

**JAPANESE STUDENTS' RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF RACIALIZED ENGLISH  
AND ENGLISH SPEAKERS THROUGH STUDY ABROAD**

by

Hiroko Yoshii

B.A., Sophia University, 2000  
M.Ed., Boston University, 2010

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## Abstract

Japan's *kokusaika* (internationalization), despite its literal meaning, has been considered to be a form of Westernization, largely influenced by Western countries, especially the United States (Fujimoto, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 2002). As a consequence of the Western or U.S.-favored policies, Japanese people have developed racial attitudes toward the English language and English speakers. While Japanese people have a propensity toward white people and their English varieties, they tend to show discriminatory attitudes toward those who have other racial and linguistic backgrounds (Kobayashi, 2010; Kubota & McKay, 2009). At the same time, the number of Japanese study abroad (SA) students, specifically in Kachru's (1985) Inner Circle countries, is increasing. While some research suggests that Japanese SA students tend to develop racial attitudes and stereotype certain racial groups, there is still a dearth of studies regarding how these attitudes and stereotypes change over time. For example, scholars have not yet examined how Japanese SA students' interactions with an unfamiliar Other in Japan influence their attitudes during their SA, and how these attitudes change again once immersed in the SA site. Thus, drawing on intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998) and critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), this multiple case study investigated how Japanese students (re)conceptualize their attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers through interactions with diverse English speakers. Data were collected through semi-structured qualitative interviews with six Japanese SA students. This study found that the participants' pre-departure intergroup contact situations had been constructed according to Japan's skewed *kokusaika*, which resulted in their assumption that white people were the only legitimate English speakers. However, during SA, the participants experienced frequent intergroup contacts with various English speakers,

reconceptualizing their racialized views, regarding anyone as an English speaker regardless of his/her racial and linguistic backgrounds. Additionally, the participants acknowledged that they would like to keep their transformed views after SA. This thesis concludes with implications for pre- and post-SA English language teaching in Japan so that the potential for SA to de-racialize Japanese students' attitudes toward English and English speakers might be realized.

## **Preface**

This thesis is the original work of the author, Hiroko Yoshii. Ethics approval was required for this research and approved by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board (BREB) on November 21, 2014. The BREB number is H14-03081.

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天国のおばあちゃんへ

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Preamble

I can still remember when I made the first contact with white native English speakers at the age of six. Although I did not understand what they said, some powerful images regarding English and English speakers emerged; something exotic, glorious, and spectacular grabbed my heart. At that time, there was no Internet with which I could access foreign information. I remember there were only a few Americans on TV who spoke fluent Japanese and became featured in media. Later on, when I studied English in junior high and high school, I always had *akogare* (longing) for (white) English and its speakers as a learner because my initial contact with English speakers had sparked my interest through some idealized notion of the West.

Years later, however, when I started teaching English at a Japanese secondary school, I became tacitly antagonistic toward the presence of assistant language teachers (ALTs), who I had stereotyped as newly graduated white native English speakers from North America who came to Japan with little teaching knowledge or experience. It seemed to me at that time that they took advantage of their white native speakerism in Japan, namely, the associated high salaries and benefits. I was also specifically afraid that the ALTs' nativeness might lessen the value of my English teaching knowledge and skills in my students' eyes, because I assumed the majority of the students would, as I once did, have *akogare* toward native English speakers. Ironically, I made even more effort to speak like an American English-speaking native speaker. It was at this point when my feelings toward the white English domination grew more complex: Why the majority of Japanese, including myself, retained a strong *akogare* for white people at a time when, unlike a few decades earlier, there were more

Caucasians and other foreigners visible in daily life and their presence was not particularly rare? Why did we believe that the goal of learning English was to sound like Americans, as if by some unspoken rule? Wasn't I reinforcing the paradigm of white English domination if I made efforts to sound like an American English speaker? Such thoughts challenged my thinking on teaching English in Japan.

My thesis research originated with this personal struggle. Through my graduate studies, I have specifically examined Japanese English language teaching in relation to curriculum, (white) native English speakerism, and study abroad (SA). I was interested in SA, because, looking back, I felt my personal SA experiences in the United States had contributed to reshaping my views toward native speakers of English. My studies on these topics have led me to recognize a white English dominance in sociolinguistics, as a sort of by-product of both formal and informal English language teaching alongside international education. In other words, learning English as a foreign language in Japan is often associated with English native speakerism, more specifically with white American English. Although the English language has never been imposed on the Japanese by a foreign power, Tsuda describes a mental colonization of Japanese English learners (as cited in Miyagi, Sato & Crump, 2009, p. 263). Understanding the background of this colonization, which I discuss in detail in the following chapter, has become my first step toward deconstructing and decolonizing myself from this dominance of whiteness. Following this, I speculated from an educator's perspective how other Japanese English learners could understand this mental colonization. I thought about the SA experience as a good opportunity for coming to such an understanding. From my personal experiences and learning, SA can not only improve a student's linguistic skills but can also help him/her achieve the social and pragmatic aspects

of the language (Kinging, 2013). Furthermore, Miyagi et al. (2009) discuss the potential benefits of interactions with diverse speakers of English; that is, familiarity with a variety of Englishes may allow Japanese English learners to accept various cultural norms. As the culmination of my Master's program studies, this research investigates how Japanese students (re)conceptualize the English language and English speakers, especially in relation to race, through SA in Vancouver, Canada, where they are inevitably exposed to so wide a variety of Englishes on a daily basis.

## **1.2 White Dominance in Japan, Study Abroad, and Underlying Issues of Race**

Since the 1980s, the Japanese government has striven to maintain global economic prominence by cultivating human resources in terms of English language abilities, launching a series of major English language education reforms under the driving force of *kokusaika* (internationalization). In promoting *kokusaika*, however, the national language education policy in Japan based on *kokusaika* has been skewed toward Westernization, Anglicization and Americanization (Fujimoto, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 2002; Kubota & McKay, 2009; McConnell, 2000; Rivers & Ross, 2013b). This inclination toward the West and the United States has led Japanese to regard (white) Westerners as the superior Other. Consequently, English language teaching and learning programs are associated with the racialization of English and idealization of the West and white English speakers (Kobayashi, 2002, 2007; Kubota, 1998, 1999; 2011b; Kubota & McKay, 2009). Such idealized images romanticize English and English speakers in English language teaching, especially as numerous scholars have observed in private education services that offer instruction of *eikaiwa* (English conversation) and SA programs (Fujimoto, 2001; Kobayashi, 2002, 2007; Kubota, 1998, 2011a, 2011b; Kubota & McKay, 2009; Takahashi, 2013). In the wake of the government's

English language teaching reforms and the idealization of white English, racialized attitudes toward English learning pervade Japanese society. Though racialization itself is a neutral concept, it can transform into racism once attitudes toward the Other are associated with inferiority, creating a racial hierarchy (Kubota & Lin, 2006).

The number of Japanese young adult SA students has risen since the 1980s as the Ministry of Education, the former Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), has promoted SA programs in the discourse of *kokusaika* alongside English language education reforms (Asaoka & Yano, 2009; Takayama, 2000; Tsuneyoshi, 2005). In addition to SA students, an increasing number of Japanese have gone abroad, specifically to Kachru's (1985) Inner Circle (IC) countries such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, as working holiday makers (Kato, 2010). The working holiday open work permit allows working holiday makers to study and work in designated countries, usually for a period of one year. This visa has provided young adults with various academic and socio-economic backgrounds with an opportunity to live, study and work in the West, which many young Japanese have idealized in their home country (Kato, 2010).

As the numbers of Japanese SA students have increased, the number of studies on this group, particularly in reference to IC countries, has grown (e.g., Fujita, 2009; Kato, 2010; Kobayashi, 2006, 2007, 2010; Tanaka, 2007). Some studies found that Japanese SA students looked specifically for white native English speakers as their conversation partners, friends, and boy/girlfriends (Kobayashi, 2010; Takahashi, 2013; Takayama, 2000, Tanaka, 2007). Studies have shown that some Japanese SA students' views toward the Other became racialized and their Japanese identity increased (Fujita, 2009; Takahashi, 2013; Williams, 2014). While some studies (Fujita, 2009; Kobayashi, 2006; Takayama, 2000) have found



Japanese SA students to form friendships with other Asians at SA sites, Kobayashi (2010) argues that their underlying attitudes toward Asians do not necessarily change before and after SA; indeed, they tend to be uninterested in Asian students after their return to Japan. While there is research on Japanese SA students' racial attitudes, what is unexamined is whether interacting with unfamiliar outgroups during SA influences their attitudes toward English and English speakers in relation to race, and how this happens (or does not happen).

### **1.3 Research Question**

As mentioned above, while previous research indicates that students' attitudes toward racialized English in Japan's *kokusaika* can persist throughout their SA, other research suggests that their attitudes can change during SA. Few studies, however, examine how their attitudes change through interacting with diverse English speakers during SA. The purpose of this study is to fill this gap by investigating how Japanese students (re)conceptualize their attitudes toward English and English speakers, especially in relation to race, through interactions with diverse English speakers during their SA in Vancouver. The following questions guide this research:

- (1) What attitudes toward English and English speakers do Japanese SA students think they had prior to SA and how do they think they developed them?
- (2) How do they think they have (re)conceptualized racialized English and English speakers through interaction with people from diverse racial and linguistic backgrounds during SA?
- (3) How do they think their (re)conceptualization will affect them when they return to Japan?

## 1.4 An Overview of the Study

The present multiple case study examines how certain attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers are formed prior to SA in Japan, how their attitudes may or may not be transformed during SA in Vancouver, and how learners think their experience will affect their attitudes after SA. By investigating their attitudes' chronological transformations through interviews, this study provides insights as to whether and how SA could raise English language learners' critical awareness of race and language learning—a topic very few studies have previously examined.

SA, in general, refers to “a temporary sojourn of pre-defined duration, undertaken for educational purposes” (Kinging, 2009, p. 11). This means that an SA experience is inevitably tied to education in one's home country. SA programs for Japanese students can vary in program length and type. In this study, I focus on Japanese students studying English in *tanki ryūgaku* (short-term SA) programs. These are usually non-degree programs lasting less than one year, and they are popular among Japanese post-secondary students. This study includes working holiday makers and visitor's visa holders attending language institutes in Canada. Working holiday makers usually attend a language institute for the first couple of months after their arrival, followed by travel or work. In addition, Canadian visitor's permit holders are included in the study because they are allowed to attend language institutes.

In this qualitative research, I employ Pettigrew's (1998) intergroup contact theory (ICT) as a main theoretical frame, along with critical race theory (CRT) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). ICT sheds light on how SA students' contacts with diverse English speakers may trigger their (re)conceptualization of their attitudes toward racialized English and racialized groups. CRT particularly highlights the role that racialization plays in English

language learners' consciousness, which is shaped by education policies, underlying ideologies of internationalization, and unequal relations of power between nations and racial groups.

### **1.5 Outline of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 provided an introduction to the research question. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature on white dominance in Japanese society and Japanese SA students' mindset in relation to racialized English and English speakers. Chapter 3 acknowledges theoretical concepts for this study and describes the methodologies, including the background of participants and the method of data collection and analysis. In Chapter 4, I present my research findings according to the guiding questions listed above. In Chapter 5, I discuss the findings in relation to the issues raised by previous studies. Chapter 6 presents the implications and limitations of this study. I then conclude with recommendations for future research.

## **Chapter 2: White Dominance in Japan and Japanese SA Students' Mindset in Relation to Race**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this literature review, I begin by examining the notion of white dominance in Japan in the discourse of *kokusaika* (internationalization). I specifically examine the West- and U.S.-oriented international educational policies, the dominance of whiteness and IC Englishes in English language teaching, the foregrounding of Japaneseness in English language teaching, and the biases and discrimination within internationalization. Subsequently, I review the main characteristics of Japanese SA programs. Then I discuss the extant research on Japanese students' views toward race through SA experiences, followed by a rationale for the current research.

### **2.2 White Dominance in Japan**

The Japanese preference for white people is often observed in society today. For example, the Japanese media is full of positive images of whites, while those of blacks and other ethnic minorities are scarce, selective, and limited (Fujimoto, 2001; Rivers & Ross, 2013a; Tsuneyoshi, 2013). Sekiguchi (2002) argues that Japanese people tend to associate foreigners with white Westerners, specifically Americans. The images of white people are further linked to the English language, representing progressiveness and internationality (Kato, 2010; Kobayashi, 2007; Sekiguchi, 2002). In this section, I first introduce Japan's *kokusaika* to discuss the origin of Japanese admiration of and preferences for white Westerners and the English language. Then, I examine international education reforms in relation to English language teaching and SA programs to discuss how the reforms have been implemented in favor of the West, specifically the United States. I also discuss how an

English language teaching system dominated by whiteness and IC Englishes has led to the racialization of the English language and English speakers in Japan. Following this, I discuss how the West-favored ideology is reflected in the discourse of Japaneseness. I then review the Japanese biases and discriminations toward people of color as a consequence of Japan's skewed internationalization.

### **2.2.1 *Kokusaika* and the English language**

There is a general understanding in Japan that the term *kokusaika* refers to “social conditions and activities occurring both in Japanese society and overseas, and influences are mutual between Japan and other countries” (Fujimoto, 2001, p. 5). However, Japan's internationalization has often been considered to be a Westernization, Anglicization, and Americanization largely influenced by Western countries, especially the United States (Fujimoto, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 2002; Kubota & McKay, 2009; McConnell, 2000; Tsuneyoshi, 2013). This may have something to do with the history of Japan's early internationalization, which began with the rising tide of learning from the West (Fujimoto, 2001) following two major events: the end of seclusion in 1854 and Japan's surrender at the end of World War II in 1945. Japan has never been forced to use English at any point in time, rather, the adoption of English was Japan's own choice (Tsuneyoshi, 2013). With the massive influx of Western technology and knowledge, the voluntary adoption of English as the dominant foreign language in the centralized Japanese education system has contributed to the nation's rapid modernization. Consequently, the English language has come to symbolize Japan's international status as it is associated with Western cultures (Sergeant, 2009).

The discourse of *kokusaika* became especially prevalent in the 1980s. Japan's economic growth had reached its ceiling, and the government launched various educational reforms in order to integrate the nation into competitive international markets. Among many other curriculum changes in an effort to push international education forward, the government placed emphasis on foreign language education (Fujimoto, 2001; Kubota, 2002, Tsuneyoshi, 2013). More specifically, "aiming at *internationalization* [emphasis added]" (Nishino, 2008, p. 29), the Ministry of Education implemented the English curriculum change in the late 1980s. Nonetheless, as the generally low English communicative skills of the Japanese population were still considered an obstacle to continued national economic expansion, since the late 1990s, Japanese society has been further driven toward English-centered globalization. While *kokusaika* came to be conflated with the term *grōbaruka* (globalization) around this time, their underlying meanings were substantially similar in that Japan aimed to bring in some elements of the West or the United States (Yamada, 2014), which will be discussed in the next section. The Japan Business Federation (2000) proposed that the education system should be reformed to correspond with the information age, when English abilities would be indispensable for global labor. This proposal urged the government to further promote English language teaching. Thus, *kokusaika* and *grōbaruka* have grown alongside an increasing political and societal demand for English competence (Fujimoto, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 2002; Kubota & McKay, 2009).

### **2.2.2 Japan's International Education Policies in Favor of the United States**

Japan's *kokusaika* has never escaped the trend of learning from the West and West-driven conceptualizations of modernization. The policies concerning international education, including English language education and SA programs, have had strong Western influences.

These policies were established as a means to form an alliance with (rather than to compete with) the West, specifically the United States (Kubota, 1998, 1999). I will now review how the following policies are favorable toward the West or the United States: the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) program, the status change of English as a subject in secondary school, and the SA program policies for both Japanese and international students.

The JET program was established in 1987 as part of a series of educational reforms in the late 1980s. In order to improve students' communicative skills (McConnell, 2000; Nagatomo, 2012; Nishino, 2008), the JET program recruited mainly young (22-35 years old) English speakers as ALTs and placed them in secondary schools (e.g., Nishino, 2008; McConnell, 2000). More recently, ALTs have been working for elementary schools as well. The large budget allocation for hiring ALTs—i.e., US\$ 480 million compared to US\$ 6 million for in-service training for Japanese teachers of English in 2006 (Nishino, 2008)—clearly indicates the government's firm commitment to hiring ALTs. Although the current percentage of the ALTs from Kachru's (1985) Outer Circle (OC) countries and Expanding Circle (EC) countries has been increasing in recent years, those who are from the IC countries like the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand amounted to 89% (3, 991) of the active JET participants in 2014 (JET, 2014). More specifically, the U.S. participants have consistently constituted about half of the annual participants since JET's launch (MEXT, 2001). According to McConnell (2000), the JET program was a “gift” (p.1) to the United States in order to ease U.S.-Japan trade tensions in the late 1980s; the government tried to present the program to the United States as a reassurance of their solid U.S.-Japan relationship. Thus, the JET program was launched with U.S.-favored political intentions.

As a tool of *kokusaika*, English officially became a requirement for all junior high school students as of 2002 (MEXT, 1998). Terasawa (2012) has remarked that some English teachers did not know that English had previously been an elective subject since virtually all schools offered it, and there was almost no significant adjustment to the new curriculum in schools. His study essentially suggests that English had been the de facto foreign language elective among Japanese high school students even before it became a requirement. However, this reform illustrates that Japan's *kokusaika* and *grōbaruka* were steered toward Westernization/Americanization, a move that is contradictory to the ideals of multiculturalism and multilingualism (Kubota & McKay, 2009; Yamada, 2014). The reform also failed to consider the local context where other foreign languages, such as Chinese, Korean, and Portuguese, were actually spoken by many more native speakers of these languages in Japan (Kubota, 2002; Kubota & McKay, 2009; Tsuneyoshi, 2013). While the previous national curriculum had allowed students to take some other foreign languages, such as French and Chinese as foreign language electives instead of English, the new policy reinforced the idea that English was the international language, illustrating skewed internationalization.

In addition to the English language educational reforms, the government developed the infrastructure for SA programs, expecting Japanese universities to become institutions for “the advancement of international exchange” (Tsuneyoshi, 2005, p. 66) in order to play an active role in Japan's internationalization (Asaoka & Yano, 2009). For example, Japanese universities introduced programs that used English as a medium of instruction in order to attract more foreign students (Tsuneyoshi, 2005). With regard to outgoing students from Japan, many universities established their own short-term SA programs, as the percentage of



students' SA participation, along with other qualifications, became a criterion for evaluating the level of internationalization of universities (Paige, as cited in Asaoka & Yano, 2009, p. 175).

In order to promote SA promotion, the government announced the “100,000 Foreign Students Plan” in 1983, aiming to receive 100,000 international students by the 21<sup>st</sup> century (McConnell, 2000; Tsuneyoshi, 2005). Examination of this policy also reveals a bias toward Western, specifically, U.S.-favored educational policies; for instance, the Ministry of Education established an extra category to provide only Western students with scholarships in response to the slow growth of Western international student interest and a surge of incoming Asian students (McConnell, 2000).

Regarding outgoing students, the Japanese government has promoted various SA programs for its citizens. For example, the Ministry of Education has encouraged and financially supported short-term SA programs in particular, which are non-degree programs lasting less than one year (Tsuneyoshi, 2005). As a result, from the late 1980s through the mid-2000s, these policy changes have increased the number of Japanese outgoing SA students considerably (MEXT, 2013). In addition to the increase in SA participants, the number of working holiday makers, especially female, has soared since the late 1980s (Kato, 2010). In fact, the working holiday program has also been launched as part of *kokusaika* policies. The first three countries that Japan formed coalitions with in the 1980s were all IC countries: Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015).

In April 2014, the government announced the SA promotional plan to double the number of Japanese post-secondary SA students from 60,000 to 120,000 by 2020, when the Tokyo Olympics were to be held (Cabinet Secretariat, 2014). Although the problem of the

decline in the number of the SA students since 2004 was highlighted in this plan, a closer examination reveals that only the U.S. category showed a notable drop, and that the number of the SA students who went to non-U.S. destinations was slowly growing (Cabinet Secretariat, 2014). A U.S.-Japan joint statement (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014), which was released two days after the announcement of this SA promotion plan, explicitly mentions the culture and language exchange programs for U.S. and Japanese young adults to improve a strong U.S.-Japan relationship. This reinforcement of exchange programs between the United States and Japan along with the SA promotion plan was seemingly tied to the decline in U.S.-bound SA student numbers since 2004. Hence, the promotion of SA for Japanese students is another example of Japan's U.S.-favored internationalization policies.

These policies reinforce the West and the U.S.-favored ideology under the image of internationalization. For instance, the term *gaikoku jin* (foreigners) generally refers to white Westerners or white Americans to Japanese people (Sekiguchi, 2002; Yamada, 2014). Since the English language has been “presented in such a way that its status becomes an index of *Japan-international* [emphasis added] relations, with each significant incident of language contact or educational innovation being associated directly with a major political landmark” (Seargeant, 2009, p. 49), Japanese tend to associate those who speak English with *kokusai jin* (internationalists) (Kato, 2010; Kobayashi, 2007; Mizuta, 2009; Yamada, 2014).

### **2.2.3 Dominance of Whiteness and IC English in Teaching**

Not all white people speak English, let alone IC Englishes. Nonetheless, as Sekiguchi's (2002, p. 202) formula of “foreign country = America = English = whites” suggests, English speakers are racialized and sometimes even nationalized in Japan (Kubota & McKay, 2009). One of the reasons that a majority of the Japanese have this assumption

can be found in English language teaching in Japanese secondary schools, where whiteness, IC Englishes, and their associated cultures are dominant.

Yamada (2014) examined the most widely used government-approved English textbook series from 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> grade. The investigation revealed that most of the human characters in the textbooks were depicted without shading, though the percentage of such depictions dropped from 91% in 1990 to 70% in 2002. In addition, most of these non-shaded characters were described as being from IC countries. Although the term “without/with shading” does not necessarily refer to white/non-white in the study, this finding, along with the finding of Matsuda (2002) below, reflects the common perception that English speakers are dominantly white people from IC countries.

While Hino (1988) reports that more references to OC and EC countries have emerged in textbooks since the mid-1980s, Matsuda (2002) has demonstrated that IC countries and Japanese contexts predominate in all seven government-approved 7<sup>th</sup> grade textbooks. Yamada (2014) further found that the United States was frequently referred to in the series of the most widely used textbooks between 1987 and 2002. As far as the characters in the textbooks were concerned, the majority were Japanese students and students or teachers from IC countries. Interestingly, however, the utterances of the IC English-speaking characters outnumbered those of the Japanese, while the number of the Japanese characters was about four times as many as those of the speakers of IC Englishes (Matsuda, 2002). Matsuda argues that the Japanese characters were described as representative of the textbooks’ users, who were novice English speakers, whereas the speakers of IC Englishes were “primary users of English” (p. 195).

