content classes or more advanced English classes that focused on writing, even though these are offered to new “native speaker” teachers in the department. I took up this point with the department manager (DM) (an American national who is responsible for the allocation of classes) when I interviewed him:

Department Manager Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: Um: (.) are there classes (.) particular classes or particular duties that you
2 wouldn't give to a non-native speaker teacher and vice versa?
- 3 DM: (3.0) No
- 4 Luke: No (1.0) so: for example like the advanced cla (.) some of the advanced classes
5 and things like that do you tend (.) is there in any tendency to allocate them to?
- 6 DM: =Ah: you know now that I think about it it is (.) possible that I might (.) let's see
7 if I've ever done this before (5.0) not consciously=
- 8 Luke: =Mm: mm mm mm=
- 9 DM: =but it is possible that I have (4.0) it is possible that I have limited (0.3) non-
10 [native (.)]
- 11 Luke: [Mm: mm]
- 12 DM: [teachers]in (.) AdEng3 classes the writing [class]
- 13 Luke: [right]
- 14 DM: (0.4) I can't remember ever assigning a Nihonjin to teach AdEng3
- 15 Luke: There you go interesting (.) but it's not a conscious decision?
- 16 DM: .hhh no (.) but (2.0) no (.) it isn't and I think (.) but I think it could be unconsciously
17 that I'm [doing] that
- 18 Luke: [Yeah]-
- 19 DM: =because but if I am I want to slap myself [heh heh]
- 20 Luke: [heh heh]
- 21 DM: [because] (0.2) one thing
22 that I've always felt very strongly about is (.) anybody who's qualified to do the job is
23 qualified to do the job heh heh

- 24 Luke: Sure=
 25 DM : =so:: I hope I'm not doing that=
 26 Luke: =yeah=
 27 DM: = I'll have to think about it

The second part of T1's intimations, that they are not included in media representations of the department, is borne out to some extent by looking at the department website. The main picture on the Top page of the site, shows a photo of a White, male teacher in the lounge area. He is semi-casually dressed and is pictured engaging in conversation with a female student, as shown below:

Image 1 - Screenshot from department website



I also took up this issue with the DM:

Department Manager Interview Extract 2

- 1 Luke: Um (0.3) how about in terms of like marketing and things, do they (.) I've
 2 noticed a tendency that they'll choose the the young good looking native speakers for
 3 their publicity materials (.) and they take videos and stuff in the RE Centre (.) do you
 4 think that they see them (.) that way?
 5 M: Oh yeah heh
 6 Luke: £Yeah yeah£

- 7 M: That's=
- 8 Luke: =If you gave them a Japanese teacher for their publicity material how would
9 they react?
- 10 M: (.) I've done that be[fore]
- 11 Luke: [£Yeah£] what did they say?
- 12 M: They reacted by (.) by um (.) taking the picture from behind the Japanese £so all
13 you can see is their [head£]heh heh
- 14 Luke: [heh heh] ri::ght
- 15 M: I can't control that (.) I've tried to um (.) represent us as we truly are in my heart
16 anyway (.) diverse but that's not necessarily what they want to [show]
- 17 Luke: [yeah]
- 18 DM: [the] 広報 ((public
19 relations)) people over there so:

5.4.1 Theme 2 Analysis

In terms of how and by whom identities are constructed, these interview extracts indicate that the institution of the university, both on a departmental as well as a university wide scale represent a powerful force in identity construction.

In MCA terms, the data set begins with T1 assigning herself the category of an “incomplete version”. By presenting herself as such, T1 automatically invokes the relational pair (Sacks, 1992) of “complete version”, who in this example is a proxy for “native speaker” teacher. In doing so, she forms a co-membership with other teachers into the situationally relevant device of teacher in the RE department at EJPU (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2015). The fact that T1 situates herself as deficient, implies that there are others whom she feels are the full package and suggests a degree of native-speakerist discourse experienced by T1 that has real world consequences for how identities are constructed in negotiation with self and society. This perception was backed up by observations of differential treatment that led T1 to feel an extra pressure to “prove that I can do it” in order to be accepted as a competent teacher, which is an extra hurdle that she felt that her “native speaker” colleagues were not subjected to. As such, this self-categorisation is based on her own observable evidence.

The DM's admission (or realisation through the discursive act of the interview) of unconscious bias against “*nihonjin*” (Japanese nationality) teachers teaching advanced writing

classes indicates that T1's feeling of being passed over were based in reality. It was also interesting to note that the DM categorised those he had excluded as "*nihonjin*" teachers, not teachers of other nationalities that might not necessarily be a typical "native speaker" teacher. This relational pair of "*nihonjin*" and "all other teachers in the department (regardless of their individual nationality)" indicates the role of nationality in the perception of (non) native-speakerhood and also points to the importance of the situational context. In a small department such as RE, the decisions of the DM can have a profound effect on how identities are constructed. By excluding the teachers from lessons, this has the knock-on effect of sending the message to students (and other teachers) that advanced writing is a realm of English teaching that is beyond the ability of Japanese teachers, or at least a realm of teaching that belongs to non-Japanese teachers only.

On the second point raised by Teacher 1, that of being excluded from the representation of the department to prospective students and the outside world, the role construction and categorisation is carried out by the marketing department. Although a "native speaker" or non-Japanese teacher is not explicitly demanded, when presented with a Japanese teacher that did not match how they would prefer to present the department, they used subtle means to avoid using the person in their marketing. Unfortunately, the marketing department was outside the scope of my investigations for this study, so I was not able to ask them directly. However, based on the fact that the representation involved photos, it would be reasonable to assume that idealised representation of the department for them is based on looks, i.e., gender, ethnicity or race. Here the DM recognises the discrimination occurring, but states that he is not able to control it. This points to the institution of EJPU playing a considerable role in constructing a native-speakerist façade with which to represent the department, that does not match the reality of the faculty make-up.

5.5 Theme 3: Social class and personal and professional identity as a Japanese citizen

The final theme relates to T1's place as an adult returnee in Japanese society as well as her family background and its impact on her personal and professional identity. In doing so, aspects of social class and how this intersects with gender are added to the mix. All of the data is taken from the interview with T1.

The first extract focuses on T1's feeling of belonging in what, for her, is a somewhat unfamiliar society, after spending so much of her adult life overseas:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 5

- 1 Luke: Erm:: (.) the next question is about Japanese society (.) how they (.) do you
 2 think they see you (0.3) differently to how you see yourself? (.) I know Japanese
 3 society is a difficult thing to define but (.) basically
- 4 T1: I don't really feel connected to the society
- 5 Luke: Yeah why?
- 6 T1: Um:: I don't really belong there (.) like I don't (4.0) I don't know anyone (.) I don't
 7 (1.0) belong to any communities (.) I do::n't really do anything in relation to other
 8 Japanese people (.) um (1.0) so I don't think that society (.) understands me enough to
 9 (.) kind of identify

I also asked about how she felt her language skills were viewed by Japanese society:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 6

- 1 Luke: How do you think (.) how open do you think Japanese society is to bilinguals
 2 like you (.) emergent bilinguals as we've just discovered doesn't exist heh heh?
- 3 T1: Um:: I don't know I don't really know enough (1.0) um: (10.0) my English
 4 proficiency is definitely valued I feel that way (.) or (.) like something cool
- 5 Luke: yeah
- 6 T1: Um: (3.0) yeah (1.0) they:: (.) but like when I talk to: people (.) Japanese people
 7 in Japan use of course I mean we tend to talk in Japanese most of the time and I don't
 8 really say that I hey I speak English too £so::£ they don't really know.
- 9 Luke: £Mm:£
- 10 T1: But like usually when they find out that I speak English (.) um (.) they tend to be
 11 impressed (.) so I guess it is valued I guess

In this extract from the teacher interview, T1 draws on her family background to align herself with her family's values, at the same time as comparing herself with her successful family members:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 7

- 1 Luke: Erm::: O::K (.) how do you feel different aspects of your identity have affected
 2 your overall career?
- 3 T1: Um:: I think family value (.) is a very important part
- 4 Luke: What do you mean?

5 T1: Hm:: like what (.) my family: considers important (.) I definitely carry that with me

6 Luke: Oh go on (.) tell me (.) tell me more

7 T1: £Um::£ (.) like (4.0) hm::: like (5.0) I think they are definitely like (.) I'm not (1.0)

8 they are hhh (6.0) they're definitely like (.) they have like (.) elite mentality (.) like we're

9 [good]

10 Luke: [yeah]

11 T1: I thi::nk I carry that with me

12 Luke: Mm do you think that's an advantage?

13 T1: Advantage of what?

14 Luke: Well in terms of career let's say

15 T1: Um:: (3.0) I guess so (.) I mean like they are very confident among them[selves]

16 Luke: [Mm Mm]

17 T1: [and what]

18 they are capable of

19 Luke: Mm Mm

20 T1: For that I definitely have an inferiority complex

21 Luke: Oh really↑? In your family;

22 T1: Yeah (.) but al::so like compared to them like I'm fucking nothing=

23 Luke: =Right=

24 T1: =Like a fucking failure that's how I feel=

25 Luke: =Sure=

26 T1: =But (2.0) in general like (.) me versus other people outside of my family I think I

27 do carry that kind of like (0.3) some kind of like elite mentality like I can I can I got

28 this

29 Luke: I deserve this

30 T1: I deserve this, I got [this]

31 Luke: [Sense] of entitlement

32 T1: I got this I'm good at this (.)I have the privilege and I fully enjoy it kind of thing

- 33 (.) um not so much (.) looking down on other people way but um (.) like we deserve
34 this kind of thing
- 35 Luke: Right do you think that helps I mean do you think that helps to put you
36 ahead; erm I don't like to use the word but like um (.) ahead of other (.) women; maybe
37 who maybe: who often don't have that sense of (.) confidence and entitlement (.)
38 especially in a field like this which is full of men
- 39 T1: (4.0) Maybe (.) I think so (.) um::: (13.0) it feels good to feel that way (.) I think
40 um it gives me a sense of (1.0) um (7.0) purpose I guess (.) in a way
- 41 Luke: Mm (1.0) do you think it's helped your career?
- 42 T1: (2.0) Hm::: (1.0) I think for me like it's more about just me being myself in general
43 (.) I think for career like I (1.0) do (.) have strong feeling of inferiority.
- 44 Luke: Ah:::;=
- 45 T1: =Like I'm not good enough
- 46 Luke: Who are you comparing yourself to for that?
- 47 T1: My parents and also (.) um::: (3.0) other cohorts who::: are more successful than I
48 am successful meaning like they advanced more educationally and professionally (.) I
49 do definitely feel like I'm not good enough.
- 50 Luke: Hm::: but you don't feel like you can't do it; you just feel like you haven't done
51 it yet;
- 52 T1: Hm::: I think I'm afraid
- 53 Luke: Of what?
- 54 T1: If I can do it (.) if I'm good enough to achieve it
- 55 Luke: Right even though you know you are
- 56 T1: No I'm not

Later in the interview we discussed how she got the job, again insights from a family member came into play:

Teacher 1 Interview Extract 8

- 1 Luke: Um: (.) how about getting (.) getting jobs; what did you have any trouble as a
2 (0.2) so-called non-native speaker?
- 3 T1: Hm::: the visa status (.) was a huge issue

4 Luke: Mm=

5 T1: =When I was in the States (.) cos it's just impossible for an ESL teacher to get a
6 work visa in the States cos they don't need Japanese teachers to teach English in the
7 States £you know¿£ why would they¿ .hhh um::

8 Luke: Why wouldn't they ((inaudible)) that's what you do isn't it? did you apply for lots
9 of jobs to get this job?

10 T1: Right yeah yeah yeah (.) this was the only job that I got

11 Luke: Ah::: how many did you apply for?

12 T1: (2.0) Like five

13 Luke: OK did you get any other interviews?

14 T1: Yes (.) did I? (0.2) yes yes yes yeah (.) um: (4.0) but I wasn't qualified for all the
15 positions=

16 Luke: =OK=

17 T1: =so this was kind of (.) really strange that I got it (.) like of course I wasn't
18 going to get it because I wasn't qualified .hhh all the jobs that I applied for required at
19 least 3 years [teaching experience]

20 Luke: [Let's talk about that] so:: so why:: did you apply? Was there anything
21 (1.0) especially that attracted you or got like ((inaudible))

22 T1: Um:: for EJ[PU?]

23 Luke: [Yeah]

24 T1: The location=

25 Luke: =OK

26 T1: And also the::::: um:: (1.0) the name value

27 Luke: Mmm mm

28 T1: And also:: the fact that it's a public university

29 Luke: Right why's that important?

30 T1: Erm I don't know my my from my dad my father told me it's it's a lot more actual
31 work to work for private universities

32 Luke: Huh

- 33 T1: Um: like a lot more non-teaching related to work, at least in his field=
 34 Luke: =Yeah yeah yeah =
 35 T1: =Like recruiting students and shit like that er::::: and it's (.) like they really like (.)
 36 use you as much as possible
 37 Luke: At public universities?
 38 T1: No, private universities
 39 Luke: Oh private universities oh right
 40 T1: Yeah that's what he said so it's better if you can work for a national or public
 41 university
 42 Luke: That's interesting (.) that's interesting that he had that knowledge and insight

5.5.1 Theme 3 Analysis

In contrast to Themes 1 and 2, in which identity is constructed in the moment of interaction to uncover themes of marginalisation, in Theme 3, T1 reflects on her place in Japanese society, and uses her family background to account for the underexplored issue of privilege that may be seen as a “transportable identity” (Zimmerman, 1998). Albeit one in which she situates herself ambivalently between the entitlement that accompanies her family membership, and the sense of inferiority she feels in relation to “*them*”.

In Extract 5 T1 identifies herself as someone who does not feel connected to Japanese society, adding that “*I don't think the society understands me enough to kind of identify*” (Extract 5, Line 8-9). This would indicate an essentialist view of identity in which wider societal discourses are unable to comfortably account for those members of society that fall outside the narrow parameters of accepted identities. In T1’s case this appears to be her status as an in-between person who has spent a long period of time outside of Japanese society. Despite this, she felt that her language proficiency, which although it might mark her out as Other, was nevertheless valued, albeit on a surface level of “*cool*” (Extract 6, Line 4).

At the beginning of Extract 7, in response to an open-ended question about what aspects of her identity have impacted her career, T1 steers the conversation somewhat unexpectedly to an “*elite mentality*” (Extract 7, Line 27) that she credits her family with instilling in her. Although self-categorising herself as a member of the elite, she simultaneously positions herself as somewhat apart from her family. This is evidenced by her use of “*they*” (Extract 7, Line 7, 8, 15 & 18), rather than the more inclusive “*we*”. This distance is heightened as she

compares herself unfavourably with the family using forceful language (“*compared to them like I'm fucking nothing*”, “*Like a fucking failure that's how I feel*” Extract 7, Line 22/24).

This feeling of inferiority is also extended to cohorts that she perceives as being further along in their educational and professional careers. This suggests that the confidence implanted in her from her family’s elite positioning has been advantageous for the purposes of giving her agency to construct her personal identity on her own terms (“*it's more about just me being myself in general*” (Extract 7, Line 42), but this does not necessarily extend to her professional teacher identity.

The second aspect of this privilege concerns the role of inside knowledge and heightened expectations of achievement that an “elite mentality” can have on career advancement. The inside knowledge of the landscape of academia in Japan that her father passed on to her allowed her to make informed decisions about which universities had name value and would be less likely to give her extra work. This is knowledge that would not be readily available to non-Japanese teachers and Japanese teachers without a family background in academia.

The other aspect of this exchange that was striking was the fact that she had had the confidence to apply for a number of university jobs, despite not being adequately experienced or qualified. In her work trajectory, she went immediately from a Master’s Course, to a practicum, to an adjunct professor in the US (a job which she claimed anyone could get), to a job in a fairly prestigious, public university in Japan. This can be compared to my own journey, which took the best part of 15 years to achieve the same outcome (see Chapter 1 for a full account). It seems that T1 did not consider any position lower than a university one and showed no sense of the need to work her way up. In fact, she indicated that what may be seen by others as a prestigious position was seen by her family as “*nothing*” and “*a fucking failure*”, presumably this is because the job was not seen as high enough in academic rank for their high expectations.

5.6 Discussion

On a macro level, and with reference to impact on her personal identity, essentialist notions of nationality could be seen to be partly responsible for T1’s lack of re-integration into Japanese society, although of course individual personality and personal agency are also important. The fact that T1 appears happy to accept this societal rejection and lack of understanding suggests that she does not necessarily allow herself to be categorized by societal norms (“*I don't really belong there, like I don't know anyone. Like I don't belong to*

any communities. I don't really do anything in relation to other Japanese people, um... so I don't think the society understands me enough to kind of identify" Teacher 1 Interview Extract 5). However, her recognition of her privileged background and insider knowledge afforded by family connections does imply that more macro aspects of identity, in this case social class, have contributed to her current status and identity. This can be seen to be a "transportable identity" (Zimmerman, 1998), that has had a positive impact on her professional identity.

It is on the meso, or institutional, level that the strongest manifestations of an essentialising identity discourse, with an explicit native-speakerist outlook can be seen. From the prominence of the White, male, native-speaker ideal displayed on the website, to unconscious bias in course allocation, to the exclusion of T1 from any promotional activities, it is clear that an essentialist, native-speakerist ideology is in place that privileges "native speaker" teachers and marginalises local Japanese teachers. This categorisation relies on a group-based view of identity that treats every member assigned to the group as a monolithic single entity. In this case, the impact on her professional identity can be seen as negative and fitting into Goffman's theory of "stigma" (Goffman, 1963).

In the final theme, when T1's identity construction is examined on a micro scale, there are signs of a more fluid, unfixed, performed and agentic identity, that is more in line with poststructuralist accounts of identity construction that were not evident in macro and meso levels of analysis. T1's ambiguous status as an "emergent bilingual", which does not fit neatly into the "native speaker/non-native speaker" dichotomy, allowed her to resist allocation by her students as a pseudo-"native speaker" and take control of her own narrative. This was done by explicitly saying to students that she was not a "native speaker", but also performatively through classroom presence and teaching materials.

However, it appears that even on the micro level, the identity construction observed in this case study does not fit neatly into the poststructuralist ideal of a fragmented, dynamic, interactionally-dependent identity that has formed the most recent iterations of native-speakerism theory. Neither is it an essentialised, group-bound version of "native/non-native" speaker teacher identity that aligns with similarly-categorised others in order to push back against oppression and discrimination. Instead, T1's construction of her own identity vis-à-vis the pernicious ideology of native-speakerism, is one that is founded on critical self-reflection and an acute awareness of her own position as a young, Japanese, female, bilingual English teacher from an elite, academically-oriented family. It is also inscribed with an awareness of the limitations on individual agency to present her preferred identity in every aspect of her

professional (and personal) life. At different moments in the study, T1 is aligning to different available discourses. These alignments are not always consistent or coherent, but they demonstrate that agency is limited by adherence to available discourses, and also shows that T1 is aware of the need to negotiate and demonstrate the tension between structure and agency. This reflective, reflexive, more nuanced understanding and enactment of teacher identity that sidesteps both the essentialist view of identity construction and the fragmented view of identity may be a positive way forward in dealing with the issue of native-speakerist ideology. I will return to this point in Chapter 10.

Chapter 6

Teacher 2 Case Study

6.1 Biography

Teacher 2 (T2) is an Australian male teacher in his mid-thirties. After completing his undergraduate studies in politics and literature, he came to Japan to work as an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) for two years. After this he returned to Australia to complete a Master of Teaching degree, which was more practical than theoretical, with the final assessment being based on completion of a practicum, rather than a dissertation. Following the completion of his Master's degree he began working at an adult education centre for new residents. Most of the students were from South-East Asia and the Middle East and as well as language skills, they were also taught basic skills for living in a new country. This was followed by an abandoned attempt to return to education (studying linguistics, Japanese and Chinese), after which T2 worked for a short time as both a substitute teacher and as a full-time teacher of ESL at a high school. After only one semester as a high school ESL teacher, at the urging of his partner he decided to return to Japan. His first job was working in an English conversation school (*eikaiwa*) as well as in a “butler café”, the “masculine equivalent of the maid café” where good-looking foreign males are employed as waiters. After six months T2 began working at the British Council in Tokyo, mainly working on their Team Teaching programme in public middle schools. Interestingly, this was the same programme that I had previously worked on and T2 was aware of me as a former employee that had made a lot of the teaching materials that he used as well as of the author of a book chapter about the project (Lawrence, 2016). In fact, he revealed in the interview that my presence at EJPU was one of the reasons that he applied for the job in the first place. Although, we did not know each other at that point, the fact that someone with a similar teaching background as himself was able to get a job at EJPU gave him the confidence to apply. After becoming disillusioned working at the BC, where he felt that his skills were underused and undervalued and that he was “being taken advantage of, basically”, he was on the verge of returning to Australia before he obtained his present position at EJPU. At the time of the interview, he had been working there for just under 3 years.

6.2 Overview

Participant name: Teacher 2

Types of data used: photo, teacher interview, student interview, classroom observation, fieldnotes, one-to-one office hour sessions*.

Themes: Insider/outsider, appearance as “foreigner” identity construction – style, appearance as “foreigner” identity construction – race, foreign professional.

*The data set for T2 contains an extensive extra resource that was not available for the other participants: one-to-one office hour sessions between T2 and a variety of students. T2 is the only teacher in the department who offers these sessions and it appears (from T2’s own perception) that he was approached to conduct these sessions due to his friendly and easy-going demeanour. The data set consists of 21 short (the longest is just over 35 minutes and the shortest is just under 12 minutes) sessions, adding up to around 5 hours 10 minutes, recorded over ten weeks. Some sessions are student-led free talk and others are focusing on preparing for the speaking section of the IELTS test. These sessions were not observed and therefore no fieldnotes were taken. Operation of the recording device and handling of permission forms were kindly carried out by T2 on my behalf.

The main themes to emerge from the totality of the data set were T2’s willingness to lean into and embrace the identity construction of a “native speaker” teacher working in Japan. Rather than seeing his ability to entertain in the classroom as a lack of teaching competence (as the literature often suggests, i.e., Boecher, 2005; Tajino & Tajino, 2000), he instead interpreted it as a teaching strength. Similarly, he embraced and fully celebrated a distinctly casual and unconventional style of appearance to mark him out as Other (Said, 1978) within the institution, which he saw as providing him with certain affordances. Despite these concordances to stereotype, observations of his teaching practice revealed an adherence to traditional teaching practices and a high level of professionalism, hidden behind a slightly exaggerated “foreigner” persona façade. He also showed a deep insider knowledge of various aspects of Japanese culture and language and was often quick to impart titbits of information on Australian life and culture and to compare it with that of Japan.

6.3 Theme 1: Insider/outsider

In this first theme, T2’s position as an outsider with insider knowledge is explored as he uses his knowledge of Japanese culture and language to compare and contrast with his home culture of Australia. In this first extract, T2 is talking to a small group of 4 students to help

them with a task he has set he has set about crime and appropriate punishments. The students appear to be confused over the concept of being “over the limit”. He is sitting down and talking at a close distance to the students:

T2 Classroom observation 3 Extract 1

- 1 T2: In this situation (.) drinking before driving is:: (.) common in most countries
2 S1: ((Murmur of surprise))=
3 T2: =in Japan (.) the rule is zero right;
4 S2: ((nods))
5 S3: ((arms crossed, nods))
6 T2: Zero percent blood alcohol (.) in Australia America the UK (.) you can have one
7 or two beers (.) before you drive
8 S4: ええ; 信じられない ((ehh; Unbelievable)) ((inaudible))
9 T2: (1.0) But in this case he’s over the limit
10 S2: ((Nod and murmur of understanding))

Many similar examples were found in the one-to-one sessions, as the following extract shows:

Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 1

- 1 T2: Australian people (.) when they drink too much (.) they get into trouble (.) they
2 um:: they fi[ght]
3 S: [Er:] that’s £dangerous£
4 T2: It’s dangerous (.) when I wa:s a young man=
5 S: =Yes=
6 T2: =there was a:: (.) there were some bars where you could have an all-you-can-
7 drink but it caused a lot of problems
8 S: Oh my god (.) it £shouldn’t£
9 T2: I know I know it shouldn’t and also in Australia you’re not allowed to drink in
10 public
11 S: Oh [so]

- 12 T2: [So], in Ja[pan]
- 13 S: [yes yes]
- 14 T2: [when you finish work you can go to the convenience [store and
- 15 S: [yes yes]
- 16 T2: [drink
- 17 a beer as you walk home but in Australia this is illegal
- 18 S: Illegal?
- 19 T2: Illegal
- 20 S: So it's too stric=
- 21 T2: =.hhh ah::=
- 22 S: =but I think that it's good good [thing]
- 23 T2: [There] is a reason for this policy, there's a reason
- 24 for it
- 25 S: Yes so Japanese government should consider same=
- 26 T2: =Well but but Japanese people don't have problems when they drink (.) well they
- 27 do but not as serious as other countries

In another exchange with the same student in a different session, T2 can be heard pronouncing on Australian wedding culture and questioning and correcting the student's account of Japanese wedding culture. Both extracts are presented to show contrast:

Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 2

- 1 T2: So in the past in Australia =
- 2 S: =yes=
- 3 T2: = it was common for people to receive gifts at their wedding, and it was usually
- 4 things like um: things that you needed to::: essential things for a house (.) [so]
- 5 S: [So like
- 6 TVs_i
- 7 T2: yeah good

8 S: or or like sofa

9 T2: Yeah or a fridge =

10 S: Oh fridge

11 T2: = appliances right; Why?

12 S: Why? I don't know

13 T2: Because (0.1) can you guess?

14 S: Ah:: because they need their: furniture or other things other things on their lives
15 um:: they have to buy by them[selves]

16 T2: [Yeah yeah yeah

17 S: So:: many people around them

18 T2: Yeah yeah yeah but nowadays, of course, most couples live together first before
19 they get married

20 S: Ah yes

21 T2: So we don't need a couch we don't need a fridge or a TV (.) we've got a fridge.
22 we have it already.

23 S: Y(h)es

24 T2: Yeah (.) so this is a custom now that's changing in Australia

Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 2

1 T2: What's the most common amount of money amount (0.3) [so how much]?

2 S: [Ah so (0.7) I don't
3 know, but I thi:nk it's twen::ty (0.3) twenty thousand or around (inaudible) thousand
4 I [think]

5 T2: [Really] I heard=

6 S: Yes

7 T2: = It's almost always (0.3) [the] minimum or the standard is thirty thousand

8 S: [Yes]

9 S: Ah yes so more than thirty thousand

10 T2: More (0.2) ah:: well it can be (.) but I heard that numbers (.) even

11 numbers, for example [twenty] thousand or four thou (.) forty thousand is no good

12 S: [Ah:: yes]

13 S: Mm (.) because it means death

14 T2: Oh, of course [four] is no good but also two and [sixty] thousand is no good =

15 S: [yes] [two]

16 T2: = this is what I heard

17 S: Why?

18 T2: And also if you are going to give gifts of: say:: cups;

19 S: yes;

20 T2: you can't give even numbers (.) you must give odd numbers (.) for example three

21 five and seven

22 S: Oh without these numbers=

23 T2: = Yeah, without even numbers

24 S: What's even numbers?

25 T2: Even numbers are two four [six] eight

26 S: [ah::]

27 T2: Yeah odd [numbers] are three five seven (1.0) [do you (0.2) I was told by =

28 S: [odd] [ah]

29 T2: = someone (0.5) why? (0.7) can you guess why?

30 S: Why:?

31 T2: why odd numbers are best (0.5) of course your reason of four is no good

32 [because]=

33 S: [Ye:s ye:s]

34 T2: = it's the same as death (0.2) so (.) this person told me and I'm not sure because

35 I'm not Japanese

36 S: yes

37 T2: But they said that (0.3) odd numbers are difficult to split

- 38 S: Ah::
- 39 T2: So if there's a divorce =
- 40 S: Oh:::
- 41 T2: = you can't [you] can't evenly separate your your:: house
- 42 S: [yes:]
- 43 S: So not separating in a [divorce¿]
- 44 T2: [Yeah if you use even numbers you are encouraging them to
- 45 separate (.) it's it's bad luck

After noticing it in classes, I took up the idea of insider/outsider with T2 in the interview:

Teacher 2 Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: Do you think (2.0) I I found a couple of examples of the kind of insider
- 2 outsider=
- 3 T2: =OK=
- 4 Luke: =approach um for example you were talking about in one of the classes (.) you
- 5 were talking about drinking and driving=
- 6 T2: =OK
- 7 Luke: =you were saying you know (.) in Japan the rules are ze[ro]
- 8 T2: [ye]ah, ye[ah]
- 9 Luke: [in]
- 10 Australia its OK to have one or two beers .hhh erm how much do you think you
- 11 try to present yourself as an insider as well as an outsider for the students?
- 12 T2: Oh:: I have no idea hey¿
- 13 Luke: Mm mm do you want them to think or to know that you have knowledge about
- 14 Japan and Japanese culture?
- 15 T2: Um:=
- 16 Luke: =is it important to you?
- 17 T2: yeah I gue::ss I guess um (3.0) let me think about that (2.0) er: (2.0) yeah I think
- 18 so (.) yeah
- 19 Luke: Mm why?

20 T2: £I don't know why£ but I think that is something that I want

21 Luke: yeah (.) I mean is it (.) do you wa[nt]

22 T2: [I]

23 Luke: Go on

24 T2: Oh maybe 'cos I want to be maybe it comes back to being um a resident of Japan
25 in general (.) just don't want to (.) I want to be someone that belongs

26 Luke: OK rather than a tourist?

27 T2: yeah like a:: (3.0) a (.) a (.) valid resident right¿ ((inaudible))

28 Luke: Yeah yeah

29 T2: Well I've been here for long enough right¿

30 Luke: Yeah yeah (.) how many years?

31 T2: In total it's like seven

32 Luke: Yeah yeah and you think that part of (.) you kind of presenting your knowledge
33 of Japanese language and Japanese culture in the classroom is one way of doing that?

