Engagements with English in Japan: Ideological Constitutions of the Language and Its Speakers

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Technology Sydney

2018

Certificate of Original Authorship

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude toward my principal supervisor, Alastair Pennycook, for his ceaseless intellectual guidance, encouragement, and patience. Without his unwavering support, which was sometimes offered in a serious way but normally in a very amusing way (thank you very much Alastair for the 'PhD tissues' to wipe my tears away), I could not have completed this thesis. To pursue my studies with him was one of my long-held dreams and now I feel most honored to have fulfilled it.

My warm thanks also go to my co-supervisor, Emi Otsuji, for her constructive comments and consideration. Her insights into my data regarding language practices and ideologies in Japan were of great value. Her invitations to lunch or dinner with perfect timing also helped me survive this PhD journey. I will never forget the Japanese proverb '鬼の居ぬ間に洗濯.' This proverb literally means 'While the *oni* [= demon] is away, people will do the washing': in a more familiar English translation, 'While the cat is away, the mice will play.' Emi and I often used this proverb while Alastair was abroad. Of course, when we gathered, we never failed to add, "Alastair isn't an *oni* at all, though."

I am also grateful to my alternate supervisor, Roslyn Appleby, and many other researchers at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS), such as Jacquie Widin, Keiko Yasukawa, Marie Manidis, and Terry Royce, who generously attended my conference presentations or provided very helpful feedback on my rehearsal. In particular, as an expert of gender concerns within the field of English language teaching (ELT), Ros often updated me on the related scholarly literature.

I benefited as well from the wider UTS community, including the Graduate Research School, which granted me a scholarship and travel funding; former fellow postgraduates and research students whom I met during my previous MA studies exemplified by Akie Hanazawa, Maria Harissi, Shoko Kuroki, Sumiko Taniguchi, and Hiroko Yamaguchi; former and current fellow research students, Mohammed Alanazi, Muhammad Aulia, Veronique Conte, Mai Duong, Akiko

Hiratsuka, Jieun Hwang, Ayumi Inako, Mayumi Iwata, Feifei Liu, Tara McLennan, Binh Nguyen, Dan Tam Nguyen, Natalia Ortiz, Marie Palmer, Suphinya Panyasi, Nhu Phan, Daniel Quyang, Ritsuko Saito, Nipa Sapa, Irna Sari, Shashim Sharma, Kathy Shein, Amina Singh, Vassiliki Veros, Sandris Zeivots, Zhen Zhang, and many others; former study group mates, Benjamin Hanckel, Bong Jeong Lee, and Laura Fortes; the visiting scholar from Ritsumeikan University, Hideyuki Taura, who generously shared with me his experiences as not only a researcher but also a former schoolteacher in Japan.

I would like to extend my appreciation to people outside UTS who directly or indirectly assisted my project. First, thanks must go to all my research participants, who offered me their precious time and valuable input. Second, I am very grateful to Chihiro Kinoshita Thomson at UNSW and members of the *benkyokai* (study group) initiated by her. Third, I am thankful to Vivienne Burgess for her editing work. Fourth, I am indebted to Kei Nakamura, Mamoru Morizumi, and Atsushi Iino, who were and still are my mentors in Japan. Fifth, I am appreciative of the moral support provided by my former colleagues at Seibi Gakuen Junior and Senior High School. They welcomed me every time I went back to Japan. Sixth, my thanks go to the publishing company, Sanseido, for allowing me to continue to be a member of the editorial committees for two approved English textbooks. Assignments given across the ocean served as a good reminder to me that I was still jointly responsible for Japan's ELT, although I occasionally found it tough to maintain my research–work balance.

Last but not least, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude toward my family in Japan. They always wished me health and safety from a distance. Special thanks also go to my partner, whose easy-going and fun-loving nature has been crucial for this PhD journey. Chats with him about my project and research in general, and his views on language, enriched my thinking. I cannot imagine my days in Sydney being so delightful and meaningful without him. شكرا (*Shukran*).

I would also like to acknowledge that some of the analyses and discussions provided in this thesis have been published during my candidature, and various aspects have been presented at conferences. A list of the publications that have informed the thesis includes:

Tajima, M. (2015). *EIAL toshite no 'nihon eigo' ron wo saikô suru* [Rethinking 'Japanese English' for EIAL]. In M. Imura & K. Haida (Eds.), *Morizumi Mamoru kyôju taishoku kinen ronshû: Nihon no gengo kyôiku wo toinaosu, yattsu no iron wo megutte* [Collection of academic papers in celebration of Professor Mamoru Morizumi's retirement: Questioning Japan's language education with special reference to eight objections] (pp. 345-354). Tokyo, Japan: Sanseido.

Tajima, M. (2016). *'Jissen toshite no gengo' kan ga WE ron, ELF ron ni motarasu shisa: Kyôkasho bunseki eno sasayakana teigen to tomoni* [Implications for the WE and ELF paradigms arising from the view of 'language as practice': A suggestion for textbook analysis]. *Ajia Eigo Kenkyû [Asian English Studies], 18,* 18-42.

Tajima, M. (2018a). Gendered constructions of Filipina teachers in Japan's English conversation industry. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 22,* 100-117.