Besides the content of textbooks, standard North American English predominates in audio teaching materials. More than half of the Japanese teachers of English and students in Miyagi's study (2006) recognized IC English accents as what they usually heard through the audio materials which accompanied the textbooks. The audio materials lack diverse varieties of Englishes in general, but are typically limited to North American English (Miyagi, et al., 2009). Furthermore, half of the Japanese teachers of English in Miyagi (2006) agreed that the accents recorded by speakers of IC Englishes (from the United States, United Kingdom, and New Zealand) were what ALTs in their schools sounded like. This suggests consistency with the skewed distribution of IC English-speaking ALTs, as mentioned in the previous section. McConnell (2000) further observed that ALTs who had lighter skin and spoke in U.S. or Canadian accents were preferred by local schools or boards of education.

As the above observations show, Japanese English learners have been exposed primarily to IC Englishes and textual images of white people through textbooks by the end of secondary education. These representations in the teaching materials are inconsistent with the reality in which non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers, and interactions among non-native speakers are becoming more and more common (Jenkins, 2002; Matsuda, 2002; Miyagi, et al., 2009). Nonetheless, as a consequence of this IC Englishes-oriented, specifically standard-American-English-oriented education in Japan, Matsuda (2000) has demonstrated that Japanese high school students lack interest and knowledge of OC and EC Englishes, although their attitudes toward these varieties are not necessarily negative. Rather, the lack of knowledge and awareness led to their familiarity with standard American English only.

Regrettably, neither Japanese nor non-Japanese English teachers seem to challenge these trends (Matsuda, 2002). Miyagi (2006) demonstrated the ambivalent attitudes of the Japanese teachers of English in presenting OC and EC English varieties to their students, because they assumed these varieties would not be of immediate use to the students. According to the findings of Galloway and Rose (2013), instructors in an international business department assumed that their students would be inclined to appreciate IC English accents, although their students actually valued other characteristics of their English-speaking teaching assistants, such as clear explanations and approachability. Moreover, although the government has funded short SA training programs for select English teachers, the majority of the destinations are limited to the United States and Britain (MEXT, 2011). Teachers indeed seem to play a major role in perpetuating the preference for Anglo-Englishes. Giri and Foo (2014) share an anecdote of a school principal who used to prefer IC Englishes as an English teacher because he stayed in some IC countries during his youth.

While IC Englishes are promoted implicitly and explicitly by Japanese teachers of English, Crump (2007) found in her study that ALTs from IC countries generally lacked awareness and knowledge about other varieties of English. They merely tended to play their roles as speakers of IC Englishes, which was what Japanese teachers and students desired. Despite the recent popularity of English as a lingua franca or as an international language, shifting away from the IC-English-dominated education paradigm remains a challenge in Japan (Hino, 2009; Matsuda, 2002; Miyagi, 2006). Inevitably, whiteness associated with IC Englishes has remained influential too. Matsuda (2000) observed that Japanese high school students considered the English language to belong to Europeans and North Americans. Some critics argue that such racialized English language teaching along with a lack of critical

perspectives is linked to Japanese biases and discrimination against certain groups of people (Kobayashi, 2002, 2007; Kubota, 1999, 2011b), which will be discussed later.

#### **2.2.4 Foregrounding Japaneseness in English Language Teaching**

It is important to point out that the other side of the West-favored ideology is an emphasis on Japaneseness. The roots of this emphasis can be traced back to the period of Japan's first Western acclimation in the 1870s, when only a limited number of elites and intellectuals, who had expressed concerns about the Western powers, required increased Japaneseness for self-image development (Befu, 2001). The emphasis on Japaneseness has become more prevalent since the 1960s in terms of *nihonjinron* (theories on the Japanese), which discusses the “uniquely unique” (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 192) characteristics of Japanese people and cultures in terms of linguistic and social features as compared to the West (Befu, 2001).

Although *nihonjinron* has been critiqued since the 1980s for its essentialist viewpoints (e.g., Befu, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 1999; Sugimoto, 2014; Yoshino, 2002), the current Japanese government has exploited these views to define Japan's identity and has explicitly promoted *nihonjinron* through formal English language teaching. “Action Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Abilities” (MEXT, 2002), which was issued in 2003, aligned with the growing interest among English educators in Japan to “speak English with Japanese mind” (Nishiyama, as cited in Hino, 2009, p. 107). In other words, while English textbooks tend to instill Anglo-American values, expecting Japanese learners of English to “talk, think and act like Americans” (Hino, 2009, p. 111), some scholars have also advocated for English as “a tool of expressing themselves in international communication” (Hino, 2009, p.107). Indeed, *nihonjinron* is presented to the English learners in English conversation textbooks

(Yoshino, 2002). For example, homogenized characteristics of the country are introduced, generating a unified view that “the Japanese nation, ethnicity and culture are equivalent and interchangeable” (Sugimoto, 2014, p. 194). Consequently, essentialized characteristics of Japan and Japanese, mostly defined in comparison with the West, have been uncritically consumed, reinforced, and reproduced through English textbooks (Kobayashi, 2011; Kubota, 1998, 1999; Nagatomo, 2012; Yamada, 2014; Yoshino, 2002). Thus, both Westernization and nationalism have become closely related to each other like two sides of the same coin as Japan participates in the globalized world.

### **2.2.5 Biases and Discrimination within *Kokusaika***

Some negative issues have emerged as a consequence of Japan’s Anglo-based internationalization (Befu, 2001; Fujimoto, 2001; Fujita, 2009; Kobayashi, 2010; Kubota, 1998, 2002). For example, while (white) Westerners have been idealized and recognized as the superior Other in Japan, non-Western countries have been neglected and their people have been regarded as the racially inferior Other. For instance, Japanese students tend to lack interest in non-Western countries or exhibit prejudice against non-Western people from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East (Fujimoto, 2001; Kobayashi, 2010; Kubota, 1998, 2002; Rivers & Ross, 2013a). What is worse, Campbell (cited in Yamada, 2014, p.51) found that Japanese college students believed that there was no racism in Japan and that racism was an issue in other places such as Europe and the United States. This implies that their understanding of racism is simply white people’s discrimination against ethnic minorities. Thus, Japanese students are generally unaware of Japanese discrimination against *zainichi* or ethnic Koreans in Japan, who were forced to become non-citizens of Japan in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Fujimoto, 2002; Fujita, 2009; Yamada, 2014). Kobayashi (2010) further argues that

the *kokusaika* discourse “hides the general public’s discrimination against foreign residents of the same or darker color or English speakers with ‘accent’ [emphasis in original]” (p. 324). The following cases demonstrate different kinds of hidden discrimination.

Firstly, Murphy-Shigematsu’s (2002) research on international students in Japanese universities demonstrates Japanese attitudes toward the inferior Other. His participants expressed that the Japanese looked down on Africans and other Asians but favored Westerners. Although their initial interactions with the Japanese were generally positive, as they increased their socio-linguistic skills, they became aware of “the hierarchy of nations and races in the minds of some Japanese” (p. 23) and different treatments between those with lighter versus darker skin colors. This observation is consistent with Kubota and McKay’s (2009) study, which reveals that some local Japanese residents in a mid-sized Japanese town with a large number of Brazilian immigrants favored Brazilians with lighter skin tones. According to their study, some local residents assume that “only English-speaking white middle-class people contribute to the *kokusaika* of Japan” (p. 602).

Secondly, English language teaching in Japan, which primarily favors IC Englishes (more specifically white American standard English), has excluded all other English varieties. Therefore, Japanese people generally depreciate unfamiliar, non-IC English accents (Kobayashi, 2010). McConnell (2000) observed how, on a frequent basis, non-white American JET participants, an African American for example, were asked to speak “standard” English at Japanese schools. Studies by Rivers and Ross (2013a, 2013b) uncovered Japanese university students’ preference for the pictures of white teachers over black and Asian ones, even though they were told that the latter were native speakers of English. Moreover, the legitimacy of the white people as English teachers in the photographs was taken for granted;



while white teachers did not received negative comments or conditional statements such as “[i]f he can talk American English” (Rivers & Ross, 2013b, p. 47), teachers from the other two racialized groups did. Rivers and Ross (2013b) argue that the comments represent “stereotypical attitudes reflecting an imagined social reality” (p. 47) regarding English teachers, who are assumed to be white with desirable features in terms of personal characteristics, physical appearance, as well as authenticity.

Thirdly, the Japanese discriminatory attitude is extended to the propensity to value white IC Englishes. According to Kubota and Fujimoto (2013), a Japanese American English teacher who was a native speaker of an IC English variety was offered only 60% of what his white colleague had been paid, not because of his credentials, but rather due to his Japanese appearance. Kubota and Fujimoto argue that the English conversation business would like to offer their customers the “‘full’ [emphasis in original] experience of being taught by a ‘real foreigner’ [emphasis in original]” (p. 200). This results from a pervasive assumption that Japanese blood cannot be categorized as foreign or English-speaking due to the *nihonjinron* discourse (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013). In addition, romanticized and idealized images of white people often appear in advertisements of for-profit businesses, such as English conversation institutes and international SA tours (Mizuta, 2009; Takahashi, 2013). In fact, Mizuta (2009) found that 93% of the advertisements of one of the major English conversation institutes in Japan used images of white teachers. These fantasy images have boosted Japanese attitudes of romantic desire toward white English speakers (Kobayashi, 2002, 2007; Kubota, 2011a, 2011b; Mizuta, 2009; Takahashi, 2013).

The Japan-U.S. binary has also pervaded among students’ perceptions. In Fujita’s (2009) study, two groups of Japanese sojourners to New York and London were asked to

draw and label a world map with city names prior to their departure. The results demonstrated three common patterns: i) Japan was placed in the center and largely depicted, ii) they usually focused on and put details on the North American continent, and iii) the United States was located closer to Japan. Fujita discusses that Japanese SA students' "mental maps" represent: ethnocentricity or a sense of superiority regarding their home country, Japanese-biased relationships with the world, and an intimate relationship with the United States, respectively. While the binary view itself is not necessarily discriminatory, once realized, it can be an ethnocentric worldview, overlooking the rest of the world.

Furthermore, some Japanese people show ambivalent attitudes toward Japanese who have achieved high levels of English ability. For example, Ryan (2009) revealed that while the majority of Japanese youth in his study admired English and wanted to be fluent speakers, they were also aware that being too proficient in English could marginalize them, especially in classrooms. Kanno (2000) also pointed out that Japanese returnee students tended to speak English with a Japanese accent on purpose in English class so that they could fit in. Yoshihara and his colleagues (as cited in Kobayashi, 2011) found that Japanese nationals who were highly skilled in English tended to hide their high achievement because their Japaneseness could be considered "impaired" (p. 7). Thus, English language teaching in Japan along with Japan's *kokusaika* and *nihonjinron* has created contradictory social values regarding racialized English and English speakers.

To conclude, white dominance in Japan has been increased through Japan's skewed internationalization policies since the late 1980s. The Japanese mindset that the term "foreigners" refers to white Americans and "foreign language" to standard white American English by default (Sekiguchi, 2002) represents a racial and linguistic hierarchy that has

persisted implicitly and explicitly in contemporary Japanese society. While English language teaching has been influenced by the Japanese socio-political environment, it has also strengthened the racial hierarchy and racialized English language teaching practices, generating a strong preference for the United States, white people, and IC Englishes among the Japanese (Fujimoto, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 2002; Matsuda, 2000; McConnell, 2000; Tsuneyoshi, 2013).

### **2.3 Characteristics of Japanese SA Programs**

The number of Japanese SA youths who go to English-speaking countries has risen since the government's promotion of SA programs in the discourse of *kokusaika* during the 1980s (Asaoka & Yano, 2009; Takayama, 2000; Tsuneyoshi, 2005). Moreover, the *kokusaika* movement has generated the diversification of SA programs in universities as well as in business sectors, in terms of program length and the presence of both degree and non-degree programs, which often include sightseeing or specialized courses such as dance and art (Fujita, 2009; Takayama, 2000). The working holiday visa has also been considered to be a modified SA program. In the 1980s and 1990s, this system was advertised as a means to “cross-national searching for jobs and lifestyles” (Kato, 2010, p. 51) by the SA industry and the media. Nowadays, young adults take advantage of it for *jibun-sagashi* (self-searching) (Kato, 2010), and the working holiday visa remains a popular choice among youths. The extended variety of options and opportunities has provided SA experiences to a large number of students, contributing to the current expansion of the SA industry (Kobayashi, 2011).

In 2010, five out of the top ten SA destinations were IC countries, with the U.S.-bound students constituting almost half of the total number of Japanese SA students, whereas England, Australia, Canada and New Zealand ranked third, fourth, seventh, and tenth,

respectively (MEXT, 2013). These findings suggest that IC countries are perceived to be desirable SA sites; all of them share important characteristics in the minds of SA participants, which will be discussed below.

## **2.4 Japanese SA Students' Mindset toward Racialized English and English Speakers**

The number of studies on Japanese SA programs in IC countries has been increasing (Kobayashi, 2011). In what follows, I categorize the findings regarding SA students' attitudes in relation to race into three themes: their unchanged preference for white English speakers; the racialization of their views and heightened Japaneseness through negative experiences; and their attitudes toward Asians before, during, and after SA.

### **2.4.1 Pursuing Idealized English Speakers during SA**

Previous studies (e.g., Kobayashi, 2007; Takahashi, 2013; Takayama, 2000) have revealed Japanese SA students' attitudes regarding idealized English and English speakers. The results of such studies demonstrate that students generally prefer white English speakers. For example, those who were assigned non-white host families during their SA expressed disappointment, even though the families were native English speakers (Takayama, 2000). In addition, the Japanese participants looked specifically for white people as their conversational partners, friends or boy/girlfriends (Kobayashi, 2007; Takahashi, 2013; Takayama, 2000). The motivations behind these attitudes and behaviors appear to result from a desire to achieve an idealized SA experience, as advertised by the Japanese SA industry. Takayama (2000), for example, found that his participants expressed a desire to make friends with whites as if their friendship could allow the participants to look like or become a *kokusai jin* (internationalist). Indeed, becoming a *kokusai jin* is explicitly considered as an added value of SA as represented in advertisements of the SA industry and the media (Fujita,

2009; Kato, 2010; Kobayashi, 2007; Mizuta, 2009; Takahashi, 2013). In fact, some students wanted to “show off” (Takayama, 2000, p.139) their white friends in pictures to their Japanese friends as their snapshots of a successful SA. In reality, the SA experiences of many sojourners did not proceed as advertised, however, because their limited English skills made it difficult to befriend white English-speaking peers (Takayama, 2000).

#### **2.4.2 Increased Racialized Views and Japaneseness during and after SA**

Sojourners’ limited personal interactions with diverse English speakers in daily life have the potential to exacerbate their racialized views during and after SA. For example, Fujita (2009) found that the SA students’ inability to communicate effectively with English speakers made them feel marginalized as racial minorities in the white dominant society, inhibiting them from frequent interactions. In addition, unpleasant incidents in their daily lives such as subtle mistreatments (and in a few cases, physical attacks due to their race) caused them to become selective in choosing communication partners during their stay. Consequently, they tended to form certain stereotypes toward people according to their race without sufficient personal interactions, although they often befriended Japanese peers or other Asians at the SA sites, as I discuss below.

Similarly, some researchers of SA claim that students’ negative experiences have further enhanced a binary perspective of Japan and the West (Fujita, 2009; Williams, 2014). Fujita (2009) found that young Japanese migrants in New York and London talked about race in a way that often appeared to be influenced by the *nihonjinron* discourse. She points out that their limited interactions made them rely on the discourse to articulate their own distinctiveness through comparisons. For example, explaining different communication styles at workplaces in London and Japan, one of her participants made comments “as if he actually

observed it [the difference]” (p. 94) although he had never worked in London. According to Williams (2014), her participant who had studied in the United States also revealed an essentialized view of Western nationals based on negative incidents during their SA. Thus, while the SA students’ experiences with the local people were limited in terms of quantity and quality, their experiences tended to trigger racialization of their views toward outgroup members.

As the other aspects of the SA students’ racialization of the Other during SA, they were reported to have increased their sense of Japaneseness (Fujita, 2009; Kobayashi, 2010; Takayama, 2000, Williams, 2014). For example, most of the participants of Fujita (2009) experienced a heightened sense of Japaneseness during SA, and some of them became increasingly nationalistic after SA. Some came to reclaim “Japanese people and culture, which they heavily criticized before” (p. 164). Fujita (2009) observed that after racially negative experiences, the Japanese sojourners tended to “revalue and refine their Japaneseness which, in their minds, [was] the singular concept conflating their racial, ethnic and national identities” (p. 173). Williams (2014) also found her participants exhibited their “own heightened national identity” (p. 43) after facing unpleasant incidents.

With regard to the students’ post-SA attitudes, Berwick and Carey (2000) found that the male students in their study, who were Japanese corporate workers, expressed a stronger sense of Japaneseness as time elapsed after SA in Canada. These participants became aware of their socially expected or assumed role in Japanese corporations. This resonates with Fujita’s (2009) analysis of why her male participants not only increased their sense of Japaneseness but also even developed strong nationalistic views: They had been “more privileged in terms of ethnicity, gender, and other factors in their homeland ... than the other

respondents” (p. 94). These young Japanese male sojourners had rarely encountered situations in which they compared themselves with the Other in personal interactions (Fujita, 2009), and their ethnic minority status may have in turn heightened their sense of Self.

#### **2.4.3 Japanese SA Students’ Underlying Attitudes toward Asians**

Research by Fujita (2009), Kobayashi (2006), and Takayama (2000) has found that Japanese SA students often made friends with other Asian students, such as Chinese, Koreans, and Taiwanese, although they had typically lacked interest in such groups while in Japan. Furthermore, Fujita (2009) found that their preference for the Western whiteness seemed to reawaken upon returning to Japan although they did not necessarily establish good relationships with white people during SA. Also, they did not necessarily maintain their interest in other Asians when they went back home, despite making Asian friends during SA. Kobayashi (2010) argues that these patterns of interest in white Westerners and Asians among Japanese SA students are “context-bound” (p. 331) or situated. I examine their context-bound interest in Asians in more detail below.

Prior to SA, Japanese students hardly recognize or experience racial issues (Fujita, 2009), mainly because they “are members of the dominant group who create norms in society” (Yamada, 2014, p. 51). Fujita (2009) argues that the Japanese SA students’ lack of awareness of race is the result of Japan’s attempt to establish “a strong idea of “homogeneous” [emphasis in original] national identity” (p. 63). She argues that Japanese youths have few opportunities to describe themselves in relation to race while living in Japan, and they do so instead through nationalistic and gendered identities. Thus, they tend to consider Koreans and Taiwanese as “outsiders” until they find themselves in minority groups at SA sites, where they take a different approach toward Asians.

In Fujita's study (2009), undesirable racial issues combined with low language ability restricted the participants' social circles in a multiethnic city, as discussed above, distancing them from the white Westerners. However, a majority of the students ended up making friends with other Asians as "racial insiders," while some spent time exclusively with other Japanese peers. Nonetheless, some of the participants revealed a sense of superiority to other Asian groups, in that they wanted socially dominant peers (mostly whites as well as some blacks) to consider them as "different from and 'cooler' [emphasis in original] (or more Westernized) than [the] mainland Chinese" (Fujita, 2009, p. 81). Therefore, if SA students' superior feelings as well as their rekindled longing for the West constituted their underlying mindset, they would become less interested in Asians when they once again belonged to the racially dominant group in Japan. It can be inferred that they wanted to hold onto their dominant presence in Japan's paradigm while they were living in the Western countries as minorities.

## **2.5 Issues to Be Investigated**

The previous research shows that Japanese preference for whites, which has been fostered in Japan's West-oriented *kokusaika* paradigm, remains influential during SA. In addition, their international experiences can exacerbate their binary views after SA due to limited interactions with host nationals, and can even increase a sense of Japaneseness. Although Japanese students' friendships with Asian peers appeared to change their views, their underlying racial prejudice was not fundamentally changed. However, research on how SA students' interactions shift their attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers has still been notably sparse. While most of the previous studies have focused on students' views and behaviors during SA, they did not investigate the shifts in Japanese students'



attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers through interacting with diverse English speakers during SA. Therefore, this study aims to focus on Japanese SA students' intergroup contacts with outgroups through their reflection on these experiences, and to examine how the SA experiences affect Japanese SA students' racial attitudes toward the English language and English.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **3.1 Introduction**

For this multiple case study, I conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews in order to investigate Japanese SA students' reconceptualization of racialized English and English speakers. Six Japanese SA students were individually interviewed in Vancouver, Canada.

In this chapter, I describe the methodology and the methods employed in this study. I begin with the theoretical framework and the research context. Following this, I demonstrate the data collection method of qualitative interviews. Next I elaborate on the participant recruitment method and the profiles of each participant. I then present a description of how I analyzed the data, and conclude the chapter with an acknowledgement of my positionality in relation to the research.

### **3.2 Theoretical Framework**

In investigating Japanese SA students' reconceptualization of racialized English, I employ intergroup contact theory (ICT) (Pettigrew, 1998) through a critical race theory (CRT) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). I introduce the two complementary theoretical concepts in this section. ICT sheds light on how SA students' contacts with diverse English speakers may prompt them to (re)conceptualize racialized English and English speakers. CRT highlights the role that racialization plays in English language learners' consciousness, something which is shaped by education policies, underlying ideologies of internationalization, and unequal relations of power between nations and racial groups.

### **3.2.1 Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT)**

ICT grew out of Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998, p. 66), which suggests what kinds of conditions can lead to positive intergroup contact. The use of Allport's hypothesis in social science studies has provided critical insights in ways to reduce discrimination since the end of World War II. The hypothesis describes four ideal conditions for intergroup contact: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom. While it originally predicted when optimal racial intergroup contact would occur, specifically in desegregated residential areas and schools in the United States, the scope of the hypothesis' application now extends beyond racism and into other types of discrimination based on age, sexuality, and disabilities. With applications in a wider range of areas, however, demands for closer examinations of these applications have emerged. Although the hypothesis specifies the conditions for optimal intergroup contact, it does not explain how or why these conditions are met, nor does it stipulate whether the effects of changes in attitude can be generalized to any given situation, either from the individual to the outgroup level, or beyond the immediate outgroup. In response to these issues, Pettigrew (1998) proposed a modified theory.

Pettigrew's ICT (1998) describes how three stages enhance optimal intergroup contact effects—decategorization, salient categorization, and recategorization.

Decategorization involves decreasing anxiety about outgroups, as well as generating camaraderie. Once contact is established with a potential for friendship, salient categorization is achieved; prejudice against an outgroup can begin to diminish as one begins generalizing his/her positive experiences with an outgroup individual to the specific outgroup as a whole. Recategorization refers to the final stage in which the boundary between the ingroup and the

outgroup becomes blurry with maximum prejudice reduction and one generalizes the effects from contact with one outgroup to other outgroups. Furthermore, Pettigrew claims that “optimal intergroup contact requires time for cross-group friendships to develop” (p. 76) throughout the stages. ICT is a longitudinal framework, and the three stages in Pettigrew’s theory can overlap over time, and there can be a breakup point at any time.