34 T2: Er::: I wouldn't (.) I don't know about tha (.) ah: yeah I guess I guess (.) I haven't
35 (.) really considered that in detail but yeah

36 Luke: (3.0) Do you ever play: the::: the: clueless gaijin? Do you ever pretend that you
37 don't know something that you do actually know?

38 T2: Of course of course (.) I did it today

39 Luke: OK tell me (.) tell me what happened

40 T2: Um so:: the kids they're talking about um New Years Day plans and they say
41 we're going to do *hatsumode*=

42 Luke: =Mm=

43 T2: =and I'm like what's that? and they are like well you know like we:: go to a
44 shrine I'm like okay why? (.) to pray to (.) you know like to pray and I'm like why?
45 for what? and they say pray for God (.) and I'm like oh, so you are going to pray to
46 God? For what? Why? (.) for (.) you know ah it's to pray for a happy new year (.) well
47 it's the language (.) to elicit good language right¿

48 Luke: (1.0) yeah yeah (.) but you could have elicited different language if you
49 would have just said (.) just took it and showed that you knew it and had them talk
50 about something else

- 51 T2: I suppose I suppose.
- 52 Luke: Hm: (.) Why do you think you did that?
- 53 T2: My (.) honestly my motivations are to elicit good language=
- 54 Luke: =You don't mind that might skewer the way they see you?
- 55 T2: No:
- 56 Luke: They might see [you]
- 57 T2: [May]be I like that (.) s::ense of portraying maybe I don't know
- 58 Luke: Hm why? Most most teachers like to (.) have the authority and the knowledge
- 59 T2: Yeah, um: maybe so that they: £try to still use English with me£ and not Japanese

6.3.1 Theme 1 Analysis

As these abstracts show, T2's positioning as an outsider with intimate inside knowledge (often over and above that of his students) appears to form a core part of his identity as a teacher. However, as the interview extract revealed, this was largely unconscious on the part of T2.

In the first extract above, by stating at the beginning that “*drinking before you drive is common in most countries*” (T2 Classroom observation 3 Extract 1 Line 1), T2 offers himself as an authority on not only his home country (and later Japan), but also as a representative of the world outside of Japan. In MCA terminology, this can be seen as a “category-bound activity” (Stokoe, 2012) with “*drinking before you drive*” as the activity and “*most countries*” as the category. This “*most countries*” category then forms a relational pair with “*Japan*”. This not only feeds into the Nihonjinron discourse (see Chapter 2) of Japan as unique and outside the category of “*most countries*”, but by positioning himself as knowledgeable about “both”, T2 can be seen as an outsider with insider knowledge (and not the other way round).

This is reinforced in the second extract (Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 1), which also features some strong generalisations and stereotypes. At the start of the extract, T2 appears to act as a spokesperson for Australian culture, whilst at the same time distancing himself from it to some degree. The use of “they”, rather than “we” (“*Australian people, when they drink too much they get into trouble. They um...they fight*” Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 1 Line 1-2) suggests that T2 sees himself as apart from the general designation of “Australian people”. This could be due to his current physical and

geographical distance from his home country, or it could be a consequence of the hybrid insider/outsider identity that he has fashioned. Or possibly as a way to distance himself from what he perceives to be an unattractive element to Australian culture. In addition, and as with the previous extract, there appears to be a certain amount of performativity (in the Goffmanian [1959] sense) to this knowledge display. The information is given sincerely, but from the lack of elicitation questions, it appears that T2 expects this information to be new to the recipients and as such it is delivered in a way to assure maximum impact.

This performativity is particularly pronounced in the third and fourth extracts (Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 2) as T2 and his student discuss the classic ethnography trope of rituals and gift giving. In the first extract, T2 talks confidently about Australian wedding culture, praising the student for understanding (“*yeah good*”, Teacher 2 One-to-one sessions Session 2 Extract 1 Line 7) and eliciting guesses, staying in teacher mode and firmly in control. In the second extract T2 initially feigns ignorance by seemingly asking a genuine question at the beginning, and then answering his own question when the student gives the “wrong” answer. At the outset of this exchange, T2 appears to position himself as an outsider who is asking the student (an insider) about a specific aspect of Japanese culture, namely the appropriate amount of money to give at a Japanese wedding. Although on the surface this may give the impression of an outsider seeking information from an insider, the premise of the question itself shows T2 to already be an insider. In contrast to the custom of giving gifts (often specifically chosen gifts from a list) that is prevalent in wedding cultures of many Western countries, in Japan it is customary for wedding guests to give money to the bride and groom. In order, for T2 to formulate this initial question, a certain amount of local knowledge was necessary. This may not have been apparent to the student who may have been unaware of any difference in wedding cultures around the world (or indeed to a researcher that lacked knowledge of Japanese customs).

As T2 questions the student’s answer and counteracts it with his own information, he is at great pains to emphasise his outsider status and play down his local Japanese knowledge. This is first seen at Line 5 as T2 reacts to the student’s incorrect assertion with a sincere “*Really?*”. This is immediately followed by “*I heard*” to indicate that it was secondhand knowledge. This was repeated at Line 10 (“*I heard that*”), Line 16 (“*This is what I heard*”) and Line 27/29 (“*I was told by someone*”), culminating in a strong hedge and assertion of (non)identity in Line 34-35: “*So, this person told me and I’m not sure because I’m not Japanese*”. This hedging was not present in the first extract when T2 was pronouncing on information relating to Australian and world culture, although presumably he was also given

that information “by someone” at some point in his life. Although, this may be partly explained by a desire for politeness when disagreeing with a student, the assertion that “*I’m not sure because I’m not Japanese*” indicates that it may be something deeper. By laying claim to national identity as a barrier to authoritative knowledge, T2 is discursively constructing his own identity as an outsider, a categorisation that belies the deeply ingrained insider knowledge that the initial question reveals.

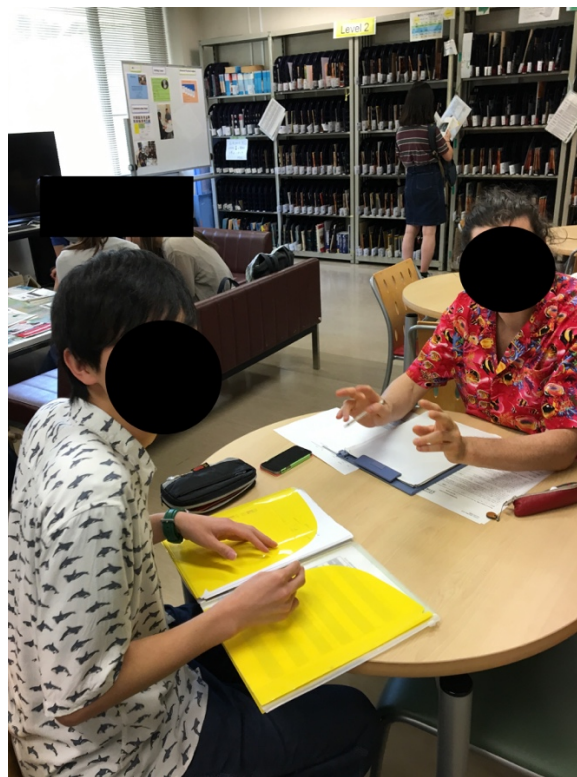
In the interview, the co-constructed discussion shows T2 considering his identity as a simultaneous insider and outsider for the first time, as I suggest that he presents himself as an insider/outsider. After initially stating that he has no idea if he attempts to present himself as an insider/outsider, he then moves on to a tentative “*er yeah I think so yeah*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 1 Line 17-18). Again, after initially stating that he does not know the reason for this, he then proffers the suggestion that he wants to be “*someone that belongs*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 1 Line 25) and a “*valid resident*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 1 Line 27). The obvious relational pairs to these membership categories would be “someone that does not belong” and “an invalid resident”. In terms of the indexical order (Silverstein, 2003) of this exchange, there is a clear indication of how the macro frames of belonging in the Japanese societal context are played out in this micro-interaction with a student. In a country that is perceived as homogenous, where race and ethnicity are often conflated with national identity, and those that look different are perpetual outsiders, this kind of knowledge display may be the only option available for people like T2 to stake their claim as a valid resident that belongs. This phenomenon was also observed in the pilot study (Lawrence, 2020) and also in my other research (Nagashima & Lawrence, 2020).

Despite this wish to belong and be seen as a valid resident, the second part of the interview extract indicates that serving the perceived pedagogical needs of his students is more important to T2 than legitimising this aspect of his own identity. By playing the “*clueless gaijin ((foreigner))*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 1 Line 36 my words) T2 shows that he is willing to cede the personal aspect of his identity (as a valid resident of Japan) to the professional part of his teacher identity (as a teacher whose motivations are to elicit good language from his students). However, I acknowledge the part played by myself as a researcher in this part of the interview. The concept was put forward by myself and T2 was forced to accept or deny my interpretations, shown by T2’s initial slightly non-committal response. This act of not knowing, which itself may be seen as an unconscious pedagogical strategy, was transformed through the interview process into an identity matter.

6.4 Theme 2: Appearance as “foreigner” identity construction – style

A key part of T2’s personal identity and teacher persona is the way that he presents himself in terms of dress and hairstyle that goes against Japanese societal norms of what is appropriate for the workplace. Although, some private universities in Japan allow a more casual dress code, as a public institution, EJPU is more conservative with all administrators and most teachers and professors wearing formal workwear on a daily basis. T2 is aware of the norms and sees his deliberate contravention of them as one of his strengths. In this first piece of data, T2 can be seen in a one-to-one session with a student:

Photo 1 – T2 with student



As the photo shows, T2 (on the right in the picture) is wearing a bright, colourful short-sleeved, Hawaiian shirt with an open neck. His hair is long and swept back into what T2 labels a “man-bun” with strands of hair sticking out the sides of this head.

T2 referred to this look explicitly as we pondered on different identity aspects in the teacher interview:

Teacher 2 Interview Extract 2

1 Luke: I want to go into a bit more detail about other aspects of identity=

2 T2=OK

3 Luke: We've talked about a little bit (.) erm:: race (.) you're a White guy

4 T2: Uh huh

5 Luke: guy

6 T2: Guy

7 Luke: Gender (.) you're pretty young

8 T2: Er: I gue[ss]

9 Luke: [Th]irty-fi[ve]

10 T2: [I g]uess

11 Luke: So for example going back to the um: one-to-one sessions (.) how much do you
12 think all of that influenced the decision to (0.5) to choose you for t[hat]

13 T2: [Huh]

14 Luke: I mean you are a good looking young: (.) bloke

15 T2: Youth youth maybe=

16 Luke: =yeah

17 T2: maybe I'm not just the fact that I'm:: young, maybe the fact
18 that I've got (.) a moustache and a man-bun and I wear Hawaiian shirts

19 Luke: heh heh do you think that is part of it?

20 T2: [Yeah]

21 Luke: [yeah]

22 T2: So the (.) there's a:: lady from the the: (.) I guess it's their marketing
23 department (.) she did this presentation in our (.) um Japan from the foreigners view
24 class (.) and she said that they're (.) they really want to start advertising um EJPU=

25 Luke: =Mm

26 T2: But before they do that, they need to um finalise the brand and what she says
27 they're focusing on is:: er building student services (.) so like you know they came
28 and did a video of me and Steve* in the communication hour; and like there's a
29 picture of me on the website and in a video with like (.) wild unkempt facial hair and
30 I'm wearing a fucking like loud bright red (.) like Hawaiian: shirt

31 Luke: Yeah=

32 T2: =an::d (.) that's what they are going with (.) it's on (.) that's part of their: brand

33 Luke: hhh=

34 T2: =I'm part of that brand

35 Luke: Yeah (.) what do you think about that?

36 T2: It's nice

37 Luke: But is that (.) I mean it's supposed to be an academic inst (.) a high level
38 academic institutio[n]

39 T2: [B]ut I provide (.) yeah I know but that's (.) but that's like I am
40 providing (.) I am doing my fucking best=

41 Luke: =Mm mm

42 T2: Um and I'm lucky that I don't have to compromise in like like that part of who I
44 am right?

45 Luke: yeah yeah

46 T2: That's being (.) the fact that that's um:: a:: marketable thing (.) great

47 Luke: Hm hm (.) do you think it takes away from the (.) .hhh the the gravity of
48 something like university education?

49 T2: Um for some people I'm sure (.) but (.) that's what happens when you have 40-
50 year- olds making marketing decisions (.) you get (.) it should be this sombre (.) thing

51 Luke: Mm=

52 T2: =This is a small university (.) um get 20-year-olds to make those marketing
53 decisions (.) she made it (.) she probably knows

54 Luke: Mm

55 T2: that this is like the the the next generation of Japanese kids aren't
56 going to be concerned with this gravitas or=

57 Luke: =No=

58 T2: =they want they want to be (.) they want to be worldly fun open [right?]

59 Luke: [True] but do
60 you think (.) do you think that going for that angle um kind of (.) gives the idea that
61 learning English is this fun thing that foreigners do (.) rather than a serious subject?

62 T2: But I am

63 Luke: Yeah yeah

T2's appearance was central to his identity and something that he refused to compromise on for the sake of professional advancement:

Teacher 2 Interview Extract 3

1 T2: Um:: like image is really important right_ç and like before I have (.) I've had like
2 four interviews before I had EJPU=

3 Luke: =Mm=

4 T2: =and like if you get to the interview stage you've got a good chance of getting it
5 right_ç

5 Luke: Is that because you have to include photos with your CV?

6 T2: I did and my hairst (.) I hid my hair

7 Luke: Oh right[↑]

8 T2: Yeah and like um (.) I get there and they looked they just look at it [and]

9 Luke: [yeah]=

10 T2: =and for a private university (.) they are selling a product you know_ç an:d um
11 one principal said (.) if he cuts his hair he's s got the job

12 Luke: Yeah (.) why did you refuse to compromise? because you said you wanted to
13 get out of doing the job you were doing and you were thinking of packing up and
14 [going hom]e

15 T2: [yeah yeah

16 Luke: it got] to that extent (.) why didn't you just [cut your hair and do it?]

17 T2: [Well, it wasn't a full-time] job (.)
18 it was like (.) again thirty hours maybe

19 Luke: Maybe not that particular job but if if that's what it was going to come
20 down to you have to leave the country or get a university job why didn't you just cut
21 your hair (.) and just go for it?

22 T2: Ah becaus::e er:: I guess (3.0) I don't know (.) 'cos I'm a contrarian (.) if someone
23 tells me to do something I'm like no

- 24 Luke: Mm
- 25 T2: An::d it wasn't a problem in Australia (.) that doesn't have anything to do with my
26 professionalism my abilities (.) um: [the DM]* didn't care and the marketing team
27 sees it as an advantage
- 28 Luke: sure, sure (.) did you apply (.) did you apply for a lot of jobs before you got this
29 one?
- 30 T2: Oh yeah

*Department Manager

Unprompted by me, T2's appearance was the first thing that was mentioned when I spoke to his students:

T2 Student Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: Er first question then (.) so (.) your:: teacher (.) T2 (.) what was your first
2 impression? In the first class when you met him what was your first impression?
- 3 S1: (1.0) In summer he wear always (.) colourful t-shirts=
- 4 Luke: =yeah
- 5 S1: So I think he's very fun (.) um fun people and I think he like fashion [very much]
- 6 Luke: [right yeah]
- 7 S1: But my friend=
- 8 Luke: =Mm
- 9 S1: Last semester my friend taught by T2 (.) so I heard about T2 and when I know
10 my my this semester teacher is T2 she tell me it's very lucky (.) so I=
- 11 Luke: =Oh what did she say about him?
- 12 S1: Um she said T2 is very fun and (0.5) the class class (2.0) atmosphere=
- 13 Luke: =yeah
- 14 S1: Is very (1.0) enjoy and fun
- 15 Luke: Yeah yeah
- 16 S1: So she likes to go to RE class
- 17 Luke: Okay that's good that's good yeah

- 18 S2: I think T2 very fun (.) and interesting people (.) person
- 19 Luke: Yeah yeah
- 20 S2: So (1.0) same question OK?
- 21 Luke: First impression yeah
- 22 S2: Very colourful heh heh
- 23 S1: heh heh
- 24 Luke: heh £sure£
- 25 S2: Colourful t-shirts er 後なんだろうな ((what else))?

6.4.1 Theme 2 Analysis

As the data suggests, personal style is a key component of T2's teacher identity, which native-speakerist discourses prevalent in Japan help to transform what may be a potentially negative factor into a marketable strength.

In Teacher 2 Interview Extract 2, I enquiringly speculate about the possibility that his youth and gender may have been instrumental in being chosen to conduct one-to-one sessions with students. T2 confirms this speculation and adds that it is also “*maybe the fact that I've got a moustache and a man-bun and I wear Hawaiian shirts*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 2 Line 17-18). By invoking this membership category of a person with a moustache and a man-bun that wears Hawaiian shirts, T2 is knowingly indexing himself as opposite to a clean-shaven, short-haired person wearing business attire. He then goes on to tell an animated story of how the marketing department has adopted his look as part of their branding of the department. This is told with full recognition of the incongruity of a respected academic institution using this kind of image to appeal to potential students. When I suggested that this kind of presentation of foreign English teachers may be perpetuating stereotypes that “*(l)earning English is this fun thing that foreigners do, rather than a serious subject*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 2 Line 60-61), he replied simply “*But I am*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 2 Line 62). By embracing this stereotype of “fun” “native speaker” teachers (see also Theme 4 below) that his appearance perpetuates, T2 may be seen to be contributing to the discursively constructed image of the foreign other that exists outside of the norms of Japanese society. This constructed identity is only made possible however, by a dialectical relationship with the institution that applies alternative values to “native speaker” employees.

T2's dress and style may be seen as a marketable commodity by EJPU as a certain idealized form of the "*worldly, fun, open*" (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 2 Line 58) "native speaker" teacher. However, it is clear from his struggles to find a position in the higher education sector and his explicit self-categorisation as a "*contrarian*" (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 3 Line 22) that this self-presentation style is far from being a typical example of a "native speaker" teacher in Japan. In the research site at least, my observations showed that most teachers (regardless of nationality), conformed with the dress code norms of the institution.

This apparent correlation in the mind of the marketing department of what represents a "*worldly, fun, open*" image was also shared with T2's students. When asked to give their first impressions of T2, S1 immediately focused on his dress style and equated this with a fun persona: "*In summer he wear always colourful t-shirts...So, I think he's very fun...um fun people and I think he like fashion*" (T2 Student Interview Extract 1 Line 3&5). In MCA terminology, the explicit categorisation of T2 as "*very fun ...people*" can be contrasted with the obvious relational pair of a "not-fun person", who in this scenario may be imagined as being dressed soberly. This points to the powerful association between appearance and perceptions of personality. Of course, it may be speculated that a Japanese or other "non-native" speaker would also generate the same reaction by adopting the style of T2. However, this assumption overlooks the privileged position of "native speakers" in Japan that gives them licence (and even rewards them for) breaking the norms of society. This privilege does not extend to Japanese teachers, who may be expected to stay within the rules of their own society. It also does not extend to other "non-native" speakers who may be in a more precarious employment situation.

6.5 Theme 3: Appearance as "foreigner" identity construction – race

The role of appearance in identity construction went much deeper than surface items like clothes and hairstyle, both for T2 as a young, White male teacher teaching in Japan and for his students too.

Teacher 2 Interview Extract 4

- 1 Luke: How how do you think how much do you think it's influenced or affected
- 2 your just your overall career?
- 3 T2: Being a White guy?

- 4 Luke: Yeah
- 5 T2: In Japan?
- 6 Luke: In Japan especially
- 7 T2: Um:: (1.0) ah look I know if I was an Asian bloke I wouldn't have done very well
- 8 Luke: Yeah=
- 9 T2: =That's given

In the student interview we were discussing the authenticity of “native speaker” teachers’ English, when the conversation unexpectedly turned to physical appearance, which appeared to refer to ethnic or racial appearance:

T2 Student Interview Extract 2

- 1 Luke: What do you think (.) you said real English (.) I want to know your idea about
2 what is real English
- 3 (3.0) ((inaudible whispered chat by S1 and S2 in Japanese))
- 4 S1: Ah connect=
- 5 Luke: =Mm
- 6 S1: Word and word (.) I know some words connect and the middle sound is
7 change (.) I know I hear that
- 8 Luke: Mm (1.0) £is that important£?
- 9 S1: Ya::: no no no (.) face (.) who face (.) £speakers face is important£ heh heh
- 10 S2: heh heh
- 11 Luke: Oh: how about for you? Is the look important?
- 12 S2: Ah::: =
- 13 S1: =外国人と話しているなあ’と思う ((I think “ah, I'm speaking to a foreigner”))
- 14 S2: Ah:::

Later on in the interview it became clear that race was being used by the students as a proxy for nationality and that anyone that did not fit the ethnically dominant image of Japanese facial features could not be considered to be Japanese:

T2 Student Interview Extract 3

- 1 S2: When I:: (.) watching TV=
2 Luke: =Yeah
3 S2: (1.0) If er 彼の (.) if foreigners (0.5) speak Japanese perfectly (.) I am very
4 surprised
5 S1: Surprised
6 Luke: W::hy?
7 S1: I know many people learn about English or Chinese because it's very useful as
8 many people use such language but Japanese is only £you only can use in Japan£=
9 Luke: =But maybe they're not foreigners (.) [their]
10 S1: [ah:::]
11 Luke: [face is not (.) you're (.) you're saying
12 Japanese is (.) is race=
13 S1: =Race? ah:=
14 Luke: =But surely nationality is where you grew up not your face
15 S1: [Ah:::]
16 Luke: [What] do you think? What do you think? Maybe I maybe I was born in Japan
17 (.) is that possible?
18 S1: Ah:::
19 Luke: I wasn't (.) £but£ what do you think? (2.0) If I'm for example (.) if I am born in
20 Japan but I (.) this is my face (.) am I Japanese?
21 S1: Ah::: (1.0) some ah::: (2.) at the first time=
22 Luke: =Yeah=
23 S1: =Many people think (.) I (1.0) if I can do I (.) talk (.) you in English
24 Luke: Yeah yeah yeah

- 25 S1: And and sometimes some people try to talk with in English=
- 26 Luke: =Mm mm mm
- 27 S1: So I hear a problem like foreigners (.) but grow up (.) in Japan (.) Japan the people
28 worried about English. Why you can't speak English?
- 29 Luke: Yeah yeah yeah yeah
- 30 S1: Why you can't good score in exam?=
31 Luke: =Yeah exactly (.) what do you think about that? ((to S2))
- 32 (5.0) ((S1 starts explaining in Japanese to S2, I hear the word 外国人 [foreigner]
33 and interrupt))
- 34 Luke: =But if they're born in Japan, why 外国人?
- 35 S1: heh heh
- 36 S2: heh heh
- 37 Luke: heh heh £what do you why do you;£
- 38 S1: heh heh
- 39 S2: ah: heh heh
- 40 Luke: £that doesn't make sense£
- 41 S2: なるほどね((I see)) 外国人に言うてしまう((we say foreigner unfortunately))
- 42 S1: 言うてしまうね ((we say it unfortunately))
- 43 S2: そかなるほど ((I see, I see))
- 44 S1: £ah::: ah:::£

This exchange occurred around three quarters of the way into the interview. After the interview had finished and the IC recorder had been switched off, we were winding down our meeting and the conversation went back to this part of the interview. I hurriedly turned the IC recorder back on as we were midway through the conversation:

T2 Student Interview Extract 4

- 1 S1: Japanese people think Japanese Japanese is like (.) our face

- 2 Luke: Yeah
- 3 S1: And (0.5) nose
- 4 S2: heh heh
- 5 Luke: heh heh £nose especially£
- 6 S1: Nose and eyes and some face (.) face (1.0) とくちよ((special point))
- 7 S2: ah ah ah ah ah ((indicating agreement))
- 8 Luke: Yeah
- 9 S1: Mm (.) I don't (0.5) I can't think (2.0) I I I think my thinking is very natural

As well as facial features, there was also a strong affiliation between language and race/nationality in the minds of the students:

T2 Student Interview Extract 5

- 1 S1: If the teacher is Japanese (.) but (.) very good at Engl[ish]
- 2 Luke: [Mm is that best?
- 3 S1: Hm:: I think (.) can I have (.) can I talk with the teacher in English or I I
4 should talk in Japanese¿
- 5 Luke: Right so it's kind of confusing
- 6 S1: heh heh
- 7 Luke: That's interesting yeah (.) how about you? ((to S2)) you said before (.) is that
8 like the perfect combination? (1.0) You said it's it's useful you can ask the question in
9 Japanese when you're in high school (.) so if your teacher is Japanese but really good
10 at English is that the perfect combination?
- 11 S2: ((confirming in Japanese with S1)) そうね んん:: ((ah erm::))
- 12 (5.0) ((S1 talking to S2 in Japanese - it's difficult to catch but she seems to be saying
13 that it takes away the motivation to speak English if the teacher is Japanese even if
14 they can speak English really well))
- 15 S2: そうだね そうだね ((yes yes))
- 16 Luke: Right so there's no motivation to speak English?

- 17 S1: Ah I 大丈夫 大丈夫 ((OK OK and more confirmation in Japanese between S1
18 and S2))
- 19 S2: If teacher is (1.0) Japanese=
- 20 Luke: =Yeah
- 21 S2: (2.0) Maybe I:: talk to teacher in Japanese
- 22 Luke: Why? Because (.) why?
- 23 S1: Strange situation
- 24 Luke: Really? It just feels weird (.) it feels strange¿
- 25 S1: I talk (1.0) I speak English with foreigner it is very natural=
- 26 Luke: =Mm
- 27 S1: But if always talk each other in English is very strange for me
- 28 Luke: To Japanese? right yeah

However, this binary separation of Japanese-looking/foreign-looking was not clear cut with an apparent spectrum existing in the minds of the students:

T2 Student Interview Extract 6

- 1 Luke: Which is more surprising (.) Korean person speaks to you in Japanese or::
2 English person?
- 3 S1: heh
- 4 S2: heh £English person£
- 5 Luke: £Why?£ £what's the difference?£
- 6 S2: Asian Asian
- 7 S1: Asian
- 8 Luke: heh heh £but it's a completely different language£ heh heh
- 9 S2: だよ、言われているとそうなんだよ ((yes, that's right, when you say it it's
10 right))
- ((omitted))
- 11 S1: 難しいよね ((it's difficult isn't it))

- 12 S2: 申し訳ないけど肌の色見ている感じはあるかもしれない ((I'm very
13 sorry but maybe it's about when we look at the colour of the skin))
- 14 S1: Ah: 日本に近いと :: ((if it is close to Japanese::))
- 15 S2: Yellow と :: ((yellow and::))
- 16 S1: Ah: まあまあまあなんか ((ah, yes yes yes erm))

6.5.1 Theme 3 Analysis

The role of race in the perception and construction of teacher identity appears here as a powerful aspect that impacts classroom atmosphere and student to teacher language interaction. Race is also constructed along a spectrum and is defined by very particular facial features in the minds of the students.

In the first extract, T2 creates his own relational pair by explicitly juxtaposing himself as a “*White guy*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 4 Line 3) against an imagined Other “*Asian bloke*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 4 Line 7) and stating his belief that this part of his identity has played a part in the success that he has had in his career in Japan. His assertion that this was “*given*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 4 Line 9) implies that it is a common sense understanding that anyone with knowledge of the teaching industry in Japan would recognise and agree with.

T2’s statement that being a “*White guy*” has afforded him preferential treatment, was confirmed by my interview with his students. For them, the face of the teacher, which was later narrowed down to an even more specific, nose of the teacher, was important in establishing the requisite atmosphere in the language classroom to allow the students to feel that they were talking to a foreigner. This focus on the nose shape of White, Westerners has been a near constant in my time in Japan. Over my years of teaching and living in Japan, I have had many students (and strangers) tell me that my nose is “*tall*” and that they are envious of its tallness. In Kubota and Fujimoto’s (2013) study of race in Japanese ELT, the English fluency of one American teacher of Japanese heritage (who was ethnically Japanese) caused cognitive dissonance in her young learners who believed that she had a “*tall*” nose based in their perception of her as a foreigner (also, see the discussion surrounding an ANA TV advertisement in 2014 that featured a Japanese actor wearing an exaggeratedly large fake nose and blonde wig, BBC News, 2014). As with T2’s characterisation of “*White guy*”

privilege as “*given*”, Student 1 also felt that her categorisation of national identity that relied on facial features was “*very natural*” (T2 Student Interview Extract 3 Line 9).

Physical features were also linked with language, with T2’s students feeling that it was a “*strange situation*” (T2 Student Interview Extract 4 Line 23) to speak to a Japanese (or someone who had the stereotypical physical features of a Japanese person) English teacher in English. This clear dichotomy in the minds of the students also implied category-bound activities that those that were seen as “native speaker” teachers could not and should not speak Japanese. This points to strongly discursively produced “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” identities in the interactions between students and teacher, with the students doing the structuring and allowing little agency on the part of the teacher (see Yanase, 2016 for an example from a “non-native speaker” viewpoint).

This construction was not limited to teachers, but to anyone that appeared as non-ethnically Japanese, emphasised by a clear distinction that categorised as “*外国人*[*gaikokujin*]” (foreigner) even those people born in Japan that were seen as ethnically different from their notion of what represented a Japanese person. Again, this was tied up with language usage and who had the right to use the Japanese language. Here a spectrum, or possibly hierarchy, could be seen that placed (those seen as ethnically) Korean as more legitimate users of the students’ L1 due to the fact that they are Asian and thus seen as ethnically closer to Japanese in terms of skin tone. These generalisations were made about all people living in Japan, which by implication includes the teachers in this study.

6.6. Theme 4: Foreign professional

In contrast to the characterisation of “non-native speaker” teachers in Japan as “professional foreigners” (Heimlich, 2013) the identity construction observed in T2 was that of a teacher who very much adopted the fun, friendly foreigner stereotype. However, instead of seeing this as a barrier to professional acceptance (Houghton & Rivers, 2013), T2 regarded this as a strength and a particular skill set that he was proud to hold. Despite this persona, that was partly self-cultivated and partly institutionally enforced, close observation of lesson content revealed a traditional occupation with rote memorisation and grammar rules that were masked by innovative practices and an identity of teacher-as-entertainer. During the interview T2 was keen to assert his professionalism and it was clear that he took a lot of pride in his teaching and was aware of his own value as a qualified, experienced teacher. In this next short extract T2 is outlining why he left his previous job:

Teacher 2 Interview Extract 5

1 T2: And then (.) I was I mean (.) yeah that work was too easy (.) it was it was beneath
2 me

3 Luke: In what way?

4 T2: In that it was no challenge at all (.) I had skills that weren't being used

This professionalism was in evidence in the informal observations I made about his dedication to planning and preparation and the high quality of the activities and teaching ability that I observed in the classroom. However, it was contradicted somewhat by his assertion later in the interview that his “fun” persona was his greatest strength. In the following extract we are discussing how the students in another (“non-native speaker”) teacher’ class he had watched seemed more serious:

Teacher 2 Interview Extract 6

1 Luke: What do you think about that? Would you like them to be more on task and
2 more serious in your classes?

3 T2: Nn::::o

4 Luke: Mm why not?

5 T2: Um becaus::e I:: maybe that comes back to my identity as a as a teacher (.) I'm a
6 motivator more than I am um (.) a work (.) what's the word; a slave driver

7 Luke: Mm (0.5) well you got your sweets

8 T2: I got my sweets um (.) yeah I I it should be fun (.) so that they they like English
9 and if they like English they'll learn English you know; they'll learn by
10 themselves

11 Luke: Yeah yeah but you think that even that way of thinking is the fact that that's
12 your background ((inaudible))

13 T2: Fr from being a native speaker?

14 Luke: Yeah

15 T2: No

16 Luke: No no (.) do you feel (.) do you feel that you have to live up to any kind of
17 expectation?

- 18 T2: As a native speaker?
- 19 Luke: Yeah (.) to be fun
- 20 T2: Um:: no no (.) I can (.) I remember (.) it wasn't one of my mentor teachers when I
 21 was doing my placement at a Catholic girls school (.) it was someone who was
 22 covering for a mentor teacher because they have to have a teacher (.) a registered
 23 teacher in the class right; and I'm like ah you don't have to give me any feedback (.)
 24 you're just there to make sure I'm not you know diddling the kids (.) um: got any
 25 feedback for me? And he said to me you can't (.) he said you shouldn't run your class
 26 like it's a game show (.) but he's wrong
- 27 Luke: Why?
- 28 T2: Why? Because it should be fucking fun
- 29 Luke: heh
- 30 T2: If they're learning and are motivated and they walk away with a positive
 31 experience (.) then I'm right

The following classroom observation data extract shows a typical example of this “game show” teaching style that was observed many times during the observations:

T2 Classroom observation 2 Extract 1

- 1 T2: *((sitting at desk at the front, facing the class and speaking to the whole class))*
- 2 O::K this is a group task (.) I'm going to show you some questions on the projector
 3 *((gestures towards screen with his arm))* (.) work together in your groups (.) read
 4 page 133 134 using reading skills to answer the questions (.) when you have finished
 5 come and show me *((mimes showing a piece of paper by putting his arms straight out
 6 in front of him around 30 cm apart))* your answers (.) if your answers are correct and
 7 you are the fastest group *((holds up bag of sweets and shakes it for 4 seconds to make
 8 a loud crackling noise))* OK are you ready? *((looks at group in front of him))* ready?
 9 *((looks at group to the right of him))* ready? OK great *((looks at individual student to
 10 the far left of him))* ready? Allright *((adopts funny voice))* three *((looks from side to
 11 side - still using funny voice))* two *(still in funny voice)* one *(changes voice to high-
 12 pitched tone)* start↑↑

8 Luke: =Reading tests; mm=
9 S1: =and new word tests
10 Luke: Mm
11 S1: So [I]
12 Luke: [But T2 does new word tests
13 S1: Oh but many many (0.5) a lot of new words so very strict school [so]
14 Luke: [ah]
15 S1: [I a]lways (.) I
16 have to always to learn English

6.6.1 Theme 4 Analysis

The data extracts here initially suggest a tension between two seemingly contrasting identity constructions of serious professional teacher and fun, easygoing entertainer. However, T2 appears to have successfully negotiated this tension by reclaiming the “native speaker” teacher as “game show” host from a pejorative to a strength. This personal positioning is backed up by his actions in the classroom, which allow him to run a tightly controlled, nominally traditional class, but not have it seen as such by his students.

By dismissing his previous job as “*beneath me*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 5 Line 1-2), T2 asserted himself as a skilled teacher, who took his teacher role very seriously. However, for T2 this did not necessarily mean that his classes needed to be serious and sombre. When contrasting his own teaching style with that of another (“non-native” speaker) teacher’s that he had observed, some explicit identity work could be seen. T2 created his own relational pair by stating that he was “*a motivator more than I am...a slave driver*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 6 Line 5-6). His choice of the word “motivator” to describe his teacher identity indicates that he sees the role of teacher as more facilitative than instructive, which is an approach that is often blamed for “native speaker” teachers not being taken seriously as “proper” teachers. His positive orientation to the motivator identity is strengthened by his choice of the strongly emotive term “slave driver”. This indicates his disdain for teachers that lack empathy towards their students and positions himself as someone who puts the motivation of his students first.

This positioning is reinforced by an anecdote in which he was told not to run his class like a game show, which he simply stated was “*wrong*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 6 Line

26). This is then justified by outlining his vision of a successful learning experience as one in which students are “*learning and are motivated and they walk away with a positive experience*” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 6 Line 30-31). The fact that he places “learning” at the beginning of this list implies that this is his main priority. However, the fact that the other two items on the list, being motivated and walking away with a positive experience, are near synonyms also suggests that these are very important to him.

This claim of being a motivator who was happy to run his class like a game show was certainly in evidence in the classes I observed, exemplified by silly voices and rewarding students with sweets. This bright, fun, persona appeared to obscure what I judged to be traditional classroom activities such as vocabulary tests and memorisation (albeit carried out using innovative ideas, such as sticking the words to be memorised on classroom walls for students to walk around and find). During the student interview, when asked about the difference between school classes and their classes at university with T2, students mentioned the presence of tests in their school lessons. When I pointed out that T2 also does new word tests in his classes, this observation was dismissed as irrelevant due to the fact that the tests in school contained a larger number of new words. This suggests that the perception of T2 that the students had built as a colourful, fun teacher had somewhat blinded the students to recognising the traditional nature of the activities carried out in the classroom. Although vocabulary tests themselves may not necessarily be evidence of “traditional” activities, this evaluation is based on the students’ own conception of vocabulary tests as an example of a less-engaging, negatively-assessed pedagogy.

By cultivating a fun, colourful, “game show” teacher identity and claiming it is a strength, T2 negotiates the competing narratives of institutions who want a “worldly, fun, open” “foreign” atmosphere, and many “native speaker” teachers who “struggle to establish a professional identity, independent from appearance and personality” (Egitim & Garcia, 2021, p. 14).

6.7 Discussion

On a macro level, part of T2’s self-positioning as someone with local knowledge is an attempt to “be someone that belongs” and a “valid resident” of Japan. This points to T2 as knowingly aligning to available constructions. Or, as suggested above, it may be the only option available to T2 in a society where race, nationality and language are often conflated, and he perceives himself to be seen as a perpetual outsider. This society-wide discourse appears to have a strong impact on T2’s personal identity, which in turn influences his

identity construction in his professional practice.

In terms of the direct impact on his professional career, the intersectional identity of being a White male in Japan was perceived by T2 to play a large part. As with T1, the meso level of institutional co-construction of identity appears to wield a great deal of power. In contrast to T1 however, the co-construction guided by EJPU works to T2's advantage. By positively affirming T2's unconventional, casual style of dress as a commodity, the marketing department of EJPU assists in co-constructing a professional identity that adheres to many stereotypes prevalent in the native-speakerism discourse. Rather than see this as a discriminatory form of de-professionalization (Houghton & Rivers, 2013), T2 reclaimed this narrative as a strength and a unique attribute that he was able to offer the university.

On the micro level of student-teacher interactions the co-construction of identity was more nuanced. In his classroom practice and in one-to-one free talk sessions with students, T2 was able skillfully to draw on his experiences and knowledge of local customs and culture in order to display his knowledge and stake a claim for belonging. The acceptance of this position, seen by the fact that his observations are taken at face value by his students, can be seen to have a positive impact on his personal identity as a valid resident of Japan, at least in the eyes of his students. In terms of professional identity, despite the acceptance of T2's localized knowledge, his appearance, both in broad identity marker terms as a White, "native speaker" teacher and on the surface level of his casual dress sense and hairstyle, pushed this aspect of his identity to the foreground. This prioritising of surface identity markers was apparent in his students' foregrounding of his attire in their evaluation of him, and their reduction of what constitutes a "native speaker" down to the shape and size of the nose. It was also powerful enough to create a cognitive dissonance that obscured aspects of his teaching (such as vocabulary tests) that were seen as negative when done by their Japanese English teachers at school, but were ignored when T2 included them in his classes.

As with T1, the manner of T2's identity constructions cannot be easily accounted for by one theoretical framing. There is evidence of an unfixed, fluid identity that is able to present itself in myriad ways on the micro level (discourse identities [Zimmerman, 1998]), however, this is tempered by an essentialist view of who and what T2 is by the institution of EJPU, by wider Japanese society, and to some extent also by himself, who has honed an individual style that he is not willing to compromise (situated identity [Zimmerman, 1998]). In contrast to T1, instead of producing discrimination and marginalization, this essentialism leads to greater privilege and positive affirmation of his identity on both a personal and professional level. Therefore, although T2 may be seen as fairly powerless to assert his

agentive self when faced with the “structuring structures“ (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53) of institutionalized and systemic native-speakerism, in this case they coincide to some extent, and his embrace of his position as a White, male, “native speaker” teacher from an inner circle country allows him to retain power in this symbiotic relationship between individual identity and societal expectations; agency and structure.

Chapter 7

Teacher 3 Case Study

7.1 Biography

Teacher 3 (T3) is a White, male, “bilingual English teacher” in his late thirties. He was born in Northern Italy in a multiethnic area with a large immigrant population. He attended schools that taught predominantly in English from primary school until the end of high school. While completing his undergraduate studies in Letters and Philosophy he taught English part-time. After completion of his studies, T3 moved to the UK and taught private English lessons. In London, he met his partner, who is Japanese. After teaching private English classes for three years, he was offered the opportunity to undertake an MA in TESOL at a university in Japan, whilst also working part-time at the university. At the time of data collection, T3 was a PhD candidate studying part-time by distance and was “moving out of the mindset of being an English teacher” and looking to move into teaching more content-based courses on intercultural communication “not necessarily connected to learning English as a second language”.

7.2 Overview

Participant name: Teacher 3

Types of data used: teacher interview, classroom observation, fieldnotes*

Themes: race over speakerhood, language, native-speakerism and control

*Due to a technical malfunction the audio data for the student interview was lost completely. As soon as I realised that the data was lost and irretrievable, I made brief notes about what I was able to remember about the interview.

7.3 A short note on researcher positionality, objectivity and self-reflexivity

More than with any other participant in this research project, I found this Case Study to be the most difficult in terms of the effect that my own positionality and ideology had on the data, both as it was collected and in the subsequent analysis. For example, many of the fieldnotes taken felt at the time to be legitimate comments on various aspects of identity. However, when scrutinising them further for analysis, I found them to contain (mainly negative) value judgements on pedagogical decisions taken by T3. I have reflected on this and removed some data where the value judgement overrides the usefulness of what it can

reveal about identity, and acknowledged potential biases in my data when they occur in the data left in. In the interests of transparency, I have chosen to retain some of the more judgemental language contained in fieldnotes as they are part of the original data set, however, I have commented on these in recognition of their potential biases. In terms of “ethics of care” (Kubanyiova, 2008), I believe that by taking these reflective steps, I have avoided any potential maleficence and protected the autonomy of the participant.

7.4 Theme 1: Race over speakerhood

The most salient theme that emerged from the data surrounding T3 was his refusal to accept a neat “native speaker/non-native speaker” label, which was resisted to some extent by the institution and his students who constructed him as a de-facto “native speaker” teacher. As a White, European male, the data indicates that race may have played a large factor in this categorisation.

In this first extract from our interview, T3 carefully avoids categorisation and forcefully decries the concept of labels:

T3 Teacher Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: Allright as you know this study is looking at (.) different aspects of teacher
2 identity (.) how do you identify as a teacher ?
- 3 T3: Myself?
- 4 Luke: Yeah
- 5 T3: That's an interesting question I think I identify myself as a bilingual (.) er English
6 teacher (.) although, gradually because I'm completing my PhD I'm moving out of
7 this mindset of being an English teacher and I will [locate myself more...
- 8 Luke: [Into what?]=
- 9 T3: =into: someone that teaches about er: global studies intercultural communication
10 in::ternational comparative studies (.) so what happens in several countries in terms of
11 education system curricula um:: (0.5) so I would see myself in in two three years
12 within this field where I can teach you know more content-based courses not
13 necessarily connected to learning English as a second language (.) I will I will
14 gradually move away from that
- 15 Luke: Yeah (.) when er: when we were talking last week I think you used the word
16 near native (.) which is kind of like the language of the classified ads but is that how
17 you see your[self?]
- 18 T3: [Mm]or native-alike

- 19 Luke: Yeah I mean is that how you see yourself?
- 20 T3: Ah no that's what er:: you know what the the the stan[dard]
- 21 Luke: [I kno]w I know=
- 22 T3: =To me: that is a stupid concept
- 23 Luke: Uh huh
- 24 T3: Stupid is maybe too much (.) it's a it's a it's a marketised concept (.) in the sense
 25 that it to me (.) and I would appreciate if you include that in your findings (.) to me
 26 there is not a real English there is not a number one English there is not the British
 27 English or you know US English them at the top and everyone should follow that
 28 standard
- 29 Luke: Mm
- 30 T3: That is a marketing strategy is er is teaching to the test strategy is all of that (.) to
 31 me the language is intrinsically communicative (.) so if a person doesn't know
 32 grammar well but is able to communicate with me (.) to me that person is an English
 33 speaker
- 34 Luke: OK I see (.) so OK if you see yourself like that (.) um do you think that your
 35 students see you in that way or do they have a different perception?
- 36 T3: .hhh no, my students see me as an English teacher (.) 100%, they don't have any
 37 sort of (0.5) thought about whether I come from Italy I come from Australia United
 38 States or UK

When I proffer the suggestion that race may be a contributing factor in this perception, this is rejected outright by T3.

T3 Teacher Interview Extract 2

- 1 Luke: Do you think that's partly to do with looks? I mean (.) you're a £White
 2 guy£ (0.5) is that (.) is that [linked?]
- 3 T3: [No:: no I think even if the guy is a black guy I have
 4 friends teaching at grammar schools and so on they are black
- 5 Luke: Uh hm=
- 6 T3: =Students still see them as the American teacher or English teacher=
- 7 Luke: =Mm:: but how about if the::y look Japanese?
- 8 T3: (1.0) If they look Japanese? (1.0) no I think they will still see them as English

The interview with T3's students partly bears out these assertions, but possibly not in the way that T3 imagines here. As mentioned above, the recording of this interview was lost, but it was one of the most revealing interviews that I carried out. Unfortunately, I have only very brief fieldnotes written after the fact that do not capture the energy of the conversation or the vociferousness of the student's surprise when I informed them of T3's linguistic status as being non-L1 English.

We had spent a long time in the interview discussing their preferences regarding "native speaker" and "non-native speaker teachers". The students showed a strong bias for "native speaker" teachers and against "non-native speaker" teachers claiming that "native speaker" teachers could speak English better. In my notes I wrote:

Teacher 3 Student Interview Fieldnotes

1 *There was a great moment when I said that T3 was not a native speaker. They both*
 2 *did a loud Japanese "EHHHH?!" of surprise. I asked what made them think he was*
 3 *a NS, one student answered "atmosphere". I said he was Italian and they confirmed*
 4 *to each other (In Japanese) that he had told them that he was from Italy. So, they*
 5 *knew, but they still considered him as a native speaker. They also said that NS*
 6 *English was "better" than Japanese English and indicated that both NS and non-*
 7 *Japanese NNS were preferable to Japanese teachers.*

The word "atmosphere" here is ambiguous. One interpretation may be that T3's physical appearance gives him the "atmosphere" of a "native speaker" teacher, and another may suggest that the way he conducts his classes may give him the atmosphere of a "native speaker" teacher. The latter interpretation would suggest a category-bound activity (in MCA terms), that his classes contain elements of a stereotypical fun, personable, communicative approach to teaching that is associated with "native speaker" teachers (Boecher, 2005). My observation of his classes found that the opposite was the case, as my many (and very consistent) fieldnotes on this attest:

Teacher 3 Lesson Observation 1 Fieldnotes

1 Overall, the lesson was a traditional teacher-fronted class, with no communication at
2 all between students and few independently constructed sentences uttered by students
3 – most sentences were directly from the textbook. The interesting thing is that T3
4 seemed to regard it as a communicative lesson and even criticised teachers who just
5 “teach to the book”, which, in my view, is exactly what T3 was doing.*

Teacher 3 Lesson Observation 2 Fieldnotes

1 Overall, this was another lesson with minimal communication between students and
2 little evidence of CLT methodology (no activities or tasks beyond completing
3 questions in the textbook). It also had a strange kind of tetchy atmosphere in which
4 T3’s authority was tested and strongly instigated. I noted at one point, nearly an hour
5 into the lesson: “the whole atmosphere has become a little antagonistic and
6 uncomfortable. St. trying to get it exactly right – T3 keeping control but in quite a
7 strong way”.

Teacher 3 Lesson Observation 2 Fieldnotes

1 In terms of the lesson it was another lesson that relied heavily on the textbook with
2 the students not uttering a single (English) word that they didn’t read directly from
3 the textbook.**

* **I acknowledge the value-judgement-laden tone of the remarks here, but have chosen to retain them to illustrate the broader point regarding identity

7.4.1 Theme 1 Analysis

In my interview with T3, he self-categorised as a “*bilingual English teacher*” (T3 Teacher Interview Extract 1 Line 5-6), with the caveat that he is attempting to move away from the “English teacher” part of this category. This classification differed from the one he had used in an informal chat with me during my lesson observation the previous week of “near native”. The semantically obvious relational pair to this would be “near “non-native””, but this appears to make little sense. This suggests the aspirational nature of “near” as working towards something desirable, being “native”, which implicitly suggests the undesirability of the “non-native” label as it does not work the other way. Alongside “native-like”, “near-native” is a common euphemism in classified advertisements that are attempting to recruit “native speaker” teachers, without being outwardly discriminatory. When T3 used it, it struck

me as slightly incongruous to the way he had presented himself to me and his students. When I asked if he would still describe himself in the category of “near native”, this prompted a strongly worded rejection of the concept of “native/non-native speaker” labels, which he initially described as “*stupid*” (T3 Teacher Interview Extract 1 Line 22) and aligned with a neoliberal approach to language teaching. He also strongly asserts that “*to me there is not a real English. There is not a number one English*” (T3 Teacher Interview Extract 1 Line 25-26). This forceful show of opinion implies that it is a topic that T3 has thought about extensively and formed strong, clear, academically-informed views on. In his initial use of “native-like” in our informal discussion, it appears that he was merely alluding to available discourse and that it was not a position that he himself ascribes to. Additionally, his rejection of the concept of “native/non-native speaker” labels is an ideological stance that shows that he regards this issue as not about him as an individual, but about something bigger. Again, this display of knowledge and strong opinion may be seen as a way for T3 to demonstrate to me his credentials for being a lecturer in global studies and thus into a different field where “native/non-native speaker” labels are less salient, or perhaps even more contested.

When asked how he believed his students perceived him, it was telling that he appeared to align his own nationality with Inner Circle, White Anglo-Saxon countries traditionally associated with “native speakers” (“*my students see me as an English teacher 100%, they don't have any sort of... thought about whether I come from Italy, I come from Australia, United States or UK*” T3 Teacher Interview Extract 1 Line 36-38). In MCA terms, T3 is placing himself inside a category device of English teachers, with co-members that consists of Inner Circle, majority White, “native speaker” English teachers. When pressed on the racial/national element to this, any distinction was ruled out by T3 in terms of Black teachers. This lack of distinction amongst students is not borne out by the literature (Rivers & Ross, 2013) or by his own students (“*They also said that NS English was “better” than Japanese English and indicated that both NS and non-Japanese NNS were preferable to Japanese teachers*”. Teacher 3 Student Interview Fieldnotes). However, it is possible that this rejection of a racial element by T3 was a strategy to avoid being pinned down into a racial category himself, or perhaps as simply a performative act of anti-racist identity work during an interview on identity, with a researcher sympathetic to anti-racist and anti-discrimination in the field. In terms of the reaction of his students, it may be useful to distinguish between nationality and race. It appeared that they made no distinction in terms of nationality and “native speaker” status, with race acting as an overriding factor.

The surprise shown by the students when I pointed out to them that T3 may not be traditionally seen as a “native speaker” due to the fact that he was born in Italy, was very revealing and suggests that his students’ perceived him as a “native speaker”, despite the fact that he informed him of his national origins. The justification of this by the word “atmosphere” threw up an ambiguity that was open to interpretation. My fieldnotes showed a consistency across all 3 observed classes that suggest that the student’s concept of T3 emanating a “native speaker” “atmosphere” was unlikely. The lesson observations showed a traditional teaching style that did not conform to stereotyped ideals of category-bound activities found in “native speaker” English classes. This leads me to conclude that the “atmosphere” is created by T3’s physical appearance that fits many of the criteria of the idealized “native speaker” teacher. From the point of view of T3, the teaching style outlined in my negatively slanted fieldnotes may be understood through the lens of wishing to move away from ELT and be identified as a subject lecturer. This aspect of his (potential or desired) identity was salient enough for T3 to merit being the second thing mentioned by T3 after self-identifying as a bilingual English teacher.

T3’s self-categorisation (above) and the students’ categorisation suggests a mutually sustaining dialectical relationship in which T3’s teacher identity is discursively constructed. This cycle of identity construction begins the moment that T3 first enters the classroom as his physical appearance as a White, Western male triggers the deeply ingrained conceptions that students have absorbed over the course of their lives of what constitutes a non-Japanese English teacher. This racial element overrides and even erases stated national identity, accent (T3 speaks English with a pronounced, to my ears, Italian accent), and demonstrated teaching style, in the minds of the students. By being constructed as such by his students, T3 absorbs common cultural perceptions and places himself inside the same category device as Inner Circle “native speaker” teachers, thus perpetuating the cycle of discursive identity construction.

7.5 Theme 2: Language and control

The second theme that emerged, mainly from observing T3’s lessons, was the idea of language policy as a means to control and assert authority. Although English-only policies are still prevalent in many teaching institutions and contexts around the world, recent theoretical approaches in ELT see the erasure of the student’s L1 in the English language classroom as a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Lawrence, In press) that not only suppresses the identity of the students and prevents more prosaic learning, but is

also part and parcel of the wider understanding of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006) that stems from ideologies of linguistic imperialism (Philipson, 1992). In this theme, T3 adopts a zero-tolerance approach to any use of their L1 by his students in ways that appear to touch on the above ideologies, rather than exercising the policy as a purely pedagogical choice.

In this first extract from a lesson observation T3 is seen berating the students for discussing amongst themselves in Japanese. Although only one instance is presented here, similar examples were noted in all three observations, and it was a consistent feature of the lessons that I observed:

T3 Lesson Observation 3

- 1 T3: OK so number: 5 ((gestures towards group of 4 students to his left)) moon*
- 2 S1: ((reading from textbook slowly and quietly)) A patient's body with a new organ
- 3 that comes from=
- 4 T3: =Speak up a little bit
- 5 S1: ((speaking louder now)) however re[ject]
- 6 T3: [No,]I didn't hear the first one
- 7 S1: A pa a a ((pauses and looks at partner opposite and grimaces)) a patient's body
- 8 rejects an organ that comes from his or her own cells (.) however rejection sometimes
- 9 happen when a patient receives an organ from a donor
- 10 T3: Nope number one is wrong
- 11 S1: ((starts to speak but words are inaudible))
- 12 T3: ((inaudible)) body
- 13 S1: Rejec[ted]
- 14 T3: [No]((inaudible))
- 15 S1: Rejec= ((looks to group members))
- 16 T3: =It's a future tense
- 17 S1: Rejected
- 18 T3: Hm?
- 19 S1: ((turns around to face T3)) rejected
- 20 T3: No (.) future tense

- 21 S1: (0.5) Ah (.) patient's body will reject_i ((turns around again to face T3 as saying
22 the last word)) future?
- 23 T3: Yes but (0.5) will_i
- 24 S1: (0.5) Future?
- 25 T3: Yes (1.0) but
- 26 S1: (2.0) ((turns back to group and says something quietly to group seeking help))
- 27 T3: ((looking directly at S1's group)) Look this is very important for your TOEIC
28 exams guys (.) so there is another ((inaudible)) on the second sentence (.) so that
29 implies that the first sentence is ne (.) ga_i
- 30 S1: ((turns to group and appears to say quietly in Japanese “分からないよね” [I
31 don't know, right?]))
- 32 T3: Nega_i negative (.) so_i
- 33 (3.0) ((whispering in Japanese))
- 34 T3: ((inaudible)) will? (4.0) will? (2.0) ((S1 is looking down at the desk. T3 points
35 towards group nodding)) will not or won't (1.0) reject
- 36 ((all students nod))
- 37 T3: New organs if it comes from their own cells (.) however (.) however
- 38 ((students in S1's group very briefly start discussing in Japanese, but T3 cuts them off
39 after about 2 seconds))
- 40 T3: Ok guys you don't have to discuss in Japanese in your groups (.) pay attention to
41 my explanation otherwise you are going to lose all the fundamentals.

* This refers to the name given to the group of four students that S1 was seated with.

In my fieldnotes, I noted at the time that:

T3 Lesson Observation 2 Fieldnotes

- 1 *This could be a way for T3 to keep control and power in the classroom. He might also*
- 2 *feel threatened by st. use of Japanese as he can't understand it.*

In the interview, I tentatively broached this topic with T3 and offered my own theory, which was rejected to some extent:

Teacher 3 Interview Extract 3

1 Luke: I I I noticed in your classes when I was observing, you seemed kind of reluctant
2 to let the students use [Japanese

3 T3: [Mm mm]

4 Luke: [at all ____] even to kind of confirm amongst themselves,
5 check the answers amongst themselves (.) erm::: is that (0.5)?

6 T3: Yeah I don't like to use Japanese because I think that as I told them from day one
7 is 90 minutes of their life that they have the opportunity to speak in English and I (.)
8 if you know if it's an isolated situation, that's okay but it (.) the problem is that I had
9 two issues on this (.) one is I had clever students coming to me after class and telling
10 me mister T3 you know I've really had enough of that person in my group (.) that
11 person always speaks in Japanese (.) I want to I want to be given the chance to speak
12 always in English because I want to learn I want to practice (.) and I felt so (.) sorry
13 for this student and I said you know fundamentally this student is right he should have
14 the right [beca]use

15 Luke: [um:]

16 T3: [because um: I remember that being someone who had the fortune
17 to grow up in an international environment I remembered that some of my colleagues
18 (.)would skip speaking in Italian but I I enjoyed learning English and I felt so (.) upset
19 with them at that time when I was a young student because I I felt they were depriving
20 me from the opportunity to to learn (.) and I think these students came to me after
21 class and complain about the other students feel the same

22 Luke: I d I don't know I I fel (.) my interpretation of (.) not every case but part of it
23 was a way to keep control in the classroom (.) it seemed to me that you are (.) again if
24 I'm completely wrong tell me (.) but it's (.) the way I interpreted it is that it seemed (.)
25 that you seemed a little bit worried that they were saying something that you couldn't
26 understand what they were saying (.) so you didn't [want to] kind of take...

27 T3: [No no]

28 Luke: Not not at all?

29 T3: No no not not afraid to not understand what they say (.) I frankly don't care what
30 they are saying=

31 Luke: =OK=

32 T3: =they can be saying, you know Mr. T3 is stupid or something but I don't care
33 and I wouldn't even engage in (.) you know, even if they say something bad I'm not

34 going to engage with them

35 Luke: Right you'd ignore it;

((omitted))

36 T3: =I don't like the class to get out of control (.) I hate that. And I think it
37 doesn't make any sense (.) like you step in and students do whatever they want is
38 absolutely unprofessional and I don't like that I don't like er seeing classes where you
39 know students do whatever they want (.) that that is what I mean by controlling (.) it's
40 not like you know single stu[dents]

41 Luke: [Sure]sure

42 T3: You know it's not that the spirit I think is that very much classroom management
43 and feeling you know, this is my class you have to follow the rules everyone should
44 follow certain things=

45 Luke: =OK then you consider yourself the authority?

46 T3: Absolutely yeah yeah yeah

7.5.1. Theme 2 Analysis

In this theme, T3 was seen to exert what appeared to my own personal judgement to be excessive, almost aggressive shutting down of any non-English language use amongst students. This was interpreted by me as being a way of ensuring adherence to a native-speakerist English-only ideology and enacting an authoritative teacher stance. This researcher interpretation was rejected by T3, who explained his actions as a pragmatic response to a commonly cited problem of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classes where opportunities to engage with English are limited.