Although Allport’s hypothesis discusses the desirable conditions of optimal intergroup contact, Pettigrew’s ICT pays more attention to the “how” and “why” with the four “interrelated processes underlying contact effects” (p. 80): learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal. These four processes of change can guide different outcomes at each stage. New information about the outgroup can replace an existing bias against them, mitigating previously held negative assumptions. Rothbard and John (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) argue that disconfirming examples can change stereotypes in the following circumstances: i) When a large inconsistency exists between one’s stereotype and a disconfirming example, ii) when frequent occurrences of the disconfirming example occur on multiple occasions, and iii) when the presence of the examples is seen as typical. Behavior modification is “often the precursor of attitude change” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 71), sometimes occurring when one’s expectations become positive with respect to an interaction with a given outgroup. In addition, behavior modification can be promoted through recurring contacts. While the initial contacts may have only a little effect, recurring contacts can normalize intergroup contacts. Recurring contacts further generate affective ties that can make intergroup contacts successful. Although repetitive contacts generally lower one’s concerns about an outgroup, Pettigrew cautions that there can also be a negative effect if there is an unfavorable incident after the concerns have lessened. Once one

accepts the outgroup's new norms and customs through continued contact, a reappraisal of ingroup members develops. In other words, the individual realizes that his/her own ingroup norms and customs "turn out not to be the only ways to manage the social world" (p. 72).

In this study, ingroup refers to Japanese students, and thus, outgroups are defined as non-Japanese people. While ICT suggests that the mere increase of opportunities to interact with diverse speakers of English does not guarantee an attitude change, it can highlight how and what kinds of interactions will lead Japanese SA students to change their attitudes toward racialized outgroups by looking at their interactions both before and during SA. In addition, ICT considers essential and facilitating situational factors, as well as individual experiences and characteristics besides the three stages of intergroup contact. These additional elements help to explain the interactions of different individuals as well as different outcomes depending on the demographics of each SA site. Examinations of the quality and quantity of the participants' interactions with diverse English speakers through ICT can reveal their (re)conceptualization of long-held stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes toward the racialized Other.

### **3.2.2 Critical Race Theory (CRT)**

CRT originated through questioning the supposedly "neutral" (p. 3) but actually white-biased, U.S. legal system (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT posits the following principles:

- i) In society, racism is deep-rooted in "the usual way" (p. 7) people function in everyday life. Colorblind notions of equality are taken for granted such that it is challenging to articulate or eliminate racism most of the time except in obvious cases.

- ii) Because racism benefits both “white elites (materially) and working-class people (psychically),” both groups have “little incentive to eradicate it” (p. 7).
- iii) The notion of race is continually reinvented and manipulated for society’s convenience, even though human beings within a given race can exhibit many differences in terms of “personality, intelligence, and moral behavior” (p. 8).
- iv) The forms of racialization and racism in a given society shift from time to time depending on the society’s demands or needs.
- v) The notion of race, which is “ever historically evolving” (p. 8), intersects with other elements (e.g., gender, sexuality, nationality, and social status), and a theoretical focus on race alone could lead to potential injustice. CRT advocates identity in flux, and anti-essentialism.
- vi) CRT invites of various voices, especially the voices of minorities, because they have “different histories and experiences with oppression” (p. 9).

In this study, the principles of CRT can highlight how racialized English language teaching has established hierarchical attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers among English language learners in Japan. With the tenets above, CRT has been employed in educational fields to examine “how educational policies, including [those about] curriculum, instruction, and funding, are related to racial inequity and relations of power” (Kubota & Lin 2006, p. 482) as well as to achieve a more positive transformation of society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Thus, CRT can reveal a racial hierarchy involving any inferiorizations that stem from a language hierarchy among students (Kubota & Lin, 2006). In the first and fifth tenets specifically, the conceptual lens of CRT can underline covert racism among Japanese students which is rooted in the perspectives of the racially dominant group in Japan. CRT can

augment ICT with its theoretical lens that sheds light on the ways in which participants (re)conceptualize the racialized Self and Other as well as racialized English and its speakers.

### **3.3 Research Context**

This study was conducted in Vancouver, Canada. Canada has been a top destination for Japanese SA students, as described in Chapter 2. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2014b), there were 10, 803 Japanese students in Canada in 2013. In addition, CIC statistics (2014a) show an increasing number of Japanese International Mobility Program work permits, generally known as working holiday visas, among Japanese. As far as the number of Japanese working holiday makers is concerned, Canada is the second most popular destination after Australia (Kato, 2010). Canada has attracted young Japanese sojourners due to its images of whiteness (Takayama, 2000) and safety, while the United States is seen as a “gun society” (Kato, 2010, p. 54). Additionally, Canada is seen as a country of “accent-free English (unlike Australia)” (Kato, 2010, p. 54), although, according to Kato (2010), Japanese students generally do not have other clear images of the country. Furthermore, the SA/working holiday industry has played a critical role in meeting students’ demands with local English language businesses (Fujioka, 2012), most of which are located in major urban cities like Vancouver and Toronto. With regard to Vancouver, the government of British Columbia has been making efforts to bring in more international students, providing the Education Quality Assurance (EQA) program. Indeed, there are nearly 60 EQA certified private post-secondary language institutes in the Metro Vancouver area alone (LearnLive BC, 2014). In addition, there are many other non-EQA certified private language institutes as well as other vocational institutes with English language combined programs. On top of that, there are more than 20 Japanese-run on-site SA/working

holiday agencies in Vancouver (Ryūgaku ējento.com, 2015). Thus, the infrastructure for Japanese sojourners is well established in Vancouver.

It is also important to keep in mind that Vancouver is a multilingual city. The 2011 Census (Statistics Canada, 2015) reports that those who claimed English as their mother tongue constituted only 50% of the city's residents compared to the provincial/territorial percentage of 70%, although the data do not include the respondents' racial backgrounds. Of the 45% of Vancouver residents who claimed non-official languages as their mother tongue, the top four languages in 2011 were Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, and Punjabi. Thus, in this city, Japanese students inevitably come across various Englishes and diverse ethnic groups on a daily basis.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

This multiple case study employed individual, semi-structured qualitative interviews. I chose interviewing in order to gain the participants' in-depth accounts of their reconceptualization of the English language and English speakers, especially in relation to race, through their SA experiences. This study understood the interview data produced as a co-construction between the interviewer and the research participant. The awareness of this co-constructed nature of qualitative interviews requires "greater reflexivity about the interview methods that qualitative applied linguists use in their studies, the status ascribed to interview data, and how those data are analyzed and represented" (Talmy, 2010, p. 128). In order to enhance the possibility of authentic accounts, which is "concerned with truth value while recognizing that multiple truths may exist" (O'Leary, 2009, p. 43), I kept in mind the importance of representing participants' "multiple and fragmented 'selves' [emphasis in original]" (Roulston, 2010, p. 64).



I conducted two semi-structured qualitative interviews in Japanese with each Japanese SA student participant between November 2014 and January 2015. There was at least one week between the initial interview and the follow up interview. All of the interviews took place at cafés, restaurants, or other public places of the participants' choosing. During the first interview, I asked participants about how they had developed their views toward English and English language learning before SA, and how they had changed through interacting with diverse English speakers during SA. I also presented the participants with an image (Maldonado, 2009) of a group of racially diverse people (Appendix A) during the interview. The purpose of including this image in the interview was to ask them whom they would have chosen as their English teacher or practice partner before SA. The first interview took approximately 100-120 minutes, enabling participants to talk about both of their past and present experiences continuously. For the second interview, I invited participants to bring pictures or images that summed up their SA life in Vancouver. All six participants brought images to their second interview and took them back once the interview was over. I included the participants' descriptions of the images in the research in order to inquire into how they would construct, show, and tell their SA memories to friends and family when they returned to Japan. During the second interview, which took approximately 60 minutes, I asked the participants how they thought their reconceptualization would affect them when they returned to Japan. I also showed them the image (Maldonado, 2009) of the group of racially diverse people from the first interview again, and asked them whom they would choose as their English teacher or practice partner after SA. To close the second interview, I asked the participants to reflect on the interview content and add any further information. About one month after the second interview, I asked them for feedback on the initial analysis

of data via email. This took a maximum of 30 minutes. I used my personal computer to audio record the interviews, and stored the data in password protected digital files. Only the Principal Investigator and I had access to the data.

### **3.5 Participant Recruitment**

Three Japanese male and three Japanese female SA students participated in this study. They were in their 20s and 30s, and had attended Japanese elementary and secondary schools (more details in the “Participants” section below). At the time of the research, they had been living in Canada on visitor’s visas, study permits, and the so-called the working holiday visa, for between three and twelve months. For this study, I decided that a minimum of three months was heuristically enough time to have various life experiences beyond those of a tourist, as Kubota (2004) explains, “tourists do not usually see the everyday life of people nor do they experience oppressive or unjust practices that locals may experience” (p. 35). All the participants had studied English in non-degree programs offered in private language institutes in Vancouver. I specifically targeted those who had studied in these programs, as Kobayashi (2006) has argued that students at private language institutes have been least examined despite their prevalence. In addition, participants planned to return to Japan within six months. With return in their near futures, I assumed that they would likely have started conceptualizing their life after SA in more detail.

#### **3.5.1 Recruitment Method**

I recruited participants through my personal connections in Canada, using a combination of convenience and snowball sampling. I asked two of my acquaintances to distribute the recruitment letter (Appendix B). One acquaintance had organized a social group, whereby Japanese-English bilinguals gather on a weekly basis to improve their

Japanese/English. My other acquaintance, whom I met through a mutual friend, was a former student at a private language institute in downtown Vancouver. The two acquaintances emailed potential participants with the recruitment letter as an attachment.

When interested participants contacted me, I emailed them the letter of initial contact (Appendix C) with a description of the study and my contact information, as well as a consent form (Appendix D) as an attachment. In this email, they were asked to contact me within the week if they were interested in participating. Upon receiving a reply from each potential participant, I sent another email to him/her to arrange the first meeting along with the interview protocols (Appendix E). I selected dates and locations of the interviews depending on the participant's availability. At the beginning of the first meeting, I read the consent form orally to the potential participant in order to inform him/her of their participant rights, with a reminder that participation was completely optional and that he/she could withdraw from the study at any time. I then answered any questions that he/she had. The participant signed the consent form and kept a copy for his/her record. All the documents were accompanied with a Japanese translation for the participants' convenience. When further recruitment was necessary, I requested referrals from the study's existing participants. One participant contacted me in this fashion.

It is important to note that the recruited participants belonged to a certain group of SA learners from Japan, in the sense that they volunteered to share their racialized ideas about English and English speakers. Therefore, they may not be representatives of typical Japanese SA students in Vancouver.

### 3.6 Participants

Table 3-1 summarizes participants' characteristics. To protect their privacy, I assigned each participant a pseudonym. The order of the participants' names is arranged based on the chronological order of the interviews, starting with the earliest. All participants checked their descriptions and found them acceptable (see below, in paragraph form).

**Table 3-1 Summary of Participant Characteristics**

<b>Name (gender)</b>	<b>Ryo (M)</b>	<b>Kento (M)</b>	<b>Rie (F)</b>	<b>Mai (F)</b>	<b>Jun (M)</b>	<b>Misaki (F)</b>
Abbreviation*	Ry	K	Ri	Ma	J	Mi
Age	Early 20s	Mid 20s	Mid 30s	Late 20s	Early 20s	Early 20s
Type of Visa	Student permit	Working holiday	Visitor's permit	Working holiday	Working holiday	Working holiday
Previous status	3 <sup>rd</sup> year college student	Occupational therapist	Manicurist	Nurse	2 <sup>nd</sup> year college student	New college graduate
Current status	Student	Sales assistant	Traveling	Babysitter	Kitchen staff	Café staff
Planned LOS**	6 months	12 months	12 months	12 months	8 months	11 months
LOS prior to the 1 <sup>st</sup> interview	3 months	7 months	7 months	8 months	7 months	8 months
Residence	Homestay	homestay → shared house	homestay	homestay → shared house	homestay → shared house	homestay

\*These abbreviations are used for the direct quotes in Chapter 4.

\*\* Length of Stay

### **3.6.1 Ryo**

Before coming to Vancouver, Ryo had been a third-year undergraduate student at a Japanese university, majoring in management. At the time of the first interview, he had been studying in a language institute for three months on a study permit and planned to stay and study in the same institute for another three months. His main SA objectives were to improve his English, specifically his TOEIC score and conversation skills, and to broaden his perspectives through interactions with people from different countries. He was proud that he had managed to establish personal connections with culturally diverse people in Canada. On his return to Japan, he would be entering his fourth year in college, and planned to start seeking employment in the trade industry.

### **3.6.2 Kento**

Kento, in his mid-20s, had worked as an occupational therapist before coming to Vancouver. After studying in a language institute for three months, he went looking for a job in a service industry where he could gain experience speaking to a variety of people in English. He wanted experience talking with a variety of people for his profession as an occupational therapist back in Japan, and to improve his English. After frequent visits to a Canadian sweets company, he secured a position as a sales assistant. His desire to seize every single opportunity to use and improve his English came across clearly in our email exchanges. For example, he was the only participant who wrote to me in English, while the rest naturally chose to write in Japanese.

### **3.6.3 Rie**

Rie originally came to Canada on a visitor's permit in her mid-30s. She had always been interested in U.S. pop culture, such as music, movies and fashion, and had dreamed of

living outside of Japan since she was a child. Right before our interviews, she had applied for a student permit to study in a TESOL program at another language institute so that she could teach English to children in Japan upon her return. She was passionate about sharing her knowledge of different cultures and international understanding with Japanese youth. Before transitioning from one English language institute to another, she had enjoyed traveling to several Canadian cities, such as Banff, Toronto, Quebec City, and Montreal.

#### **3.6.4 Mai**

Mai had been a nurse in Japan. Her mother had run English conversation tutorials out of her home, and had helped Mai with her English studies while she was in elementary and junior high school. Because of her mother's profession as an English teacher, she had high expectations for her daughter's test scores. As a result, Mai felt a lot of pressure and had had a passive attitude toward learning English when she was younger. However, as she grew up and traveled abroad, she found English to be quite useful and became interested in the language. When Mai quit her nursing job, she decided to take advantage of the working holiday system before turning 30, the age limit for Japanese students to participate in the program.

#### **3.6.5 Jun**

Jun came to Canada on a working holiday visa after his second year in college, taking a one-year leave from his studies. He was a fan of Hollywood movies and American rock music. He borrowed as many DVDs as he could from the Vancouver Public Library to study English. He also liked to dance, which he did in public locations, such as Robson Square downtown, where he made some friends. Although he was worried about his new life in

Canada, he enjoyed the many challenges regarding language and cultural differences, and was proud of the way he had managed his life abroad.

### **3.6.6 Misaki**

Misaki, a recent graduate with a bachelor's degree in English literature, came to Canada to take a TESOL course before teaching English in Japan. Her mother used to teach English in Japanese public schools. In elementary school, Misaki spent a month in Australia and another month in Hawaii, where her mother had taken some courses for English teachers. Later, when she was in high school, she visited the host family in Hawaii that had hosted her and her mother, alone for a month. Although her working holiday visa allowed a maximum of six months of study in Vancouver, and she had already attended a language program for six months, and she wished to return to the program to learn more.

## **3.7 Data Analysis**

I employed inductive thematic methods for coding and analysis the data. Thematic analysis is a means to segment, categorize, summarize, and reconstruct qualitative data in a way that presents the salient concepts of the data set (Ayres, 2008). While some constructs are expected based on the semi-structured interview and can be used in coding, inductive thematic analysis is data driven, and allows one to “[code] the data without trying to fit it into a preexisting coding frame, or the researcher’s analytic preconceptions” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83). Furthermore, I conducted the analysis at the level of ideas, rather than the merely specific code words. Because it is essential to capture the importance of each idea “within an individual account” (Ayres, 2008, p.867), a thematic analysis at the latent level is practical in “identify[ing] or examin[ing] the *underlying* [emphasis in original] ideas,

assumptions, and conceptualizations – and ideologies – that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84).

After each interview, I transcribed the conversation. When I was unsure of participants’ utterances, I asked the participants to clarify them for me during the second interview or via email after the second interview. After the transcription, I highlighted the recurring terms and concepts, and used them as initial codes. Although not everyone had identical experiences, I found some similar patterns and categorized them. Following that, I examined these categories, as well as the individual codes, once more according to the research questions, and reorganized the categories appropriately. At this point, I sent out the summary of my analysis to the participants by email. All of the participants replied to me with some feedback. Participants’ quotes in English that appear in the following chapter are my own translation. Quotes in Japanese (Appendix F) are included in the appendices.

### **3.8 Researcher’s Positionality and Reflexivity**

Acknowledgment of the interviewer’s positionality and subjectivity in all the processes of the study is one way to pursue reflexivity (Peshkin, 1988; Roulston, 2010). In this study, I considered myself to be an insider with regard to ethnicity, language, and nationality. However, unequal relations of power existed between my participants and me in terms of age, English language proficiency, social status in Canada, and professional background. My participants might have perceived me to be a language education expert. Although I tried to minimize the power difference in my interviews in order to draw out candid accounts, I cannot rule out the possibility that my privilege might have affected the nature of my interview data. For example, they might have avoided being opinionated about certain topics, and they might have condescended to me. Conversely, the power difference



might have compelled them to behave like good students, shaping their interview accounts in what they perceived to be my favor. Thus, interview accounts need to be understood as co-constructed in unequal statuses between the participants and me as an interviewer.

## **Chapter 4: Findings**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I present the findings based upon the participants' responses to the questions outlined in Chapter 1. The aim of the questions was to investigate the participants' SA experiences chronologically, and the results illustrate the reconceptualization of their attitudes toward English and English speakers in relation to race through SA. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the findings.

The abbreviations of the participants' names for the direct quotes are presented in Table 3-1 in Chapter 3. The H in the direct quotes represents the researcher (Hiroko).

### **4.2 The Japanese SA Students' Attitudes toward Racialized English and English Speakers before SA**

The first question aimed to investigate which attitudes, as they relate to race, Japanese SA students thought they had had toward English and English speakers prior to SA and how they thought they had developed these attitudes. The interviews revealed that the participants used general or broad terms to describe their rather specific assumptions regarding racialized English and English speakers. By scrutinizing the use of these terms, I first present the participants' pre-departure images of English and English speakers. Next, I demonstrate their racial attitudes in relation to the English language and English speakers. I then follow up with an examination of how they thought these attitudes had been shaped prior to SA in Japan. While the participants' backgrounds varied in terms of age, place of origin, and prior place of belonging, close similarities were revealed with regard to their overall attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers, as well as the means by which these attitudes were shaped.

#### 4.2.1 The Participants' Pre-Departure Images of English and English Speakers

Paralleling previous studies (Kubota & McKay, 2009; Sekiguchi, 2002; Rivers & Ross, 2013a, 2013b), this study suggests that the participants' pre-departure images of the English language were nationalized and racialized. They considered American English as standard, and tended to associate the appearance of English speakers with that of white Anglophones or white-looking people.

While English varieties vary, it seemed that the term English merely referred to the (North) American variety among the participants. In the following, Jun talks about his image of English.

- J : I prefer a class with *honba no* (authentic/original) English [to a class with a black teacher who had an *accent*].  
H : What do you mean by *honba*?  
J : The US and Canada. Countries where English is spoken as a mother tongue.  
H : So England is included as well?  
J : Yeah. I thought England was good, but I did not consider studying there. It is different from America in terms of a way of speaking and pronunciation, isn't it?

The term *honba* literally means a place/home of origin in Japanese. As Jun's account above reveals, the United States and Canada meant the home of the English language for him, despite the historical fact that it originated in England. As he later actually said "American English is the strongest image when it comes to *honba no* English," his image of English was powerfully tied to the standard American variety.

Some participants used "*kirei na*" (beautiful, clean, or pure) to describe (North) American English, meaning accent-free and easy to understand for them. For instance, Mai explained what she meant by *kirei na* English as follows:

- Ma : Australian and British English pronunciations are really hard for me to understand, not like American English. I have an image that American English is easy to understand as a standard version, although this is not to say that

American English is a common variety of English. I heard Canadian English was also *kirei*, because it's close to American English. I hadn't talked to Canadians in person, but I heard from friends and SA agents that Canadian English has no strong accents. So, I thought Canada was a good environment to learn English.

H : Do you mean that American English is standard and has no accent?

Ma : [Yes, although] it depends on regions in the US, of course, because the US is a big country.

H : Do you mean that American English pronunciation is easy to understand?

Ma : Yes. I thought American English is like Tokyo's standard Japanese. I wanted to learn the standard, or original, when I was going to learn.

As this account demonstrated, Mai considered (North) American standard English as standard or original, as well as *kirei*, or accent-free; Australian and British English pronunciations were described as modified or some accented version of (North) American English. In addition, while this account revealed that Mai differentiated (North) American English from the other IC Englishes such as British and Australian varieties, it also implies that OC and EC Englishes did not seem to occur to her at all, as she made no mention of them.

As far as English speakers are concerned, the participants equated English speakers with white people. When asked his pre-departure image of English speakers, Kento responded this way:

K : As English speakers are cool in my image, the image of English speakers as white first occurs to me.

This account reveals not only his image of English speakers as white, but also his impression of white people as cool.

In addition, *kokusai jin*, despite its literal meaning of internationalist, was a term reserved for English speakers among the participants:

K : I understood that [*kokusai jin* were] those who spoke English. That was it.

Like Kento, when I asked participants about their image of internationalists, many of them pointed out the English language skills first. Coupled with the finding above, it can be inferred that they considered Caucasians as internationalists. This is not surprising, considering that most advertisements for English conversation institutes use Caucasian models (Mizuta, 2009).

In addition to the descriptions of their images of English speakers, some participants also had a predetermined image prior to SA of those who were not likely to be English speakers:

Ma : I knew that Asians also speak English. But I used to assume that only white-looking people would speak English. I don't think so now anymore, though. So I would feel I'm really speaking with native [English] speakers only when I'm talking with white people.

The final statement clearly indicates that it had not occurred to her that Asians could be also native English speakers.

As these accounts demonstrate, the participants' pre-departure images of English and English speakers were racialized. Furthermore, they had formed certain attitudes in relation to racialized English and English speakers. In the next sections, I present their racial attitudes before SA.

#### **4.2.2 The Participants' Attitudes toward White People**

The participants' images of English speakers as being white further reflect their choice for an idealized English interlocutor. When asked whom they would have chosen as their English teacher in the image (Maldonado, 2009) from a group of racially diverse people before coming to Vancouver, everyone but Ryo chose one or multiple white people in the image. This implies that the participants' pre-departure choice of Caucasians had been based on their assumption that white people were all native speakers of English, as Mai's last

account revealed. In addition, some participants described these white people with such attributes as “kind” (Mai), and “friendly” (Jun). Their preference of white people as speaking partners and use of the above descriptors confirmed certain racial assumptions of the participants—the participants demonstrated a connection with white people as English speakers, and they considered them as their preferred choice for teachers or English practice partners.

The participants seemed to hold white people, coupled with English nativeness, in high regard. Ryo’s account below suggests that white people were superior or more valuable than people of color for his English learning before SA, although he came to change his mindset during SA.