In the first lesson extract, T3's short, sharp instructions and responses can be seen as representative of an authoritative teacher identity. For example, the initial instruction, "*OK, number 5 moon*" (Lesson 3 Observation Line 1) is direct and impersonal, containing no request language (e.g., "could you...?", "...please") and omitting the name of the student he was addressing. This was followed by other abrupt utterances: "*Speak up a little bit*" (Line 4), "*No I didn't hear the first one*" (Line 6), "*Nope number one is wrong*" (Line 10) spoken without hedging or subtleties that are often employed in speech that contains negative reinforcement and rejection of proposals. This self-orientation to a direct, authoritative teacher identity, goes against the stereotype associated with fun, friendly lessons taught by "native speaker" teachers (Houghton & Rivers, 2013), an allocation that T3 distanced himself from (see Theme 1 above).

As the student at the centre of the exchange with T3 became increasingly unsure and confused, S1 turned to her group, and her first language, in order to find support. However, this avenue of peer-led language support was denied in a slightly aggressive manner by T3. His statement that “*you don’t have to discuss in Japanese in your groups. Pay attention to my explanation otherwise you are going to lose all the fundamentals.*” (Line 40-41) positions himself, as the teacher, as the only person in the room that is able to help the student understand.

My on-the-fly interpretation of this zero-tolerance of the Japanese language and authoritative stance was that it was a control mechanism, and that the use of language he could not understand could be seen as a threat to his authority. When I broached this topic with him in the teacher interview, a rational, albeit native-speakerist, explanation was given.

T3’s initial response to this of: “*I don’t like to use Japanese because I think that as I told them from day one is 90 minutes of their life that they have the opportunity to speak in English*” (T3 Interview Extract 3 Line 6-7) reveals this to be a personal adherence to one side of a common argument in EFL. The use of “I don’t like” suggests a subjective, personal feeling (rather than a theoretical or pedagogical justification), but this personal preference is also couched in pragmatic, logical terms that appeal to a widely known (to the researcher at least) argument. This preference is further justified by T3 by recounting experiences with “*clever students*” (Line 9) who complained about other students using too much Japanese, and his own education in an international environment. By characterising students who follow his own ideology as “clever”, he is invoking the relational pair of “not clever/stupid” and positioning the students who do not follow this way of thinking into this category. In addition, his self-categorisation of “*someone who had the fortune to grow up in an international environment*” (Line 16-17) who “*enjoyed learning English*” (Line 18) allows T3 to align himself with his idealised “clever” students and position himself as someone who understands and empathises with their perspective.

7.6 Theme 3: Contradictions and Othering

The third and final theme concerns ideas that have already been raised in the two themes above, that of the contradiction between stated beliefs and observed behaviour. Added to this is a distinction that T3 draws between himself and stereotypical views towards Japanese English teachers and students that may be seen as a form of Othering.

In the following extract from the interview with T3 he invokes national stereotypes to account for his perceived teacher identity that may be at odds with wider Japanese society:

Teacher 3 Interview Extract 4

1 Luke: OK um:: I want to go back to identity do you feel that different aspects of your
2 identity (.) again going back to things like race or gender (.) and even age and
3 linguistic status do you think they affect your communication with your students?

4 T3: .hhh (2.0) I think so I think er for example being Italian I'm very much friendly=

5 Luke: =Mm

6 T3: I'm sometimes strict because they need to learn certain things (.) for example you
7 know if you are late you should apologise and all these things because I felt that's
8 good for them for their future .hhh (.) but most likely you know most of the time I'm
9 I'm friendly and open minded and I think they like that they'd rather than having you
10 know this is the teacher we are the students (.) that big wall between the two of us (.)
11 for me it's not like that (0.5) of course they need to be respectful because that's part of
12 the journey of learning journey (.) because if they treat you like you know their
13 friends and then there's no respect .hhh so there is a recognition that I'm the authority
14 and they are no:t but within the framework of being friendly that's what I mean

15 Luke: I mean, if (.) if you have (.) if any variables of your identity were different (.)
16 would there be a different situation do you think?

17 T3: What do you mean? Like if I were=

18 Luke: =if you were Japanese (.) or if you were younger or::

19 T3: =probably yes I think I think you know, being a Japanese person usually in the
20 teaching means (.) you know (.) I see some of my Japanese colleagues not all of them
21 but the Japanese Japanese traditional teacher keeps distance between himself or
22 herself and the students er: questions are not really welcomed and it's a lecture-frontal
23 style where most of the times that is not group work there is no pair work there is
24 nothing like that and then you know (.) homework and that's it

25 Luke: Mm erm do you feel that different aspects of your identity have affected your
26 overall career (.) in any way (.) or your ability to (.) to work or to get jobs or
27 whatever?

28 T3: Italians Italians are very much impulsive so if I feel that something is wrong or I
29 find it disrespectful and offensive (.) I'm very straight forward and this is not welcome
30 in Japanese society

31 Luke: Mm::: how do you feel about that?

32 T3: Oh I just shape it I just modify it I just (.) I just keep it for a while and make a
33 decision and then depending on the situation I would er I would take an action
34 later a little bit later on because it is too soon I'm really (.) I can become aggressive=

35 Luke: =Do you feel like you are kind of holding back a little bit because you're in

- 36 Japan more so than you would do in [Italy?]
- 37 T3: [Sure]sure sure I (.) I shape that part in a way
 38 that adapts with the Japanese society but it takes a really effort because I think that
 39 you know it's a cultural part of myself and my background but it's not always good (.)
 40 it's not always good to be impulsive (.) I mean even if there is an injustice even if
 41 there is something wrong (.) erm: reacting immediately is not always sometimes is
 42 good but some other times (.) er: it doesn't produce really any (0.5) good effects
- 43 Luke: Yeah you said before kind of the being friendly (.) I mean how much of
 44 yourself do you open up the students?
- 45 T3: (0.7) .hhh I think it depends on the class it depends on the class really (.) I had
 46 classes where we were very much in tune and other classes where they felt they were
 47 not really motivated or really ((inaudible)) therefore they didn't want to feel engaged

This portrayal of himself as a friendly, communicative teacher was also expounded to me during the class as the following fieldnote shows (unfortunately, the exchange was only picked up faintly by the video camera's microphone and could not be transcribed accurately):

T3 Lesson Observation 1 Fieldnotes

- 1 *Towards the end of the class, the students were engaged in an activity and T3*
 2 *came over to talk to me for a few minutes. He confirmed that everything that*
 3 *had been done so far had been part of the homework and had effectively*
 4 *been a review – only now, well over an hour into the lesson were they doing a*
 5 *'new' activity. He also then implied that he saw this lesson as being a*
 6 *communicative style lesson. He criticised the 'part-time' teachers that only*
 7 *"teach to the book" and said they did not teach "like this", which I*
 8 *interpreted as being communicative and not teaching to the book. This was*
 9 *directly opposite to a jotting I had written 20 minutes earlier in my notes:*
 10 *"following the textbook quite closely – doing the next activity in the book".*
 11 *This raises the question of how different teachers consider different kinds of*
 12 *teaching – is it all just relative? Do I practice such an extreme version of CLT*
 13 *that anything slightly different is interpreted by me as traditional and non-*
 14 *communicative??*

7.6.1 Theme 3 Analysis

As these extracts show, after prompting from my line of questioning, T3 makes use of explicit labelling and national stereotypes to construct a particular form of teacher identity that does not appear to match my own interpretation of the teaching environment observed.

In MCA terms, by explicitly invoking the membership category of “*being Italian*” (T3 Interview Extract 4 Line 4) and immediately associating it with being “*very much friendly*” (Line 4) T3 is aligning himself with a self-perceived broad national stereotype. This is immediately hedged to some extent by framing this claimed friendliness within the context of an authority figure that should be respected.

When asked to imagine his position if any identity variables were different, again prompted and perhaps led by my questioning, T3 again uses explicit categorisations to make generalisations based on national stereotypes of Japanese teachers. This sets up a relational pair between himself (as an Italian) and his Japanese colleagues (“*I think, you know, being a Japanese person usually in the teaching means, you know, I see some of my Japanese colleagues, not all of them but the Japanese Japanese traditional teacher keeps distance between himself or herself and the students*” Line 19-22). This distinction set out by T3 in the interview is very much in keeping with the *eigo/eikaiwa* divide that creates a false binary between Japanese and “foreign” teachers in Japan. By doing so, he once again aligns himself with the “native speaker” stereotype in his own teacher identity construction. However, as indicated in the themes above, this alignment is not borne out by my own interpretation of the lessons I observed.

When asked to speculate how his identity has affected his career, T3 again explicitly invokes a national stereotype and uses it as an explanation for certain difficulties that he has faced in navigating a career in Japan. The explicit category of “Italian” and the MCD of possessing an impulsive personality as a result of belonging to this membership category (“*Italians are very much impulsive*” Line 28) is used to explain his tendency to communicate in a straightforward manner. This is seen by T3 as being at odds with Japanese society and requiring modification and restraint of his personal behaviour.

By directly invoking broad national stereotypes of both Italian and Japanese people/teachers, T3 may be seen as complicit in constructing the fallacious dichotomy that pits Japanese English people/teachers against “foreign” people/teachers and upholding the divide between *eigo/eikaiwa*. However, T3’s status as a self-defined “bilingual English teacher” or “near native” (rather than as either a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” teacher) complicates the “native speaker/non-native speaker” divide to some extent. It is clear from the three themes explored in this case study that despite this positioning, his appearance

as a White, male teacher places him into the category of “native speaker” for his students and that while he may not categorise himself as such, he certainly positions himself in opposition to stereotyped, negative views of Japanese teachers. This is despite a teaching approach that may be seen to mirror the stereotype that he critiques. So, what we see here is not a “native speaker/non-native speaker” dichotomy but a Japanese/foreigner one. At various times in the interview, T3 rejects these dichotomies, but embraces them in others, usually after prompting from a question. However, this distinction appears to be powerful to the extent that it produced what was interpreted by me to be a mismatch between T3’s approach and behaviour, which I see as a certain amount of cognitive dissonance in his students (as was also the case with T2), as well as himself.

To return to the short note regarding researcher positionality at the beginning of the case study, I realise that these analyses are a product of my own positionality as a (self-identified) “native speaker” teacher that has been ingrained with a set of expectations, both in terms of stereotypical behaviours of certain kinds of teachers, and in terms of pedagogical beliefs. This has led in this case study to a certain amount of tension between the participant’s and the researcher’s interpretation of the socially constructed world that this study is attempting to investigate. I have attempted to give sufficient space and validity to the voice of the participant, but in the final analysis, I feel that my role as a researcher is to interpret the findings as I see them, based on my academic knowledge and lived experience as an English teacher in Japan for many years.

7.7 Discussion

According to T3’s own interpretation, the wider structures of Japanese society served to temper his innate (or “transportable”) “impulsive” “Italian” personality that could be seen to be aggressive in highlighting ideas and actions which he sees as wrong. This modification of behaviour can be seen as a macro co-constructed “situated identity” (Zimmerman, 1998) that mainly impacts his personal identity, but presumably is also prevalent in his professional life too. It was seen by T3 as a positive change to his identity, with a recognition that impulsiveness and aggression are not always positive.

In terms of his interactions with the institution of EJPU, he was treated as a de facto “native speaker”, which had both negative and positive repercussions on his identity co-construction. One of the positive consequences of this was that he did not experience the marginalization and exclusion from teaching certain courses that was experienced by T1. He was not required to prove himself or undertake extra efforts in order to prove his validity as a

teacher. Although his L1 was not English and he was not born in an inner circle country, due to the dichotomy created by the department manager between Japanese and All Others, he was placed into the All Others category. This gave him certain privileges that Japanese teachers did not have access to. However, the negative impact on his professional identity was that due to being categorised as non-Japanese, he was treated solely as a teacher (a role he was in the process of moving away from through advanced academic study).

Again, as with T1 and T2, it is with micro-level interactions that a more complex picture of identity co-construction emerges. Despite his resistance to being labelled as either a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker”, he unconsciously aligned himself with teachers from inner circle countries and was treated as a “native speaker” by his students. The allocation by his students was seemingly based on race, which overrode factors such as his nationality and accent. The self-alignment by T3 led to a certain degree of cognitive dissonance in which his stated teaching style did not match my interpretation of the observed reality. It might be speculated that although this categorisation bestowed him with certain privileges, it also subjected him to some of the discriminations experienced by “native speaker” teachers in Japan, such as struggling to be taken seriously as a “real” teacher. The knock-on effect was that he adopted an authoritarian classroom style that, perhaps unintentionally and unconsciously, helped to perpetuate certain native-speakerist ideals, such as English-only classroom policies. This was the case despite his academically-informed belief in the stupidity of the “native speaker” concept, which he saw as nothing more than a marketable commodity.

Despite the surface level difference of the fact that by many definitions T2 would be seen as a “native speaker” teacher and T3 as a “non-native speaker” teacher, their experiences of identity construction were somewhat similar. In both cases, appearance, including that based on race, were an overriding factor that impacted on the co-construction of their professional identity. Additionally, they both faced a struggle to be seen as legitimate teachers due to the categorisation of “native speaker”, however this manifested itself in different ways: T2 embraced the label and the associated stereotypes and T3 rejected it, opting instead for a more authoritative, academically-focused stance and a “bilingual” identity.

Chapter 8

Teacher 4 Case Study

8.1 Biography

Teacher 4 (T4) is an experienced teacher in her early fifties. She was born and grew up in a rural area outside Tokyo and moved to Tokyo to attend junior college. After graduating, she worked for a large, “kind of conservative” Japanese bank. She worked there for four years before moving to the UK to “enjoy myself and study English”. When she returned to Japan she worked as an English conversation (*eikaiwa*) teacher. However, frustrated at the low salary of an *eikaiwa* teacher that made it difficult to live independently and support herself, she left after three years and returned to office work, this time working for a foreign company in Japan that allowed her to use her English skills. Although she wanted to return to English teaching, she realised that without having further qualifications she would be restricted to working in *eikaiwa*. In order to achieve this, she successfully applied for a place on a Master’s TESOL course in Northern Ireland using her teaching experience and Japanese language teaching certificate in lieu of an academic Bachelor’s degree certificate. After spending one year in Ireland taking an access course, and again due to financial concerns, T4 came back to Japan to finish the Master’s course by distance at the same time as working in the human resources department for an international company. A few years after completing her Master’s by distance she returned to English teaching, working at a technical college, which led to her current full-time job. At the time of data collection, she had been teaching at the research site for over 12 years.

8.2 Overview

Participant name: Teacher 4 (T4)

Types of data used: classroom observations (video), teacher interview, fieldnotes, student interview, photo.

Themes: insiders, “one of the boys”, “urusai obasan”, confidence in language ability,

In this Case Study, a number of themes emerge that stem from a multitude of identity markers. T4 is the oldest study participant and one of only two female teachers in the study. This unique position in the data set led to some interesting observations surrounding age and gender, in particular how identity was constructed and co-constructed by T4 and her students and colleagues.

8.3 Theme 1: Mutual Insiders

One of the most striking aspects of how T4 interacted with her students in the class, and with me in the interview, was the way that she wove together her Japanese language speaking identity with her English language speaking identity. This was done comfortably and in a very natural manner.

Below are some brief examples from classroom observations:

Example 1 (from Obs 1): T4: おもしろい ?*Interesting?*

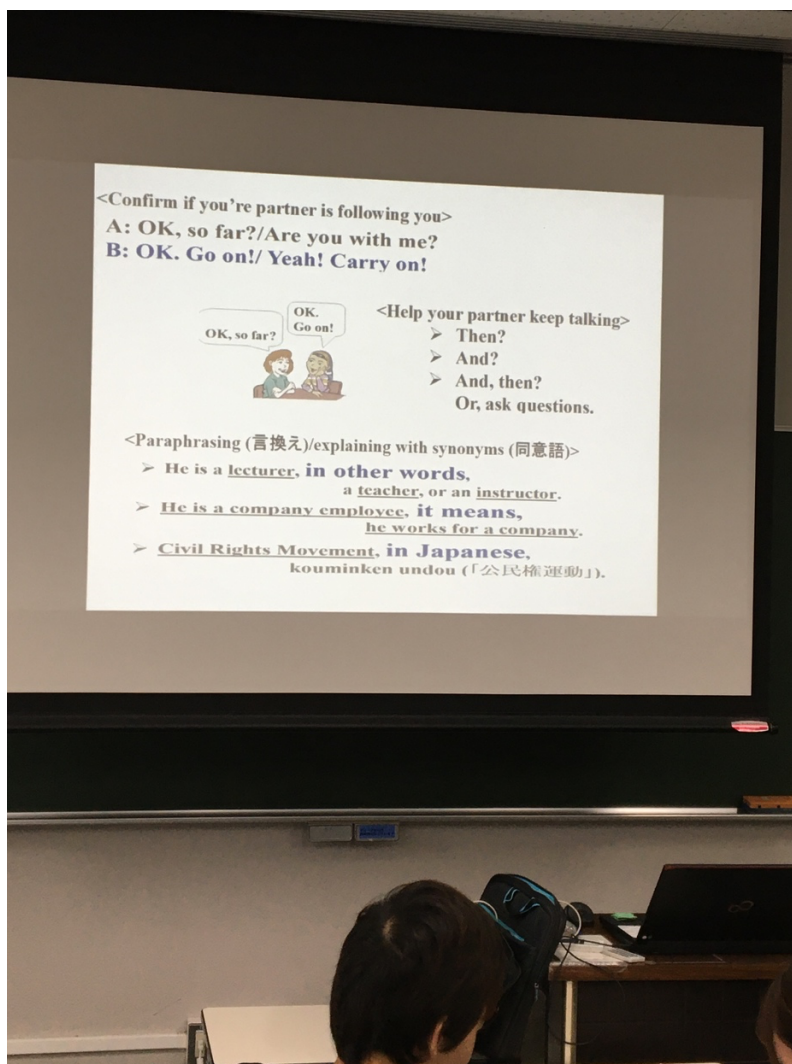
Example 2 (from Obs 1): T4: *In Japanese it's ヲイーン in English it's Vienna*

Example 3 (from Obs 2): T4: *What is it in Japanese?* S: 肺 (*lung*). T4: *That's right*

Example 4 (from Obs 3) S: もう ちょい (*almost/a little more*) . T4: *Almost?*

Japanese was also inserted into classroom instructions and language presentation in PowerPoint slides, as illustrated below:

Photo 1 – Photo of PowerPoint slide (from Obs 1)



As these classroom examples show, T4 is using her Japanese ability freely and it is mainly used as a teaching tool. However, a different kind of usage of her Japanese language could also be seen in her interview with me (these are only a few examples of many):

T4 Interview extracts

Example 1: T4: *and maybe it's kind of めんどくさい (troublesome/hassle) for some students (.)I don't know*

Example 2: T4: *and teaching probably was (.) maybe (.) probably none of us I mean um: RE teachers (.) first choice じゃない (don't you think)? teaching English in Japan.*

Example 3: T4: *friendly and I'm helpful but I'm also serious* でしょ う(right)?

Example 4: T4: *It's interesting thing because um: those qualities like I said it's not I try to bring (.) I think it's me (.) my identity (0.5)* だと思 うよ (I think)

In these examples, she appears to be deploying her Japanese ability not as a skill or a tool, but rather as a marker of her identity and as a way to include me in the community of Japanese language speakers. This kind of translanguaging is seen as a way of drawing on linguistic resources to express multilingual identity with others who are also considered as multilingual. Interestingly, this positioning of me as a fellow multilingual, and as someone with local knowledge, also extended to her classroom interactions with me during the observations. The following exchange took place in the first observation lesson. T4 was asking students whether they had ever seen a dolphin show and various aquariums around Japan were mentioned:

Teacher 4 Observation 1 Extract 1

- 1 T4: ((to me)) I think there is one in M-town*¿ ((all students turn towards me to listen
- 2 to my answer))
- 3 Luke: Yeah A-aquarium**
- 4 T4: Have you been there?
- 5 Luke: Yeah of course=
- 6 T4: =Yeah they are very skilful aren't they¿
- 7 Luke: They are very good yeah
- 8 T4: I heard that ((inaudible)) A-aquarium?
- 9 Luke: That's it yeah.
- 10 T4: It's small and much much smaller than S-aquarium*** but I heard that the
- 11 dolphins there are the most skilful (.) one of the oldest dolphins is there (.) so if you
- 12 have the opportunity go to A-aquarium and also S-aquarium and compare their
- 13 performance
- 14 All students: heh heh
- 15 T4: Old one ((points to herself)) old one has experience OK

* Pseudonym for town I lived at the time I was working at the research site full-time

** Pseudonym for local aquarium in M-town

*** Pseudonym for aquarium close to EJPU

I wrote about this episode in my Fieldnotes

T4 Obs 1 Fieldnotes

1 *Maybe the most interesting point in terms of positioning were the two times that she*
2 *included me in the class. The first time was when she introduced the topic of dolphins.*
3 *She knew that I used to live in M-town (a fairly remote countryside area in*
4 *East Japan), so she asked me about the aquarium there. This positioned me as an*
5 *authority on a local Japanese area, and indeed a local. Later on when referencing*
6 *back to the aquarium she pointed at me as she was doing so – as if I somehow*
7 *represented the area. She also asked me about T-gawa (a river local to my new*
8 *location in Tokyo that suffered a lot of flooding in the typhoon the previous weekend).*
9 *Again, this showed students that I was someone with localised knowledge about*
10 *Japan. Despite this positioning, I'm not sure of the motivation. As we were arranging*
11 *and agreeing on the observation I told T4 that she didn't have to pretend that I wasn't*
12 *there and if there was anything she wanted me to do to help with the class, I would be*
13 *glad to do so – it was the least I could do in light of the fact that she had been kind*
14 *enough to agree to participate. She mentioned that she thought the students would*
15 *enjoy hearing us communicate in English. This suggested that I might be called upon*
16 *as a typical ALT human tape recorder, purely for the spectacle of hearing a 'real' NS*
17 *teacher. But this wasn't what transpired at all. Which I found very interesting.*

* Pseudonym for a river near where I presently live in Tokyo

T4's approach to language use was accepted (although not resoundingly) by one student, but not the other, when I asked them about it in our interview:

T4 Student Interview Extract 1

- 1 Allright I notice in your classes sometimes T4 gives you the Japanese meaning (.) of
2 the word (.) what do you think about that? Is it OK for teachers to use Japanese?
3 S1: Yes (0.5) maybe it's okay

- 4 Luke: Yeah it's OK_↓ (1.0) how about if your teacher is a native speaker teacher is it
5 okay if they use Japanese?
- 6 S1: (5.0) Yes
- 7 S2: Yes
- 8 Luke: OK £you don't seem so confident£ er::: why?
- 9 S2: (13.0) Because er .hhh (5.0) it's not £OK£
- 10 Luke: It's not OK? OK why why not?
- 11 S2: Because er (1.0) for me er I want (.) to communicate in English in case (.) in
12 case じゃない ((not in case)) あの ((erm)) (3.0) sorry heh (4.0) anytime I want to
13 communicate English what happened (.) in case I:: .hhh go to abroad to study English
14 so I don't want to use Japanese
- 15 Luke: Hm::: (3.0) what do you think? Is it OK if the native speaker keeps using
16 Japanese?
- 17 S1: It's okay

This image of an idealised monolingual “abroad” space was also prevalent at the beginning of the interview that showed a fairly strong native-speakerist ideology on the part of Student 2:

T4 Student Interview Extract 2

- 1 Luke: So what was your first impression about T4 when you met her before?
- ((omitted))
- 2 S1: She's very kind
- 3 Luke: (1.0) OK how about you first impressions?
- 4 S2: Er honestly=
- 5 Luke: =Mm=
- 6 S2: =Er (0.5) I (0.5) for improve my hearing so I wanted to be ah じゃない (no) (.) I
7 want my teacher (.) English native speaker
- 8 Luke: Mm:
- 9 S2: But oh Japanese

- 10 Luke: Mm: so at first were you a bit disappointed?
- 11 S2: But T4 (.) I think T4 speaks well and is good for me (.) she is very kind and (1.0)
12 good
- 13 Luke: So have your opinion about n::ative speaker or Japanese teachers changed after
14 having T4 as a teacher? (0.5) Has your (.) opinion about that changed?
- 15 S2: No
- 16 Luke: No? Why not? So:: you said you wanted a native speaker but actually T4 is
17 good=
- 18 S2: =Yes=
- 19 Luke: =So::¿
- 20 S2: It's difficult heh heh
- 21 Luke: Do you still think a native speaker teacher is better?
- 22 S2: Yes
- 23 Luke: Yeah can I ask why?
- 24 S2: Because I (1.5) in my future I want to study in abroad and (1.0) its practice for me
25 to speak and listen in native and heh heh ah:: 難しい ((it's difficult))

9.3.1 Theme 1 Analysis

In the initial short data extracts presented above, a consistent pattern can be seen in which T4 utilises language in order to assert her identity as a Japanese national and Japanese language speaker in the classroom as well as to co-construct her relationships with others. In terms of classroom use, common teaching techniques, such as echoing (S: もう ちよい (*almost/a little more*) . T4: *Almost?*) and codeswitching (T4: おもしろい ?*Interesting?*) as well as direct translations (T4: *What is it in Japanese?* S: 肺 (*lung*). T4: *That's right*) were used in the course of her teaching practice. These were inserted naturally into her interactions with her students and appeared to be a salient part of her teacher identity. In her interactions with me as the researcher (and former colleague), Japanese was again inserted into the conversation, but this time it appeared that T4 was using it to acknowledge me as part of a Japanese speaking community and to co-construct our identities as multilinguals. This was extended further in classroom interactions which cast me as a knowledgeable local, rather than as a clueless “gaijin”. In terms of reception by students, as a Japanese national, T4’s use

of Japanese language in the classroom was accepted, although, one student indicated that this would not be the case if T4 were a “native speaker” teacher. The same student also reported being initially disappointed to learn that their teacher was not a “native speaker”, but that T4 “*speaks well*” and is “*kind and good*”.

It is not clear whether T4’s languaging practices can be seen as deliberate category work on the part of T4, or what her motivations for translanguaging are. However, as a practice, it flows through her interactions with her students and with me as a researcher, and appears to strengthen (or perhaps confirm) her students’ categorisation of her as a “non-native speaker” teacher, and my categorisation of her as a fellow bilingual who it is OK to mix languages with. The shift from employing Japanese as a teaching tool, to one of shared bilingual identity as T4 interacts with me implies that this is a key part of her identity that she performs comfortably and naturally.

8.4 Theme 2: One of the boys

The second theme revolves around T4’s identity status as one of a small number of female teachers in the department and how this intersects with stereotypes associated with national identity.

In the following extended extract, we are discussing how various aspects of T4’s identity impact on how she interacts within the institution of the university and in the department:

T4 Interview Extract 1

1 How about gender; does that affect your:: relationship with other people? There's
2 not too many female teachers here

3 T4: Mm:: Here I think no

4 Luke: Mm

5 T4: And one thing (.) like you said stereotypical Japanese society I feel very
6 comfortable working in here because I think it's (.) one thing is erm なんだろう え
7 えと ((what erm)) one thing is um (.) profession (.) like teachers yeah; and another
8 thing is you guys are not from typical Japanese society

9 Luke: Mm=

10 T4: =So you see me as T4, you don't really see me like um (0.5) female or woman
11 teacher you know?

12 Luke: Un hmm=

13 T4: =So what you expect to me is just being T4 and being a colleague (.) I'm not
 14 expected to be like a receptionist and helping your assisting and pouring でしょう
 15 ((right)) ?

16 Luke: Yeah yeah yeah [yeah]

17 T4: [You k]now what I mean don't you? So I'm very comf[ortable
 18 yeah]

19 Luke: [But do you th]ink (.) I mean do you think that you're kind of like one of (0.3)
 20 one of the boys? I mean you know if we go drinking you know you you you join in
 21 the drinking and join in the jokes (.) do you think that is that like an active decision to
 22 kind of be like one of the boys?

23 T4: (1.0) Um:: one of the boys?

24 Luke: Do you know what I mean?

25 T4: Yeah I know we are like (.) when we go drinking we just talk about the kind of
 26 dirty jokes [or]

27 Luke: [For] example yeah [yeah]

28 T4: [Yeah I] mean I think it's just it's just normal I
 29 [don't know]

30 Luke:[Sure OK OK]

31 T4: This is one thing=

32 Luke: =yeah=

33 T4: I mean yeah interestingly (.) I might have told you this story um when I was in
 34 UK=

35 Luke: =Mm=

36 T4: =So I was from that kind of society girls separated yeah;

37 Luke: Yeah yeah [yeah]

38 T4: [And I] think of course you have girl (.) ah guys talk and we have
 39 girls talk

40 Luke: Sure sure (.) to [a certain extent yeah]

41 T4: [And when we go drin]king together (.) more or less we control
 42 でしょう ((right))?=

43 Luke: =Yeah [yeah sure]

44 T4: [Unless we] are really really drunk yeah ((said in slurred 'drunk'
45 voice))

46 Luke: Yeah of course of course=

47 T4: =So it's s the same yeah (.) yeah but um:: I remember in:: England when I was
48 language student um one Brazilian boy said said oh you are interesting because
49 you're different from other Japanese you just talk normally that's [what he said]

50 Luke: [Right right rig]ht
51 right right

52 T4: And I just thought yeah that's true but I wasn't like that in Japan

53 Luke: OK=

54 T4: =So I think I got more comfortable to become like me

55 Luke: OK:: OK

56 T4: And you don't treat (.) me I mean I'm talking about in general (0.5) with a kind of
57 expectation of Japanese woman

58 Luke: Girliness [yeah]

59 T4: [Or co]uld be future (0.5) I don't know I should be very happy or
60 unhappy but future girlfriend=

61 Luke: =Uh huh=

62 T4: =You know having some romantic relationship (.) I used to feel that kind of
63 thing=

64 Luke: =Mm

65 T4: 何と 言 う かな ((how should I say this)) yeah er this is very personal story=

66 Luke: =Go [on]

67 T4: [but] I don't mind yeah (.) I am just friendly

68 Luke: Sure

69 T4: In a way I'm friendly to you

70 Luke: Sure

- 71 T4: But it was quite often when I was younger misunderstood that this girl who is
72 not that attractive beautiful girl is trying to approach me you know what I mean?
- 73 Luke: Right so it was flirt[ing]
- 74 T4: [Kin]d of y::eah yeah yeah so they kind of you know erm
75 (.) probably thought no no no you're not my type you know=
- 76 Luke: =Right=
- 77 T4: =And I really felt uncomfor[table
- 78 Luke: [Right
- 79 T4: I was]often
- 80 Luke: I wasn't trying to [I was just]
- 81 T4: [No no no y]eah so I got often had that kind of reaction
- 82 Luke: Hah
- 83 T4: So when I was teenager so I really wasn't um (.) good at dealing with (.) boys
- 84 Luke: Right right [right right]
- 85 T4: [I think it ha]ppens to (.) girls like me

8.4.1 Theme 2 Analysis

This long single extract is revealing in a number of ways and contains a lot of explicit and implicit category work. At the beginning of the exchange, T4 sets up a clear relational pair of “typical Japanese society” and a working environment comprised of people who are not part of typical Japanese society. She also makes a distinction between herself as a product of Japanese society and “you guys”, in this case including the researcher as part of the organisational device of non-Japanese teachers. This is cast as a positive, with T4 indicating that she feels more able to perform a non-typical gender/nationality role as part of a department made up of mainly male, non-Japanese teachers, thus relieving her of possible obligations of a more traditional workplace (“*I'm not expected to be like a receptionist and helping your assisting and pouring. できよ っ(right)?*”) (L14-15). This speculation is presumably backed up by her experience working in the corporate sector in Japan prior to becoming an English teacher.

I take up this thread and ask if T4 sees herself, or portrays herself, as “*one of the boys*”. She answers this suggestion/question by stating that drinking and telling “*dirty jokes*” is “*normal*” for her and illustrates it with a story about her time studying abroad and how a Brazilian fellow student marked her out as different from other Japanese because she talked to him “*normally*”. T4 stated that her experience abroad allowed her to get “*more comfortable to become like me*” (L54), as such, implying that seeking the company of non-Japanese, especially non-Japanese men, allows for the co-construction of what T4 feels to be a more authentic version of her true identity than she is able to experience in typical Japanese society in interaction with Japanese others. Although, the poststructuralist epistemology underpinning this study would reject any suggestion of a single “true” or authentic self, T4’s assertion that she is more “comfortable” in these kinds of interactions point to a powerful narrative in T4’s own conception of her identity. It is also interesting that she suggests that when interacting in Japanese society, there is often an undercurrent of sexualisation and misinterpretation of flirting, which she believes happens to “*girls like me*” (L85). This, explicit but ambiguous category of “girls like me” appears to refer to Japanese girls who are friendly and are comfortable interacting with men in a non-romantic manner. This experience may help to explain why, although T4 is a minority in the department (being only one of two Japanese female teachers), she feels more at ease in a department that is heavily weighted in favour of foreign males than in her previous job in corporate Japan. Although this sense of comfort is seen as a positive element of the ELT industry in Japan from the point of view of T4, it can and does lead to the marginalisation of female, “non-native speaker” English teachers (Nagashima & Lawrence, 2021) and the proliferation of ‘networks of homophily’ (Hicks, 2013) that perpetuate the dominance of Western “native speaker” male teachers.

8.5 Theme 3: “*urusai obasan*” (noisy/interfering old lady)

The gendered aspect of T4’s teacher identity explored in the previous theme is expanded on here, with the added dimension of age as a significant factor in how her teacher identity is constructed. T4 is the oldest participant in the study and seemed to be aware of the impact of age on her identity co-construction:

Teacher 4 Interview Extract 2

- 1 T4: Age thing what I'm thinking (.) recently (.) ah when I was younger interesting
- 2 thing is I (0.5) always tell my students call me [first name] yeah;

3 Luke: Yeah

4 T4: Students seemed to be comfortable to call me [first name], but now more
5 students called me like Miss Ms Miss じゃないけどね ((not “miss” right?)) Miss
6 [first name] Miss [family name] so maybe calling おばさん ((old lady/auntie))
7 Japanese [first name] is somewhat strange=

8 Luke: =For them O:K when did that start? How (.) in the last how many years?

9 T4: Maybe last 3 years

10 Luke: O:K that's interesti[ng]

11 T4: [It wa]s the time I became 50 yeah;

12 Luke: £OK£

13 T4: It was not exactly but I really felt like that

14 Luke: Sure sure

15 T4: It's interesting isn't it?

16 Luke: Yeah it is

17 T4: And that kind of things um:: made me think (0.5) I just thought oh gosh I was
18 aging but at the time at same time now I'm in that おばさん ((old lady/auntie))
19 position=

20 Luke: =OK

21 T4: Tell them something like yeah I can say that from my experience

22 Luke: yeah yeah yeah=

23 T4: =So I often say to [male colleague and office mate] that I'm okay (.) not to be
24 liked by my students(.) I mean of course I was still friendly and still the same but I
25 probably tell them more like .hhh erm:: うるさい おばさん ((interfering old lady))
26 things

27 Luke: Yeah and that's OK?

28 T4: Yeah like you should think [and think

29 Luke: [Right right]

30 T4: more about]the future and open your eyes and look at
31 you know other things because I'm already in the position (.) so friendly people that's
32 okay I will just give that role for younger [you know]

- 33 Luke: [OK. How] about gender does that affect
34 your teaching or your communication with your students in any way?
- 35 T4: .hhh um::: yeah I actually thought about that too ah (3.0 I don't really know like
36 you know (0.5) some girls (2.0) I don't know really (0.5) not only my it could affect
37 anyone like some girls for example teenagers they are kind of you know delicate
38 yeah;
- 39 Luke: Mm=
- 40 T4: =Sensitive ones and (.) maybe many are happy to have young good looking so-
41 called native English speakers
- 42 Luke: Yeah
- 43 T4: But at the same time like girls who probably (.) not only girls かな ((maybe))
44 who find me like お母さん ((mother)) role you know;
- 45 Luke: Mmm
- 46 T4: So:: being friendly and easy to talk to (,) those sensitive maybe girls I think it's
47 nice to be woman

I asked T4's students (who were both male) for their thoughts on the gender and age of their teachers:

T4 Student Interview Extract 3

- 1 Luke: Allright do you prefer a male teacher or female teacher?
- 2 S2: (4.0) I don't care
- 3 Luke: Does it (.) make a difference? is there a difference do you think?
- 4 S2: I don't (.) think so
- 5 ((inaudible whisperings in Japanese))
- 6 S1: Which?
- 7 Luke: Yeah which is better for you?
- 8 ((inaudible whisperings in Japanese))
- 9 S1: I don't care

- 10 Luke: Mm is it easier to communicate with (.) women or easier to communicate with
11 men for teachers?
- 12 S1: I think female teacher is is for me easy
- 13 Luke: Easy?
- 14 S1: Yes
- 15 Luke: Why?
- 16 S1: Why? I don't know, I'm not sure but (4.0) female likes to communicate with other
17 people and I like too but ah: males teacher also like (.) male also like communicate
18 but なんだろう なんだろうね (1.0) 助けて ((what what help))
- 19 ((inaudible vague conferring between S1 & S2 in Japanese))
- 20 Luke: Okay how about age? Does age make a difference?
- 21 S2(?): No.
- 22 Luke: Is it better to have a younger teacher or an older teacher for you?
- 23 S1: I like young
- 24 Luke: Young why?
- 25 S1: (3.0) I I um (2.0) speak I can speak more .hhh younger ((inaudible))
- 26 Luke: Why? Are they are are older teachers more scary?
- 27 S1: heh heh £scary£? や なんだ ((no what))? ((inaudible murmurings in Japanese))
- 28 S2: Young generation is er close so it's easy to make myself understood
- 29 Luke: Okay yeah yeah yeah (.) do you thinkdo you have difficulty making yourself
30 understood with T4?
- 31 S2: No
- 32 Luke: No (0.5) sometimes?
- 33 S2: 大丈夫 ((OK/no problem))
- 34 Luke: No problem?
- 35 S2: No problem

8.5.1 Theme 3 Analysis

In the interview extract T4 relates how the names students use when interacting with her has changed in recent years, which she attributes to ageing. It can also be said to relate to gendered practices and acceptable forms of address in Japanese society. This change in form of address has led T4 to perceive that she has been put into the category of おばさん [obasan](old lady/auntie) by her students. T4 accepted this categorisation and saw it as an opportunity to give advice based on her own experience. However, in a possibly self-deprecating manner, T4 also self-identified a modified form of the “obasan” category, that of an うるさいおばさん [urusai obasan] (noisy/interfering old lady). She then defines the role of “urusai obasan” teacher against that of “friendly” teacher in a relational pair. Interestingly, she also associates friendliness with young teachers and indicates that “friendly” is a role (or category of teacher) that can be handed over upon reaching a certain age.

Although there are no older male participants in the main study to directly compare, I believe that it is reasonable to speculate that the identity of “urusai obasan” is a gendered category that does not have a male equivalent. There was no indication of any similar experience for the male, Japanese teacher of a similar age in my pilot study, and as far as I am aware no concept equivalent to “urusai obasan” exists with reference to older men in Japanese society. I would suggest that this negative gendered image of the interfering old lady, “battleaxe” figure extends far beyond the borders of Japan too (Spender, 1990).

As well as “obasan” and “urusai obasan”, the other category role mentioned in the extract is that of お母さん [okaasan](mother). T4 again readily accepted this role and portrayed it as a more nurturing role that allowed her to support the more “*sensitive*” students, “*maybe girls*”. Again, in invoking this category she distinguished between sensitive and delicate girls who were more comfortable with a mother figure (embodied in herself as an older Japanese female) and other girls who are happy to have “*young, good looking so-called native English speakers*” (L40-41). Again, this dichotomous positioning feeds into (and stems from) classic native-speakerist stereotypes. Although, it is possible that it was merely a throw-away addition to the list of identity categories, the inclusion of “good looking” in addition to “young” and “so-called native English speakers” suggests a degree of sexualisation or fetishization of male “native speaker” teachers even amongst university students. This is a feature that I have explored in other research (see Lawrence & Nagashima, In Press) and appears to be a feature of student/teacher identity co-construction in university classrooms.

Although T4 identified these categories as being placed upon her by students, those interviewed did not indicate a strong preference or suggest any deliberate categorising on their behalf. In terms of gender, no preference was given by the two male students, although S1 did indicate that female teachers might be easier to communicate with, but this was quickly qualified with no clear opinion given. In terms of age, one student expressed a clear preference for younger teachers as he felt that they represented a lack of distance from himself, which echoes T4's own observations ("*So friendly people that's okay I will just give that role for younger*" T4 Interview Extract 2 L31-32). However, he made it clear that he had no problems making himself understood by T4.

This fairly inconclusive data could be interpreted in a number of ways. In terms of co-construction of identity that this study is focused on, it may indicate that students may be unaware of the part they play in the co-construction of the identities of their teachers and thus unaware of the potential power that they have in this regard. Alternatively, it could suggest that T4 is overestimating the role of the students in her identity construction and that the categories that she invoked in her discussion of "obasan", "urusai obasan" and "okaasan" were not simply products of teacher-student interactions, but were also influenced by wider societal forces and the negative, gendered images that exist in Japanese, and indeed global society. Additionally, the effect of the research situation should also be considered. The questions asked were fairly direct, and on several occasions T4 resisted being pinned down to distinct identities or refused the relevance of suggested categories.

8.6 Theme 4: Confidence in language ability

The final theme focuses on T4's confidence in her own language and teaching abilities in the context of being a "non-native speaker" English teacher that learned English later in life.

Although I failed to make the connection at the time, the opening lines of my observation notes noted that T4 appeared to put a lot of preparation into her classes. In this first extract, T4's lack of confidence in her ability as a teacher is made explicit:

Teacher 4 Interview Extract 3

- 1 T4: I enjoy being a teacher yeah (.) I know I'm not the best teacher in the world
- 2 Luke: Why do you say that?

- 3 T4: .hhh um:::: it's important identity yeah;
- 4 Luke: Mm
- 5 T4: I'm not the best teacher is simply I'm not the best teacher in the world
- 6 Luke: Why do you feel that?
- 7 T4: With many reasons
- 8 Luke: Mm for example?=
9 T4: =Like (.) well nobody's perfect=
10 Luke: =No=
11 T4: =but I don't say never (.) I'm not satisfied with (.) what (.) I do what I do
12 means=
13 Luke: =In the classroom?
14 T4: In the classroom (.) I think okay good preparation I do this no no no it didn't
15 work yeah;
16 Luke: Mm
17 T4: Or (.) you ((inaudible)) lots of good idea to prepare a good lesson interesting and
18 helpful and it meet student's (.) I mean it's not possible to satisfy 100% (inaudible) as
19 close as 100 % I am never (.) I am almost never happy with my teaching
20 Luke: Do you think other teachers are?
21 T4: .hhh I don't know it depends and it's much (.) more to do with your personality I
22 think

As well as attributing dissatisfaction with teaching to her own personality, she also focuses on the fact that she is teaching her second language. The next extract follows on immediately from the previous one:

Teacher 4 Interview Extract 4

- 1 T4: And one thing um that I often mentioned (.) my English is not my mother tongue
- 2 Luke: yeah=
3 T4: =So like I said I have advantage being a Japanese speaker who has the same
4 mother tongue but (.) about English I'm really really frustrated with a lot of
5 things

6 Luke: Right for [example?]

7 T4: [My English] is OK

8 Luke: yeah=

9 T4: =But like um:: like correction writing correction (.) correction is very (.) difficult
10 yeah; like when you read Japanese you can see wrong wrong wrong [it's easy to

11 Luke: [Mm Mm]

12 T4: still not e]asy
13 but much easier but takes long time (.) an::d also when you just find that kind of
14 situation meet that kind of situation you really feel gosh my English is not good
15 enough you know;

16 Luke: Right

17 T4: I really don't know this and what is it? it's really really frustrating

18 Luke: Hm::: does that affect your confidence as a teacher?

19 T4: Ye::::: yeah it does because what I teach is not only language yeah I think I
20 might have told you=

21 Luke: =Mm=

22 T4: =I like the expression (.) my favourite supervisor who actually helped me er
23 helped complete my dissertation he said doesn't matter whatever subject you
24 teach eventually teaching (.) is teaching yourself

25 Luke: Mm

26 T4: That's what he said (.) and I agree with that

27 Luke: .hhh teaching yourself what does [that]

28 T4: [teac]hing what you know=

29 Luke: =to other people?

30 T4: Yeah and that includes in my case language

31 Luke: Yeah=

32 T4: =and background of the language

33 Luke: Yeah

- 34 T4: And that language that is connected to my background (.) and my personality
 35 so:: (.) but the main subject I teach is English
- 36 Luke: Mm but you use your[self to do so]
- 37 T4: [yeah, but tha]t is not my mother tongue so it really really
 38 affects my identity
- 39 Luke: Right right right

In the following exchange, which occurred towards the end of the interview, the issue is raised again and T4 explicitly references feelings of inferiority:

Teacher 4 Interview Extract 5

- 1 T4: Yeah and being a Japanese speaker like I said I know advantages but still
 2 um (1.0) I feel um::: (1.0) I I don't like this word but inferiority
- 3 Luke: Mm Mm=
- 4 T4: =about the language skills
- 5 Luke: OK
- 6 T4: Mm and I don't think it will never change but it's much better now (.) I used to
 7 have lower confidence
- 8 Luke: Yeah, do you feel you've had to work harder (.) than native speaker teachers to
 9 do what you do?
- 10 T4: Um:: in one way yes because I'm teaching er foreign language to me (.) but the
 11 second thing is more to my personality
- 12 Luke: Mm=
- 13 T4: =Mm some people probably don't care much and some people probably feel
 14 OK I think it's more to do with my personality
- 15 Luke: O::K you mean you want to do a good job?
- 16 T4: Oh yeah

The indication here that her confidence in her language ability has increased compared to the past is also mentioned, and partly explained, earlier in the interview:

Teacher 4 Interview Extract 6

1 T4: Yeah but I am OK (.) I mean I used lower confidence but after teaching here and
2 like talking (.) this kind of interview and also talking to other people and reading and I
3 just thought okay (.) mine English not native English speaking language but I have
4 other strengths

8.6.1 Theme 4 Analysis

The issue of confidence in language ability for “non-native speaker” English teachers, especially when working alongside “native speaker” colleagues, is a key issue that has been attributed to native-speakerism (McNeill, 2018). In T4’s case, this was seen in the interview by her surprising statement that “*I’m not the best teacher in the world*” (T4 Interview Extract 3 L1). She associates this dissatisfaction with her own personality and what she sees as her lack of competence in the English language. This is expanded upon by her feeling that due to the fact that English is not her first language, the language that she is teaching is disconnected from her background, culture and personality, which she believes “*really really affects my identity*” (T4 Interview Extract 4 L37-38).

This expression of frustration by T4 shows different sides to the theory of discursive identity construction. The first part, that of feeling a lack of confidence in her own ability, is a straightforward interactionally constructed identity, with studies showing that feelings of confidence in language ability can change depending on who the speaker is interacting with (McNeill, 2018) and can even extend to feelings of degrees of nativeness depending on context (He, In press). However, the second part, the disconnection between personal background and the language being taught, points to identity construction on a more macro level and exposes one of the fundamental issues at the heart of the concept of native-speakerism. The fact that T4 learned English as a second language as an adult and that her “mother tongue” is Japanese is something that cannot be altered. Its significance can be foregrounded or backgrounded depending on the context and the interlocutor, but it is an accident of birth and cannot be changed. The fact that this is seen as frustrating for T4, that she is unable to access the background culture that comes with being raised as a “native speaker” of a particular language can be seen as a form of self-discrimination. She is lamenting something that is by definition impossible to achieve. This is one of the more insidious effects of natives-speakerism. By setting the “native speaker” model as the ideal, whether this be in speech, writing standards, aptitude tests or the way we are expected to teach (as in T4’s case) the “non-native speaker” teacher and learner are being set up for

failure. This appears to be exactly what had transpired for T4, made explicit by her use of the word “*inferiority*” (T4 Interview Extract 5 L2). As well as rejecting direct categorisation into simple binary labels, she also appears to dismiss the systemic structures that may have a hand in making her feel this way by attributing her difficulties more to her personality, than to her status as a “non-native speaker” English teacher. This rejection may be seen as evidence that T4 has unconsciously internalised these systemic values. This is a facet of native-speakerism that I regret that this study did not go far enough into researching, mainly due to my lack of awareness at the time of data collection of the extent of the systemic nature of the native-speakerist paradigm.

Despite this native-speakerist negativity directed at herself, T4 does recognise that she has other strengths and indicates that her feelings of inferiority have decreased compared to in the past. Interestingly, this increase in confidence appears to be (in part) due to “*this kind of interview*” as well as talking to colleagues and reading. This points to the possible positive implications of the discursive act of engaging in focused research, even as a participant and the benefits of encouraging simple awareness of native-speakerist issues.

8.7 Discussion

As a Japanese national who has lived abroad and also experienced the world of corporate Japan, wider society appeared to have a very large impact on both T4’s personal and professional identity. An intersectional approach allows us to see that T4’s identity as a Japanese woman in a conservative, patriarchal society (Japan currently ranks 120th in the Global Gender Gap report [World Economic Forum, 2021]) comes with certain expectations and a restricted set of roles. It was the conservative atmosphere of Japan’s corporate culture that was the initial impetus for T4 to go abroad and study English. It was during her study abroad that she began to feel comfortable “being herself” by interacting freely with others, unencumbered by sexual overtones or behavioural expectations. This is not to suggest sexism only exists in Japan, of course. Neither is it to deny the fetishization of Asian women that is seen to occur in the West (see Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020). This comfort has been extended to her current position and the identity that she co-constructs with the male, non-Japanese teachers who make up the majority of the department. This oasis of male-dominated foreignness that the department provides, allows to her live in Japanese society, but operate her professional (and at times personal) identity, outside of it, in a place that she feels more comfortable in her identity. In this sense, the macro forces of identity construction can be said

to have had a profound impact on T4's personal identity as a Japanese woman and as a female teacher in a male-dominated industry (Appleby, 2014).

On a more negative side, wider macro native-speakerist ideologies that regard the background of the speaker as fundamental to their ability to teach have impacted her professional identity, leading to a lack of confidence in her teaching abilities. As well as the practical effect that means that T4 spends a great deal of time on lesson preparation, the psychological effect of feeling that her classes are not as good could also be debilitating. Rather than attribute her problems to embedded societal structures or global discourses, T4 puts it down to her own personality. The poststructuralist theory at the heart of this study would reject T4's self-recrimination on the Foucauldian basis that powerful discourses in society, such as native-speakerism, are firmly embedded in our institutions and are engineered as to appear completely natural (Foucault, 1980; Weedon, 1997).

Although it was only alluded to briefly in the data, her position as a senior teacher in the department is partly due to her identity as an L1 Japanese speaker and her previous administrative experience when working in the Japanese finance sector. It is not clear from the data what the impact of being a senior teacher had on her professional identity.

Rather than her interactions with administration and management, the main point of interest in T4's data is her perceived role in the community of the RE department and her interactions with other teachers. In this case, the impact on her professional identity appears to be considerable, with T4 building a new teacher identity as she grows older within the department. As an older, Japanese, female she takes on the forbidding matriarch role of "urusai obasan" (interfering old lady) as well as the more nurturing role of "okaasan" (mother) that perhaps she is uniquely positioned to do. In doing so, she relinquishes a fun, friendly teacher identity, which she believes is more suited to "young, good looking so-called native English speakers" (T4 Interview Extract 3 L36-37). This positioning could be seen as upholding binaries and perpetuating native-speakerist discourses. Although there are no older "so-called native English speakers" in the data set to directly compare to, in other recent research I have conducted (Lawrence & Nagashima, In press) there does not appear to be an equivalent evolution of role for male, non-Japanese teachers, and as noted, there are no male equivalents of the "urusai obasan" concept.

In this case study, the micro interactions concentrated on the language she used when communicating with her students in the classroom and with me as the researcher. She made considered use of Japanese language with her students and free use of it when interacting with me. In terms of personal and professional identity, English-only policies have been

found to restrict teachers' ability to express themselves and fully connect with their students (Lawrence, In press). T4's willingness to override the informal English-only policy in place at EJPU allows her to use her bilingual ability to not only carve out a bilingual professional identity, but also to be comfortable in her personal dealings with students to build meaningful connections.

In contrast to T4's passive role in perpetuating native-speakerist discourses, her adoption of translanguaging practices during our interview and her positioning of me as a knowledgeable local in the classroom, went some way towards deconstructing native-speakerist discourses.

Chapter 9

Teacher 5 Case Study

9.1 Biography

Teacher 5 (T5) was born in the Philippines and at the time of data collection had been in Japan for 8 years. After graduating from university in the Philippines, he worked for three years as an English teacher in the same university department that he had just graduated from. After this he took a job, again teaching English, at a public high school, where he worked for seven years. During this time he completed a Master's course as a part-time student and earned several promotions within the school. After seven years, T5 applied for and received a research scholarship from the Japanese government. This required him to carry out education research based in Japan as well as working as a teacher in an evening school teaching a variety of students, including very young children. When the scholarship was completed, T5 decided to stay in Japan, taking a job as an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) for a despatch company. Although, he realised that he was probably overqualified for the job, it allowed him to gain teaching experience in Japan and obtain a sponsor for a working visa (Filipinos are not granted short 3-month tourist visas that are available to other nationalities). He worked as a despatch (i.e., not directly employed by a school or institution, which is a position that is seen as lower status than a directly-employed teacher) ALT for 4 years, and then began to work part-time at different universities. At the time of data collection, he was working part-time at the research site and at another university and was only in his first year as a university teacher in Japan. After being inspired by watching a presentation by the prominent scholar Ryuko Kubota on race and native-speakerism, T5 became aware of issues surrounding native-speakerism and he has presented on the topic himself.

9.2 Overview

Participant name: Teacher 5 (T5)

Types of data used: classroom observations (video), teacher interview*, fieldnotes, student interview**.

Themes: “ready-made band aid”, covert student resistance, social class and being overqualified

* Due to scheduling difficulties, this interview was carried out in a busy and noisy café in central Tokyo, therefore there is a fairly high number of “inaudible” words and phrases in the teacher interview transcript

**This is the only class in the data set that was composed of second year (and beyond) students, one of the interviewees was a student that I had taught previously

In this case study, the key themes to emerge were feelings of inferiority and the perceived hierarchy of teachers in Japan, an incidence of a student resisting the authority of the teacher by direct covert appeals to the researcher, and the impact of social class and socioeconomic background on T5’s teacher identity.

9.3 Theme 1: “ready-made band aid”

In this first theme, I explore T5’s struggle to present his teacher identity as he wishes and the complex background issues that come with being a Filipino English teacher in Japan. After a fairly long start to the interview that explored T5’s background and journey to his current situation in detail, I asked T5 how he personally identified as a teacher:

T5 Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: So OK you know this study is looking at different aspects of teacher identity=
- 2 T5: =Sure sure
- 3 Luke: Um: how do you identify as a teacher?
- 4 T5: (0.5) Well: um:: (1.0) I don't want to call myself non (.) in the context of like (.)
- 5 ELT industry here in Japan=
- 6 Luke: =Yeah=
- 7 T5: =Well I think I’m still a native teacher in the eyes of many (.) non-native I mean
- 8 but for me I am a teacher not a non-native teacher I am a teacher (.) so I am like a
- 9 professional teacher who can contribute that's how I look at this (.) I'm equal with
- 10 others

This initially positive self-identification was tempered somewhat when I asked T5 how he felt he was seen by the institution of the research site:

T5 Interview Extract 2

- 1 Luke: Alright (.) next question (.) same question so:: (.) how:: do you think the

2 institution sees you? How do you think the institution sees you (.) as in (.) well I'm
3 doing the research in EJPU let's stick with EJPU for now?

4 T5: heh heh OK um (1.0) I think they see me also equal but not as equal

5 Luke: Hmm In what way (.) can you point to any specific thing that makes you say
6 that?=
7 T5: =Maybe (0.5) of course everything is ((inaudible but laughter can be heard))

8 Luke: Yeah that's good if you have a ready answer that's great

9 T5: It's confidential right;

10 Luke: Of course completely confidential completely confidential.

11 T5: heh heh you'll say [like ((inaudible))

12 Luke: [No no no of course not]

13 T5: I know]it, I'm just you know heh heh (.) so
14 the thing is like no to be honest I think like I'm more a (3.0) ready-made band aid

15 Luke: (1.0) Go on (.) explain

16 T5: Can I explain?

17 Luke: Please

18 T5: If for example there could be no other people around=
19 Luke: =Mm

20 T5: I could be maybe the best choice there is (.) but if there are better [or equal]

21 Luke: [When yo]u say
22 better what do you mean? Do you mean a native speaker?

23 T5: Native s:: (.) I don't want to call native speakers (.) maybe other (1.0) I'm trying to
24 sugar coat it [heh heh]

25 Luke: [Well do]you mean more qualified or do you mean native speaker? What
26 do you mean?

27 T5: OK qualification-wise if we are equal footing I'm a Filipino and they're not

28 Luke: Yeah

29 T5: I think (.) there would be (.) maybe maybe there would be more (0.5) favour
30 towards people who are not like me

As a way to illustrate this, I asked T5 to rank his perceived hierarchy of different kinds of teachers in Japan:

T5 Interview Extract 3

- 1 Luke: Hm yeah what's the hierarchy?
- 2 T5: Hierarchy's (0.5) inner circle=
- 3 Luke: =inner circle=
- 4 T5: =teachers you know what I mean right,
- 5 Luke: Yeah
- 6 T5: £I don't want to use£ ((inaudible))
- 7 Luke: You can do
- 8 T5: heh heh I'm trying to sugar-[coat it heh heh]
- 9 Luke: [heh I'm going to] make you we're going to move
10 onto that in a moment
- 11 T5: ((inaudible)) sugar-coat so anyway yeah White guys Caucasians inner circle
12 people (.) number one=
- 13 Luke: =Yeah
- 14 T5: Number two=
- 15 Luke: =Yeah
- 16 T5: (1.0) Japanese who are good or who have proficiency in English and then I come
17 at the last.
- 18 Luke: Right=
- 19 T5: =because I'm not even Japanese I'm not even a Caucasian or an inner circle
20 guy but then I teach English or English so I'm like the ready-made (.) you know band-
21 aid (.) maybe that's how (.) you asked me how I feel=
- 22 Luke: =Yeah=
- 23 T5: =but but but to be honest I'm thankful with [Department Manager] because you
24 know (.) I think I felt (.) not because we're doing a record or something but I really
25 did this because it's not he wouldn't consider me in the first place=

- 26 Luke: =Mm
- 27 T5: 'Cos like (0.3) if not (.) if not maybe for my qualifications maybe or what I
28 showed to him initially maybe (0.3) I think (.) if he's like (.) if he's thinking about
29 race and others I don't think I would be here right now

This perception of being at the bottom of the hierarchy was possibly fostered by his previous teaching experiences in Japan as the following anecdote highlighting linguistic status illustrates:

T5 Interview Extract 4

- 1 T5: OK I'll give you one more specific er supporting anecdote
- 2 Luke: Yeah
- 3 T5: I made an announcement in English (.) and the teacher still asked oh we have to
4 wait for the (.) this Caucasian guy (.) I think American to check again I said like what
5 the heck
- 6 Luke: Where were you working?
- 7 T5: I was in like I was an ALT
- 8 Luke: Wow

This feeling of relative inferiority also extended to wider Japanese society:

T5 Interview Extract 5

- 1 Luke: Alright so next question is do you think Japanese society sees you in the same
2 way you see yourself? (0.3) Japanese society
- 3 T5: (5.0) No
- 4 Luke: No
- 5 T5: I'm still a foreigner and maybe a second-grade foreigner
- 6 Luke: What do you mean second grade [foreigner?]
- 7 T5: [heh heh I a]lways say controversial stuff
- 8 Luke: That's good I love it
- 9 T5: heh heh

- 10 Luke: heh heh they are deep questions I know (.) soul-searching questions
- 11 T5: heh £I make it easy for you£ heh second grade because (0.3) OK I know
 12 mo (.) some would disagree on your (.) on the other side of the fence but for Asians
 13 especially Filipinos (.) how many times have you been asked by a policeman who is
 14 not in uniform=
- 15 Luke: =Yeah
- 16 T5: =in waiting at the ticket gates (.) and ask for your residence card? I don't think
 17 you have been asked maybe [once twice¿]
- 18 Luke: [I've been ask]ed for my residence card about five times
 19 (.) ah:: less (.) four maybe=
- 20 T5: =OK but but I think there are more [people]
- 21 Luke: [I used to] have my bicycle stopped every
 22 single day=
- 23 T5: =yeah there are more Asians or Filipinos stopped and (.) how do you call that
 24 frisking? How do you call that?
- 25 Luke: I guess so searched¿
- 26 T5: Search er cultural something I forgot the term for it there's a term for it
 27 though right¿ so like I've been asked not just maybe three or four times maybe
 28 five times
- 29 Luke: I've been in Japan a long time=
- 30 T5: =but the thing is, the thing is I thought it was just me
- 31 Luke: Yeah
- 32 T5: When I asked the other Filipinos they have almost the same (.) not of course it's
 33 not a blanket you know
- 34 Luke: Yeah
- 35 T5: When I talk to like Westerners or Caucasians they don't have those kinds of
 36 stories

However, this feeling of being negatively racially profiled was more ambivalent in terms of the relationship between students and his teacher identity:

T5 Interview Extract 6

- 1 Luke: Do you think your students see you in the same way as you see yourself?