Ry : [Regarding my host family,] initially I thought a non-[white] Canadian host family would be no good, but I have realized that this thinking is wrong. I’m now aware that I shouldn’t make judgments based on racial background, because I can really get to know people by understanding who they really are and what they do.

Although he did not explicitly mention it, it can be inferred from the above transcript that Ryo did not initially expect to receive the same degree of English learning with a non-Caucasian host family. His mention that “a non [-white] Canadian host family would be no good,” coupled with his initial intention to undergo SA for English learning (see Chapter 3), lends support to this inference.

During the interviews, the participants generally used the term *gaikoku* (foreign countries) and equivalent terms, as well as *gaikoku jin* (foreigners). When I asked the participants what these terms were referring to, they responded that *gaikoku* generally meant the United States, and sometimes other IC countries such as Canada and Australia, and that *gaikoku jin* referred to white people. The use of such terms revealed a bias in the participants’

worldview, which echoes with arguments of Fujimoto (2001) and Fujita (2009) discussed in Chapter 2.

In the following transcript from Misaki's interview, for example, she describes her initial reaction to a black South African ALT in high school.

Mi : Since I had a kind of image of foreigners equal white people, I was, like, so shocked to realize that a black person also spoke English.

This statement highlights Misaki's misconception of English-speaking demographics, and implies that she used the terms "foreigners," "white people," and "English speakers" interchangeably. I also observed her way of using these terms, along with the idea of internationalists, in the other participants' comments. Another assumption from her account is that she seemed to have excluded black people from the categories of English speakers and foreigners. As in this account, some participants implicitly or explicitly exhibited their lack of awareness of people of color as English speakers.

#### **4.2.3 The Participants' Knowledge Gaps and Negative Attitudes toward People of Color**

While the participants' accounts regarding white people cast Caucasians in a positive light overall, with almost no negative accounts regarding white people produced throughout all the interviews about their pre-departure experiences, they exhibited negative attitudes toward people of color. First, as Mai's previous excerpt indicates, some participants demonstrated a bias against people of color as being unsatisfactory English-speaking partners, specifically other Asians. Misaki also expressed a preference against Asian-looking teachers for English learning.

Mi : When I saw this image [that H presented] in the last interview, I thought this Japanese-looking man would never speak English.

H : You judged him so?

- Mi : Yes.  
H : You still didn't believe that even though you had been told that he spoke English?  
Mi : I would say, "That is a lie!" I would have requested his resume. If he had lived in the US, I would be like, wow! But, maybe I still wouldn't have chosen him.

This clearly indicated that one's racial appearance played a critical role for her in judging if the Asian male would speak English or not.

In addition to resistance to Asian-looking English teachers, participants did not mention black people as being a part of their images of English speakers, even though the participants were aware of the presence of black (American) people and the fact that they spoke English.

- Ma : I was a bit afraid of black people, and would have hesitated to talk to them, though this was my old stereotype.

As seen in Mai's account above as well as the comments in Rivers and Ross (2013b), the bias against blacks in this case arose from a fear of blacks instead of a predetermined English ability.

Although the other participants did not make any reference to other racial/ethnic groups with regard to their images of English speakers, Misaki acknowledged her former stereotype regarding cultures of other ethnic groups before her SA in her reflection on the interviews.

- Mi : I've realized I didn't know anything when I came here [to Vancouver]. I had a scary image of the Middle Eastern people or Indians when I was in Japan. Like they would be dangerous, although I didn't know anything about them.

This comment is aligned with her biased and limited knowledge toward people of color. Her previous account of her denial of the Asian male as an English speaker indicates her unfamiliarity with categories such as Chinese- or Japanese-Canadians. The other participants



also seemed to hold similar views, for they did not mention any other races/ethnicities unless they were given a probe, such as “how about Africans?”

In sum, the participants had formed racial attitudes in relation to the English language and English speakers. While their accounts regarding white people generally revealed their favorable or desirable attitudes, those regarding people of color suggested their negatively biased or limited knowledge. In the following section, I discuss how the participants had developed these attitudes before their SA.

#### **4.2.4 Factors that Influenced the Participants’ Attitude Formation in Relation to Racialized English and English Speakers**

The portrayal of Western society in Japan has instilled a bias in the way the Japanese view English-speaking Westerners. Based on my analysis, three major factors from this bias shaped the attitudes of the participants prior to their SA in Vancouver: English language learning in Japan, popular mass media (including entertainment), and the SA industry. In this section, I examine each factor in detail.

##### **4.2.4.1 English language learning in Japan.**

The findings suggest that the presence of ALTs and teaching materials in English language learning had influenced the participants’ pre-departure racialization of English language and English speakers. Among the other factors, the presence of ALTs seemed to be significant for the participants, because their direct intergroup contacts with the outgroup before SA were mostly limited to their ALTs throughout their own English language learning.

All the participants had taken English classes with at least one or two ALTs, beginning in their upper elementary or lower secondary education, either at a school or at a private English conversation institute. This study found that most of the participants had, or

only saw, white ALTs who spoke IC English varieties, both at their schools and in private institutes. Hence, the participants seemed to have taken for granted the assignment of white people who spoke IC Englishes as ALTs. For example, Ryo mentioned in his reflection on the interviews that he had not realized that he never had, nor had he seen any black English teachers before SA. Mai barely remembered seeing a couple of black teachers when she attended social meetings with her mother's colleagues at English conversation businesses. These examples support the claim that the demographics of the ALTs at the educational institutes are skewed toward whiteness (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013).

The skewed demographics of the ALTs, which were discussed in Chapter 2, seemed to have provided the participants with biased impressions of the English language and English speakers. Rie rationalized her pre-departure predisposition toward white English teachers, clarifying that all the foreigners she had ever met were ALTs at school and at a private institute she used to attend.

Ri : Since the foreigners I had met before college were so-called Caucasians, I would have only approached white people.

This account supports how her experience of having only white English teachers in Japan was associated with her choice of white people as desirable English teachers before coming to Vancouver.

Among the participants in this study, only Misaki had had a black South African teacher as an ALT. As demonstrated in the previous section, her initial reaction was negative. However, she also described her different impression of the teacher after one year as follows:

H : What happened after the shock? I believe you had him for a year. What did you think during and after the year?

Mi : I realized that all the teachers were teachers after all.

Misaki's attitudes toward him changed after one year of regular classes. One reason for this was that her Japanese teacher, who had team-taught English with this ALT, had spoken highly of him, and appreciated his presence constantly. Nonetheless, she did not mention black people in her pre-departure image of English speakers. It can be inferred from this that the positive intergroup contact effects that Misaki experienced with her black ALT did not extend to her general image of English speakers, despite her having accepted his presence in school.

Besides the ethnic composition of the ALTs, their behavior in class also contributed to a positive image of whites among the participants. The participants came to associate these positive images with the personal attributes of English speakers. Mai talked about her impression of English conversation classes in Japan as follows:

Ma : I remember the impression that the classes were fun, where the teachers taught us vocabulary as a part of games, rather than lessons.

As Mai described, the classes led by ALTs consisted mainly of games. Rie described her joy in participating in these classes with ALTs, resulting from a greater sense of achievement. Since the participants also talked about their negative or passive attitudes toward Japanese teacher-run English classes for entrance exams, it is inferred that the difference in Japanese and ALT teaching styles stemming from a difference in learning goals (e.g., prepare students for exams or simply use English with other students) led to a more positive impression of these ALT-run classes among the participants.

In addition to the influence of the participants' direct interactions with the white Anglophone ALTs, the English language teaching materials had also created both visual and auditory images of the English language and English speakers (Matsuda, 2002; Miyagi, 2006; Yamada, 2014). From the interviews, it appears that the images created from these

materials also contributed to shaping the participants' attitudes. In relation to visual influences, Kento reasoned his white preference as follows:

K : In fact, I had only seen white people in English textbooks, or interacted with only white people. Also, I had only noticed white people in my surrounding environment. But now looking back, I might have personally preferred white people.

His comment on the English textbooks echoes the findings of previous studies (Matsuda, 2002; Yamada, 2014) in that the majority of the characters in the English textbooks tended to be depicted as white people. Although more characters depicted as people of color have been observed in recent textbooks (Yamada, 2014), Kento's comment suggests that these may not attract much notice.

With regard to audio materials, as Miyagi (2006) and Miyagi et al. (2009) have found, the findings of this study also suggest that the participants had been exclusively exposed to a (North) American English variety throughout their English language learning in Japan, which might have led to the idea of (North) American English as *kirei* (beautiful, clean, or pure) or standard. Misaki revealed her pre-departure assumption about American English as standard:

Mi : I didn't have such teachers, but my friends who had ALTs from Malaysia or other Asian countries complained about their pronunciation because it was different.

H : Who complained?

Mi : My friends. We had only learned American English at school, right? I also might have had an image of "correct English means American English" when I was in senior high school. So when the sounds were different [from those we were used to], my friends said they didn't like it because these ALTs sounded different and they had some *accents*. I also felt I wouldn't like it when I was in senior high school—like why they can't speak proper English or so-called American English even though they're ALTs.

Her usage of terms such as "correct" and "proper" for American English confirms her previous assumptions that American English was the English language to her. The

underlying bias against other varieties resonates with Kobayashi's (2010) finding that discrimination is disguised in the discourse of accents.

Besides the teaching materials used at schools, Jun and Misaki had intensively used an educational resource developed by a *juku* (after-school learning institute), designed for children to practice pronunciation. The *juku* advertises on its website a specific tool that plays English words and sentences with the “*neitibu*” (native) sounds (Kumon, 2016). In fact, all the audio samples available on the website are recognizable as standard North American English. Hence, Jun and Misaki had absorbed IC Englishes, particularly a North American variety, in both formal and informal educational settings since upper elementary levels in Japan.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Japanese government has promoted English language learning for internationalization. However, the findings suggest that white dominance is strongly observed in this field, providing young Japanese learners of English with racially biased views of internationalization.

#### **4.2.4.2 Mass media.**

Mass media, including entertainment, also seemed to have a great influence on the participants' racial attitudes, and had essentially provided them with indirect contacts with the outgroup. The participants' accounts below demonstrate how the media had shaped their attitudes toward certain racial/ethnic groups prior to their SA. Rivers and Ross (2013b) argue that “stereotypical modes of categorization and appraisal are not only reinforced through the media, but are certified in the domain of popular Japanese culture as being accurate, acceptable, entertaining, and essentially unproblematic” (p. 48). This kind of social approval of certain stereotypes can easily disguise the issue of negative stereotypes toward countries

and social groups outside of Japan, leading Japanese students to ignore racial discrimination in Japan.

With regard to their favorable attitudes toward white people with the (North) American English accent, Rie and Jun, in particular, identified the influences of the U.S. entertainment industry, such as movies, music, and magazines. For example, Jun explicitly stated, “I’ve been influenced by [Hollywood] movies” in relation to the English accent and the appearance of English speakers. He further acknowledged that he was aware of non-American accents and the presence of people of color in the movies; nonetheless, his hobby of watching American movies had left him a strong impression of the American variety as the English language and tall white people with blue eyes as English speakers.

Rie, who also loved American entertainment, such as Hollywood movies, TV shows, fashion magazines and music, shared her reflection on the media environment in which she grew up. She recalled that there had been very few Asians, but mostly Caucasians and some black people, in the American TV shows that she used to watch (e.g., dramas and sports). As this reflection implies, mass media had developed the participants’ favorable attitudes toward white people as well as their undesirable attitudes toward certain countries and racial groups.

In addition to a positive bias toward Western countries, the participants recalled the mass media to also instill negative images of non-Western countries. For example, Misaki, whose negative assumption is evident in her comments above, revealed the possible source of her bias toward people from the Middle East and India.

- H : Where do you think these images [of people from the Middle East and India] came from?
- Mi : Maybe TV. When I watched a TV program on the caste system in India, I found it really cruel. One’s treatment of the lower class people and females was really bad in the program. In addition, I found the appearance of Muslim people intimidating—why do [females] have to cover themselves up? It is so

childish [that I didn't know], I know. But when you understand why, it is eye opening. The influences of TV programs and magazines in Japan are so powerful. That's the only way to know. I didn't have any opportunities to learn about other countries.

H : How about at school?

Mi : I studied about religions and history in social studies classes, which felt like a matter-of-fact manner, like there are many Muslims in these countries and there is a caste system in India. I don't think that school studies influenced my bias development, but TV programs did.

Her use of the term “a matter-of-fact manner” to describe her formal education suggests that she had formed her bias merely by indirect contacts with the unfamiliar outgroup members through media. While I discuss the details of her attitude formation process in the next chapter, these indirect contacts seemed to have functioned as society norms and structures that supported her bias development (Pettigrew, 1998).

As presented above, the biased images from mass media had been instilled among the participants implicitly. In fact, Kento's account highlighted this hidden issue:

K : Having lived in Japan for 20-something years, I used to have a tendency to prefer white people, although it wasn't out of racism. While I have never disliked black or Chinese people, I tended to prefer white people. But now, I don't care who the person is and which country it is.

The accounts of Rie and Misaki (in section 4.3.1) similarly suggested that they were not aware that their propensity toward white people could develop into discrimination and racism. This finding will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

#### **4.2.4.3 The SA industry.**

The SA industry plays another critical role in enhancing the participants' idealized images of the English language and English speakers right before SA, providing them with a particular form of indirect contact with the outgroup. Once the participants had decided to travel abroad to study English, one of their first priorities was to consult an SA agent for detailed information about their destination—a common step for Japanese SA students

(Fujita, 2009). While Kento applied for a working holiday visa by himself, the others received visa assistance from their own agents. Regarding the arrangements of language institutes, homestay, and insurance, all of the participants employed the agency services and depended on SA agents and their websites for information on Canada. Jun explained how he collected the necessary information regarding his SA as follows:

- H : Where was the source of such information [regarding safety/security, comfortable living environment and so on]?
- J : First, I went to an SA agency for the information, and then I browsed the Internet, and so on.
- H : Did you ask people who had studied in Canada or other countries for more information?
- J : No, I didn't.
- H : What other destinations were you considering as options?
- J : Australia and New Zealand, like the majority of working holiday makers.
- H : Why didn't you choose them in the end?
- J : I liked the idea that Canada would be a comfortable place to live in.
- H : Where did you get this information?
- J : An SA agent told me.

Like Jun, the participants had depended heavily on the SA industry, mainly agents and their commercial websites, as the source of their information. The media and industry-based SA discourse generally features the optimistic aspects of SA, while there is less detailed information available on how the desirable outcomes were achieved through failures and adjustments (Takahashi, 2013). Thus, too much dependency on the SA industry's information can easily build up idealized images of the West.

As briefly mentioned above, the participants generally had associated a few common terms with SA: safety/security, *kirei na* English, white people, immigrants, and multiculturalism. In fact, the websites (e.g., Aburōdo Kanada, 2015; Wintech ryūgaku sentā, 2015; Wish, 2015) actually employed these key terms, generating shared perceptions of Canada among the participants.



Regarding *kirei na* English, some websites use the exact term without explaining what it means. The websites indeed employ the term as if it were self-explanatory. With regard to the participants' image of Canada, it is conceptualized as a land of whiteness. Although Ryo had previously known that immigrants lived in Canada, he was disappointed to find out that his host family was not Canadian as he had imagined, but rather Singaporean Canadians. Ryo's account below is a good example of the participants' previous assumption that "Canadians" are all white:

Ry : First, my image of a host family was a Canadian family with children. When I met my host family, they were not *Canadians*, but Singaporeans, which was quite unexpected. This changed, or rather destroyed, my previous image.

Like Ryo, while the other participants also mentioned the terms immigrants and multiculturalism in relation to their images of Canada before SA, the presence of white people nevertheless seemed to be at the center of the participants' image of Canada. These conflicting images of whiteness, immigrants, and multiculturalism in Canada may be related to misleading information on the SA websites. While the texts on the websites described Canada as a nation of immigrants with multiculturalism, the white predominance on the websites' images may be responsible for the participants' expectations that they would be spending most of their time with white people while in Canada. Ryo's disappointment implies that the participants' pre-departure image aligned with the visual information on the SA agencies' websites, rather than with their textual references to multiculturalism or immigrants, and the disclaimer that the students might have non-Caucasian host families. Thus, inconsistency between visual and textual information on the websites seemed to have played a critical role in developing a misleading image of Canada among the participants.

#### **4.2.5 Transient Direct Intergroup Contacts of the Participants**

While much of the participants' pre-departure direct outgroup contact was with white English-speaking ALTs as discussed above, they also had made more direct contact with the other outgroups while in Japan, though these did not seem to affect their pre-SA images of English speakers. For example, at work, Rie sometimes had talked to various English-speaking customers on the phone; Misaki had participated in social gatherings where she had opportunities to meet and converse with people from many different countries in English; and Ryo had served international customers at his part-time job in English. He had also had some interactions with Chinese students on campus in English. Nonetheless, since these intergroup contacts with the group of people of color were often transient compared to contact with ALTs, these contacts did not seem to influence participants in forming their images of English speakers. These limited intergroup contacts thus seems to be an important factor in forming racialized attitudes toward English and English speakers, a matter which will be discussed more in Chapter 5.

#### **4.3 Japanese SA Students' Reconceptualization through Interactions with Diverse English Speakers during SA**

The second research question investigated how Japanese SA students thought they had (or had not) reconceptualized, through SA, their racialized views on English and English speakers. Despite Japanese students' positive images of their SA life in the idealized West as romantically described in the media and SA industry, they would soon become aware of the gap between their expectations and actual life abroad (Fujita, 2009; Tanaka, 2007). The participants of this study were not exceptions. Arriving in Vancouver, they claimed to have experienced confusion, struggles, and difficulties in adjusting their expectations to reality in

the initial phase of their SA. However, unlike most participants from previous studies, these participants remained motivated and invested in their English studies (Fujita, 2009; Kobayashi, 2007; Tanaka, 2007).

Closer examination of the participants' accounts revealed that they reconceptualized their racialized views of the English language and English speakers through observations of and interactions with diverse English speakers. In this section, I outline the transitions in this reconceptualization, beginning with a demonstration of the participants' understanding of a relationship between one's race and citizenship in relation to *nihonjinron*, as this subverted their underlying assumption of "foreign country = America = English = whites" (Sekiguchi, 2002, p. 202). I then present their reconceptualization of their racialized views, concluding with a demonstration of the participants' self-awareness in relation to their racial attitudes and Japaneseness.

#### **4.3.1 Understanding the Relationship between Race and Citizenship**

The pre-departure images of the participants in this study were such that there is a uniform relationship between citizenship and race. Thus, the participants had not generally considered that the citizenship of immigrants from non-white racial backgrounds could be Canadian. This is because their images of Canadians had been limited to Caucasians before SA. Moreover, it turned out that most participants had not been familiar with such categories as Chinese- or Japanese-Canadian individuals. Understandably, the gap between the participants' images of people's appearance or ethnicity and their citizenship came as a shock to them. For example, it was surprising for the participants to meet non-white Canadian host families or friends, given that participants had expected them to be white Canadians, as mentioned in Ryo's previous account. Mai also had a non-white Latino-Canadian host family.

Although it did not disappoint her as much, it took her by surprise when she met them. Jun described that the interactions with his Japanese-Canadian housemate, who looked Japanese but acted differently, like a “Canadian” to him, raised his awareness of second or third generation Canadians. This realization, he recalled, was a bit of a surprise.

A closer look into the ties between race and citizenship, responsible for establishing pre-SA images of foreigners, reveals it stems from the *nihonjinron* discourse. That is to say, nation, ethnicity, language, and culture are often perceived to be interchangeable among Japanese people (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Sugimoto, 2014; Yamada, 2014). In leaving the country, this discourse naturally becomes a template which sojourners apply to the nations they visit. Misaki’s account below revealed her assumption regarding race and citizenship.

Mi : My assumption that Canadians are white has been influenced by the Japanese cases. ... In the case of Japanese people, almost all of them are yellow race, right?

It is inferred from the last statement that Misaki had applied the *nihonjinron* discourse to people of different ethnic backgrounds. Rie expressed confusion similar to Misaki’s, showing her deliberation on the definition of being Japanese, which she had never thought of before.

Ri : The notion of citizenship is difficult, isn’t it? I say that I am Japanese, because my nationality is Japanese. I was born and raised in Japan. I speak Japanese. But what if I had been born and raised in Japan, and given Japanese citizenship, but I spoke Chinese? Would I not be Japanese? That sounds a bit strange. I wonder what defines your nationality.

H : Hmm.

Ri : If I focus on the language, I wouldn’t be Japanese, although I would be still Japanese because of the family registry in the government system. But from a cultural aspect, I’m Japanese because I was born and raised in Japan. Then, I wonder what determines one’s citizenship—I’ve been thinking about this recently.

H : Did you think about it when you were in Japan?

Ri : I just thought I was born and raised in Japan. Because I have parents in Japan, I am Japanese, I thought. Plus, the language I speak is Japanese, so I am Japanese.

Rie's account, like Misaki's, implies her concept of citizenship had, unbeknownst to her, been aligned with the *nihonjinron* discourse. Both Misaki and Rie were clearly confused when the *nihonjinron* discourse failed to apply to Canadian citizens.

While the participants in this study entered the country expecting the *nihonjinron* discourse to apply to Canadian culture, they reconceptualized their initial mindset. It is at this point that the results of this study differ from the findings of previous works. Rie and Misaki, for example, came to understand the relationship between one's racial background and nationality through having recurring intergroup contacts with various outgroups. Unlike the participants in Takayama's (2000) study, the findings indicate that all the participants realized that Canadians were not necessarily Caucasians after staying for several months in Canada. Accordingly, they also came to understand that race and citizenship were not automatically related to each other. Misaki's statement below demonstrates her reconceptualized idea of the relationship between one's racial appearance and citizenship. The following is Misaki's account regarding what kind of event or incident had contributed to her reconceptualization.

Mi : In Japan, when you see a foreigner, you would ask where he/she is from right away. Here, everyone is Canadian [regardless of their racial backgrounds]. When you see Asian-looking people [here], you wouldn't judge them by race or bother to ask where they are from.

This account indicates that Misaki recognized the different social norms in Canada that were different from those in Japan. She seemed to find her previous assumption regarding a relationship between race and nationality inconsistent with the reality she encountered. In fact, her contrastive view demonstrates her realization regarding her incorrect assumption.

The mechanism of change in understanding the relationship between one's race and nationality suggests that SA can be a vehicle to enact this important change. In the case of

my participants, this reconceptualization seemed to have occurred through their close interactions with, and observations of, their host families and friends, who were second or third generation Canadians. For example, Mai, acknowledging her understanding that “if one is born and raised, he/she is Canadian, regardless of his/her race,” explained how her mindset had shifted:

Ma : My host parents are native speakers of Spanish—my host father is from Cuba, and my host mother is from Mexico. They studied English and came to Canada. But their children are Canadian because they were born and raised here. They’ve been raised in an English-speaking environment, and their English is better than their parents’. So they ask their children for help with English. Also, the children’s friends often come visit them. Every single time, the friend’s race or appearance is different, but they are Canadian after all because they were also born and raised here.