2 T5: You know what honestly um (4.0) it depends=
3 Luke: =Here in Japan
4 T5: Yeah well as you know I taught the kids maybe the kids don't really care
5 because they won't see you (.) they won't distinguish really [who is
6 Luke: [Right]
7 T5: . who's]like the real native
8 or not I don't know some people say that my (.) because of my accent=
9 Luke: =Mm
10 T5: Of course it's not that American
11 Luke: Mm
12 T5: But it sounds close (.) closer to American
13 Luke: Yeah
14 T5: So like I can hide sometimes (.) and it works to my advantage
15 Luke: Right
16 T5: So when I applied as a part time juku or cram school teacher I think one of the
17 factors was because I sounded more American so they thought I was like more
18 native and they said oh your English is きれいな ((beautiful)) and ((inaudible))
19 Luke: Mm
20 T5: So I think it's not about accent or ((inaudible)) it's about hard work and maybe
21 practice (.) so (.) I think kids and maybe until junior high (0.5) based on the
22 interaction that I got=
23 Luke: =Yeah=
24 T5: =They don't really care that much if you know if because you're there (.) to
25 represent you know your culture and interact with them well but=
26 Luke: =What about at the university level?
27 T5: Yes, but what I have observed, it seems [name of other institution where T5 also
28 works part time] that's not university but [it
29 Luke: [ye]ah bit older
30 T5: and] these people um I think there's a

- 31 difference
- 32 Luke: Mm
- 33 T5: Still I could feel that I didn't know how but when you interact with them like and
34 then when they ask questions especially for example when I teach grammar for
35 example=
- 36 Luke: =Mm
- 37 T5: Um (0.5) I don't know what they are thinking of course what their thinking is but
38 um I get more questions (1.0) usually (.) I get more questions and they try to test me if
39 you know your stuff
- 40 Luke: You think so?
- 41 T5: I think so but also maybe of course it's an outlier it's just me but of course it
42 happens to all the teachers even for native teachers but (.) um (.) there's more
43 resistance I guess I feel OK I have no tangible er I feel based on their interaction with
44 me (1.0) there is less: (.) 'cos you're asking what I think my students feel right?
- 45 Luke: Yeah what do they (.) do you think they think about you yeah
- 46 T5: I think I think they:: there is a slight um hint of maybe (0.5) doubt if I [say]
- 47 Luke: [oh..d]oubt
48 in your teaching ability or:: doubt about what?
- 49 T5: Credibility

I found it interesting, and a little surprising that T5 chose to focus on his accent when asked how students perceived him. However, accent appeared to be pertinent, as T5's students focused on the same point when asked about different kinds of teachers:

T5 Student Interview Extract 1

- 1 Luke: OK OK let's say if you had a choice you could choose Japanese teacher for
2 English teacher or native speaker English teacher (.) or not Japanese but not native
3 speaker which one would you choose?
- 4 S2: Native
- 5 Luke: Native
- 6 S1: (3.0) Native
- 7 Luke: Ah::

8 S2: Japanese is (.) OK and Mr Nakajima* good teacher だけど((but)) he is not native
9 English (.) Japanese English

((omitted))

10 Luke: So for example if it's so let's say Nakajima-sensei so his
11 pronunciation is quite Japanese English that's difficult for you (.) that's not good

12 S2: Mm

13 Luke: But how about like T1 and Yusuke-sensei**?

14 S2: They like native

15 Luke: So:: it's the pronunciation that's important (.) not the person

16 S2: Not the person?

17 Luke: Not the people

18 S1 & S2: Ah ah: ((showing understanding))

19 Luke: Pronunciation

20 S2: Pronunciation is あの ((um)) Japanese は ((do)) (0.5) understand our Japanese
21 question

22 S1: heh heh

23 Luke: OK that's good=

24 S2: =So it's more 助かる((helpful))

25 Luke: Uh huh OK for example (.) like Daniel*** he can understand Ja[panese

26 S1&S2: [ah:::~:]

27 Luke: and T2]can
28 understand I can understand Japanese

29 S2: それは((that is)) if I have a question I can't (.) 質問 ((question)) in English
30 うまくできないから ((do it well))

31 Luke: Yeah so:: is that good if the teacher can understand English?

32 S?: Yeah very good

((omitted))

33 Luke: So the native speaker that has native pronunciation but can understand
34 Japanese is a perfect combination?

35 S1: Perfect heh heh

36 S2: Perfect perfect heh heh

*Pseudonym for part-time Japanese English teacher

**Pseudonym for full time Japanese English teacher who participated in the pilot study

*** Pseudonym for full time American English teacher who participated in the pilot study

I asked for their opinion of T5's pronunciation:

T5 Student Interview Extract 2

1 Luke: OK how about T5?

2 S2: (2.0) なんか ((something)) different from American

3 Luke: Really? To me it sounds 100% American

4 S2: 本当に((really))?

5 Luke: To me (.) I don't know my ears are not so good

6 S2: 何かちょっと違うなと思うけど何が違うと良く分からないしそんなに
7 聴きにくいんじゃない ((there is something a little different I think, I don't really
8 know what is different, but it's not difficult to hear))

9 S1: Mm mm

10 S2: His pronunciation is=

11 Luke: =Easy to catch

12 S2: Little Japaneseよりだけど((better than [Japanese] but)) nativeより((better
13 than))↓ ((implies is not better than native)) Philippine is more English
14 and other language so 半分((half)) native

15 S1: そうね そうね ((yes yes))

T5's ranking of hierarchy was also mirrored by his students' own perceptions with particular reference to pronunciation, which was the key element for assigning rank:

T5 Student Interview Extract 3

- 1 Luke: OK what's the ranking?
- 2 S1 & S2: heh heh
- 3 S?: Pronounce?
- 4 Luke: Yeah pronunciation (.) give me a ranking
- 5 S1: Native
- 6 Luke: OK (.) native OK (.) but native (.) hhh OK OK
- 7 S2: From America
- 8 Luke: OK
- 9 S2: From England や ((no)) America と ((and)) Canada か も ((maybe))
- 10 Luke: OK so number one America Canada
- 11 S1: Tanaka* is Hawaii or America?
- 12 Luke: America is Hawaii
- 13 S1: OK OK
- 14 S2: で ((then)) British
- 15 Luke: Number two OK
- 16 S2: あと ((then)) T1 と か ((people like)) Yusuke
- 17 Luke: OK so number three T1 and Yusuke so Japanese but they:: they sound different
- 18 S2: Mm と く ((special))
- 19 Luke: Yeah yeah OK
- 20 S2: であと ((and then)) another (0.5) another country teachers
- 21 Luke: OK like T5 OK

9.3.1 Theme 1 Analysis

In the extracts presented above, T5 refers to himself variously as “*a teacher*”, “*a professional teacher who can contribute*” (T5 Interview Extract 1 L 8/9), “*a ready-made band aid*” (T5 Interview Extract 2 L14), “*a second-grade foreigner*” (T5 Interview Extract 5 L5), someone

whose accent “*sounds close (.) closer to American...So like I can hide sometimes*” (T5 Interview Extract 6 L12/14). He is also referred to as someone whose accent is “*なんが (something) different from American*” and “*半分(half) native*” (T5 Student Interview Extract 1 L2/14). This multitudinous array of membership categories points to a discursively constructed set of identity markers, that show T5 struggling to assert his agency against powerful outside structures.

T5’s self-categorisations of “*a teacher*” and “*a professional teacher who can contribute*”, point to a positive self-image that is assiduously avoiding being categorised into categories which he is aware may have negative connotations. Elsewhere (see Theme 3) he also refers to himself as a “*global citizen*” (T5 Interview Extract 7). This tendency to avoid categorising into either “*native speaker*” or “*non-native speaker*” (see also T3) may be a defensive mechanism that the marginalised are forced to adopt in order not to be associated with a demonised category. Although, in other points in the interview T5 did engage with the terms “*native speaker*” and “*non-native speaker*” directly, asserting that others may view him as a “*non-native speaker*” teacher.

The feeling of being a “*ready-made band aid*” is expressed by T5 only with trepidation as he checks with me that “*It’s confidential, right?*” (T5 Interview Extract 2 L9) before going on to criticise the institution (although he does state that the DM did ignore race in the hiring process). He is also wary that the opinion that he is expressing may come across as controversial and he initially uses the euphemistic category of teachers who are “*better or equal*” (T5 Interview Extract 2 L20) to refer to competitors in the job market. When I ask him to clarify the meaning of this he admits to “*trying to sugar coat it*” (T5 Interview Extract 2 L23-24) and eventually states that if all else is equal “*I’m Filipino and they’re not*” (T5 Interview Extract 2 L27). This succinct declaration of “*I’m Filipino*” is not a personal statement of national identity or race, but a recognition and awareness that national and racial identity can be a decisive factor in the hiring of English teachers in Japan. This also extended out into acceptance into wider Japanese society, as perceptions of being a “*second-grade foreigner*” are backed up by real world experience of discrimination and police harassment.

As well as nationality, accent was also put forward as a factor, both by T5 and also by his students, in perceptions of criteria for native-speakerness. He acknowledges that his accent is “*closer to American*”, which, due to the pervasive native-speakerism in Japan, allows him to “*hide*” (T5 Interview Extract 6 L14) and works to his advantage. The perception of Filipino teachers having *きれいな* (beautiful) English that is virtually

indistinguishable from American pronunciation conventions is widely recognised and used as a key factor in the advertising material for the *eikaiwa* online English teaching industry in Japan, which employs predominantly Filipino teachers (Tajima, In Press). However, it is implied that this advantage is only useful for some sectors, for example, *juku* (evening prep schools) ALT and *eikaiwa* work (i.e., those with lower status within the ELT industry in Japan). When it comes to older students and university students, accent is not enough to override other factors, which lead to him being tested on grammar and having his “credibility” (T5 Interview Extract 6 L49) questioned. I did not see any evidence of students testing T5’s grammar knowledge in the three classes that I observed. In fact, I saw the opposite, with T5 focusing on grammar and meta vocabulary to the confusion of his students. However, there was some evidence of one student doubting his credibility and voicing this to me (see Theme 2 below). In terms of perception of accent, T5’s assertions that his accent was close to American, differed from the perceptions of his students who saw his pronunciation as “なんか (something) different from American” and labelled him as “半分(half) native” based on this.

This ambiguous and ambivalent categorisation of T5 as “半分(half) native” by his students, despite his self-categorisation as professional teacher, is perhaps the best way to describe the identity construction that emerged from this theme. In terms of how his identity is co-constructed by the institution of EJPU and wider society, this is half in a negative sense, whether as a “ready-made band aid” or a “second-grade foreigner”, he is portrayed as someone lesser or as a second preference. The co-constructed identity he has forged with his students is less explicitly negative, but he is still placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of teachers that they interact with, as he is perceived to be lacking something in terms of pronunciation. This contrasts with T5’s own positive assertions of his teacher identity as being professional and on an equal footing with other teachers, regardless of their background.

9.4 Theme 2: Covert student resistance

This theme focuses on one incident that occurred in the second lesson that I observed. The incident involved a student that I had taught as a first-year student a few years previously (referred to here using the pseudonym Riku). As I explained in Chapter 4, the system of the English language program at EJPU requires all students to achieve a minimum attendance as

well as a required score on either the TOEFL or the TOEIC test. This results in a certain number of students remaining in the program for several years.

T5 had just set a task that involved first writing a script in pairs (there was one group of three), then performing the script on video (taken on their smartphone) which they would then immediately upload to the group online learning platform. The classroom is arranged in a rough horseshoe shape and several students have just left their original seating position to sit next to a new partner that it appears they had worked with in a previous class. The exchange between myself and Riku was conducted at some distance from the video camera, making a large section of the exchange inaudible in the audio data:

T5 Obs 2 Extract 1

1 T5: Maybe you can change it a little bit I want more natural conversation, not
2 reading OK (.) more natural OK practice time I'll give you:: less than twenty minutes
3 now

((T5 walks to the front of the class and sets a timer and then continues to walk around the room and monitor))

4 T5: If you need help raise your hand

5 S1: ((inaudible))

6 T5: Um no not memorise but you can look ((mimes looking at a smartphone with his
7 hands)) don't look all throughout glance and then you can (.) yeah you can look at
8 your screen (.) more natural is better.

((T5 wanders around within the horseshoe, monitoring))

9 T5: Please do your best at the end of the task I will ask volunteers maybe one or two
10 pairs to (.) present their work um see your performance OK;

((1minute 50 seconds omitted – during this time pairs and groups are practicing their scripts out loud and T5 is helping a student log on to the online platform))

11 Riku: ((moves chair closer to his group members and closer to where I am sitting
12 taking notes. Nodding in my direction and smiling)) complicated

13 Luke: Yeah it is complicated yeah

14 Riku: (5.0) I want more simply

15 Luke: Technology?

16 Riku: We want more simply direction

((inaudible exchange between me and Riku for 26 seconds which appears to be about clarifying the task))

17 Riku: Difficult to understand

18 Luke: The directions?

19 Riku: Yes ((nodding))

Later in the class T5 called a female student by the incorrect name of Riku (usually a male name). This mistake was due to the fact that they had changed seats and therefore the name card on the desk did not match the student.

T5 Obs 2 Extract 2

1 Riku: ((turns towards me, smiling and laughing slightly)) doesn't remember our
2 names

3 Luke: It's difficult

4 Riku: No ((shakes head while laughing))

This presented a moral quandary for me, as I noted in my fieldnotes at the time:

T5 Obs 2 Fieldnotes Extract 1

1 *By now, I felt a bit bad and guilty about this as I didn't want T5 to think I was*
2 *conspiring with the students to talk about him behind his back*

T5 Obs 2 Fieldnotes Extract 2

1 *It was interesting that he felt the need to kind of go against T5 by criticising him to*
2 *me – I wonder if he would have done the same thing to a NS teacher??*

9.4.1 Theme 2 Analysis

Although these instances were brief and only involved one student, I think that the act of speaking to the researcher (me) out of earshot (although he was not talking especially quietly) of T5 to directly criticise T5 can be seen as significant and worthy of deeper analysis.

In Theme 1 above, T5 states his belief that his students at times doubt his credibility as a teacher, this incident would certainly seem to illustrate an example of this assertion, or

perception, by T5. By moving his chair closer to me and speaking out of earshot of T5, Riku was not only confiding in me (as a trusted teacher that he knew), but was also coopting me into a conspiracy of secret talk that was directly critical of T5. It is possible that Riku saw me as someone that would be sympathetic to the difficulties faced by students and put me into the same category as himself and his classmates. My initial misunderstanding of the problem as something related to technology indicated to Riku that I had not intuitively understood the meaning of the single word “complicated” and was perhaps not as in tune with himself and the students as he may have believed.

Riku’s repair from “*I want more simply*” (T5 Obs 2 Extract 1 L14) to “*We want more simply direction*” (T5 Obs 2 Extract 1 L16), sees him change from giving a personal opinion to presenting himself as a representative of the class. This switch may be seen as a way of strengthening his opinion and convincing me of the need for T5 to give simpler directions when setting up activities after I had failed to understand his complaint at first. Although this exchange could perhaps be seen to undermine T5’s teaching ability, it could also be seen as a genuine complaint by a student to a real problem of the difficulty of following instructions given by T5. Therefore, although Riku can be seen to be going against T5, this is not necessarily out of a lack of respect for T5 or a sign that his credibility is being challenged.

However, in the case of the second exchange, the laughter and shaking of the head do indicate a lack of respect for T5 and an undermining of his authority in the classroom. Again, by using the possessive adjective “*our*” (T5 Obs 2 Extract 2 L1) Riku is positioning himself as speaking on behalf of the class in making a direct complaint to me. My response that “it’s difficult” was an attempt to defend T5 and to avoid any sense of complicity in Riku’s criticism of him. This is rejected by Riku with more laughter and shaking of the head. In my fieldnotes I mused whether this kind of direct undermining of the teacher to a researcher (albeit a researcher that the student was familiar with) would have happened if the teacher was a “native speaker” teacher. In terms of the premise of the study that teacher identities are co-constructed, the argument might be a circular, or dialectic one. The very act of undermining T5 in this way is one way in which his identity is being co-constructed with the student as one that can be undermined in the presence of a “native speaker” teacher and researcher (me). The act that permits this action as acceptable is at the same time constructing its acceptability.

9.5 Theme 3: Social class and being overqualified

The third and final theme that emerged from T5's data was the impact of social class on his teacher identity and the intersection of socioeconomic factors with national identity and the struggle to carve out a career in the ELT field in Japan.

Towards the end of the interview, I asked T5 about how often he integrated his own background into his lessons, as is often the expectation for "native speaker" teachers to do:

T5 Interview Extract 7

1 Luke: How often do you incorporate information from your background (.) in your
2 lessons?=
3

3 T5: =Ah:::

4 Luke: Filipino culture

5 T5: (0.5) In the (0.7) I could say maybe:: once in a while (.) but it's not big any more
6 for me I mean it's not ((inaudible)) culture I see myself as a global citizen not
7 anymore like a cultural ambassador now 'cos I don't [think]

8 Luke: [Do yo]u think you are hiding it?

9 T5: No (.) I'm proud to be Filipino actually at the very beginning of my classes I
10 always say I'm from the Philippines (.) I actually ask them where do you think I'm
11 from? And I always tell them and I also inspire them that (.) if you think (.) I never
12 went to America I never went to Inner Circle countries (.) but if you think my English
13 is a little bit better than what I should (.) than you or others I think I did something (.)
14 that you can imitate and I always say to them I come from the Philippines I lived my
15 life there and I always tell them my background even my poor record I was very poor
16 I never had resources you know and stuff like that (.) so I don't have (.) I actually
17 show it and I am Filipino but for me, for myself I don't see any more myself (0.3) in
18 passport yeah I'm Filipino but not (0.5) not (.) not in my profession (.) because in my
19 profession we're all equal as I said=
20

20 Luke: =Yeah=
21

21 T5: =we're all teachers and it's just a matter of maybe:: you know experience
22 expertise and maybe even your mood for the day (.) if £you are good£ I don't know if
23 you have experienced this but sometimes when you teach and you're you know
24 grumpy or you're under the weather you don't give that (.) your best

25 Luke: So you don't really incorporate Filipino culture stuff?

26 T5: (1.0) When it comes to topics like (.) like for example some kind of pragmatic
27 stuff like we had a topic in the book in World English where (0.3) what is that, um::
28 polite ex (.) indirect questions

29 Luke: Mm=
30

- 30 T5: =Like usually in Western countries you don't you don't really start your sentence
 31 to be polite usually you have (.) you're not direct usually you make it indirect (0.3) for
 32 example do er:: do you have (0.5) do you have (.) do you have a pen or whatever you
 33 say um: would you mind? or something like that=
- 34 Luke: =Yeah=
- 35 TY6: =So you first give an introduction (.) so things like that and then I incorporate if
 36 need be I do but it's not the main thing that hey I'm Filipino (.) not because I (.) I don't
 37 [like]
- 38 Luke: [Do y]ou think your students are interested in that aspect of it? your:: of
 39 you(.) as a teacher?
- 40 T5: Maybe at first

This perception was backed up by evidence from T5's students:

T5 Student Interview Extract 3

- 1 S1: But native speaker I like hear the story of America or Hawaii so native speaker
 2 is (0.3) interesting
- 3 Luke: Mm how about a story about the Philippines?
- 4 S1: Philippines話聞いたことがない ((I've never heard stories about))
- 5 S2: そ ((right)) he never
- 6 S1: そ((yes)) he never talks anything=
- 7 Luke: =Do you want to hear those stories?
- 8 S2: Hm:::
- 9 S1: Private story not
- 10 Luke: Mm
- 11 S1: Only class
- 12 Luke: Mm mm mm mm
- 13 S1: Daniel* はよく話す ((often talks))
- 14 S2: About him family
- 15 Luke: Yeah

- 16 S1: Daughter
- 17 S2: And なんだろう ((what else)) (.) American Christmas とか ((things like that))
- 18 Luke: OK OK but if T5 did talk about Philippine things is that interesting for you?
- 19 S1: Hm: Philippine 知らないから ((I don't know about so))
- 20 S2: But he's not friendly so if he talk about Philippine uh huh I see maybe heh heh

* Pseudonym for full time American English teacher who participated in the pilot study

T5's fleeting remark regarding lack of resources prompted me to return to the topic of socioeconomic status later in the interview:

T5 Interview Extract 8

- 1 Luke: OK let's go back to this (.) er you mentioned earlier um this is something that
2 hasn't come up at all in my studies but I mean I put these identity markers like race
3 gender age linguistic status how about social class? You said you came from a poor
4 background (.) um how has that affected your career or your teaching or [the way]
- 5 T5: [A lot a l]ot
- 6 Luke: Yeah=
- 7 T5: =because it (.) actually I think it's one of the major factors that affected how I
8 teach what I do and my philosophy first philosophy (.) I always feel my class I came
9 from (.) I was very poor as in like example you would have to sleep your night (.)
10 night just to (.) you know er:: get the day through and tomorrow you'll wake up it's a
11 new day (.) I we went through that in the Philippines like in my family
- 12 Luke: In what? I don't understand in what?
- 13 T5: You don't have anything you don't have anything to eat
- 14 Luke: Mm mm
- 15 T5: I went through that (.) I've experienced that so (.) poverty so first (.) I'm not
16 poor (.) I'm not rich I'm very very poor so because of that I persevered (.) and because
17 of that I gained (.) my qualifications let's just [say
- 18 Luke: [Mm]
- 19 T5: and] that's what first thing that I
20 wanted to impart even before even if not in Japan I always tell my students that (.)

21 you know I'm a believer in education so it's like a catalyst you know it could change
22 you and your status so (.) now I teach I always tell them maybe to make them feel
23 guilty (.) I tell my students you have iPhone I didn't have iPhone (.) you have all the
24 gadgets and the entertainment you have aircon=

25 Luke: =Yeah=

26 T5: =in the Philippines we sweat under the trees (.) I even experienced under the
27 trees or in the benches of the stadium just because we don't have properly lit or
28 properly built classrooms (.) .hhh so because of those experiences I am I think I'm
29 tenacious I can do it I did it and look at me I'm teaching even English it's not my
30 first language I am teaching English in Japan

Earlier in the interview I had challenged T5 on his use of the word “ambitious” in relation to job applications and being rejected:

T5 Interview Extract 9

1 Luke: Do you think that your:: these identity factors played a part in the
2 rejections?

3 T5: No maybe qualifications not identity

4 Luke: Publications?

5 T5: Yeah I give I give them the benefit of the:: doubt there because publications
6 and maybe I think because its competitive (.) well some of the schools are really
7 competitive I couldn't compare to any anyone (.) so:: I think that qualifications
8 pub[lications]

9 Luke: [Why do yo]u say you couldn't you couldn't compete with them?

10 T5: Well like what I mean is I can compare but (.) during that time I was just very
11 ambitious and I was just trying to get in (.) and so I think if I because I gave my
12 papers when I was not ready for sure I would be re[jected]

13 Luke: [But wh]y do you say that's
14 ambitious? That's just applying for jobs isn't it? (2.0) That sounds kind of self-
15 deprecating £why is it ambitious to apply for a job£?

16 T5: heh heh no no no no no

17 Luke: £Why is that ambitious£?

18 T5: OK this is such an £interesting discussion£ no no no no um=

19 Luke: =Is this part of this (.) Fili[pino]

20 T5: [It's p]art of identity yeah

- 21 Luke: Identity of submissiveness?
22 T5: Yeah yeah yeah yeah it is it is it is it is

This concept of Filipino submissiveness had been outlined earlier in the interview when discussing his previous job as an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT):

T5 Interview Extract 10

- 1 Luke: When you were an ALT how did they see you? As a native speaker or a non-
2 native speaker?
3 T5: Various (.) I told you some teachers saw me (.) as (.) just a tape recorder=
4 Luke: =but is that (.) the tape recorder is almost like the native speaker role isn't it?
5 T5: Yeah but the thing is like (.) that's a good thing with some of the teachers um
6 they didn't use the term (0.5) non-native they still regarded me as like a native
7 although with some of course would consider you non-native (.) but some also didn't
8 know English
9 Luke: Mm:: yeah
10 T5: Well you know that right?
11 Luke: I know yeah yeah
12 T5: I'd just simplify (.) simplistically define like they don't know English that is why
13 they need (.) they needed me
14 Luke: Yeah
15 T5: So there are many cases like that but then like maybe half or yeah half of
16 teachers I think they (.) they better know they (.) they know better and I was just an
17 ALT and I felt like (0.3) I don't know maybe it's just me but it's for Filipinos it's it's
18 it's a cultural thing we're submissive in a way
19 Luke: Ah:: tell me more (.) in what way?
20 T5: Yeah sure sure (.) we're submissive in a way because we were (.) first this is
21 my own philosophy OK?=
22 Luke: =Yeah yeah=
23 T5: =we were colonised by many (.) you know colonizers Spanish American
24 Japanese=
25 Luke: =yeah

26 T5: In all of our history (.) of course we resisted but we:: we were the underdogs=

27 Luke: =OK

28 T5: So it's like natural for us to be like underdogs

This submissiveness that he identifies as a cultural aspect of the Filipino identity appeared to have a bearing on the types of jobs that T5 accepted. I asked whether he had felt overqualified as an ALT:

T5 Interview Extract 11

1 Luke: Did you think you were overqualified?

2 T5: ((inaudible)) heh heh heh

3 Luke: £Someone with a Master's and 10 years of teaching experience£ doing
4 ((inaudible))

5 T5: heh heh heh £you want like transparency and ((inaudible))£

6 Luke: Well I don't know it sounds like you are way overqualified to be a [name of
7 dispatch company] ALT=

8 T5: =Ah: how do I say it? (3.0) To be honest=

9 Luke: =yeah

10 T5: heh heh to be honest I think I was but I was in for the experience so I never
11 knew you know any anything about Japanese work you know system so like I said
12 okay I'll just try (.) but then I thought I thought you know it's the end ((inaudible)) but
13 it's not it's just the starting er: stage so like yeah (.) at the end I had already I was
14 really dissatisfied with the system with the ALT system so:: I thought I was
15 overqualified that's the time I realised I was

16 Luke: Ye::ah=

17 T5: =Because I was already

18 Luke: Why didn't you realise that before? It seems pretty obvious (.) I mean were you
19 applying for university jobs at that time?

20 T5: I did but like the (0.3)how do I say? The:: easiest way for me to secure a position
21 and do (.) because for us Filipinos, we don't even have the three-month (0.3) we don't
22 even have the three-month (.) how do you call that? Like [three visa

23 Luke: [((inaudible))]

- 24 T5: No no] no for you
 25 guys you can stay in Japan
- 26 Luke: Oh like a tourist visa?
- 27 T5: Yeah the tourist visa for like three months yeah;
- 28 Luke: Right I never had it=
- 29 T5: =and you can extend=
- 30 Luke: =Yeah yeah yeah
- 31 T5: For me I don't even have (.) we don't even have
- 32 Luke: So you need to have a sponsor?
- 33 T5: Yes exactly so I said I'll just get the easiest one (.) and that's being an ALT

9.5.1 Theme 3 Analysis

As with Theme 1, a lot of identity work can be seen in these extracts that is not based purely on T5's own subjective perception, but on real world, concrete issues relating to history, colonialism and unequal treatment by the Japanese government in terms of visas available to different nationalities.

Categories invoked, both claimed by T5 and assigned by others, included “*global citizen*” (T5 Interview Extract 7 L6), “*cultural ambassador*” (T5 Interview Extract 7 L7), “*proud to be Filipino*” (T5 Interview Extract 7 L9), a teacher that is “*not friendly*” (T5 Student Interview Extract 3 L20), “*very very poor*” (T5 Interview Extract 8 L16), a “*believer in education*” (T5 Interview Extract 8 L21), “*very ambitious*” (T5 Interview Extract 9 L10-11), “*submissive*” (T5 Interview Extract 10 L18) and “*overqualified*” (T5 Interview Extract 11 L1 – my words).

When asked how prominent his background is in his day-to-day teaching, T5 categorises himself as a “global citizen” and gives a convoluted answer, alluding to previous jobs where he was expected to be more of a cultural ambassador. This presumably relates to his first years in Japan when his researchship relied on being an ambassador for the Philippines. However, reading between the lines it appears that he does not incorporate his background into his classes in any meaningful way. This could be a way to distance himself from the fact that he is not from a Western background, which may draw attention to potential points of discrimination. Thus “hiding” his identity (see Theme 1) to some extent

(see also T3 and Yusuke in the pilot study), which would contradict T5's claim to be "*proud to be Filipino*" (T5 Interview Extract 7 L9).

This decision to not include his background as part of the lesson contents might also be simple reality based on his experience of indifference from students. It would also chime with the institution's decision to provide maps depicting only "native speaker" teachers hometowns that was the initial inspiration for this thesis (see Chapter 1 - T5 was not employed by EJPU at the time the maps were created). The interview with T5's students revealed that they were interested in hearing from Daniel, an American teacher about "*American Christmas とか(things like that)*" (T5 Student Interview Extract 3 L17), but were non-committal when asked if they were interested in hearing about Philippine culture. However, this was justified as being based more on T5's personality and classroom style as being "*not friendly*" (T5 Student Interview Extract 3 L20), rather than any kind of national, racial or native-speakerist discrimination. His students' categorisation of T5 as "not friendly" was surprising to me, this was not a characterisation that I recognised from my observations. I interpret this as being based on comparisons to other specific teachers whose classes the two interviewees had experienced and was judged by the teachers' willingness to divulge personal information and deviate from the textbook. The demand for "native speaker" teachers to draw on their personal background is a key part of native-speakerist ideology in Japan, that of the "professional foreigner" (Heimlich, 2013). By judging T5 to be "not friendly", it is possible that T5's students put him outside of the category of professional foreigner and into a similar category to that of their Japanese English teachers (see student rankings of different teachers in Theme 1 above).

T5's socioeconomic background, combined with his Filipino nationality added an extra facet to his identity construction that was not present in other participants. He asserted that being "*very very poor*" (T5 Interview Extract 8 L16) gave him the impetus to persevere and made him a "*believer in education*" (T5 Interview Extract 8 L20). In terms of the development of his teacher identity, at least as a teacher in affluent Japan, this appears to have made him slightly strict towards students who may not realise their own privilege. In terms of national identity, he places himself in the general category of "*submissive Filipino*" (a term he invoked himself) and uses this to explain the reasons behind accepting positions that he was aware that he was overqualified for. This attitude of feeling gratitude simply for having any job as an English is a common feature of native-speakerism and is used by employers to exploit "non-native speaker" teachers into accepting low pay and poor working

conditions. This is added to by the visa system in Japan which disfavours certain passport holders. The necessity of securing a visa sponsor in the form of an employer puts Filipino teachers like T5 in a weak position of power leading to more submissiveness and the potential to be exploited even further.

9.6 Discussion

Due to his race and nationality (South East Asian, Filipino), T5's personal and professional identities have been heavily impacted by racist, xenophobic, and native-speakerist discourses that operate in wider Japanese society. His initial entry point into Japan of a government-sponsored researchship (only open to scholars from "developing" countries) immediately put him in a position of powerlessness. In order to stay in Japan and continue to teach, T5 was forced to accept positions that he was over-qualified for. Despite, having nearly a decade of teaching experience and a Master's degree in the relevant field from his home country, he was employed alongside "native speaker" teachers with little experience and no qualifications. Here he was also marginalised and his English undermined by having his pronouncements repeated by a "native speaker". As well as his professional life, his status as a Filipino in Japan also negatively impacted on his personal life, with police harassment seen as the normal and inevitable consequence of being seen as a "second-grade foreigner".

In terms of his interactions with the institution and the department, T5 reported feeling like a "ready-made band-aid". Although it was T5's self-perception, this is partly-justifiable when set against the native-speakerist ideology of the DM and the marketing department as documented above. However, this ideology appeared to separate Japanese from non-Japanese, and T5's position within this hierarchy is not clear. Based on the experiences of others and the approach to marketing, we may assume that he would not be excluded from teaching certain classes, but may not be the first priority for promotional material.

In terms of his micro interactions with students and his students' perceptions of him, there is more evidence of native-speakerist discourses and a certain amount of undermining of authority. Although it was difficult to accurately extricate all of the strands of identity construction in this case study, it seemed clear that T5's reluctance to draw directly on his Filipino background, in favour of a "global citizen" identity had a strong impact. The feeling of unfriendliness by his students, and their lack of interest in his background, was a self-perpetuating cycle in which it is not clear which aspect came first. This led to the construction of an in-between professional identity, that was not necessarily maligned by his

students, but was not celebrated either, in the same way that “native speaker” teachers were. Additionally, as Theme 2 illustrated, there was evidence of a covert undermining of T5’s authority as one student directly criticized him to the researcher. This suggested a lack of respect for T5’s professional identity as a teacher and perhaps indicates his lower placing in the hierarchy of teachers and students in that the student in question felt comfortable enlisting the researcher as a co-conspirator of his criticisms.

Chapter 10 – Discussion

In this Discussion chapter I will attempt to draw together my findings from each Case Study to sketch out a cohesive theory of language teacher identity construction in the Japanese context. I will begin by addressing each research question in turn by synthesizing data and analysis from all five Case Studies. This will be followed in Chapter 11 by a summary and overview, within which I will set out my overall findings and present my theory of identity construction that I interpreted as emerging from the data collected in this study.

10.1 Research Question 1

- If it is accepted that concepts of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identity are socially constructed, how and by whom are they constructed?

At the outset of this research project, my main focus was on “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identity, therefore this was the initial focus of my classroom observations, fieldnotes and interview questions. However, as the data was collected, and also as my understanding of identity evolved over the course of the nearly five years since I began this endeavour, it became clear that it was impossible to isolate a broad category such as “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” from other facets of identity. Nevertheless, as this was my initial focus, it means that the majority of the data is also focused on this topic. Therefore, although I recognise that identities and power in a society are best understood as intersectional constructions (Collins & Bilge, 2016: 2), and that it is artificial to separate them out in this way, for this first research question the construction of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identities will be foregrounded (see RQ3 for a full exploration of intersectional identities).

The main actors that emerged from the data as co-constructors of language teacher identity were: wider discourses of Japanese society, the institution of EJPU, students, and the teachers themselves. This roughly reflects the Douglas Fir Group’s (2016) three level (macro, meso, and micro) model of examining identity.

10.1.1 Japanese society as co-constructor of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” identities

Although the influence of wider society, both within the borders of Japan and beyond, can be seen to permeate all of the actors outlined above, and although “society” is an opaque concept, I believe that it should be seen as an important co-constructor of identity.

One way that wider Japanese (and global) society acts as a co-constructor of identity is through the dissemination of dominant ideologies, or discourses. In the case of this RQ, it is specifically native-speakerist ideologies that I am concerned with. One example of this can be seen in the case of T4. The final theme in T4’s case study deals with lack of confidence in her teaching ability, stemming from the fact that English is not her first language, which she believes prevents her from teaching it with all of her identity. This feeling may be interpreted as a direct result of native-speakerist discourse in Japan and around the world that posits “non-native speaker” teachers as deficient and unable to understand the language on a deep, intuitive level, which is key to “authentic” language use (Lowe & Pinner, 2016). Although explicit labels were resisted by T4, this self-discrimination and self-recrimination, although individually attributed to personality (by T4) is also a co-construction between herself and the deep-rooted discourse of native-speakerism.

A more direct example can be found in T5’s case study. Real world experiences of police harassment as a non-White, non-Japanese resident of Japan have constructed an identity of T5 as a “second-grade foreigner”. Similarly, despite his own statement of identity as being “a teacher” and a “global citizen”, the ELT industry in Japan, fuelled by native-speakerist discourse, constructs T5 as a third group behind “native speaker” teachers and Japanese English teachers. This marginalisation is based on a combination of visa and passport (police harassment), race, and linguistic status. This is manifested in a sense of powerlessness in the English teaching job market that will be explored further in RQ3.

10.1.2 EJPU as co-constructor of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” identities

Examples of the institution of EJPU explicitly shaping and constructing “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” identities are shown in T1’s case study. The Department Manager (DM), who had ultimate control over assigning classes, admitted that he had (unconsciously) never assigned a “*nihonjin*” (Japanese nationality) teacher to the advanced writing classes. In addition, T1 had been required to produce a whole new curriculum in order to prove that she was capable of teaching another advanced course, this is something that “native speaker” teachers did not need to do. This unconscious action on the part of the DM set up a separation, not between “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teachers, but

between “*nihonjin*” teachers and all others. This would suggest that the construction here was based on nationality, rather than race or linguistic status.

This assumption is backed up to some extent by T5’s case study. T5 referred to himself as “ready-made band-aid” and at the bottom of the hierarchy of teachers from the point of view of the institution, with the implication that all else being equal, he would be sidelined in favour of other teachers. This was summed up succinctly with the phrase: “I’m a Filipino and they’re not”. Although in both of these constructions, identities are delineated according to nationality, there is a key difference. In the case of the DM, he is dividing teachers into Japanese nationals on one side and all others on the other. Thus, he is treating those teachers from inner circle countries equally with teachers from other countries (like T3 [Italy] and T5 [Philippines]), except those from Japan.

The other side to this exclusion was the deliberate inclusion of Australian national T2, who was chosen by the DM to be the only teacher to give pre-booked one-to-one free talk sessions with students. T2 believed that he was chosen due to his friendly personality and outgoing demeanour. He was careful to point out however that this not necessarily a native-speakerist approach, drawing attention to another so-called “native speaker” colleague with an introverted personality that he believed could not do the same job. Although this is undoubtedly true, when taking into account wider social discourses, it seems that attributes such as being friendly and outgoing, which are seen as category-bound activities attributed to “native speaker” teachers and “foreigners” in general in Japan (Heimlich, 2013; Nagatomo, 2016) are seen as desirable by the department. Of course, it would be disingenuous to suggest that these are not desirable qualities in a number of jobs, however, by the department making it explicit in this instance it is potentially sending a message that fun and outgoing teachers are preferred. This may have the effect of burdening other teachers with the expectation of being fun and outgoing, pressuring them to be a “professional foreigner” (Heimlich, 2013), regardless of their own personality or pedagogical ideals. Although, it is impossible to conclude that T2 was chosen for this role due to his constructed identity as a “native speaker” teacher, rather than his individual personality, the native-speakerist discourse surrounding his appointment make it difficult to imagine a teacher seen as a “non-native speaker” being given the role. This is evidenced in the Teachers’ hometown maps that inspired this research project (see chapter 1), that implied that students would not be interested in the background and personal lives of Japanese teachers, as well as in the requirements of the marketing department (see below). With direct reference to Office Hour sessions, a story told by Yusuke (Japanese English teacher in the department) as outlined in the pilot study

(Lawrence, 2020), of a campus open day guide apologising to potential students for the fact that a “native speaker” teacher was not at the Office Hour session that day, supports this tentative conclusion.

Aside from the DM, the other powerful operator in the institution of EJPU was the marketing department, who were instrumental in setting a native-speakerist tone. This native-speakerism appeared to divide along similar lines to the Department Manager with Japanese teachers being excluded from marketing materials, and unconventionally attired (in terms of acceptance in Japanese society and the conservative confines of a public institution) “foreignness” being promoted. For T1 this was indicated in a feeling of being excluded from promotional material for the department due to the fact that she is Japanese. This intuition was confirmed by the DM who dealt directly with the marketing department. It was also apparent in the front page of the website for the department, which featured a White male teacher engaging in conversation with female students.

The other side of the marketing department’s influence could be seen in T2’s case study. In the interview it was revealed that T2 had been used as the face of the department brand in its advertising to potential students. This decision is despite the fact that his appearance (long hair, colourful casual shirts, unkempt facial hair) does not match the clean-cut ideal usually used in advertising, especially for a public institution like EJPU, which often have a tendency to be conservative. T2 saw this as EJPU promoting a “worldly, fun, open” image of the university, which the institution best saw as being represented by a non-Japanese, “native speaker” teacher with a visibly outgoing personality. This branding promoted English study at EJPU as a fun activity enacted by “foreigners”, rather than as a serious field of study for university students, which can be seen as EJPU upholding and perpetuating a native-speakerist ideology for prospective students.

The repercussions of this native-speakerist ideology are that students that engage with these marketing materials will arrive at EJPU with a set of expectations of the RE department and the teachers working within it. If these expectations are not met, they might feel a certain disappointment, which puts pressure on the department to ensure that the students’ expectations match what they have been sold. This is especially true in the current neo-liberal era in Japan where an increasing number of tertiary institutions are competing for a dwindling student base. Taking an intersectional perspective, T2’s apparent (from the point of view of EJPU) membership of the broad categories of White, male, native speaker, young, and extrovert place him in a privileged position compared to other teachers that may be seen as having a different combination of identity markers. However, it is the institution of EJPU

that holds the power in this dynamic, not T2. At present he embraces these aspects of his identity and sees them as a strength and an advantage, however this has the potential to change as his career progresses and his identity shifts, as seen in the narratives of Lowe's (In press) "long-term sojourners" (Copland et al., 2020) who became disillusioned with and ultimately resentful of the role of "professional foreigner" (Heimlich, 2013) and the pressure to be outgoing and fun.

10.1.3 Students as co-constructor of "native speaker"/"non-native speaker" identities

The third group that exerted a powerful influence in the co-construction of teacher identities were the students of the participants. Although each student interacted with their teacher and expressed opinions as an individual, it is important to see each student as a product (to a certain extent) of wider societal discourse in order to understand where the individual behaviour may stem from.

T3's case study presented a striking example of racialised, native-speakerist discourse that co-constructed him into a label that differed from his own identity claim. Based on racial phenotypes of Whiteness as a proxy for "native speaker" (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013), T3's students claimed a "native speaker" "atmosphere" surrounding him, despite the fact that they were aware of his Italian nationality, and his observed teaching style which did not fit stereotypical notions of "native speaker" pedagogy. This was in contrast to T3's own identification as a "bilingual English teacher" who resisted being labelled into a "native speaker"/"non-native speaker" category.

This racialised view of national belonging, was also expressed by students of T2 who linked being a "*gaikokujin*" (foreigner) to language use as well as facial features, specifically the nose. This distinction can be linked to wider social discourse which conflates nationality with language and racial phenotypes in its designation of "Japanese" and "gaijin". Although stemming from nationalist *nihonjinron* ideology, this mindset is part of mainstream thinking and is manifested on prime-time TV programmes (TV Tokyo, n.d.)

This racialised view would seem to mirror the dichotomization of Japanese/all others that was apparent in the co-construction of identity by EJPU, however, there is a clear hierarchy in the minds of the students that put American and Canadian teachers at the top, followed by British, then Japanese with pronunciation that was not "Japanese English", and finally teachers from other countries (see Case Study 5). This hierarchy was recognized by the non-White, non-Japanese teacher who was not from an inner circle country (T5), but vehemently denied by the White, non-Japanese teacher who was also not from an inner circle

country (T3), who unconsciously aligned himself with inner circle teachers as he was making the denial (“*No, my students see me as an English teacher 100%, they don't have any sort of thought about whether I come from Italy, I come from Australia, United States or UK*” T3 Teacher Interview Extract 1). This suggests that race is an important intersecting factor in the discursive co-construction of teacher identities in terms of “native speaker”/non-native speaker” status by students.

In addition, pronunciation and accent were also seen as significant factors in constructing teacher legitimacy. For T5, having an accent that was “close to American” enabled him to “hide” other aspects of his identity that may be seen in a negative light (i.e., his race, nationality and linguistic status), whilst for T1 the same attribute forced her into maintaining a certain identity (that of a pseudo “native speaker”) that she was keen to distance herself from. For T5’s students however, the intersection of his race and nationality appeared to impact how they perceived his accent. Without being able to articulate a clear difference, one student vaguely stated that it was “*なんか* (something) different from American”. This perception of difference may have been influenced by his race and their knowledge of his nationality, which led to T5 being labelled as “半分(half) native”. This co-construction of T5’s teacher identity as “半分(half) native” can be linked to discourses of the idealized “native speaker” as being White (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013), possessing a traditionally Anglophile name (Ali, 2009), and speaking with a recognized inner circle country accent (Jeon, 2013). The fact that T5 only embodied one (or nearly one) of these factors (his accent) made him a less than ideal teacher for his students. Contrasting T5’s identity construction with that of T3 shows that Whiteness trumps all other factors in terms of students’ identity construction of teachers.

10.1.4 Teachers as constructors of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” identities

The final actors in the construction of teacher identities are the teachers themselves. Resistance and embracing of identities will be dealt with in RQ2, but there were also instances of teachers acting as the key constructor of their own identity.

In T5’s case, his reluctance to draw on his own personal background as pedagogical material was in contrast to T2, who used his knowledge of Japan to compare and contrast with customs, traditions and laws in his home country of Australia. It was also in direct contrast to the students reports of American teacher Daniel (see pilot study, Lawrence, 2020) using Christmas in America as part of his teaching repertoire. T5’s students indicated that

they were not interested in Filipino culture, but attributed this to T5's less-friendly personality, implying that if he had been more friendly, they may have been interested. This seemingly contradictory stance on the part of the students is difficult to interpret in any concrete way, as it is difficult to ascertain their motives for adopting this position.

The stance taken by students here puts T5 (and other teachers seen as “non-native” and non-Japanese) into a difficult position. In order to be seen as friendly, according to the students' criteria, it is important for teachers to share personal aspects of their life and their cultural background. However, it appears that they are only interested in the personal lives and cultural backgrounds of teachers from Western countries. This interest in Western culture can be seen as part of the well-documented phenomenon of *akogare* in Japan, which is usually translated as “desire” or “longing” for an idealized version of the West as it is portrayed in the media. It can encompass abstract ideas of freedom and individuality as well as sexual desire for (mostly) Western men and is usually associated with young Japanese women (Bailey, 2006; Kobayashi, 2018; Kubota, 2011).

10.2 Research Question 2

- What identities do individual teachers construct for themselves and to what extent do they embrace or resist identity co-construction?

By exploring acceptance of and resistance to identity co-construction, this RQ focuses largely on the tension between structure and agency, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (see section 2.1.1). I have taken note of Block's (2022) warning on the imbalance in the treatment of structure and agency in the literature and will attempt to give equal attention to both. Although, I found Block's (2022) model of structuring spheres (see Chapter 2 for a brief outline) useful as a starting point for thinking about the way our lives are structured and our agency restricted, I found it too complex to apply to my own analysis as a whole. However, certain aspects of it will be referred to briefly during the course of this discussion. In terms of agency, I will be following other poststructuralist scholars (e.g., Kayi-Aydar, 2015, 2019; Rogers & Wetzel, 2013; Tao & Gao, 2021) in treating agency as a discursive practice, starting from Marx's assertion that “people make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past” (Marx, 1972, p. 437 cited in Block, 2022, p. 64 *corrected for gender reference*).

In order to answer this RQ, I will break the question down to its three constituent parts and tackle each part in turn. For the first part I will focus solely on the agentic actions of the participants, leaving a more balanced investigation of agency and structure for the remaining two parts.

10.2.1 What identities do individual teachers construct for themselves?

There were a wide range of self-identifiers given by the five participants in this study, however, there were certain similarities between teachers that may assist in drawing more general conclusions about the nature of discursive identity construction in the Japanese ELT context.

The most striking similarities were the identity claims made by T3 and T5. Although different in terms of race and nationality, both T3 (White, Italian) and T5 (Asian, Filipino) fall into the positivist definition of non-Japanese, “non-native speaker” that this study is attempting to deconstruct. Both teachers strongly distanced themselves from either a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” label, instead referring to themselves as “global citizens” at some point during my interviews with them. Constructing identities for themselves as “global citizens” can be seen as way to assert positive affirmation of their teacher identities. This personal affirmation points to an awareness of their perceived lower status in the hierarchy of English teachers in Japan (directly and explicitly so in the case of T5, and in a general sense of awareness of native-speakerist discourse for T3) and a conscious effort to construct their own alternative (positive) definition of themselves. However, they appear to be approaching this distancing from different directions. For T5 the purpose is to be seen as a legitimate English teacher in a context where “non-native”, non-Japanese teachers are seen as being lower status. In the case of T3, it may be a way of distancing himself from being seen as just an English teacher (which the Houghton & Rivers [2013] definition of native-speakerism points towards), as he attempts to position himself as a serious academic.

T3 and T5 were the only participants who labelled themselves as “global citizens”, however, there were other crossovers in identity self-construction that were shared by T1, T3, T4, and T5 and different combinations of this set of teachers. One example of shared self-identification is between T1 and T3, who both categorized themselves as “emerging bilingual” (T1) or “bilingual” (T3) when asked how they identified. By focusing purely on their linguistic expertise, T1 and T3 distance themselves from nationality and race, which are the main elements evoked when constructing ideals of “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” teachers.

Another common way to construct their own teacher identity was to place emphasis on being a teacher first and foremost, which was seen in the Case Studies of T1, T5 and to a certain extent, T3. T5 emphatically described himself as “a teacher...a professional teacher who can contribute...equal with others” and for T1 the first part of her answer when asked how she identified as a teacher was “I’m a language teacher, an English teacher and I love it”. Although, it may seem obvious to foreground being a teacher when asked how they identified as a teacher, this was not necessarily the case for the T2 (White, Australian), and may be construed as a performative rejection of other identity categories that may be seen in terms of deficit, such as race and “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” status.

In T2’s Case Study it was his uncompromised, unconventional style (long hair, colourful shirts, facial hair) that was foregrounded in the identity that he constructed for himself as a teacher (“*not just the fact that I’m young, maybe the fact that I’ve got a moustache and a man-bun and I wear Hawaiian shirts*” T2 Interview Extract 2). His personal style is perhaps only an extension of one aspect of his own personality and personal identity that he brings into his teacher identity. However, it is one that he is able to construct successfully. T2 successfully positioned himself as an outsider with inside knowledge of the local context, community and language. His outsider knowledge (of his home country of Australia) was employed strategically as a teaching aid and put forward with confidence. In contrast to this, his insider knowledge was stated firmly but respectfully, using hedging strategies and adding caveats as to the provenance and accuracy of his knowledge.

The examples summarised here show the participants exercising agency and constructing their teacher identities in a number of different ways. T1, T3 (to a certain extent) and T5’s construction of themselves as a teacher first echo the participants in Vitanova’s (2018) study who asserted themselves as teachers while negotiating racialized and gendered discourses. Similarly, T1 and T3’s emphasis on being bilingual acted as an “agentive resource” (Wernicke, 2018) that allowed them to circumvent other labels such as “native speaker”/“non-native speaker”. As mentioned above, this may be seen as being performative to some extent, and points to an awareness by the participants of the negative connotations of the “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” label. This is shown by T1’s statement that “*I really feel like getting rid of all the categories and labels that we tend to assume*” (T1 Interview Extract 2), and T3’s vociferous condemnation of these labels as “*a stupid concept*” (T3 Interview Extract 1).

As with Ishihara et al’s (2018) study of JET teachers in Japan using knowledge of the local culture and language to enact their agency, T2’s teacher identity as an outsider with

inside knowledge allowed him to present himself as a multi-faceted, transnational English teacher. An intersectional reading of this may argue that other identity markers such as being a White male from an inner circle country with relative job security, allowed him the privilege to be able to construct this identity without fear of censure or damage to his career. For example, T2's agency here can be contrasted to T5's experience of being reluctant to incorporate his Filipino background into his lessons as part of the presentation of his identity.

10.2.2 How do individual teachers embrace identity co-construction?

The clearest example of a teacher embracing the identity that was co-constructed with his students, EJPU and wider Japanese society was Teacher 2. T2 claimed a teacher identity that was a “motivator” (as opposed to a “slave driver”, as he put it) and positioned his “game show” classroom style as a positive that facilitated learning and enjoyment for his students. This stance is in line with wider native-speakerist discourse in Japan and complements the co-construction of his identity by students and the institution. The expanded definition of native-speakerism put forward by Houghton and Rivers (2013) (see Chapter 2 Section 2.3) outlines the struggle of “native speaker” teachers (especially in the Japanese context) to be taken seriously as teachers, and the role that is constructed for them of “professional foreigner” (Heimlich, 2013). Thus, on the micro level of student interaction and classroom practice, as well as on the meso level of his role in the institution, T2 turns Houghton and Rivers' deficits into assets to be proud of. This is justified by T2 who prioritises the needs of his students as being more important than the fact that it may create a negative perception of “native speaker” teachers (including T2 himself) as not “real” teachers. As T2 put it when he was told by a mentor not to run his classes like a game show: “And he's wrong... Because it should be fucking fun! If they're learning and are motivated and they walk away with a positive experience then I'm right.” (Teacher 2 Interview Extract 6).

Another teacher that embraced the teacher identity constructed for her by her students was T4. By accepting the role of “obasan” (old lady), “urusai obasan” (interfering old lady) and “okaasan” (mother) that she perceived as having been given to her by students in recent years as she has aged, like T2, she turns potential negative identity constructions into positive aspects of her teacher identity. These discursive constructions are a product of the intersection of gender and age, and are not unique to the Japanese context where this study took place, but can be seen as the result of global structures of patriarchy (Weedon, 1997). However, rather than resist these ascriptions, T4 chose to embrace the nurturing positive discourse of the “okaasan” (mother) role as beneficial to sensitive, particularly female,

students. Similarly, she emphasized the usefulness of her long experience to the identity role of “obasan”, and even positively embraced the category of “urusai obasan” (interfering old lady) by stating that it allowed her to give advice to her students. In terms of the Douglas Fir Group (2016) three levels, the example of T4 appears to be a combination of micro and macro factors meshing together to co-construct, along with a willing T4, a gendered and age-determined teacher identity. Or in Block’s (2022) terms, it is a combination of deep social, sociocultural, and multimodal event structuring spheres that contributed to the co-construction, again, in tandem with T4’s agentic decision to embrace these structures. Although, it may be argued that she has little choice in the matter of how she is perceived.

10.2.3 How do individual teachers resist identity co-construction?

In contrast to these examples of identity constructions being embraced by participants, there were more examples of teachers resisting identity co-constructions. These “site(s) of struggle over power” (Weedon, 1997, p. 21) capture the point of tension between structure and agency, with mixed results regarding the success of individual efforts to resist. The interactional confusion that occurred between myself and most of the participants when I asked them to describe their identities could be seen as a concrete indicator of this tension.

For, T1, despite the fact that she is Japanese, her English fluency, American accent, and open and personal teaching style led to her being seen by her students as “almost native speaker”. Once this “pseudo-American” teacher identity had been initiated it became self-perpetuating and was difficult to break free from. However, by aligning herself with her students (see Theme 3 in Case Study 1) and explicitly stating her origins and self-designated linguistic status, she was able to resist the unwanted identity co-construction of being “almost native speaker” and replace it with that of an “emerging bilingual” English teacher. In addition, T4 played an instrumental role in resisting stereotypes of “native speaker” teachers as monolingual outsiders. This was done by freely translanguaging using English and Japanese during our research interview and calling on me as a source of localised knowledge in the classroom observation.

T3 and T5 both resisted being categorised as either “native speaker” or “non-native speaker”, preferring instead to present themselves as “global citizens”. This resistance was successful in their own self-identification, and to a certain extent with the institution too, due to the fact that they were seen as separate from Japanese teachers. However, it was less successful in terms of identity co-construction with their students. For T3, despite explicitly identifying himself as Italian, his Whiteness served as a proxy for “native speaker” (Kubota

& Fujimoto, 2013) and he was perceived as such. In T5's case, his nationality and race put him in the category of “半分(half) native” in the minds of his students.

10.3 Research Question 3

- What is the role of Intersectionality in the discursive construction of teacher identities?

In this final research question, I will explore the impact of intersecting aspects of identity categorisation in constructing language teacher identities. I will do this by focusing on each participant in turn and exploring how different aspects of co-constructed identity weaved together to produce new identities and positionalities. As with any intersectional analysis, I will give prominence to the contextual organisation of power that is created by intersecting identity constructions (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Collins, 2019) as they were seen in the data. In order to answer this question, I will be forced to use broad identity categories that may work to undermine the painstaking work that the previous RQs have done to portray identities as unfixed and co-constructed. In the following analysis, all references to broad identity categories should be treated as temporary discursive products of the data, rather than fixed absolutes.

10.3.1 Teacher 1

In T1's identity construction there was a complex intersection of social class, gender, age, linguistic status, accent, nationality, and race that produced an ambivalent power dynamic, which instilled her with confidence in her position as a university teacher at the same time as marginalising her.

Although her social class (elite upbringing in an academic family) helped to give T1 a feeling of confidence and having the right to occupy the academic space that she was in, this privileged starting position was offset by a self-perception of being an “incomplete version”, that was due to her constructed identity as a Japanese “non-native speaker” teacher. This intersection produced a new identity of a determined teacher who was fighting to prove her competence, but who was doing so from a position of powerlessness.

The feeling of incompleteness was further compounded and turned into marginalization by the addition of race. Although her race was not a factor in why she was excluded from teaching certain courses, it was a key part, combined with being seen as a “non-native speaker”,

of her exclusion from the promotional activities of the department. Additionally, although it was not directly seen in the data extracts presented, being one of only a small number of female teachers in the department, as well as being one of the youngest teachers, added further marginalised axes to her intersectional identity that meant that she was often hesitant to speak out in meetings that were dominated by older, “native speaker”, male teachers, creating a hierarchy of power with T1 near the bottom. However, it could be argued that her Japanese nationality and language skill afforded her opportunities and responsibilities that were not available to some of the other participants. For example, assisting with examinations and demonstrating classes for high school teachers gave T1 a certain prominence in the department.