As this account reveals, Mai’s interactions with her immigrant host family influenced her previous assumptions. She seemed to comprehend that one’s racial background was not associated with his/her nationality after her experience with her host family. Similarly, Misaki’s reflections on her Filipino host family gradually promoted a change in her prior understanding of the relationship between race and citizenship. While the parents talked a lot about their homeland to her, the children identified themselves as Canadian. Both Mai and Misaki’s descriptions of their understanding indicate that they spent meaningful time with their host families. While I discuss this in more detail later, their relationships with the outgroup members generated desirable intergroup contact effects that promoted their reconceptualization of racialized English speakers.

Evidence from Kento and Jun’s interviews suggests that reconceptualization of the *nihonjinron* discourse can occur in environments beyond the host family as well. These participants also challenged their previous assumptions about Canadians as being white through social relationships among a different set of peers. For example, Kento had a good

relationship with his supervisor and coworkers, who were mostly immigrants from the Philippines. Jun got along well with his Japanese-Canadian housemate as well as with his street dance friends, who were second generation Chinese- and Filipino-Canadians. While I discuss these cases in more detail in Chapter 5, these various direct intergroup contacts liberated the participants from the *nihonjinron* discourse that had seemingly restricted their understanding of a relationship between one's race and citizenship. Additionally, their countless intergroup relationships seemed to have promoted the reconceptualization of their racialized view of English and English speakers.

#### **4.3.2 The Realization of English as a Communication Tool that Promoted the Participants' Reconceptualization of Racialized English Speakers**

SA is considered to be a “magical formula” (Kinging, 2011, p. 58) for the mastery of target language skills (Kinging, 2008, 2011; Tanaka, 2007). The reality, however, is that SA alone does not lend itself to language mastery. Many SA students expect to become fluent speakers of the target language after socializing with native speakers for a certain period of time, only to find out that their expectations cannot be realistically met in that period of time. Although the participants in this study also had the wishful thinking about their English achievement through interactions with idealized interlocutors before coming to Canada, they negotiated their previous images of racialized English through recurring personal interactions with people of different racial and linguistic backgrounds. As such, they experienced a shift in expectations from achieving mastery of the English language to the successful use of English as a communication tool. For example, the following excerpt from Ryo's interview explains how his image of the English language changed during SA. His

contrastive descriptions of English before and during SA highlight his reconceptualization of the English language:

Ry : At first, I didn't think I would enjoy English, because it was English language learning after all. But while talking to many different people, English gradually became a communication tool, as I reflected on it. So, the image of English [I gained during SA] became so different from the one I had when I was in secondary school.

H : Do you have any anecdotes regarding your perception change?

Ry : Anecdote? I never thought of English as a communication tool this much when I was in Japan. I've just come to understand that English is important while talking to many different foreigners. So, my whole SA experience is an episode, if I had to say. I've learned even from daily casual conversations. But there's no significant incident to me.

The first account indicates that Ryo had initially expected to master English because of the gatekeeper mindset inherited from the Japanese school system. However, his experiences of using the language while learning it during SA seemed to have shifted his view. Furthermore, the second account suggests that his realization of English as a communication tool kept him motivated and invested in his new English language learning. His realization seemed beneficial in prompting him to recognize more legitimate English speakers in society regardless of their racial and linguistic backgrounds, eventually de-racializing his racial attitudes toward English and English speakers. In this section, I explain the circumstances in which such a transformation took place among the participants.

One common occurrence in the daily experiences of the participants while in Vancouver was their consistent exposure to a variety of different Englishes, many of which were either accented or not standard American in their tonalities. In the initial phase of their sojourns, the participants had struggled with these unfamiliar Englishes. However, while they started observing and experiencing daily interactions among diverse English speakers, they became aware that the unfamiliar Englishes turned out to be not only OC and EC English



varieties, but also the IC varieties. For example, Kento realized that not all Canadians and not all white English speakers would speak “*kirei na*” English, and shared this anecdote regarding his realization:

- K : For example, the owner of my shared house, a Canadian, speaks *kirei na* English. His pronunciation is *kirei*, and despite his speed, it’s easy to understand. That’s his personal skill. I need to ask some of my Canadian friends to repeat what they say a few times. Some other Canadian friends mumble, and others speak so fast. Sometimes I can’t follow them because of they speak fast, but most of the time, native speakers of English naturally speak so fast that all the words get linked together, like in America. The words are all connected, so I can’t figure out each word. I can’t catch words very well. In my understanding, that’s also a matter of pronunciation. Sorry I’m confusing these things—pronunciation, fluency, or speed... It depends on the person
- H : Do you mean native English speakers when you say it depends on the person?
- K : Yes. I’ve realized I can understand some of the native speakers, but others I can’t.

The account reflects his previous assumption that the English any Canadian spoke would be the idealized English for him to master. However, it seemed that daily conversations with various Canadian English speakers had led him to find that everyone has his/her own accent.

Misaki shared a similar observation:

- Mi : When everyone here, including Canadians, speaks informally, their English is not always grammatically correct as in textbooks, not that their grammar is completely wrong.

Her reference to grammatical correctness “as in textbooks” implies that her previous image of English speakers associated them not just with white people, but more specifically white ALTs. Since the participants’ direct intergroup contacts had been mostly limited to white ALTs who mostly spoke IC Englishes, they must have been exclusively familiar with the teachers’ academic way of speaking before SA. Thus, Kento and Misaki’s reactions to non-teacher Canadians’ way of speaking make sense especially because Japanese teachers and students have specific expectations for the way ALTs speak (Crump, 2007). The distinction

between the ALT-taught English in Japan and the one that the participants experienced in Vancouver is a particularly important one, because it demonstrates that native speakers of English, for the most part, do not conform to the standards imposed by the Japanese education system when speaking in daily life. Thus, the accounts above suggest that the English variety the participants mentioned was not the English variety of white English-speaking ALTs. I will return to this point in Chapter 5.

After a couple months of SA, the participants had come to recognize the significance of the English language as it is employed in multicultural cities like Vancouver. As Ryo's account above indicates, the participants came to recognize the English language's integral function as a communication tool among individuals. This recognition led them to renegotiate their prior images and biases toward the English language. Misaki accounted for her reconceptualization in this way:

Mi : Right after I arrived here and before coming here, I'd always wanted to master correct *kirei na* English with no grammatical errors. I'd also wanted to pronounce English as Canadians do. But now my goal is changing. I think it is good enough if I can make myself understood.

Like Ryo, Misaki became aware of the significance of English as a communication tool in an English-speaking environment. Moreover, her mention of less tenacity to Canadian English implies that her attitudes toward the English language became less racialized, suggesting her more open attitudes toward other varieties of Englishes.

The participants' realization of English as a communication tool not only de-racialized their previous image of the English language, but also encouraged them to take positive approaches to different varieties of Englishes. These proactive attitudes reflect their reconceptualization/de-racialization of English speakers. For example, Mai believed her continuing efforts would help her improve her English conversation skills with speakers of

unfamiliar Englishes. Ryo joined a weekly conversation club to talk to people from different racial or first language backgrounds so that he could understand diverse Englishes. Kento found that the English of non-native English speakers, such as Filipino and Koreans, was “somewhat easier for me to understand, compared to native English speakers’.” He further demonstrated the benefit of speaking with these English speakers, because the expressions they used could serve as an ideal language model for him. These benefits he found corresponded with arguments in Matsuda (2002) and Miyagi et al. (2009).

The findings above suggest that English language teaching in Japan does not position English for communication purposes, despite the government’s efforts. In addition, they indicate that the participants received English language instruction that aimed at communication with (white) speakers of IC standard English varieties despite the reality in which non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers, and interactions among non-native speakers are becoming more and more common (Jenkins, 2002; Matsuda, 2002; Miyagi, et al., 2009). Thus, the study supports the idea that SA can give students a positive understanding regarding how the English language is used outside Japan. Details of the benefits of SA will be examined in the next chapter.

#### **4.3.3 English Speakers are not Limited to White People**

Along with their understanding of a relationship between race and nationality and their more open attitudes toward various English varieties, the participants’ images of English speakers also seemed to have transformed from exclusively white people who spoke IC Englishes to anyone who could make him/herself understood in any variety of English. The participants now regarded the speakers of different Englishes as legitimate English

speakers, regardless of their race and first language. The following is an excerpt from Misaki's reflection regarding her reconceptualization.

Mi : I don't know which country, but if I had gone to a Caucasian-only country, my view [toward people with unfamiliar racial and linguistic backgrounds] wouldn't have changed this much. I'm glad I came to Canada in this sense.

This account suggests that her experiences with the formerly unfamiliar outgroups in Vancouver were instrumental in her reconceptualization of English and English speakers.

The findings in this study suggest that one of the biggest factors that transformed the participants' images was repeated interactions with diverse English speakers, including Japanese, on a daily basis in Vancouver. (The participants had some Japanese friends, and they acknowledged that they tried to speak English with them as much as possible.) It is also significant, in contrast to a previous study (Fujita, 2009) that the participants' interactions with diverse English speakers were meaningful and sustained rather than superficial and sporadic. We can infer this from the fact that all the participants in this study showed me a couple of images of their international friends and their host families with detailed anecdotes, unlike Takayama's (2000) participants who only wanted to have pictures of white people. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, I asked the participants in this study to show a couple of pictures or images that would sum up their SA experience, and that they would show to their friends and families in Japan. Misaki and Mai, for example, brought images of their Filipino- and Latino-Canadian host families. Rie's images mainly showed white people because she happened to have many Caucasian people around her, such as her host family. However, she shared some side stories of the images with her immediate circles. While showing one image of one of her language exchange partners, she shared a story of her new friends that a language partner had introduced to her:

Ri : He introduced her to me. This friend, who is a Chinese Canadian, teaches me various things, such as education, like schools, and what diversity means. She also told me that Caucasians had bullied her because of her Asian appearance. I thought “Oh I see.” Also, she told me how to hang out, and [to] watch out for Canadian men.

This account demonstrates how Rie exchanged personal stories about bullying and dating with her friends, also implying the depth of Rie’s friendship with her friend from an outgroup. Ryo, Kento, Jun, and Misaki showed me images with their fellow language learners who were Chinese, Korean, Brazilian, Mexican, and Japanese. They shared some daily anecdotes, such as dine-out occasions, outside of the language institutes. Jun and Mai also brought images of their friends, who they had met through their hobbies of dance and badminton. Those friends’ backgrounds were also diverse, such as Filipino-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, Taiwanese, and white Canadian. Their presentations of these images suggested that they had habitual and meaningful interactions with people of various racial and linguistic backgrounds, substantiating their attitude change toward the English language and English speakers in relation to race. The participants’ attitudes contrast with the ones in Takayama (2000), in which Japanese SA learners of English in Vancouver felt reluctant to show their photos taken with Asian-looking friends to their friends and families in Japan and resented the fact that they had few pictures with white “Canadians” to “show off” (p. 139).

Another factor that encouraged their reconceptualization was their observations of interactions, in addition to their own interactions, among diverse English speakers. Rie accounted for how her pre-departure image of English speakers as white changed as follows:

Ri : I’ve realized that English speakers, quite different from what I had expected, are not like those who are in movies. I see why English is said to be a common language in the world. This [city] has multiculturalism: I’ve seen some Asians whose appearance is similar to mine, change the language they speak all of a sudden from, maybe Taiwanese, to fluent English. Wow, awesome! I thought. Then I realized how meaningless to think that English speakers equal white

people and those I had seen in movies, especially when I found that bilingualism and trilingualism happen normally here in Vancouver, Canada.

Rie's account suggests that her pre-departure understanding of immigrants, which was based on Internet information, transformed into a deeper understanding based on her personal experiences in Vancouver. Her concept of legitimate English speakers had shifted—immigrants were incorporated into her portrait of English speakers while she was living in a city where intergroup contact among diverse English speakers was the norm.

While the participants in this study reconceptualized racialized English and English speakers through interactions with various intergroup contacts, they acknowledged that they had some friends who tended to chase white English speakers or hang out primarily with their Japanese peers. For example, Rie talked about her friends who had regretted choosing Vancouver for SA due to the large Asian population different from their pre-departure image of “foreign country” as whiteness. It is true that Vancouver is a multiethnic city as described in Chapter 3. However, Rie's friends apparently did not change their racial attitudes. Hence, the findings suggest that SA in a multiethnic city does not necessarily guarantee the students' reconceptualization of English and English speakers. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 5.

#### **4.3.4 The Participants' Increased Self-Awareness**

The participants seemed to have increased self-awareness in relation to their own racial attitudes, their Japaneseness, and the Japanese norms that they had rarely doubted before SA. The findings suggest that recognition of their own racial attitudes and critical views toward the Japanese norms seems to have contributed to their reconceptualization process.

#### 4.3.4.1 The participants' own racial attitudes.

It seemed that the participants had never thought about their racial attitudes, as they expressed surprise when reflecting on their pre-departure racial attitudes during the interviews. For example, Rie reflected on her previous image of foreigners, describing it as silly:

Ri : I used to think foreigners would be like those who are in the Hollywood movies. But I want to tell my previous self “It’s not the case.” It’s only a couple of months ago.

Here, Rie recognized her attitude change from a racialized one to a de-racialized one. In the span of only a few months, the exposure that Rie received in Vancouver produced such an effect. Misaki came to a similar state of awareness, and added that this self-awareness through SA came to be the most beneficial aspect of her SA experience. She states:

Mi : [Although I didn’t know anything about people from the Middle East and India,] since I came here, the image has changed. They are all nice people. I was scared of the Islamic cultures, to be honest, but as I learned from my friends about various countries, I came to question myself ‘What did I pretend to know before?’ I’ve realized they are all the same as me. This *culture shock* was influential during my SA. I think I was so ignorant, really.

In the account, Misaki’s mention of “*culture shock*” suggests a gap between cultures based on her previous and present knowledge. This excerpt indicates that she had developed a strong bias against particular cultures without any deliberation prior to SA; however, she also became highly aware of her previous biased attitudes. Her mention, “they are all same as me,” indicates that the boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup became blurred for her (Pettigrew, 1998).

Some participants explicitly stated that the interview questions and their own reflections during the interviews contributed to raising their personal awareness of their previous views toward racialized English and English speakers more explicitly. For example,

Kento acknowledged that he would not have reflected so deeply on his SA without this interview, as he explains in the following account.

K : I think I used to have a tendency to judge and select people based on their appearance or other personal biases. Maybe I would have preferred to have white people as English teachers in the past. It's not very appropriate to pay more attention to appearances than personal characteristics. But I think everyone has that tendency and it may be hard to avoid. I did have that strong tendency too. But this interview has made me realize that I'm not like that anymore. Therefore, after going back home, I'm not going to judge people based on their appearance, though I may not get along with everyone. So, [this interview] led to such an opportunity [for me to reflect on my attitudes].

Kento's reflection demonstrates his heightened awareness regarding his pre-departure propensity to prefer white people. In addition, his logic of using "therefore" also suggests that the recognition of his own racial attitudes can play a significant role in retaining his reconceptualization after SA.

#### **4.3.4.2 Japaneseness.**

As previously discussed, Japanese SA students were found to develop an increased sense of Japaneseness during their SA sojourns (e.g., Fujita, 2009; Kobayashi, 2010; Takayama, 2000; Williams, 2014). Japaneseness became apparent in how characteristics such as politeness and punctuality were described as unique features of Japanese people. Some participants in this study also tended to attribute certain positive characteristics to Japanese people. For example, Kento often used the phrases such as "Japanese will/won't do such a thing" when he encountered slightly undesirable or unpleasant behavior from the outgroup members, including a group of white people, for instance, when he saw his housemate do dishes in what he considered to be a strange way, or when a bus driver was rather rough in stopping and accelerating the bus. Misaki revealed that there were some moments during her SA English language learning when she realized her Japaneseness. She



assumed that she would be able to completely master English only after studying it in Canada for a year or so, and she seemed to try to justify her inability to master the language in a short period of time as a result of her Japaneseness, which became clearer in the following when she continued to talk about her wishful thinking:

Mi : I know my expectation was so shortsighted, but I used to believe that I would be able to speak English fluently in three months or so once I was on SA. But I've realized I'm so Japanese.

This account indicates a logical gap between the two statements. While it seems to make sense to her that her Japaneseness was related to the fact that she had not improved her English as much as she had expected, one's nationality and language skills do not correlate. Her statement suggests that she utilized part of the *nihonjinron* discourse to rationalize her inability to master the language.

These negative situations activated the participants' awareness of their Japaneseness, because the *nihonjinron* discourse sets a Japanese-favored norm in making judgments, as discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, it becomes convenient for the students to borrow the *nihonjinron* discourse, rather than their personal experiences (Fujita, 2009), to justify themselves in those situations. With regard to *nihonjinron* in relation to Japanese English learning, the discourse actually has often been applied as a kind of an excuse for Japanese inability to speak English (Hughes, as cited in Nagatomo, 2012, p. 16). Thus, it appears that Kento and Misaki borrowed the *nihonjinron* discourse when they found something negative that did not support their existing views.

#### **4.3.4.3 Questioning Japanese norms.**

While some participants had an increased sense of their Japaneseness, others came to question Japanese social norms, such as politeness and its ethnocentricity, through SA. For

example, Rie made a comment on her perspective change on the Japanese ethnocentric view as follows:

- Ri : I think I used to glorify Japan; Japan has something wonderful. ... I used to have a favorable bias toward my own country, comparing it with others.  
H : Do you mean that you compare other countries with Japan's standard?  
Ri : Yes. Japan used to be the standard in making judgments.

This account suggests Rie's awareness was centered on ethnocentric views of Japan. Misaki, while becoming more aware of her Japaneseness, insisted on sharing some critical views toward Japanese norms that she had realized:

- Mi : There are many people in the world who have various ideas. What is so-called right in Japan is not necessarily the same abroad.

In addition, both recalled the superior presence of English and English speakers in Japan, and they seemed to realize that Japanese tended to treat English, and English speakers, unequally compared to other foreign languages and their speakers. These views imply that Rie and Misaki achieved an increased sense of critical awareness toward the Japanese norms that they had rarely found problematic before. These views toward the ingroup play an important role in achieving the optimal intergroup contact effects (Pettigrew, 1998), which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

#### **4.4 The Way the Participants' Reconceptualization would Affect Them after SA**

The third research question sought to explore how the participants thought their SA experience would affect their attitudes toward the English language and English learning upon returning to Japan. All the participants acknowledged that they would like to remain active learners of English with their new mindset toward the English language and English speakers. However, some participants anticipated gaps between themselves and their friends in Japan with respect to mindsets toward racialized English and English speakers. More

specifically, they felt that some concerns would inevitably arise in sharing their reconceptualization of English and English speakers with other people in Japan.

#### **4.4.1 Retaining the Reconceptualization of Racialized Views toward the English Language and English Speakers**

Although all the participants were concerned about the decreased opportunities to use English in their home country, they were still determined to seek out different ways to study English there. In fact, their shifted views toward the English language as a communication tool and English speakers regardless of racial and linguistic backgrounds were well reflected in the way they detailed how they would like to study English back home. While they had studied English mainly with textbooks centered on grammar before their SA, they claimed that they would actively explore opportunities to practice oral English communication upon their return to Japan. One of the common ways of learning English that the participants claimed was to stay in touch with the international friends they had met during SA. This attests to the power of their friendships with outgroup member and their reconceptualized views toward racialized English and English speakers. Indeed, this new way of keeping up with their English indicates that they accepted their friends' varieties of English and considered them as English speakers. In summary, their image of English and English speakers would no longer be limited to American English and white people anymore.

The participants' willingness to retain their de-racialized views toward English speakers became more explicit when I presented them with the same image (Maldonado, 2009) that I used for the first research question, and asked them to choose whom they would like to study from after SA. Most of the participants answered that they would like to choose everyone, if possible. For example, Mai came to feel no hesitation in talking to anyone,

regardless of his/her racial background. Furthermore, she said she was no longer scared or hesitant in talking to black people as a result of her SA experience. Kento acknowledged that he now would prioritize a teacher's personality over their racial appearance. Thus, he said he would like to talk to everyone first, and then pick whom he could "get along with" or "have fun with."

When presented with the image (Maldonado, 2009) once again, Rie mentioned that she would also like to talk to all of the teachers in the image. Since she found that English and the way one spoke sounded different to her "depending on one's age—older, younger, close to my age, or slightly older," she would like to "learn from people of different generations and with different ways of speaking." She further expressed her willingness to interact with speakers with diverse accents:

Ri : I'd like to learn as many and as diverse accents as possible. I mean it because I have to be familiar with new ones before understanding them. I think I want to keep up my English so I'd probably be satisfied if I had a Caucasian teacher only. But once I feel I can communicate with that teacher smoothly, I would wonder if I could understand other people's English, such as British, African, and Chinese accents. European accents also vary quite a bit, don't they? So I want to expose myself to English spoken by people from various backgrounds.

This account reveals her fundamental reconceptualization as well as her commitment as a future English educator. Her open mindedness toward diversity also suggests that the positive intergroup contact effects will continue after SA.

#### **4.4.2 Perception Disparity between the Participants and Their Friends in Japan**

Although the participants were quite positive about retaining their de-racialized views toward English and English speakers, they understood that their views might or might not be shared or understood by their friends in Japan, which would make it difficult to keep their new views. In fact, as mentioned in the previous sections, some participants came to realize

that their friends in Japan and Japanese people, in general, held favorable views toward white people and discriminatory attitudes toward people of color, as they themselves previously had. Among the participants, Rie and Misaki mentioned that they would like to teach English in Japan after their SA, but anticipated a disparity between them and their friends in Japan. For example, Rie assumed that her friends would consider her as an internationalist merely based on her English skills rather than her open-mindedness. While admitting that English skills used to be her own scale to measure one's internationality, she demonstrated her new broader view of an internationalist in the interview:

Ri : What's most important for an internationalist is, to me, the ways of thinking and awareness—that we are all the same on earth and accept different religions and cultures. Even when they make comparisons, international persons don't make judgments like “This is no good or that's no good.” Instead, they accept different countries, different people, and different people with different ways of thinking. They can also promote their own country—that's my image of internationalists.

H : So do you think the [English] language skill doesn't matter?

Ri : I think it does. To convey this idea, you definitely need English, so it's necessary to have basic skills in English. On the other hand, people, who have enough English skills but not the mindset or make judgments like they are good and this country is good but that country is bad, are not internationalists in my opinion.

The last statement explains Rie's critical attitudes toward those who would mind one's racial appearance and prioritize English skills over open attitudes.

Misaki and Rie also expressed concerns that people in Japan think that there is something special or peculiar about the English language and English speakers. While Japanese people are eager to learn English and admire those who can speak it well, they sometimes turn a cold shoulder to English speakers (Kobayashi, 2011; Ryan, 2009). While both of them recalled similar ambivalent attitudes, they anticipated that it would be challenging to break this mindset when teaching and sharing what they had learned through

SA regarding racialized English and English speakers. For example, Rie reflected on past situations and assumed that it might be hard for Japanese children to learn multiculturalism due to their few contacts with non-Japanese people on a daily basis. She also predicted that the limited contacts with diverse English speakers made it difficult for many Japanese people to realize that anyone could speak English regardless of their racial appearances.

Although both Rie and Misaki were concerned about the future difficulties they might encounter teaching English in Japan, they also expressed motivation and excitement about their future. Rie was planning to keep reaching out to those who have never traveled abroad and hold images of racialized English, in order to raise their awareness regarding the equal status of English varieties and English speakers from different backgrounds. When I asked Misaki how she would respond to future students who have discriminatory attitudes toward her Japanese-accented English or English with other accents, she answered as follows:

Mi : I'd like to tell them that all [varieties] are English. I'm sure there are many students who have the kind of attitudes that I used to have when I was in high school. If I hadn't come here [to Canada] and keep going the university in Japan, I might have been stuck with a 50% chance of learning only American English because I wanted to master it. But since I came here I've really learned that all varieties of English with different accents are all English, like Singlish and Konglish, as long as they make sense in communication. I want to convince my students about it, although I may not be able to.

The last statement confirms her commitment to spreading her learning through SA.

These future teachers' determination to fill the gap between them and their friends regarding racialized English and English speakers seemed firm. The other participants also seemed determined to maintain their reconceptualization. Nonetheless, it is still possible that they may change their views after going back to Japan. I will discuss how likely they are to retain their shifted views in Chapter 5.

## 4.5 Summary

Prior to their SA, the participants had formed certain attitudes regarding the English language and English speakers. Most prominently, they regarded American English as standard or *kirei* (beautiful, clean, or pure), meaning accent-free. In addition, their image of English speakers had been limited to white Anglophones or white people. During the interviews, the participants generally used the term “foreign countries” to refer to the United States, and often regarded the English language and white (American) people as symbols of internationalization. The participants’ images of white English speakers were positive and idealized before SA and their knowledge of and interest in other languages or races was quite limited or biased. For example, some participants rejected the idea that Asians were legitimate English speakers. During their reflections on their earlier interviews, many participants affirmed that they had been unaware of their preference for white people. While their attitudes were not necessarily malignant, they acknowledged their ignorance or indifference; their colorblind attitudes implied covert racism.

Based on my analysis of the participants’ reflections on their racial attitudes, I identified three influential factors: English language learning experiences in Japan, the Japanese mass media, and the promotional materials of the SA industry. The participants had made direct or indirect contacts exclusively with speakers of IC Englishes, who were primarily white people in Japan. In the classroom, the presence of white ALTs who generally spoke IC standard Englishes seemed to have played a critical role in developing the participants’ images of English teachers as white. Although the participants had had direct interactions with the unfamiliar Other, these occasions did not seem to influence the participants in forming their conceptualizations of English speakers.

During SA, the participants changed their attitudes toward the English language and English speakers. They came to realize that their assumptions that Canadians were invariably white were incorrect. Although they were confronted with situations they had hardly thought about before SA, they came to negotiate the meaning of being Canadian, understanding the complex relationship between one's race and citizenship by making direct contacts with Canadians of various racial backgrounds.

Another novel feature of Japanese SA in Canada was the participants' exposure to a variety of different Englishes. While the participants had difficulties understanding these unfamiliar English varieties, they did not necessarily locate them within a language hierarchy. Rather, they realized the significant potential of the English language as a communication tool. Through recurrent interactions with diverse English speakers close to them, the participants' images of English speakers transformed from white (IC) English speakers to anyone who can make themselves understood in any variety of English. In addition to the participants' reconceptualization of racialized English and English speakers, they came to be aware of their pre-departure racial attitudes. Some also revealed their heightened sense of Japaneseness, and others challenged social norms in Japan. The findings suggest that recognition of their own racial attitudes and critical views toward Japanese norms may have contributed to their reconceptualization.

The participants acknowledged that their reconceptualization of English speakers would remain with them. They revealed a desire to also include people of color with different accents while further improving their English upon return in Japan. In the meantime, some participants pointed out that there would be a perception gap regarding the English language and English speakers between them and their friends in Japan. They recognized that their



friends would likely have the pre-departure attitudes they themselves had held before SA.

While their determination to retain their shifted views seemed firm, the perception gaps regarding racialized English and English speakers between the participants, their friends, and the general public would likely involve a renegotiation of the participants' images of English and English speakers.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to examine how the findings outlined in Chapter 4 address issues relevant to the previous studies discussed in Chapter 2. I employ intergroup contact theory (ICT) and critical race theory (CRT) to discuss the development of Japanese students' attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers chronologically, so that I can highlight their transformations through SA.

### **5.2 The Effects of the Socially Constructed Racialization of English and English Speakers before SA**

In alignment with previous studies (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Rivers and Ross, 2013a, 2013b), the findings of this study indicate that Japanese young adult learners of English tend to judge the ownership of English based on one's racial appearance before SA. Because they generally assume white people to be the legitimate speakers of English, some participants showed their resistance toward legitimacy of English ownership of people of color.

While ICT posits how positive intergroup contact effects generate a “maximum reduction in prejudice” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 77), the findings of this study suggest that Japan's *kokusaika* seems to have “restricted and undercut intergroup contact” (p. 80) with most of the outgroup. Thus, it is inferred that the participants developed their abovementioned attitudes within the hierarchically determined intergroup contact situations before SA. Additionally, CRT reveals how their discriminatory attitudes that were hidden in “the usual way” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7). In this section, I discuss: i) How Japanese students' skewed intergroup contact situations generated in *kokusaika* racialized their

attitudes toward English speakers, and ii) how *kokusaika*, along with *nihonjinron*, has made racial issues invisible.

### **5.2.1 Limited Intergroup Contact Situations in Society**

As presented in Chapter 2, Japan's *kokusaika* has created white dominance in English learning, in that within it, white people and their IC Englishes are highly regarded.

Consequently, Japanese society has provided young people with skewed intergroup contact situations. The findings of this study indicate that the participants developed their racial attitudes mainly through direct and indirect intergroup contacts in English language learning, with mass media, and with the SA industry. More specifically, these Japanese students' direct interactions with white ALTs who spoke IC Englishes through English language learning were significant in developing their images of English speakers as white people.

Additionally, participants' direct interactions with the outgroup before SA were generally limited not just to white people, but specifically to white ALTs. Consequently, everyone seemed to have increased their stereotype of English speakers before SA. While Misaki had one disconfirming example of a black South African ALT, the other participants only had white ALTs who spoke IC Englishes. Their reflections indicated that they took having a white ALT for granted, and they did not seem to have any opportunities to reflect on their assumptions. Another reason why their direct interactions with white ALTs was influential on their stereotype formation can be found in Kento and Misaki's realization that not all white people would speak *kirei na* (beautiful, clean, or pure) English during SA. Their mention of the unclear pronunciation and colloquial expressions of white English speakers suggests that Kento and Misaki had developed their images of English speakers as speakers of *kirei na* English through teacher's ways of speaking English, rather than through casual

English talk in daily life. Hence, it follows that the participants struggled with the different varieties of English which they encountered among white people during SA.

Although the participants had direct interactions with non-white outgroups before SA, the interactions were sporadic, and did not seem to result in the reconceptualization of racialized English speakers, possibly due to a lack of “time for cross-group friendships to develop” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 76). Therefore, people of color were not explicitly recognized as English speakers by the participants. While their direct interactions with the white ALT outgroup reified an association between white people and English speakers, or vice versa, the participants did not generalize from the white ALT outgroup to other outgroups of people of color.

Furthermore, Pettigrew argues that social norms shape intergroup contact situations. Japan’s *kokusaika*, for example, in which white dominance is embedded, essentially restricts the participants’ contact situations, creating the gap. English teaching materials, which feature IC Englishes and white people, as well as online images projected by the mass media and the SA industry, which highlight the whiteness of the West, created a sense of racialization and idealization of white English speakers among the participants. As a consequence of exposure to skewed information available in Japan, the participants had unconsciously developed rather negative or indifferent attitudes toward ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the participants’ knowledge on unfamiliar outgroups stereotyped the outgroup. As Misaki’s reflection on her own ignorance in section 4.2.4.2 indicates, Japanese students may develop stereotypes toward the Other through the uncritical consumption of mass media.

To summarize, while the participants had positive attitudes toward the white ALT outgroup through intergroup contacts, the “essential and facilitating situational factors”

(Pettigrew, 1998, p. 76) of mass media and the SA industry seemed to have given them simplistic idealized images of white people and discriminatory images of people of color. Thus, even before SA, they developed a bias regarding legitimate English speakers, caused by the uneven intergroup contact situations that were shaped by *kokusaika* norms and structures.

### **5.2.2 Invisible Racial Discrimination in *Kokusaika***

This study also suggests that socially constructed intergroup situations make racial discrimination invisible. The pervasiveness of whiteness seems taken for granted such that it is challenging to articulate or eliminate racism most of the time except in obvious cases (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). In fact, the participants did not exhibit explicitly xenophobic attitudes toward ethnic minorities in Japan, but rather expressed their preference for the familiar (i.e., white people). This familiarity, however, can be interpreted as “the normalization of discrimination and prejudice” (Yamada, 2014, p. 51), because their familiarity, which was created by *kokusaika*, is what CRT calls racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). For example, while the participants had taken for granted that ALTs would be white speakers of IC Englishes, they seemed to be unaware that this perception was a consequence of a normalization of the unequal intergroup contact situation they had experienced. In reality, there exist implicit and explicit racial biases in hiring the English teachers in the private sector in Japan (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013). Moreover, the SA industry has tailored its media to capitalize on students’ preferences for white IC Englishes, as discussed above. Since idealized white dominance has been established as a given among the majority of the Japanese people, the inherent prejudice against non-white and non-IC Englishes is hard to articulate, much less eradicate (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Thus, the findings imply that

racial issues regarding English language teaching in Japan had hardly come to the participants' mind before SA.

In addition, the findings in Chapter 4 suggest that the limited intergroup contact situation discussed above, along with the *nihonjinron* discourse, created a racial bias with regard to the legitimacy of white English ownership—yet another example of covert racism among Japanese. Misaki and Rie's accounts in section 4.3.1 imply that the participants might have regarded Japan as a homogeneous society, which is part of the *nihonjinron* discourse. They might not have realized, for instance, that *zainichi* Koreans (involuntary immigrants during the colonial era) in Japan have, since colonial times, faced “discrimination and identity issues . . . because of the taken-for-granted equation between Japanese nationality and Japanese ethnicity” (Fujimoto, 2001, p. 17). The participants' way of thinking indicates their perspectives as members of a dominant group in Japan. Similarly, Jun's unfamiliarity with Japanese-Canadians during SA resonates with *nihonjinron* in that Japanese people tend to identify nationality, ethnicity and culture as the same (Sugimoto, 2014; Yamada, 2014). Thus, the CRT lens employed in this study indicates that the *nihonjinron* discourse implicitly legitimates racial biases in the minds of Japanese young generations.

### **5.3 Reconceptualization of the Racialized Attitudes toward the Other during SA**

The participants changed their views toward racialized English and English speakers during SA. In general, the participants' racial attitudes toward the unfamiliar Other were transformed during SA, as Vancouver offered them different intergroup experiences from those in Japan. In the following, I first examine the participants' reconceptualization of their views regarding legitimate English speakers through a lens of ICT. Then, I discuss the

situational factors that affected (or did not affect) the participants' reconceptualization of their racial attitudes.

### **5.3.1 Positive Intergroup Contact Effects through ICT's Four Processes of Change**

During SA, the participants shifted their biased views through interacting with members of various outgroups. It is difficult to identify how much their positive intergroup effects (decategorization, salient categorization, and recategorization of the outgroup) were generated in each of the three stages of ICT because their reconceptualization was in flux. Nonetheless, given that all the participants claimed that now they considered anyone to be an English speaker regardless of their racial and linguistic backgrounds, it appears that they reached the second or third stage beyond the initial recognition of group categorization. In the following, I examine the details of how the positive intergroup contact effects were generated to salient categorization or recategorization through the four processes of change within ICT (i.e., learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and ingroup reappraisal).

First, as Pettigrew's theory indicates, the new information about various outgroups that participants obtained during SA contributed to their enhanced understanding of these groups. The participants initially demonstrated their confusion and struggles with unexpected intergroup contact situations, which contradicted the familiar discourse of *kokusaika*. However, as time went by they came to recognize the intergroup contact situation as normal. Eventually, the participants came to learn about the outgroup through making and observing frequent interactions with its members. For Misaki, for instance, her recognition of past ignorance regarding the outgroup was one of her most beneficial SA experiences. Replacing stereotypes with new information triggered the participants' optimal intergroup contact.

Second, behavior modification is “often the precursor of attitude change” (Pettigrew, 1998, p.71). It can occur when one’s expectations become positive and accepting with respect to a given outgroup. In addition, the recurring intergroup contacts over time can normalize them. Ryo’s case of attending public English language study groups represents this process of change well—his acceptance of unfamiliar Englishes led him to more frequent interactions with other from unfamiliar outgroups. This process of making one’s intergroup contact experience more “comfortable” (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 71) seemed to play a salient role in further generating positive emotions leading to friendship.

Third, recurring contacts generate affective ties that can make intergroup contacts effective (Pettigrew, 1998). Positive emotions nurtured through intergroup friendships are also essential to apply the positive effects of intergroup contacts to other outgroups. As findings show, the participants established good relationships with the outgroup members by dining with them and engaging in similar hobbies (e.g., Jun joined street dance practice and Mai a badminton club). Also, some participants discussed personal matters (e.g., Rie’s friend told her that she had been bullied because of her racial appearance in the past). Their friendships seemed candid based on the images they brought to the second interview to explain what and how they would show to their friends in Japan. The participants talked about their friends in Canada, who had various racial and linguistic backgrounds, with exciting anecdotes. Unlike the participants in Takayama (2000), none of them seemed ashamed of their non-white friends. These examples indicate that the participants’ affective ties with their outgroup friendships reduced their bias against the outgroup.

Once one accepts outgroup’s norms and customs through continued contact, a reappraisal of ingroup members develops. The development of such a view allows the



individual to become less ethnocentric. This process was observed particularly in Rie and Misaki, who began to question Japanese ethnocentric views and Japanese attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers. Their critical reflection on their own society indicates the transformation of their views of the ingroup, blurring the boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup (Pettigrew, 1998).

This study shows that learning about the outgroup as well as ingroup reappraisal, as two of the four processes of change in ICT, significantly helped the participants reconceptualize racialized English speakers. Learning about the outgroup relates to the reevaluation of stereotypes, as Pettigrew (1998) claims that “[p]rejudiced people may avoid contact with [the] outgroup” (p. 69). Misaki and Mai had indeed avoided approaching black people and Muslims before SA due to intimidating images, and hesitated to interact with these outgroup members in Japan. Thus, reevaluation of bias seemed critical in initiating intergroup contacts as well as in exposing their racial attitudes into view. Without this process, it is possible that they would not have been open to any intergroup contacts regardless of the availability of intergroup contact situations during SA. Additionally, participants were fortunate not to have been involved in seriously negative incidents like Fujita’s (2009) participants. While the participants in both studies struggled with adjusting their idealized images of the West to the reality in the beginning of SA, Fujita’s participants did not seem to have reevaluated their stereotypes during their sojourn; rather their racial stereotypes and sense of Japaneseness intensified, mostly due to negative incidents. These incidents may have deprived them of opportunities to learn about the outgroup.

The reappraisal of the Self, namely, their Japaneseness, or Japanese-ethnocentric views, also seems pivotal in furthering SA students’ reconceptualization of the racialized

Other. Again, while this may also be related to the participants' lack of negative encounters, it is different from Fujita's (2009) participants' experiences, in which they increased the sense of Japanese identity. Along with the reevaluation of stereotypes, the reduction of ethnocentric views seemed to have made the boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup blurred for the participants.

### **5.3.2 The Situational Factors that Affect Optimal Intergroup Contact**

Just as Japanese society had shaped the participants' intergroup contact situation, their SA site also had an effect. In this section, I examine key situational factors of ICT as they relate to this work. First, the demographics of one's SA site can play a significant role in students' reconceptualization of the English language and English speakers. The participants reported frequent (daily) interactions with and observations of people from different racial and linguistic backgrounds as normal in Vancouver. In contrast, Fujita (2009) reported that the Japanese sojourners in New York and London came to recognize a racial and ethnic hierarchy with white people at the top. While Fujita's participants felt inferior to the dominant white group, they revealed their superior feelings toward other Asians. One of the possible reasons for these different consequences may be related to the demographics of the SA site. Since Vancouver is a city with large Asian populations compared to New York and London, it is possible that the participants in this study did not consider Asians, including themselves, to be minorities. However, most of the participants in Fujita's study (2009) spent much longer periods—one to four years—abroad. Therefore, time spent abroad can be another factor, because sojourners may face more negative incidents if they stay longer.

Even within the same location, various other factors present themselves for consideration. For example, ICT addresses individual differences as well as societal factors.

While Takayama's (2000) study also took place in Vancouver, his participants did not reconceptualize racialized English and English speakers as my participants did. Similarly, some of my participants' friends, who were trying to pursue white interlocutors, apparently did not experience the same reconceptualization. Thus, having affluent multiethnic intergroup contact opportunities does not necessarily guarantee a shift in one's racial views.

Lastly, some of the participants acknowledged that they became explicitly aware of their pre-departure and present attitudes through participation in this study. In fact, Williams (2014) also found that the reflection interviews promoted her participants' awareness of how their SA had influenced their identity (re)construction. Although it is not clear how much the interviews I conducted contributed to my participants' thinking process, it seems it was a good opportunity for them to reflect on race and racial issues.

The findings indicate that individual agency as well as situational factors, including sufficient opportunities, may play a significant role in encouraging sojourners to make intergroup contacts and generating positive intergroup effects. At the same time, the study indicates that pre-SA learning on racialized English and English speakers could minimize students' stereotypes and maximize their chances of initiating intergroup contacts. Similarly, post-SA reflection can help students address their Japanese identity to become more critical about their ingroup. More details will be presented in Chapter 6.

#### **5.4 The Retention of the Participants' Positive Intergroup Contact Effects after SA**

As observed in their responses regarding their choices of English teachers in the future, the participants in this study did seem to have de-racialized their attitudes toward English and English speakers. A significant finding of this study is that sojourners' pre-departure colorblind perspectives and discriminatory attitudes could be mitigated. As they

became aware that their previous views had been unconsciously biased, they were likely to develop more critical perspectives toward covert racism in Japan. While they are going back to their original contexts where their racialized attitudes had initially developed, the study suggests that they are more likely to retain the positive effects after SA. Below, I discuss how the effects will be retained after SA.

Firstly, although the participants are going back to their previous intergroup contact situation, their reconceptualization of racialized English speakers can encourage them to make different intergroup contact patterns after SA. In other words, if they recognize a wider group of people as being English speakers, they may find more opportunities to experience a variety of Englishes even in Japan. A potential obstacle to this is a perception disparity between them and their friends or other dominant perspectives. Although the participants' views toward racialized English and English speakers have shifted, the views of Japanese society have not. Hence, they are likely to confront invisible racism in Japan if they maintain their new critical understanding. If they find it difficult or uncomfortable to keep their reconceptualized views, the positive effects may not be retained in the society. Furthermore, it is possible that the participants may need to negotiate their beliefs to fit into the local community, similar to the participants in Berwick and Carey (2000), who were found to have increased their Japaneseness six years after their SA in response to socially expected roles.

In addition to the possible perspectival disparity between the participants and their friends, a negative effect can also occur if there is an unfortunate incident (Pettigrew, 1998), such as mistreatment or physical attacks by members of the outgroup (Fujita, 2009). ICT points out that "at any point the groups can break off contact" (p. 76). During SA, my participants did not report any serious negative incidents unlike Fujita (2009). However, in

the long term, there is a possibility that the positive effects will be disrupted due to negative incidents.

As we have seen so far, the participants' attitudes toward the outgroup prior to their return have shifted in a positive direction. However, it is hard to tell how Japanese society will affect their new intergroup contacts. The data in this study were gathered from participants who were still undergoing the final stages of their SA. Neither my participants nor I are able to estimate how long they would retain their attitude changes in Japan. A follow-up longitudinal research on these SA students is needed.

## **5.5 Summary**

In Japan's *kokusaika*, my participants had experienced very few intergroup contact situations. Their direct interactions with the outgroup before SA were limited to the white ALTs they had had through English language learning experiences. In addition, Japanese society has provided skewed information about the outgroup. While positive or idealized images of white outgroups are ubiquitous in the media and the SA industry, biased images of non-white outgroups are pervasive in mass media. With such "essential and facilitating situational factors" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 76), participants may have developed white-centric attitudes toward English speakers, while denying non-white people's ownership of English.

The problem with biased intergroup contact situation is that *kokusaika* has masked racial discrimination, making it invisible to English learners. The participants were not aware that their familiarity with white English speakers was a negative consequence of *kokusaika*'s socio-political and socio-economical ideologies. Without having various intergroup contacts or critical moments to deliberate on racial issues, the Japanese students had not recognized the covert racism present in Japan.

During SA in Vancouver, however, the participants seemed to have changed their views by having frequent intergroup contacts with various members of the outgroup. While it is difficult to identify where in the ICT stages they were, I interpreted the participants' reconceptualization based on the model's four processes of change. First, they came to learn about the unfamiliar Other. Second, they took positive actions to get to know more about the unfamiliar outgroups, which can be interpreted as desirable behavior modification (Pettigrew, 1998). Then, the participants established affective ties with various outgroup members through friendship. Lastly, the participants developed critical perspectives about Japanese norms and standards, such as Japanese ethnocentric views. While the effects of intergroup contact during SA can vary depending on societal factors, the findings indicate that the most positive effects can be generated when one learns about the outgroup and develops his/her sense of ingroup reappraisal. This suggests the usefulness of pre- and post-SA guidance on racialized English and English speakers.

The study also suggests that the participants' shifted attitudes toward English and English speakers will likely be retained, at least for a while, given the fact that they clearly expressed their renewed preference of an imaginary teacher from diverse racial backgrounds. However, as Pettigrew (1998) points out, the intergroup effects can be diminished at any point due to a negative or undesirable incident, including confrontation with covert racism and socially expected roles in Japan. Thus, longitudinal research on the lasting effects of individual reconceptualization after SA is needed.

## **Chapter 6: Implications and Directions for Future Research**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The findings of this study can provide some implications and suggest directions for future research. In this chapter, I first present implications for effective SA programs. I then acknowledge the limitations of this study and recommend how these can be addressed through future work. The chapter ends with the concluding remarks.

### **6.2 Implications for Effective SA Programs**

If Japanese stereotypes or racially biased attitudes toward the Other are the by-products of the Japan's skewed *kokusaika*, SA potentially contributes to negotiating or de-racializing those attitudes because it provides students with different intergroup contact situations. However, educators should take several other factors, such as the demographics of an SA site, into consideration, as discussed in Chapter 5. Otherwise, participation in an SA program itself can promote further racialization of one's views. In the following, I discuss implications for pre- and post-SA English language teaching in Japan so that SA can become an opportunity to de-racialize Japanese students' attitudes toward English speakers.