10.3.2 Teacher 2

In the case of T2, broad intersecting (co-)constructed identities of being a (relatively) young, White, male, “native speaker” with an outgoing personality aligned to produce an idealized form of English teacher that is valued by the institution of EJPU, as well as by his students. However, it prevented him from being fully accepted into Japanese society.

T2’s outgoing personality, which was also manifested in a casual appearance and colourful dress sense, intersected with race (White) and linguistic status (“native speaker” from the Inner Circle country of Australia) to construct an idealized teacher identity in Japan. This idealized form meant that his classes were seen as fun and distinct from the difficult and boring classes the students experienced in high school, this was despite the fact that T2 included similar classroom activities, such as vocabulary memorisation.

The addition of age (young) and gender (male) identity markers to the already powerful combination of outgoing/White/“native speaker” made him an especially valuable asset to the PR department as a representative of a “worldly, fun, open” approach to English. Despite the privileged position in the department this intersectional identity gave him in the workplace, this privilege was not transferred wholly to wider Japanese society. In his daily life he found that the intersection of his race and language status marked him out as a visible foreigner that he saw as preventing him from being fully accepted as a legitimate member of Japanese society. However, it should be noted that in T2’s case no direct discrimination was reported (see T5 below), which may be seen as a result of his status as a White foreigner in Japan.

10.3.3 Teacher 3

For T3, although the consequences of intersecting identities were less immediately obvious, it was the intersection of race (White) and gender (male) that had the most direct outcome.

Although T3's background of being born in Italy, with Italian as first language would in many contexts categorise him as a "non-native speaker" of English. In the context of a higher education institution in Japan, the intersecting identities of being White and male provided enough of the idealized image of "native speaker" English teacher "atmosphere" for his students to categorize him as a "native speaker". This categorisation occurred despite his students being informed directly about his background by T3, the presence of distinct and pronounced Italian-accented English, and an authoritarian teaching style more usually associated with Japanese English teachers. Also, a third intersecting identity element was that of being "non-Japanese". Although T1 and T3 may, in a different context, both be considered as "non-native speakers", unlike T1, T3 was not excluded from teaching any classes due to the fact that he was categorised by the DM as non-Japanese. This allowed him to retain his authority as a competent and legitimate teacher in the department, taking his place in the hierarchy of power alongside T2, and above T1.

However, as with T2, and despite his academic credentials, again this did not result in any concrete power advantage either within the department itself, or within the institution.

10.3.5 Teacher 4

As illustrated in the Discussion section of T4's Case Study, her co-constructed identity is through a complex balance of gender, age, nationality, and "non-native speaker" status.

T4's changing teacher identity as she ages to that of "*okaasan*" (mother), "*obaasan*" (old lady) and "*urusai obaasan*" (interfering old lady), is a product of the intersection of age and gender in a patriarchal society that places women in certain roles. On the one hand this may be seen as demeaning and discriminatory, however it allows T4 to adopt a nurturing, concerned and caring role that places T4 in an advisory role to her students, which was not always available between students and younger, "native speaker" teachers.

Rather than compounding either privilege (T2) or oppression, much like T1, the intersection of T4's nationality and language status produces an ambivalent identity. On the one hand, she perceives herself as deficient in teaching and language skills, comparing herself to an impossible native-speakerist ideal, but on the other her Japanese nationality and language knowledge (along with the administrative skills she obtained during her time working in corporate Japan) helped her to achieve a senior teacher role in the department. Thus, although she does not value her own teaching skills due her language skills and status, she is valued by her students based on the intersection of her age and gender, and also valued by EJPU due to the skills that her background as well as nationality and language status bring.

10.3.6 Teacher 5

T5's intersectional identity was made up of a complex interplay between his race, nationality, language status, accent, and gender, which placed him low on the hierarchy of English teachers in Japan and rendered him powerless in the ELT job market as well as Japanese society.

T5's race (South East Asian) and nationality (Filipino) marked him out as a foreign Other in Japanese society with a potentially problematic visa status. This led to police harassment and a feeling of being a "second-grade foreigner". In the ELT field the same intersection of identities, with the addition of being seen as a "non-native speaker" led to a difficulty in securing employment commensurate with his qualifications and experience. In the classroom, his "almost American" accent helped him to "hide" other parts of his identity to some extent, but it was not enough to affect his low standings in the perceived hierarchy of teachers. In addition, the potential advantage of his gender identity (male), which acted as a positive intersectional identity point for T2 and T3 was neutralised by the intersectional identity of Filipino/"non-native speaker"/non-Japanese. In this study, T5's intersectional identity can be seen to have the least power and lowest perceived value.

Chapter 11

11.1 Conclusions, implications and limitations of the study

In terms of the premise laid out in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3) regarding the construction of “native/non-native” teacher identity and the debate surrounding the theory of native-speakerist identity discourse, the results of this study suggest a possible new way forward, but on the micro level only.

The answer to RQ1, how and by whom “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” teacher identities are constructed in the context of the research site, is a complex and intricate interplay between macro, meso and micro social interactions. When different identities were co-constructed on a macro and meso level it tended to build one-dimensional, stereotyped identities built on grand narratives (Holliday & Amadasi, 2020; Holliday, 2022). Powerful discourses wielded by those with power, i.e., institutions, were able to set macro-level demographic identities (Bucholtz & K. Hall, 2005), such as “native speaker”, “non-native speaker” and local ethnographically specific cultural positions (Bucholtz & K. Hall, 2005), “Japanese”, “non-Japanese”, which were accompanied by a set of behavioural expectations.

These institutionally co-constructed teacher identities were embraced and resisted to differing degrees by different teachers in the study. In most cases, participants avoided a “native speaker” or “non-native speaker” label. The two non-Japanese, non-inner circle participants (T3 and T5) positioned themselves as “global citizens”, whilst others focused on their bilingualism (T1 and T3) and still others their identity as a teacher (T4 and T5). Race was also recognised as a key part of their identities in the Japanese context, this was communicated as an advantage by T2 and a strong disadvantage by T5. Although, the inner circle teacher (T2) embraced his positioning as a “native speaker” and used it as a strength to serve the needs of his students, he did not directly invoke it himself.

These identity constructions often, but not always, had powerful effects on both the personal and professional identities of the participants. On a personal level, this effect ranged from feelings of inferiority (T1, T4, T5) to police harassment on the streets of Tokyo (T5). In the professional sphere the impact could be felt by teachers being excluded from teaching certain courses (T1), to being the only teacher offered a certain class (T2), to settling for being forced to accept jobs they were overqualified for (T5).

It was at the micro level of interaction where the most nuance was found, pointing the way forward for the possibility of change from the ground up. For example, some teachers

exercised agency in positively laying claim to (emerging) bilingual identities (T1, T3) and explicitly resisted being portrayed as a pseudo-“native speaker” (T1) by their students. Others used the opportunity of student interaction to display their knowledge of local laws and culture (T2) in attempts to establish themselves as valid members of Japanese society. In T4’s case, she used her position to naturalise multi/translingualism and position the White, non-Japanese researcher as a valid resident, local expert and speaker of Japanese.

Another key finding of the study was the importance of the intersection of a range of identity markers on the co-construction of teacher identities. For some teachers in the study, a combination of nationality and gender was a key part of their identity construction (T1, T2, T4), as was age, gender and nationality (T4). At other points race proved to be a decisive factor in identity construction (T2, T3, T5), combining with looks and style (T2), as well as nationality (T5) and pronunciation (T5). Additionally, social class was also found to be a contributing factor, both in terms of advantage and privilege (T1) as well as hardship and struggle (T5).

11.2 Situating the results of the study within the current field – Native-speakerism

Taking inspiration from Weedon’s (1997) persuasive case for a poststructuralist approach towards feminist practice, I would argue that a similar structuralist theoretical and methodological approach is necessary in order to combat the pervasive and pernicious influence of native-speakerism in the ELT industry. As with patriarchy in Weedon’s (1997) analysis, it is the insidious nature of native-speakerist discourses appearing as the natural order of things, which makes them difficult to tackle (this is also the main premise of Marx’s conception of ideology, as well as Bourdieu’s [1991] notion of *méconnaissance*, or misrecognition, see also Kramsch [2021]). Nevertheless, using a poststructuralist framework, “it is possible to demonstrate where they come from, whose interests they support, how they maintain sovereignty and where they are susceptible to specific pressures for change” (Weedon, 1997, p. 169). By using a poststructuralist framework, together with the practical tools of Membership Categorisation Analysis and intersectionality, I have attempted to do just this in this study.

As the findings above indicate, the native-speakerist discourses in this study largely came from wider social discourses, formed in the specific social-historical context of Japan. As I explained in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, this discourse formation has occurred over more than a century and is the result of deliberate government educational policy (*kokusaika* or internationalisation) (McVeigh, 2006), as well as popular right-wing media and discourse

(*nihonjinron* or theory of the Japanese) (Befu, 2001; Dale, 1986). This ideology is based largely on conceptions of differences between nations and people, resulting in the Othering of those not perceived to be Japanese (*kokusaika*), as well as notions of Japanese uniqueness (*nihonjinron*) that places race and language at the heart of identity (Toh, 2013, 2015). In this study, this pervasive discourse was found to have produced a dichotomy between those perceived as Japanese and all others. Within the category of all others there was a hierarchy with White, Western teachers from inner circle countries at the top.

So far, these findings are in line with previous literature surrounding ideology and the idea of English in Japan (Seargeant, 2009), the “native speaker” as referent, entity, and project in Japan (Toh, 2013), as well as more recent studies by Nagatomo (see Nagatomo 2020 for an overview of her studies) and Lowe (2020a). Nagatomo’s work, mostly focused on gender, found a clear demarcation between Japanese and non-Japanese, with non-Japaneseness (as well as gender) emerging as a key part of professional identities (Nagatomo, 2016). In Lowe’s (2020a) work, the macro co-construction of identity through native-speakerist discourses is conceptualized as the “native speaker frame”, which he defines as “a perceptual filter used to view the ELT industry through the lens of the Western “native speaker” and the educational technology and values such a speaker is thought to embody” (Lowe, 2020a, p. 70). It also refers to those who are perceived to be “native speakers”, wherein every action is interpreted as being in some way connected to the fact that they are a “native speaker”. The present study confirms that macro elements of identity co-construction are still strong in creating racial hierarchies of power in which “race, language, nationality and other social categories intersect in complex ways in social interactions” (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013, p. 204).

In this study, these native-speakerist discourses were found to be maintained by the institution of EJPU. The discourses were partly enacted by the management of the department (although it should be remembered that although he is a very long-term resident of Japan, the Department Manager is an American national) in the allocation of classes, and more strongly by the marketing department in their use of White, male teachers as a proxy for a fun, open worldly atmosphere. It was also upheld by the students and also the teachers themselves. On the student’s part it was done by bringing to the classroom naturally absorbed concepts and biases that did not change even when presented with contrary evidence and in some cases creating a cognitive dissonance around their classroom experiences (for example, T2’s students’ dismissal of vocabulary tests set by T2, as well as T3’s students claim of a “native speaker” “atmosphere”, despite his more traditional teaching style).

Again, these findings are largely congruent with previous Japan-based research that revealed institutional discrimination against Japanese teachers in the form of being excluded from teaching certain classes (Hooper, Oka & Yamazawa, 2020). Similarly, there is well-documented evidence of White, male teachers being used for marketing purposes, even resulting in race-based wage discrimination based on this (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013). The new element that this study brings to the institutional perpetuation of native-speakerism and the active co-construction and maintenance of explicitly “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identities, is to identify clearly the instigators of the construction and the way in which it is maintained. In this case, the department administration, the department manager and the marketing department could all be seen to use their institutional power and authority to perpetuate native-speakerist discourses. This was done through a combination of (unconscious) “cultural disbelief” (Holliday, 2015) in the teaching capacities of Japanese teachers that excluded local teachers, and racial discrimination that privileged White, “foreigners” and excluded those who were phenotypically Japanese. Additionally, in their interactions with the participants in the study these institutional representatives were key co-constructors of their professional identities as English teachers. Due to the power they wielded, these three elements were able to exert considerable influence. This influence was one part of how this native-speakerist discourse was maintained, the other was by a sense of how the discourse was seen as natural on the part of the teachers and students. In some instances, it was an acceptance that the status quo was “given” (T2), in others, elements of the “grateful foreigner” (Gulliver, 2010) and visa concerns (T5) helped to maintain the discourse and cement identities.

The final micro level of analysis is the main area in which this study departs from, or at least extends on, prior studies, to show a nuanced and highly complex interplay between the participants and their students and colleagues to reveal a complex array of identity co-construction that involved intersecting elements of identity including race, gender, age, nationality, and pronunciation.

The ‘outsider with inside knowledge’ that was seen in T2 in this study mirrors that of the “long-term sojourners” (p. 349) in Copland et al.’s (2020) multi-site study that had a good understanding of the local language and culture. However, the study was limited by focusing on “native speaker” teacher identity solely, and restricting identity references to the classroom. By taking into account the wider social context, the present study was able to ascertain that T2’s positioning, which does “not fit into common conceptions of NESTs in terms of either behaviour or identity” (Copland et al., p. 368), was the product of a desire to belong and be a valid resident. The fact that to attempt to do so required this extra effort suggests that he has

faced difficulties in being accepted as a full member of Japanese society. Additionally, by factoring in other identity elements, such as the fact that he is a White male in a department dominated by White men (at least in terms of numbers, and possibly also power) this study also goes further than other studies to suggest that these intersecting elements allow him a certain leeway to perform his preferred identity and the space to show his bicultural identity.

Similarly, in recent years, work examining gender discrimination in Japanese higher education has started to emerge. However, this has mostly been based on non-Japanese female teachers and scholars (e.g., Nagatomo, 2016, the various contributors to Nagatomo, Brown & Cook, 2020), including my own work in this area (Nagashima & Lawrence, 2021). In the present study, the two female participants were both Japanese nationals, which added further nuance to the analysis of the identities that were being co-constructed. In the case of T1, it was seen that social class and knowledge of the local academic landscape acted to offset (to a certain extent), the marginalization that she experienced as a female “non-native speaker” in a male, “native speaker”-dominated department, in an institution that favoured “native speaker” English teachers. In the case of T4, this study showed the effect of the intersection of gender and age in how identity was constructed at the micro level, an area of identity study that has not yet been fully explored in the literature.

Socioeconomic class factors were also a part of T5’s discursively constructed teacher identity. Here we could see how the intersection between social class, nationality and race can combine together to become a motivator to achieve professional goals, as well as serving to inculcate a personal philosophy that prioritised education as a way out of poverty. It also affected his interactions with students and his teacher identity in that he gave short shrift to superficial excuses from students that were learning English in comparative privilege to his own experiences. These findings in many ways align with the narratives of Filipino English teachers in Japan explored by Stewart (2020). Stewart’s persuasive uptake of “recognition theory” (Honneth, 2014) to explain the simultaneous prejudice and pride felt by her participants, and her intersectional approach, could be applied to T5 in the present study. However, I would reject Stewart’s rejection of poststructuralism as not being adequately equipped to identify and advocate for social justice, as she claims. As I have mentioned elsewhere in this paper, the principled poststructuralism employed in this study, that draws directly from Weedon’s (1997) feminist poststructuralism, sees the methodology as being able to “offer an explanation of where our experience comes from, why it is contradictory or incoherent and why and how it can change” (Weedon, 1997, p. 40), making it amenable to identifying and tackling social justice.

Other broad identity markers that are related to native-speakerist concepts to emerge in this study were connected to nationality and pronunciation. A study by Mishima (2017) found that different accents of English speakers were evaluated based on either intelligibility or authenticity (Lowe & Pinner, 2016), with each type reflecting the values or goals of the individual learner. In this study, although intelligibility was a factor, there was a high premium placed on authenticity, with those from inner circle countries seen as the most desirable and part of the teacher's identity as either a "native speaker", a "non-native speaker", or something in-between. In the in-between category, Japanese teachers with perceived native-like pronunciation were valued higher than non-Japanese, non-native speaker teachers, and Japanese teachers with perceived Japanese-like pronunciation were at the bottom. Thus, the intersection of race/nationality and pronunciation produced results that only focusing on pronunciation may not have. This aspect of the study contributes to recent work on "raciolinguistic perspective" (Rosa & Flores, 2017) by drawing this issue away from the US context and highlighting the fact that it can affect migrant populations in other contexts (such as Japan) too.

Finally, I hope that the results of this study and the tools and approaches taken to carry it out (linguistic ethnography, Membership Categorisation Analysis, poststructuralism, Intersectionality), are able to prompt a reconsideration of the way that native-speakerism is addressed around the world. By viewing native-speakerism as a pernicious discourse (much like patriarchy in Weedon's [1997] analysis), and "native speaker"/"non-native speaker" identities as discursively constructed, then it is possible to identify, deconstruct, and ultimately challenge this discourse and the way in which identities are (co)-constructed.

11.3 Situating the results of the study within the current field – Language Teacher Identity (LTI)

Although there is a great deal of overlap between studies of native-speakerism and the field of LTI, it is useful to also briefly state the contribution that this study makes to the general field of language teacher identity.

Even in the relatively short time since this project began in 2017, the field of LTI has proliferated greatly, with a large number of monographs (e.g., Gray & Morton, 2018; Block, 2022) edited books (e.g., Barkhuizen, 2017; Jain, Yazan & Canagarajah, 2021; Yazan & Rudolph, 2018) and journal articles published, including my own developing work (Lawrence, 2020; Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020; Nagashima & Lawrence, 2020; Nagashima & Lawrence, 2021). As is the case when any field experiences an explosion of interest and a burst of activity,

the result is an initially fragmented academic landscape. Although there is a general adherence to poststructuralist values in the majority of the literature, critical realism has also gained a foothold in the field (see Block, 2014, 2022), as well as Marxist interpretations (Block, 2022; Gray & Morton, 2018) and ideas drawn from the critical theory of the Frankfurt school (see Lowe, 2021). As well as an increase in the variety of epistemological, ontological and methodological stances, there has also been a concomitant increase in research on different aspects of LTI. For example, Queer LTIs (e.g., Moore, In press, C. Smith, 2020), gender and LTI (e.g., Nagatomo, 2016), race and LTI (e.g., Haye-Matsui, 2020) and transnational LTIs (see the various contributions to Jain, Yazan & Canagarajah, 2021) have all been the focus of recent studies. Although Block (2014, 2022) has called for more research into social class, so far there has been little direct study of it in relation to LTI. Similarly, despite calls for the need for more attention to intersectionality in LTI research (Block, 2014), to date there has been little evidence of this in the literature (although in my own work I have incorporated Intersectionality as an analytical approach: see Lawrence & Nagashima, 2020; Nagashima & Lawrence, 2021).

The present study has used a unique blend of analytical tools and methodological and epistemological approaches (linguistic ethnography, Membership Categorisation Analysis, poststructuralism, Intersectionality) to attempt to identify and deconstruct the process of discursive identity construction of language teachers. Although native speaker identity was foregrounded in the design of the study, other identity markers were also recognised and incorporated into the analysis as their relevance emerged from the data.

I hope that the outcomes of this study have been able to make a case for the usefulness of linguistic ethnography to the study of LTI. By using the tools of ethnography (interview, observation, fieldnotes, photos, institutional literature etc) I was able to get a wider picture of each participant than is possible in the usual interview format. This allowed me to piece together a more complete narrative of each participant's identity co-construction process from different angles, for example, by comparing and contrasting my own observations and interpretations of classroom interactions with the teachers' own perceptions and viewpoints. In turn I was able to compare and contrast these viewpoints with those of the participants' students and how they were portrayed by the institution.

Similarly, I also hope that this study is seen as a successful example of using Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) in LTI research. Other identity researchers in the field have recently advocated for Positioning Theory (PT) as a useful analytical tool in research design (Block, 2022; Kayi-Aydar, 2019). Although there are many similarities between the two

approaches, I believe that for this particular kind of context-specific ethnographic study that MCA can offer some advantages over PT. Whilst PT is more usually paired with narrative analysis and the stories that are told in interaction and interview (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), it lacks the systematic categorisation systems that MCA offers and is less nuanced in its approach to implicit and explicit categorisation (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). By attending to implicit as well as explicit references and categorisations in interaction, MCA allows the researcher to bring in their own understandings and knowledge of the field and context. In the present study, this was especially salient as I was able to utilise my own knowledge as an insider with shared cultural and linguistic knowledge with the participants to expose (shared) biases and understandings that may not necessarily have surfaced if the participants were forced to explicitly narrate their opinions and experiences.

In terms of theoretical underpinnings, I am personally very persuaded by the relevance and usefulness of Marxism and critical theory as epistemological and methodological approaches and hope to incorporate them into future research projects. However, I would like to make the case for a clearer understanding of the possibilities of poststructuralism that I hope this study has shown to be true. For example, poststructuralism is often caricatured as being only concerned with individualised, fragmented, identities, with the argument that if nothing is fixed and everything is open to interpretation, then any conclusions given (if given at all) are meaningless (see Block 2014 p. 14-19 on the perceived shortcomings of poststructuralism). However, as Pennycook (2021) points out (rightly in my opinion), “poststructuralism has a strong political pedigree...and has never promoted individualist accounts of people or agency (indeed quite the opposite)” (p. 14-15). In the case of the feminist poststructuralism that this study borrows heavily from, I think this is undoubtedly true. The co-constructed, multi-faceted identities captured here can be seen as modes of subjectivity (see McNamara, 2019 for a full-length treatment of language and subjectivity from a poststructuralist perspective), and as Weedon (1997) argues, “modes of subjectivity, like theories of society or versions of history, are temporary fixings in the ongoing process in which any absolute meaning or truth is constantly deferred” (p. 168). I believe that it is the task of applied linguistics and identity researchers to temporarily pin down the lived identities of teachers (and learners) in order to understand them and deconstruct them. It is only by doing so that we can start to challenge the discourses underlying the lived identities that lead to discrimination, marginalization and oppression.

11.4 Methodological, theoretical and practical implications of the study

In terms of methodological approaches to the study of identity and of native-speakerist discourses in the ELT and applied linguistics field, as stated above, this study makes a strong case for the importance of taking an ethnographic approach. In order to understand how various identities are constructed and maintained in different contexts, it seems clear that an in-depth survey of the research site and the main actors is necessary. Although teacher interviews (for example) can be useful in gleaning key information, they only represent one individual vantage point of the research site, and therefore cannot be completely taken at face value. For researchers interested in exploring and deconstructing identity construction it is necessary to compare and contrast empirically observed actions with the thoughts and perceptions of different actors in the observed scenario. Synthesising an array of ethnographic data sets allows researchers to evaluate different perceptions (including the researchers' own thoughts as captured by fieldnotes), which can then be interpreted by the researcher.

In addition, Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) offers a useful version of Conversation Analysis (CA) for researchers that are looking to include wider societal discourses and researcher knowledge in their analysis. MCA offers a softening of the tight restrictions of straight CA in which all knowledge is contained in the transcript. This is especially useful for identity researchers. By making implicit and explicit categorisations the main focus of the analytical stage, it is possible to clearly identify incidences of identity work.

As mentioned above, the main theoretical implications of the study are the continued usefulness of poststructuralism as a robust form of social theory that allows researchers to view identities as constantly shifting, discursively produced entities in which different aspects of identity can be backgrounded and foregrounded at different times. Recent critiques of poststructuralism see it being in denial of a concrete reality (e.g., Block, 2014) that exists in the real world, outside of academic theorising. In my view, the realist conception of society allows no room for change, empowerment and transformation. I believe that Weedon's (1997) explicitly feminist poststructuralism that this study embraces can be seen as a useful starting point for exploring and challenging dominant discourses and power structures in society. By viewing the role of the researcher as temporarily pinning down identities in order to deconstruct their genesis, and by paying attention to power relations, researchers are able to robustly explore oppressive discourses such as patriarchy, white supremacy, or in the case of the present study, native-speakerism.

Similarly, the implications for the field of the importance intersectionality may also be instructive for identity researchers, particularly in the ELT sphere. This study highlights the futility of attempting to extricate one identity aspect from the complex mass of identities that

form our constructed identities. In the ELT field, I hope that this study makes a strong case for perceptions of “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” identity to be included as one of the main axes of identity (alongside race, gender, sexuality and social class) in any intersectional explorations of English language teacher identity. The pervasiveness of native-speakerist discourses and the implicitly understood categorisation work that is evident in this study show that perceptions of native-speakerness represent a powerful discourse that can have a profound effect on how teacher identities are constructed in context. However, it is only when set against and alongside other identifiable categories that we can begin to understand the impact of identity construction and how they are affected by power structures.

Finally, the practical implications of the study may be useful for institutional stakeholders such as marketing departments and department managers, as well as students and teachers. In this study, the institution of the research site, in the guise of the marketing department who commission promotion videos and make decisions regarding who are what are featured on the department’s website, proved to be a very powerful force in creating and perpetuating native-speakerist discourses. Similarly, the department manager, who had sole discretion over allocation of classes was found to have an unconscious bias against the skills of the non- Japanese teachers in the department. Therefore, marketing departments and department managers should be made explicitly aware of native-speakerism issues as a standard part of ongoing professional development. Simply by raising awareness, we can begin to overcome some of the unconscious biases that exist.

For students, again, awareness-raising would be beneficial in challenging embedded discourses which are seen as natural. This can be done as part of listening or reading activities and followed up with discussion and debate. I have experimented with this proposed approach in my elective advanced learner classes over the last few semesters and received very positive feedback from the students (many of whom are training to be future English teachers).

Finally, teachers are the actors most affected by the implications of this study and have the most potential power to assert agency in either resisting or embracing discursively constructed identities. Based on the findings discussed above, I would recommend that teachers take active steps to share their experiences and concerns with other teachers. This can be done through more formal reflective practice groups, as well as less formal conversations with peers. As could be seen with Teacher 4, the experience of participating in research interviews gave her extra confidence and helped her feel more comfortable in her constructed identity of a “non-native speaker”. By breaking down the barriers that keep teachers isolated from even their closest colleagues, language teachers of all backgrounds can better find a positive space for

teacher identity co-construction, regardless of the influence of institutional and societal discourses.

11.5 Limitations of the present study and suggested directions for future research

One arguable limitation of the present study is that it only represents one single research site in one context, and that it only partially captures the experiences of a small group of pre-selected participants. In this way, it is difficult to extrapolate the findings out to other contexts and settings. However, the postmodern-tinged-with-critical-theory approach that this qualitative study takes would reject this critique on the basis that “the so-called facts ascertained by quantitative methods, which the positivists are inclined to regard as the only scientific ones, are often surface phenomena that obscure rather than disclose the underlying reality” (Horkheimer, 2013 [1947], p. 58). Instead, I see these traits as strengths. By focusing on a small number of participants, I have been able to uncover details and take account of a complex of interrelating factors in the (co)-construction of teacher identities, to uncover, an at least temporarily fixed, reality.

Another limitation, or perhaps personal regret, of the current study is its largely theoretical nature, which lacks immediate practical application. In terms of its aim in interrogating and deconstructing native-speakerist ideologies and teacher identities, I believe that it has been successful. However, the final practical stage of how to change and transform these deconstructed identities is missing. Developing a practical element to the study that included solutions to the discrimination and marginalisation uncovered would have elevated the study out of its academic bubble and given it greater significance and purpose. However, I hope that it has at least served to raise awareness of the constructed and intersectional nature of teacher identities and provided empirical evidence of the systemic nature of native-speakerism. In this sense, this study may help to point the field in the appropriate direction for more concrete reform.

One final limitation that I am also concerned about is the potential for it to perpetuate the Eurocentric, Western hegemony in applied linguistics that contributes to the epistemicide of the Global South (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020; Tuhiwai Smith, 2021). For example, the poststructuralist discursive social theory that underpins the study can be seen as a product of Western thought, based as it is on Foucauldian thinking (Foucault, 1981). Although I have based my own take on poststructuralism in the feminist theorizing of Weedon (1997), and my use of intersectionality places Collins’ (2019) black feminist critical social theory above that of Foucault, there is still a decidedly Western slant to the epistemologies and ontologies that

are presented. Similarly, I have also made a conscious effort to cite local Japanese scholars on the parts of the study that directly relate to Japanese history and culture, but I am aware that it is not enough. This is partly due to my own Japanese language limitations, but also to the dominance of Western writers and scholars, even within Japan.

Based on this, and on the conclusions above, I would suggest that further study in this field continue to take an interrogative and deconstructionist approach to the study of native-speakerism and to language teacher identity. By viewing native-speakerism not as isolated individual discrimination events, but as a structural and systemic discourse, we can begin to understand it and deconstruct it. Similarly, by treating “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” teacher identities not as isolated identity factors, but as one part of many intersecting identity facets, we can start to understand how the different parts come together to produce completely new positionalities and marginalisations. If future research is able to do this, using the sophisticated tools of linguistic ethnography, along with localised epistemologies and ontologies we may be able to make some headway in not only deconstructing native-speakerist ideologies and “native speaker”/“non-native speaker” identities, but actually transforming them for the better of all English teachers, regardless of race, gender, nationality, age, social class, or linguistic status.

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Appendix

Transcription guide

- [indicates start of overlapping talk
-] end of overlapping talk
- (.) slight pause
- = indicates that speaker turns are through-produced (i.e., no pause, but not overlapping)
- ↑ indicates significant increase in pitch
- ↓ indicates significant decrease in pitch
- :: indicates lengthening of letter sound
- heh heh indicates laughter
- £ indicates smily voice or suppressed laughter
- indicates emphasis
- ? indicates a question
- ¿ indicates a weaker question intonation
- .hhh indicates in-breath
- hhh indicates out-breath

Numbers in parentheses indicate a pause or time elapse to the nearest tenth of a second E.g.

(0.5) = a pause or time elapse of half a second

(()) used for researcher comments, translations and descriptions