#### **6.2.1 Critical Awareness in Japanese Formal Education**

As evidenced from this study, missing opportunities to reflect upon the sociopolitical aspects of the English language in Japan seems to have led Japanese students to tacitly solidify their bias regarding the ownership of English, making racial issues invisible to them. Although white dominance in the English language industry is market-oriented and it may be difficult to change its profitable nature, formal education can address more sociopolitical aspects of the English language (Kubota, 2010, 2011b). Although not all students study abroad, an increasing number of foreign residents, especially from China, the Philippines,

and Vietnam (Ministry of Justice, 2015), has been changing intergroup contact situation in Japan. Thus, addressing the problem of citizens' biased attitudes is a pressing issue whether they study abroad or not. Unfortunately, however, the present findings demonstrate that the participants lacked opportunities to reflect on their attitudes towards racialized English before SA. As many scholars (e.g., Kobayashi, 2006, 2010; Kubota, 1999, 2011b; Matsuda, 2000) advocate, critical perspectives should be introduced more in formal English language teaching.

Drawing from the findings of the SA participants' pre-departure experiences, I suggest that more racially and linguistically diverse ALTs be employed in Japan in order to increase intergroup contacts with outgroup members. I also suggest that teaching materials used in Japan introduce more varieties of English and depict racially diverse speakers of English. However, many non-Japanese English teachers are called "one-shot" ALTs, who visit 15-20 schools in a designated district, which means that they may visit each school one to three times a year (Breckenridge & Erling, 2011). As Misaki's case with a black South African teacher favorably suggests, long-term assignment in a school can establish a desirable level of rapport. Thus, the hiring and assignment policies of ALTs should be reexamined with longer terms taken into consideration.

Another recommendation, particularly for practitioners, is to launch or encourage a system of teacher education focused on racialized English. Although the present study did not investigate Japanese teachers' attitudes toward different varieties of English, the findings suggest that the participants' Japanese teachers of English generally did not seem to play an active role in raising the students' awareness of English varieties in their teaching, in which issues of race were not addressed. If the students in this study had been provided with



opportunities to learn about racialized English and the extant racial issues in English language learning in Japan, their initial transition during SA could have been smoother. The finding is partially compatible with findings from Miyagi's (2006) study, in which Japanese teachers of English did not necessarily advocate the ideas of English as a lingua franca or as an international language. The teachers' indifference or passive attitudes toward different varieties of English can be interpreted as their implicit approval of white IC Englishes, promoting it as a social norm in the classroom. Therefore, if teachers become more cognizant of racial issues in English language teaching, they can use even teaching materials that favor white IC Englishes in a critical way. With teachers' guidance, the materials can provide the students with opportunities to know that other legitimate English varieties exist and that racial issues surrounding English varieties are present in Japan and throughout the world.

### **6.2.2 The Post-SA Lasting Effects of Intergroup Contacts**

Many of the SA participants felt that they benefitted from increased awareness of race and from language learning. In addition, realizing their previous racial attitudes seemed to have significant implications for retaining their new views. Thus, this study's findings suggest that SA programs offer opportunities for their clients to reflect on their SA experiences regarding language learning and racial matters in the form of written self-assessment or open discussions, starting during SA and continuing afterwards. While SA-offering institutions, such as high schools, universities, and private companies, generally offer pre-SA guidance to avoid potential troubles, such as safety issues, opportunities for post-SA guidance seem rare. Therefore, I recommend reflection opportunities be provided in order to prolong the positive effects of SA.

### **6.3 Limitations of the Study**

Like all research, this study has some limitations. Acknowledgment of these can enhance the credibility of the data and the results (O’Leary, 2010). Here are major limitations of this study.

Because the participants’ views and experiences were obtained only through reflective research interviews, the participants may not have reflected on what they actually experienced, felt or believed in situ. In addition, their accounts regarding the present and the future reflect their subjectivities in flux. While I categorized their reflections on their attitudes heuristically into the pre-SA, during SA, and post-SA stages based on my interpretation of the data, their reconceptualization of racialized English and English speakers may not as straightforward as I have presented it.

Another limitation or caveat lies in the data analysis. I recognize that some interview questions might have been vague to some participants, and I consequently received ambiguous answers. I tried to refine my questions in the second interviews and in the follow-up email exchange with the participants, but some questions may have remained unclear. Although I employed member checks with my participants, I sometimes had to draw on my knowledge of the context of the interviews to make sense of their answers. Hence, the data presented strictly reflect my own interpretations.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the interview data were co-constructed between the researcher and the participants, who were cultural insiders and yet had different educational and linguistic statuses. Although I was aware of this disparity as well as the co-constructed nature of the interview accounts, eliciting and representing participants’ genuine views in a self-reflexive way was a significant challenge.

Finally, the fact that the participants and I shared similar cultural backgrounds was helpful in my delving into their accounts to understand their assumptions regarding racialized English, English speakers, and some other associated terms, such as foreign languages and foreigners. However, this similarity might have masked some shared assumptions that needed to be made more explicit for the reader of this thesis. Thus, in representing the data, I acknowledge that my subjectivity might have failed to sufficiently contextualize why and how they were produced and analyzed.

#### **6.4 Recommendations for Future Research**

While the number of studies on white dominance in English language teaching in Japan and its influence on students is increasing, there is a dearth of research on the effects of their long-term interactions with racially and linguistically diverse English speakers. Students' initial reactions to unfamiliar varieties of English have been reported (McConnell, 2000), yet additional information regarding how their reactions shift (or do not) longitudinally requires more investigation. The positive results, such as increased awareness of their racial attitudes toward unfamiliar varieties of English and English speakers, can create more open environments where students can explicitly discuss racism in Japan. Additionally, if the results of future research demonstrate that more students can benefit from interacting with diverse English speakers, such research can promote equal hiring opportunities for teachers with diverse racial and linguistic backgrounds in formal educational institutions.

Another recommendation for future research is longitudinal research on how students' racialized or de-racialized views shift over time (or do not), both during SA and upon their return. The lasting effects of SA have been largely unexplored (Berwick & Carey, 2000), and

as discussed in Chapter 2, research that specifically considers race is limited. While this study employed interviews to collect data, future research might make use of observations of lived experiences at different points in time. The inclusion of observational data can be helpful in understanding how an SA student's attitudes are enacted in daily activities. Additionally, it can highlight how contemporary Japanese society accepts the internationality that SA students bring back.

### **6.5 Concluding Remarks**

The aim of this study was to learn about how Japanese SA students' interactions with the unfamiliar Other affected their racial attitudes. The study illuminated how Japanese society has racialized students' views toward English and English speakers through English language teaching. Since these Japanese-biased attitudes were generally hidden in the form of familiarity, racism in Japan seemed to be invisible to the participants. Nonetheless, these SA students demonstrated that their experiences with various outgroup members led them to reconceptualize their views, and they even indicated that they would like to keep their new mindset back in Japan.

As a former English teacher in Japan, through this research I had to confront how I had uncritically reproduced colorblind English language teaching. However, in conducting this study, I have found that SA can be a powerful tool to shift previous biases on race. I hope that the research implications that I outlined here will contribute to changing students' attitudes toward racialized English and English speakers during SA so that they can become critical global citizens, rather than internationalists who only seek white IC English(es).

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## Appendices

### Appendix A A Digital Image Used in the Interview



A Digital image “IS098R1NS,” by T. Maldonado, 2009. Copyright 2009 by Tomàs Maldonado. Reprinted with permission.



## Appendix B Recruitment Letter



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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

**Faculty of Education**

Department of Language & Literacy Education  
100 – 2034 Lower Mall  
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2  
Tel: (604) 822-5788  
Fax: (604) 822-3154  
Email: [lled.educ@ubc.ca](mailto:lled.educ@ubc.ca)

November, 2014

Dear Japanese study abroad students:

My name is Hiroko Yoshii, a graduate student in the Faculty of Education at University of British Columbia. I am writing to inquire if you or your friends are interested and willing to be interviewed by me for my Master's thesis study. The purpose of the study is to find out how and why Japanese study abroad students in Canada have changed their previous views regarding English and English language learning. I am looking for Japanese students, who fit the following criteria, as potential interviewees.

- Male or female Japanese in their twenties and thirties.
- Graduated from Japanese elementary and secondary schools.
- Have been living in Canada either on the study permit or the working holiday visa for between three and twelve months.
- Have been studying English in non-degree programs in Canada for between three and twelve months.
- Plan to leave for Japan within six months.

If you or your friends are interested in assisting me, two interviews (one for 120 minutes and another for 60 minutes) in Japanese will be requested between November and the end of December, 2014. During the interviews, you will be asked about your past and present experiences and views regarding English and English language learning.

If you are interested in participating or would like to know more about the study, please contact me at [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com).

Thank you for your time and assistance. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Hiroko Yoshii

MA Program, The University of British Columbia

Email: [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com)

Phone: xxx-xxx-xxxx



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Fax: (604) 822-3154  
Email: [lled.educ@ubc.ca](mailto:lled.educ@ubc.ca)

2014年11月

日本人留学生の皆様

ブリティッシュコロンビア大学大学院の修士課程在籍中の吉井裕子と申します。現在、カナダで学ぶ日本人留学生の留学前と後の英語と英語学習に対する見方とその変化に関する修士論文研究に取り組んでおります。つきましては、聞き取り調査に参加してくださる、以下の条件に該当する日本人留学生を募集しています。

- 20代もしくは30代の日本人（男女不問）
- 日本の小学校、中学校、高校を卒業している方
- カナダの学生ビザもしくはワーキングホリデービザ保持者（カナダ滞在期間3ヶ月以上、12ヶ月未満）
- カナダの学位取得を目的としない語学プログラムなどで英語を学習された（されている）方（プログラム在籍期間3ヶ月以上、12ヶ月未満）
- 6ヶ月以内に日本に帰国を予定されている方

ご参加下さる方には、今年の11月から12月下旬にかけて2回（1回目120分、2回目60分）、日本語でのインタビューにご協力頂きたいと思えます。インタビューでは、ご自身の過去と現在の英語学習の見方や経験についてお伺いします。ご参加いただける場合、もしくはもっと詳細をお知りになりたい場合は、吉井（xxxx@xxxx.com）までご連絡下さい。

ご協力のほど、よろしくお願いいたします。ご連絡お待ちしております。

吉井裕子

ブリティッシュコロンビア大学

修士課程在籍

Eメール：xxxx@xxxx.com

電話：xxx-xxx-xxxx

## Appendix C Letter of Initial Contact



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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

**Faculty of Education**

Department of Language & Literacy Education  
100 – 2034 Lower Mall  
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2  
Tel: (604) 822-5788  
Fax: (604) 822-3154  
Email: [lled.educ@ubc.ca](mailto:lled.educ@ubc.ca)

November, 2014

Dear [Name of a Potential Participant]

Thank you for your interest in my study and contacting me. As mentioned in the recruitment letter, the purpose of this study for my Master's thesis is to find out how and why Japanese study abroad students in Canada have changed their previous views regarding English and English language learning. If you fit the inclusion category of this study as in the recruitment letter and are interested in participating in it, you will be asked, during the first interview, how you developed your certain views toward English and English language learning before study abroad, and how you have changed them through interaction with diverse English speakers during study abroad. During the second interview, you will be asked how your study abroad experience will affect you when you return to Japan and will have an opportunity to clarify previous comments, provide additional thoughts, and ask me about my experiences of learning English and living in North America. Your identity and all of the information you share will be protected by the use of pseudonyms at all times.

I am attaching a consent form, which is required by my university. It explains detailed information of this study. If you agree to participate, please contact me at [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com) within one week so that we can arrange the first meeting. At the beginning of this meeting, I will ask you to sign the consent form. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me anytime.

Your views as a current study abroad participant would be very helpful to this study. Thank you for your time and assistance. I look forward to hearing from you.  
Sincerely,

Hiroko Yoshii  
MA Program, The University of British Columbia  
Email: [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com)  
Phone: xxx-xxx-xxxx



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Tel: (604) 822-5788  
Fax: (604) 822-3154  
Email: [lled.educ@ubc.ca](mailto:lled.educ@ubc.ca)

2014年11月

( 参加候補者氏名 ) 様

この度は、本研究調査参加に興味をお寄せ頂き、ありがとうございます。募集要項にも示した通り、現在、カナダで学ぶ日本人留学生の留学前と後の英語と英語学習に対する見方とその変化に関する修士論文研究に取り組んでおります。もし募集要項の条件に該当し、本研究にご参加いただけるようでしたら、1回目のインタビューでは、留学中の様々な国籍の人々との英語での交流を通して、どのように、また、なぜ英語や英語学習に対する見方が変わったのかについてお伺いさせていただきます。2回目のインタビューでは、この留学経験が、帰国後どのようにご自身に影響を与えるかについてお伺いし、また、前回のインタビューの内容の確認と補足事項をお伺いします。また私自身の英語学習、北米での生活全般について質問があれば、お話しさせていただきたいと存じます。全ての個人情報、仮名で管理いたしますのでご安心ください。

所属大学の規定により、本研究の詳細を示した同意書を添付させていただきました。もし参加に同意いただける場合は、1週間以内に、最初のインタビューの日時設定のためのご連絡を吉井 (xxxx@xxxx.com) までお願いいたします。最初のインタビューの開始前に、同意書の署名をお願いいたします。何かご不明な点がある場合は、どうぞご遠慮なくお問い合わせ下さい。

現在留学生である方のお話をお聞かせいただくことで、本研究の参考にさせていただけると考えております。ご協力のほど、よろしくお願いいたします。ご連絡をお待ちしております。

吉井裕子

ブリティッシュコロンビア大学

修士課程在籍

Eメール: xxx@xxx.com

電話: xxx-xxx-xxxx

## Appendix D Consent Form



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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

**Faculty of Education**

**Department of Language & Literacy Education**

100 – 2034 Lower Mall

Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2

Tel: (604) 822-5788

Fax: (604) 822-3154

Email: [lled.educ@ubc.ca](mailto:lled.educ@ubc.ca)

### Consent Form for Interviews

**Research Project Title:** Japanese Students' Reconceptualization of Racialized English through Study Abroad

#### Research Team

Principal Investigator

Dr. Ryuko Kubota, Professor  
Department of Language and Literacy Education  
Faculty of Education, UBC  
Phone: xxx-xxx-xxxx  
Email: [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com)

Co-Investigator:

Hiroko Yoshii, MA Candidate  
Program of Teaching English as a Second Language  
Department of Language and Literacy Education  
Faculty of Education, UBC  
Phone: xxx-xxx-xxxx  
Email: [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com)

#### Purpose of Study

This study is being conducted as part of a degree requirement for a Master's thesis. The purpose of this study is to investigate the experiences and views of Japanese study abroad students in Canada. Specifically, it will examine how and why students have changed their previous views regarding English and English language learning. We are inviting current study abroad participants like you to help us in this study.

**Procedure**

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be interviewed twice between November and the end of December, 2014. The first interview will take approximately 120 minutes, and the second one will take approximately 60 minutes. Both will be conducted in Japanese and audio recorded. You can choose a public place that is convenient for the interviews. During the first interview, you will be asked how you developed your certain views toward English and English language learning before study abroad, and how you have changed them through interaction with diverse English speakers during study abroad. During the second interview, you will be asked how your study abroad experience will affect you when you return to Japan and will have an opportunity to clarify previous comments, provide additional thoughts. You will be asked for feedback on the initial analysis of data about one week after the second interview via email. This will take a maximum of 30 minutes. Your identity and all of the information you share will be protected by the use of pseudonyms at all times.

**Study Results**

The results of this study will be published in a master's thesis. In addition, there is a possibility that the results may be published in a research journal or used in professional presentations. If you are interested in seeing the results of the study, please contact us and we will gladly send the research results to you.

**Potential Risk**

We do not believe there are parts of this study that will be harmful to you. However, you are not required to answer any questions that are uncomfortable for you. You may also stop the interviews or withdraw from the study at any time.

**Potential Benefits of the Study**

By participating in this study, you can help us learn more about study abroad students' experiences both in Japan and overseas. This may help improve study abroad programs in the future, and also give more information to other students planning to go abroad. In addition, you will be able to reflect on your past and ongoing experiences regarding your English language learning. Your reflection can benefit the rest of your study abroad experience as well as your English language learning after returning to Japan.

**Confidentiality**

Your identity and all of the information they share will be protected by the use of pseudonyms at all times. All interview data and participant information will be stored on a password-protected computer and password-protected folders on a hard drive. This equipment will be in a locked room that only the research team has access to.

**Contact information about the study**

If you would like to participate in this study, please contact Hiroko within one week of the time to arrange the first meeting. Hiroko can be reached at xxxx@xxxx.com. Please feel free to contact Hiroko in English or Japanese if you have a question about this study.

**Contacts for Complaints or Concerns**

If you have any concerns about your rights as a research subject and/or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

**Consent**

Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you may choose to pull out of the study at any time without giving a reason and without any negative impact on you.

- Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.
- Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study and have your interview audio recorded.

---

Participant Signature

---

Date

---

Printed Name of the Participant signing above



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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA  
Faculty of Education

Department of Language & Literacy Education  
100 – 2034 Lower Mall  
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z2  
Tel: (604) 822-5788  
Fax: (604) 822-3154  
Email: [lled.educ@ubc.ca](mailto:lled.educ@ubc.ca)

## インタビュー同意書

研究名: 日本人留学生の人種と英語に対する意識の再構築化について

### 研究者チーム

#### 研究指導教官

久保田竜子 博士  
ブリティッシュコロンビア大学  
教育学部 言語識字教育学科  
電話: xxx-xxx-xxxx  
Eメール: [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com)

#### 学生研究員

吉井裕子  
ブリティッシュコロンビア大学  
教育学部 言語識字教育学科 TESL 専攻  
電話: xxx-xxx-xxxx  
Eメール: [xxxx@xxxx.com](mailto:xxxx@xxxx.com)

### 研究の目的

本研究は、カナダにおける日本人留学生の経験と意識に関する修士論文研究です。特に、カナダで学ぶ日本人留学生の留学前と後の英語と英語学習に対する見方とその変化に関する研究に取り組んでおります。本研究の一環として、インタビュー調査にご協力いただける、現在留学中の日本人学生の方を募集しています。



## 研究調査の流れ

ご参加いただける場合、今年の11月から12月にかけて2回インタビューさせていただきます。1回目のインタビューは最大で120分、2回目は最大60分です。インタビューは日本語で行い、録音させていただきます。インタビューの時間と場所は、参加者の都合に合わせます。1回目のインタビューでは、留学中の様々な国籍の人々との英語での交流を通して、どのように、また、なぜ英語や英語学習に対する見方が変わったのかについてお伺いさせていただきます。2回目のインタビューでは、この留学経験が、帰国後どのようにご自身に影響を与えるかについてお伺いし、前回のインタビューの内容の確認と補足事項をお伺いします。また、2回目のインタビューの約1週間後に、Eメールにて、さらに内容の確認をお願いします。この作業は最大30分です。全ての個人情報は、仮名で管理いたしますのでご安心ください。

## 研究結果

本研究の結果は修士論文として発表される他、学術雑誌や研究発表会等でも発表される可能性があります。もし、研究結果に興味がある場合は、研究者までご連絡下さい。結果をお送りさせていただきます。

## 本調査参加に伴うリスク

本研究のインタビュー参加に伴うと思われるリスクはありません。お話になりたくない質問への回答を拒否すること、また、いかなる時点においてもインタビューを中断、中止していただくこともできます。

## 本調査参加に伴うメリット

本研究に参加していただくことは、私たちの留学生の日本と外国での経験に関する研究の参考にさせていただけると考えております。このことは、今後の留学プログラム向上や、将来留学を予定している学生への貢献につながる可能性もあります。また、インタビューを通して、ご自身の過去と現在の英語学習について振り返ることが出来、その振り返りが、残りの滞在中と日本に帰国した際の英語学習に役立つことと考えております。

## 守秘義務

全ての個人情報は、仮名で管理いたしますのでご安心ください。全てのインタビューデータと個人情報はパスワード機能の付いたコンピュータに保存され、さらにパスワード機能をつけたフォルダーにて保管されます。この装置は本研究チームしかアクセスできないように管理します。

### 本研究に関する連絡先

もし本研究に参加いただける場合は、Eメールにて吉井（xxxx@xxxx.com）までご連絡ください。本研究に関する質問は、英語、日本語のどちらでも承ります。

### 苦情に関するお問い合わせ

もし本研究に参加中、ご自身の被験者としての人権に関して、またインタビュー参加経験に関して不都合が生じた場合、ブリティッシュコロンビア大学研究サービス室、被験者情報ホットライン（604-822-8598）までご連絡下さい。遠距離の場合は、EメールRSIL@ors.ubc.caもしくはフリーダイヤル1-877-822-8598までご連絡下さい。

### 同意書

本研究への参加は、参加者の意志によるものですので、参加を拒否することもできます。もし本研究に参加いただける場合、どの時点でも、理由を述べることなく、また、いかなる不利益を被ることなく研究参加の意志を取り消すことができます。

- 以下のご自身の署名は、記録としてご自身が複写をお持ちになることを示します。
- 以下の署名は本研究に参加すること、またインタビューを録音することに同意したことを示します。

---

署名

---

日付

---

参加者氏名      (楷書体で)

## Appendix E Interview Protocols

### Interview Questions

#### インタビューの質問内容

#### Interview 1: Personal Background and Before and During Study Abroad

#### インタビュー 1：個人的バックグラウンドと留学前と留学中のことについて

##### Personal Background

##### 個人的バックグラウンド

1. Where are you from?  
出身を教えてください。
2. What is your educational background?  
学歴を教えてください
3. Which is your current visa status, either on student permit or working holiday visa?  
現在のビザは、学生ビザですか、それともワーキングホリデービザですか。
4. How long have you been in Canada?  
どのくらいの間、カナダに滞在していますか。
5. Have you been to any other places in Canada? When and for how long?  
カナダでは、バンクーバー 以外の他の場所に行ったことがありますか。いつ、どのくらいの間。
6. Are you still in any programs or do you currently work? If you work, what field and for how long?  
現在も学生ですか、それとも働いていますか。どのような分野で、どのくらいの間。
7. How long have you studied in any programs in Canada?  
カナダではどのくらいの間、教育機関で学びましたか。
8. Did/Do you stay with a host family or any roommates? Where are they from?  
ホストファミリーやルームメイトはいましたか／いますか。その人たちの出身を教えてください。

9. When do you plan to leave for Japan?

いつ、日本に帰国予定ですか。

**Attitudes toward English and English Learning Before Study Abroad**

**留学前の英語、英語学習に対する姿勢**

1. How did you study English in formal education (elementary, junior and senior high school)?

日本の小学校、中学校、高校で、どのように英語を勉強しましたか。

2. Did you study English in any informal education settings? When, how and how long?

学校以外で英語を勉強しましたか。いつ、どのように、どのくらいの間。

3. Did you like English or learning English? Which aspect and why?

英語や英語学習が好きでしたか。どのような側面が、なぜ。

4. Did you have any non-Japanese English teachers in Japan? Where are they from if you remember? Share your episode(s) with them.

日本で、日本人の英語教師以外に英語を習ったことがありますか。覚えていれば、その人たちの出身や、具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

5. Did you use English outside the English class? When and with whom?

英語の授業以外で、英語を使いましたか。いつ、どんな相手と。

6. (Showing a picture of faces of different ethnic background) Who would you have picked up as your English teacher(s) or English practice partner(s)? Why?

(様々な民族の人たちが映っている写真を見せながら) 誰を、自分の英語の先生や英語の練習相手として選んだと思いますか。なぜ。

7. What kind of images and expectations did you have toward study abroad in Vancouver/Canada?

8. バンクーバー／カナダで留学することに対して、どのようなイメージや期待感がありましたか。

9. What kind of images did you have toward Canadians?

カナダ人に対して、どのようなイメージを持っていましたか。

10. What kind of images did you have regarding internationalization or international citizens?

11. 国際化や国際人ということに対して、どのようなイメージを持っていましたか。

12. Were you interested in learning other foreign language(s)? What language(s) and why?

英語以外の外国語に興味がありましたか？何語、なぜ。

### **Attitudes toward English and English Learning During Study Abroad**

#### **留学中の英語、英語学習に対する姿勢**

1. What kind of program(s) did/do you attend?

どのようなプログラムに在籍していましたか／いますか。

2. Where are your teacher(s) of your program(s) from? Were/Are you satisfied with him/her/them? Share your episode(s).

プログラムの先生の出身を教えてください。先生には満足していましたか／いますか。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

3. Where are your classmates in the program(s) from?

プログラムのクラスメイトの出身を教えてください。

4. Who did/do you talk to most in the programs? Where are they from?

プログラムでは誰と最もよく話しましたか／ますか。その人たちの出身を教えてください。

5. Where are your friends or people in your social network groups from?

友達や交友関係のあるグループの人たちの出身を教えてください。

6. Have your images of English and English learning changed? How and why? Share your episode(s).

英語や英語学習のイメージは変わりましたか。どのように、なぜ。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

7. Have your images of English speakers changed? How and why? Share your episode(s).

英語を話す人たちのイメージは変わりましたか。どのように、なぜ。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

8. Have your images of study abroad changed in Vancouver/Canada? Have your expectations of study abroad been met? How and why? Share your episode(s).

バンクーバー／カナダでの留学イメージは変わりましたか。留学の期待は満たされましたか。どのように、なぜ。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

9. Have your images of Canadians changed? How and why? Share your episode(s).

カナダ人のイメージは変わりましたか。どのように、なぜ。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

10. Have your images of internationalization and international citizens changed? How and why? Share your episode(s).

国際化や国際人ということに対するイメージは変わりましたか。どのように、なぜ。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

11. What do you find it most successful? Share your episode(s).

留学で、最も成功していると思っっていることは何ですか。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

12. What do you find it most challenging? Share your episode(s).

留学で、最も苦勞していることは何ですか。具体的な体験や事例を話して下さい。

13. Would you mind bringing some photos or images of your study abroad experiences next time only if you agree? They will not be collected.

次回、もしよろしければ、ご自身の留学中の写真をお持ちいただけませんか。写真をお預かりさせていただくことはありません。

## Interview 2: After Study Abroad and Reflection

### インタビュー 2 : 留学後のことについてと振り返り

#### Attitudes toward English and English Learning after Study Abroad

##### 留学後の英語、英語学習に対する姿勢

1. How will you describe your study abroad to your friends? (If you bring your photos or images with you, please show me.)  
留学経験を友達にどのように伝えますか。（写真をお持ちいただけた場合は、それを見せていただけませんか。）
2. Do you think your study abroad experience will affect your attitudes regarding English and English learning in returning home? How and why?  
帰国後、あなたの留学経験が、英語に対する態度や英語学習への姿勢に影響すると思いますか。どのように、なぜ。
3. Do you think your study abroad experience will affect your attitudes toward English speakers in returning home? How and why?
4. 帰国後、あなたの留学経験が、英語を話す人々に対する態度に影響すると思いますか。どのように、なぜ。
5. (Showing a picture of faces of different ethnic background) Who do you think you will pick up as your English teacher(s)? Why?  
（様々な民族の人たちが映っている写真を見せながら）誰を、自分の英語の先生や英語の練習相手として選んだと思いますか。なぜ。
6. What do you think will be most beneficial after study abroad?  
留学後、最も有益になるだろうと思うことは何ですか。
7. What part of study abroad do you think will be most challenging after study abroad?  
留学後、最も苦勞するだろうと思うことは何ですか。
8. Are you/Will you be interested in learning other foreign languages? What language(s) and why?  
他の外国語を学ぶことに興味がありますか／わくと思いますか。何語、なぜ。

9. Do you think you will be an international person? Why?

国際人になっていると思いますか。なぜ。

10. Do you think your friends will consider you as an international person? Why?

友達は、あなたを国際人とみなすと思いますか。なぜ。

### **Reflection**

#### **振り返り**

1. Are there any other experiences or thoughts you would like to share with me?

他に話したい体験や考えはありますか。

2. After this series of interviews, do you have different views toward English, English learning and study abroad? Share your new views.

今回のインタビューの後、留学、英語、英語学習に対して、今までと異なる視点を持つようになりましたか。新たな視点について話して下さい。

3. Do you have any questions for me about my research?

私の研究について、質問はありますか。

4. Do you have any questions about anything else?

他に何か質問はありますか。



## Appendix F Quotes in Japanese

### 4.2.1

- J : 本場の英語を使った方の授業がやっぱりいいなと。
- H : 本場っていうのはどこでしょう？
- J : アメリカ、そしてカナダ。英語が母国語の国。
- H : 例えば、イギリスでもいいんですか？
- J : イギリスだといいなと思ってましたけど、留学に行こうとは思わなかったですね。アメリカと違うじゃないですか、しゃべり方だったり発音だったりで。
- J : だいたい、本場の英語って聞いたら、アメリカ英語っていうのが一番強いですね。
- Ma : 私の中では、オーストラリアとかイギリスの英語の発音って、アメリカとは違って、すごい聞き取りにくくて。やっぱりアメリカの英語が共通語じゃないですけど、英語の一番聞き取りやすい標準的な発音なのかなっていうイメージがあって、カナダもアメリカに近くて、きれいだよって聞いてたので。実際にカナディアンと会ってしゃべってきれいだなと思ってたわけではないんですけど、周りから聞いた話とか、エージェントの方とか聞いたとか、っていう情報で、なまりがそんなになくて、英語を習う上では、習いやすい環境なんじゃないかっていうイメージでした。
- H : アメリカ英語が標準的で、なまりがないって？
- Ma : アメリカも広いので、場所によっては全然違うんでしょうけど。
- H : 聞きやすいってことなのかな？
- Ma : そうですね、アメリカの英語が、東京の標準語、日本の標準語じゃないですけど、っていうイメージがあったので、ちゃんと習うんだったら、その大本というか。
- K : 英語話す人、イコールカッコいい人っていうのもあって、どうしてもイメージに最初に浮かぶのは白人。
- K : 英語が話せる人っていう理解だったですね。単にそれだけですな。
- Ma : アジア系の人だと、英語話すって分かってても、ちゃんと見た目が白人さんの方が英語しゃべるっていう意識があったので、前。今は全然そういう

ことはないんですけど。だからちゃんとネイティブとしゃべっているっていう感じがするのが、白人さんかなっていうの、私はあります。

#### 4.2.2

Ry : 自分らがちょっと、カナダ人じゃなきゃダメっていうのがあったんですけど、別にそれは違うなっていうのも実感できて。やっぱり人種では決めてはいかんってというのは、感じましたね。人の中身というか、その人なりを見て、ほんとに分かるかなっていうのがあるんで。

Mi : それまでのイメージが外国人イコール白人みたいなイメージだったので、衝撃的で。黒人の方も英語話すんだ、じゃないですけど。

#### 4.2.3

Mi : 前見てたら、この明らかに日本人みたいな人、絶対しゃべらないでしょって、この人って。

H : 決めてた？

Mi : 決めてた。

H : しゃべりますよって言ってもあまり信じない？

Mi : うそだ！みたいな。ちゃんと経歴が知りたいとかいいそうですね。アメリカにずっと住んでてとか、だったら、すげーみたいな。それでもやっぱり選んではないかもしれないですね。

Ma : 勝手な偏見なんですけど、黒人の方ってちょっと怖いっていうイメージがあって、ちょっと話しぶりがかなってというのは昔ありました。

Mi : こっちに来て、私ってほんとに何も知らないんだなって思って。すごい悪い例で言うと、中東の人とかインド系の方とかいっぱいいるじゃないですか。日本にいる時は、なんか怖いイメージがあって、なんか危ないっていうか。何にも知らないのにですよ。

#### 4.2.4.1

Ri : それまでの高校生までの自分は、会ったことのある外国人の方が、こういういわゆるコケイジャンの人しかなかったの、たぶんそういう方にしか近寄らなかったと思います。

H : 衝撃的だったってことで、その後どうでした？ 1 年は習うと思うんですけど、習ってる途中とか、習い終えてとか？

Mi : どの先生も変わらないんだなって。

Ma : 授業するよりはゲーム感覚で単語教えてくれたりとか、楽しかったっていう印象があるんですけど。

K : 実際、教科書白人以外出てくるの見たことないし、触れ合ったこともないし。自分が育ってきた環境が、白人しか見てなかったから、っていうのもあったから。でも今思えば、やっぱり勝手に自分で白人を好む傾向があったのかなって。

Mi : 私がお世話になった先生はなかったですけど、例えばマレーシアとかアジア系で ALT の先生をやられてる方の友達は、発音がちょっと違うから嫌だとかすごい言ってて。

H : 嫌だっていうのは誰が言うんですか？

Mi : 私の友達が、今までアメリカ英語しか習ってきてないじゃないですか。だから、正しい英語イコールアメリカ英語、みたいなのがたぶん、その時、私の中にも高校生の時には絶対あって。それでちょっと違ったりすると、全然違う、なんかなまってるから嫌だとか、そういうイメージを聞かされて。その時は、それは嫌だねって、高校生の時は思っていましたね。なんで ALT の先生なのに、ちゃんとしていうか、いわゆるアメリカ英語じゃないんだろうっていうか。

#### 4.2.4.2

J : 僕は映画の影響もあって。

H : 中東とかインド系の人怖いっていうイメージはどこから来てると思いますか？

Mi : たぶんテレビとかですかね。インドとかは、カースト制のテレビを見た時にすごいえぐいテレビ番組だったんですよ。地位が低い人の扱いとか、女性に対する扱いとか、すごい悪いですし。イスラム教はイスラム教でまず見た目が怖い。ほんとに幼稚ですよ。でも全部隠すとか意味が全く分からなかったし。でも聞けば、新鮮なことだし。日本でやってるテレビ番組とか雑誌とかの影響すごい強いんですよ。それでしか知らないじゃないですか。他の国のことを知る機会がなかったの。

H : 学校の授業とかではどうですか？

Mi : 宗教のこととか歴史のこととか、ちょっと社会でやりますけど、なんか淡々ですよ。イスラム教信仰してる国はここら辺の国で、インド、カースト制ありますとか。事実だけで。学校の影響があるっていうわけじゃないですけど、テレビが大きいですかね。

K : 日本にずっと20何年間過ごしてきて、人種差別じゃないですけど、自分の中に白人を好む傾向があったから、そういうイメージがついたわけで、決して黒人が嫌とか、中国人が嫌とか、なかったけれども、でも白人を好む傾向があった。でも今は例え誰であろうと、どこの国であろうと、いいかなって。

#### 4.2.4.3

H : こういう（治安、住みやすさなどの）情報はどこから得たんですか？

J : 最初は、留学会社のところで話を聞いたりとか。で、後で自分でインターネットで調べたて。いろいろした感じです。

H : 実際に行ったことがあるとか、ここじゃなくても留学した人から話を聞いたりってことはありました？

J : なかったですね。

H : 他にどこか検討した場所はありました？

J : その時は、オーストラリアとニュージーランド。（ワーキングホリデー利用として）主流なところで。

H : なんで、結果的にやめたんでしょう？

J : 一番住みやすい国の、そこに惹かれて。

H : これは何情報なんですか？

J : それは留学会社の方が教えてくれた。

Ry : まず僕のイメージでは、ホームステイ先っていうのは、カナディアンで、子どもがいてみたいな感じだったんですけど、いざ行ってみると、カナディアンじゃなくて、シンガポールっていう想定外の方だったので、そこでまずちょっとイメージがまず変わりました。壊れました。

#### 4.3.1

Mi : ずっと言ってますけど、ザ白人、イコールカナダ人でしたけど。…日本のイメージがすごく強いんですよ。なんか、日本人、イコール黄色人種しかないじゃないですか、ほとんど。

Ri : 何何人って難しいですね、そうなると。私、日本人って言ってますけど、確かに国籍も日本だし、生まれも育ったのも日本だから、日本人。そして、日本語を話すけれど、例えば、生まれ育ったのも日本で、日本で国籍って与えられたそのものも日本だけれど、話している言葉が中国語だったら、私日本人じゃないの？ってなる。なんかおかしいですね。何を総称して何人って言うんだろう。何をピックアップすると何人になるんだろうっていう感じですよ。

H : どうでしょうね。

Ri : 話している言葉を主点としたら日本人とは言えないし、でも政府から与えられた戸籍上で言うのであれば、日本人です。でもそこで文化的に見たら、日本で育ったから日本人になるっていうのでいくと、何何人って、何が主になるんでしょうねって、最近思いますね。

H : 日本にいる時は、そういう風に思いました？

Ri : もうただただ。私は日本で生まれ育ったし、日本での両親で、だから日本人っていう考えでしたけれど、それで話す言葉も日本語だから日本人っていう。

Mi : 日本だったら、外国人の方見たら、どこ出身ってすぐ聞くけど、こっちでは、みんなカナダ人だしな。人種で判断して、例えばアジア系の人がいっても、出身とか聞く必要ないし。

Ma : ホストファミリーもそうなんですけど、お父さん、お母さん、キューバ、メキシコの方で、ネイティブはスペイン語。だけど、英語を勉強して、カナダに来て。でも子供たちはここで生まれ育ってるから、カナディアンじゃないですか。で、子供たちの方がやっぱり英語は、英語環境で育ってるので、堪能で、お父さんお母さんも、子供たちに聞くんですよ、英語。だったりとか、子供たちの友達がよく遊びにくるんですよ。で、毎回遊びに来る友達の人種が、見た目が全然違って、でも彼らもここで生まれ育ってるからカナディアンだっていうのがあって。

#### 4.3.2

Ry : 最初は、英語っていうのもあったんで、そんなに好きになれないかなっていうのはあったんですけど。こっちに来ていろんな人と話してるうちに、英語っていうか、コミュニケーションの手段の1つとしてだなんていうのに、変わってきて、自分の中で考えた時に。なので、前まで思ってた、中高とかで思ってた時よりかは、はるかに、ほんとに変わりましたね。

H : こういうことがあって、っていうエピソードありますか？

Ry : エピソードですか？日本にいたら、ここまでコミュニケーションのツールとかって思わなかったっていうのがあって。やっぱり外国人と話すことで、

英語が大切だになってということが分かってきたので。留学に来ているこの今の感じがエピソードというか、留学に来ていること自体がエピソードかなっていうかっているのはあって。日々の会話というか、何気ない会話とかでも勉強になったりとか。やっぱり重要かなっていうのも思ったりっていうのもあるし。特にこれっていう大きな話があったかなって言われると、あんまりないんですけど。

K : 例えば、自分の今のシェアハウスのオーナーさんはカナディアンなんですけど、すごく英語がきれいなんです。発音がきれいで、話すスピードが早いにもかかわらず、聞き取りやすいんですよね。それは個人の力であって、カナディアンの中でも、友達にもカナディアンいますけど、1、2回聞き返さないと分からなかったり、人によってはモゴモゴモゴって話す人もいるし、すごい早い人もいるし。早いから聞き取れないっていう面もあるけど、でも、自然とネイティブの人たちは早くなって、いろんな単語が、ぱーっと流れていくから、それつながっていて、結局、アメリカみたいになります。語尾が分からないっていうか。言葉の最後とかがつながっていくから、分からなかったりとか。言っている単語が、うまくキャッチできなかったりとか。それも含めて発音って捉えてるんですけど。発音なのか、流れなのか、スピードなのか、ごっちゃになってて申し訳ないですけど、人それぞれ。

H : 人それぞれの人っていうのは、英語が母国語の人ですか？

K : はい。ネイティブの中でも、聞き取りやすい人、聞き取りにくい人はいるなって。

Mi : みんなこっちで、カナディアンもそうですけど、フランクに話す時って、文法もけっこうごちゃごちゃではないですけど、いわゆる教科書に載ってる正しいって感じでもないし。

Mi : 来てすぐとか、来る直前は、グラマーも完璧で、正しいきれいな英語をすごく話したくて、発音とかもカナディアンが話す英語に近づけたっていうのが、すごくあったんですけど、今は通じればいいんじゃないかっていう、自分の中で目指すものがちょっと変わってきたっていう。

K : その人たちは、いくらか、ネイティブのスピードが早い人と比べたら聞き取りやすい。

### 4.3.3

Mi : これがたぶんなんだろうな、どこの国かわかんないですけど、白人ばかりの国だったらそうは思っていないかもしれない。そういう意味ではカナダに来てよかったなと思いますね。

Ri : チャイニーズカナダ人なんですけど、紹介してもらって、いろいろ教えてください。エデュケーション、学校のことだったり、どういうことが、ダイバーシティとは。でも自分たちも見た目がアジア人だから、やはりコケイジャンの人たちから、いわゆる、いじめじゃないですけど、を受けたことがあるとういことを聞いたり。そうなのかーと思って。っていうことだったり、遊び方だったり、カナダ人の男は気をつけないととか、そういうこととか。

Ri : 自分の中で、英語を話す人、イコール映画にも出てきてるような人たちっていうのでは、全くないんだと思って。そこでようやく、ほんとに英語って世界の共通語なのねって言われるのがよく分かったって思いました。それこそ、ここ、ほんとにマルチカルチャーですから、自分と見た目近い、日本人だったり何人だったり、アジア人限定で話すと、ちょっと前までは、何語になるのか分からないですけど、タイワニーズとかよくわかんないですけど、そっちの言葉話してたと思ったら、いきなり英語に変わって、ばーって話してたり。そしてまた変わってっていうのを見たりして、おお、すごいなーと思って。あ、英語を話す人イコール白人で、映画で見たことあるような人たちっていうのは、全く無意味なんだなと思って。むしろ、バイリンガルだったり、トライリンガルだったりっていうのが、普通に起こってるんだって、このカナダ、バンクーバーでは、って思ったら。

### 4.3.4.1

Ri : いわゆるハリウッドの映画に出てくるような人が外国人みたいな感じだったんですけど、そんなこと全くないよって、昔の自分に言いたいですね。数ヶ月前ですけど。

Mi : でも、そのイメージも、こっちに来て、みんないい人たちです。そういうイスラム文化とか怖いと思ってたんですけど、正直。そういうのを友達から話聞いたりとか、いろんな国のことを聞くうちに、私は何を知ったつもりでいたんだろう、って感じになって。私と、みんなと全然変わらない人たちだし、そういうカルチャーショックを受けたのがけっこう大きかったです。ほんとに自分は無知だなって思って。

K : 自分の中に、人を見た目だったり、偏見だったりで、人を判断する傾向があったのかな、選り好んで。だから、英語の先生にするなら誰がいいとか、白人を選んだけれども、自分の中に、内面よりも外見を重視したりする。そういうのって、あんまりよくないことだと思うから、でも絶対みんなそういう傾向はあると思ってるから、仕方ないことかもしれないけど、そういう傾向が自分にも強くあって、でも、このインタビュー通して、そうじゃなくなってるな今は、って気付けたし。だから日本に帰った後も、自分に合う合わないはあるかもしれないけど、人を外見で判断するのは止めようとも思うし。だからそういう機会にはつながったですかね。

#### 4.3.4.2

Mi : ほんと浅はかで、来たら3ヶ月くらいで、だいたいペラペラになるでしょうって、すごい思っていましたけど、こっちに来て、私は日本人なんだなってすごい思いましたし。

#### 4.3.4.3

Ri : やっぱり日本を美化してたと思います。日本はこういうところが素晴らしいなのがあって。... 自分の国ながらも偏見があったりとか、他の国とコンペアする、比較することが自分の中であつたと思うんですよね。

H : 他の国を日本を基準として？

Ri : そうです、そうですね。日本を基準として。

Mi : 世界にはいろんな考え方の人がいるし、日本でいわゆる正しいって言われていることが、海外ではそうじゃないとか。

#### 4.4.1

Ri : 私はできるんだったら、いろんなアクセント、なので習いたいですね。耳が慣れないと聞けないので、ほんとにそれは思いますよね。なので、多分、最初のうちは、とにかく英語をキープしたい、話したいっていうので、例えばコケイジャンの先生だけだったとしても、それに満足する自分はあると思うんですけど、ある程度、自分でコミュニケーションが取れて来てってなって来た時に、たぶんふと気付く。この方の英語は聞けるけど、果たして私はいろんな方の英語は聞けるのか、と思うようになると思う。ブリティッシュアクセントだったりアフリカンだったり、たとえばチャイニーズだったりとかいろいろですね。ヨーロッパ系だったりしても全然違いますよね。だから、なるべくだったらいろんな出身の方の英語に触れていきたい。



#### 4.4.2

Ri : 国際人に一番必要なのは、私の中では、考え方、意識だと思います。見た目で差別しない、地球上の人はみんな同じである、その中で、宗教、文化を受け入れる。コンペアしてたとしても、その中で、だからあれはだめ、これはだめっていうジャッジをするのではなく、あ、こういう国もあって、こういう人もいる、こういう考え方の人もいるっていうふうに受け入れられて、自分の国のことも、アピールできるっていうのが私の中の国際人。

H : じゃ、あんまり語学力は関係ない？

Ri : で、それを伝えるのにあたって、どうしても英語が必要なので、伝える程度の英語力は必要だと思います。逆に言えば、英語力があるけれど、そういう意識がない、どうしてもジャッジして、自分の方をよいとするとか、あの国はよくてあの国はだめだとか、そういうふうに言う人は、私の中では国際人とは思えないなっているのがあります。

Mi : 全てが英語っていう風に教えていきたいです。高校生の私みたいな考えを持ってる人は絶対いっぱいいるし、たぶんこっちに来なくて、大学に行ってるだけだったら、たぶん半々くらいだったんですよね、アメリカ英語学んできたし、それを極めたいっていうのもあるけど、でもなんか通じればいいじゃないですけど、そういう英語もあるし、シングリッシュにしてもコングリッシュにしても他のちょっとなまりの入ってる英語にしても、全部英語なんだって、ほんとの意味で分かったのは、こっちに来てからなので。そういうのを説得というか、できないにしても、そういうの伝えていきたいですね。