Tajima, M. (2018b). 'Weird English from an American?': Folk engagements with language ideologies surrounding a self-help English language learning comic book published in Japan. *Asian Englishes, 20,* 65-80.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers in Japan, drawing on language ideology theory. The theory, which originates from linguistic anthropology, views ideologies as people's thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about language rather than as top-down forces. The thesis therefore aims to examine how people engaging with English in Japan understand the language, and what language ideologies constitute or are constituted by their engagements with and understandings of English.

As research sites where people engage with English, the thesis focuses on self-help English language learning (ELL) books, Philippines-based Skype English conversation (*eikaiwa*) lessons, and English as an official corporate language (EOCL) policies in Japan-based enterprises. Through a lens of critical multimodal discourse analysis (CMDA), different types of data collected from these three research sites, such as the contents of the self-help ELL books, promotional materials produced by Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, online customer reviews on the books and providers, and interview findings regarding EOCL policies are analyzed. By doing this, the thesis untangles the complicated intersection of people's engagements with English, what they think of the language and its speakers, and what kinds of beliefs and feelings they have toward them.

The findings suggest several important considerations. First, they show that my participants are involved in English or ELL far more divergently than what language use and language learning mean in the conventional sense. To further

explore this phenomenon, the thesis proposes two new ideas ('engagements with English for self-development' and 'engagements with English for male gratification'), asserting the need to reconsider the notions of language use and language learning. The findings also demonstrate that in the course of engaging with English or ELL, the participants conceptualize the language and its speakers in specific ways. The native speaker, for example, is often considered as someone who is qualified to judge whether particular English is 'correct' or not, based on his/her intuition. However, the findings simultaneously indicate that this sort of conceptualization is not fixed but rather is constantly negotiated; the notion of the native speaker is socially, culturally, and ideologically constituted through people's discursive practices, and the glorification of 'native English' is not absolute.

The thesis contributes to providing more comprehensive understandings of English and ELL by developing the idea of 'engagement' instead of utilizing the more traditional notions of 'use' and 'learning.' The thesis also advances the theorization of language ideologies within critical inquiries in language studies, helping usher in significant changes in both Japan's and the world's language education.

Chapter 1

Introducing the Study

1.1 What is this thing called English?

English. What is it? I have pondered this question ever since I became aware of this thing called English. In his book entitled *What Is This Thing Called Language?* Nunan (2007) states that if he were asked for a single-sentence answer to the question, he would reply, "It's the stuff that surrounds us!" (p. 1). English would, by this definition, be things that envelop our lives. Considering that English is taught, learned, and used in our daily lives, certainly the language encompasses us. Indeed, as a doctoral student in Australia and former schoolteacher of English in Japan, I listen to, speak, read, and write in the language every day. However, in addition to the idea that language is the stuff that surrounds us as a means of communication or expression, there is another crucial view about it: that is, language as a discursive construct. As Seargeant (2009) points out, "we *talk* not only via language but also *about language*" (p. 1; emphasis added). In this respect, while English is surely in the world as the material that encircles us and assists our expression or communication, the language also exists as a construct that has been socially, culturally, and historically produced through our utterances about it. To put it differently, "[w]hat we call and recognize as the language of English is *an ideological construct* and *an outcome of a series of processes*" (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 105; emphasis added) that constantly emerges from people's discursive practices, as will be discussed in further detail throughout this thesis.

In the thesis, starting with this perspective, I aim to explore the ideological constitutions[1] of English and its speakers in Japan. More specifically, I examine the ways in which people engaging with English in Japan understand the language, and what language ideologies constitute or are constituted by their engagements with and understandings of English. To this end, drawing on language ideology theory (e.g., Blommaert, 2006; Heath, 1989; Irvine, 1989; Kroskrity, 2004; Park, 2009; Piller, 2015; Seargeant, 2009; Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 2004) as well as folk linguistics (e.g., Niedzielski & Preston, 2003; Paveau, 2011; Preston, 1993; Seargeant, 2011b; Wilton & Stegu, 2011), I critically analyze English-related written texts, visual images, and narrative accounts generated from multiple research sites[2] mainly within Japan (see Chapters 2 and 3 for more on the theory and the methodology respectively). The immediate research sites are as follows: self-help English language learning (ELL) books, Philippines-based Skype English conversation (*eikaiwa*) lessons, and English as an official corporate language (EOCL) policies in Japan-based enterprises.

In the thesis, through analyses of this mixed set of data and in the subsequent discussions regarding the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers, I

[1] I adopt the term 'constitution' instead of 'construction' throughout this thesis because I consider it a better word to express the ongoing process of language being ideologically produced.

[2] Philips (2000) distinguishes the notion of 'site' from that of 'context' in that the former can be viewed as a socially and culturally constructed place where discourse is generated, whereas the latter generally refers to a domain of language use. Park (2009) also argues for the importance of this distinction in language ideology studies because one of the central purposes of the studies is to explore "a culture-specific understanding of a scene of discourse production" (p. 22). Following these two researchers, I employ the term 'research site' rather than 'research context' in this thesis (see Chapter 2 for more on discussions about the interconnection between research sites and language ideologies).

also develop the idea of 'engagement with English.' By proposing this idea for better comprehension of people's relationships to the language, I assert the necessity of reconsidering notions such as 'language use' and 'language learning,' which have been commonly employed in the fields of applied linguistics, teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), and sociolinguistics.

In this chapter, I introduce the three immediate research sites. I also present research questions, argue for the significance of the study, and outline each chapter. To begin my discussion, I describe Japan, the broader research site, and problematize the traditional sociolinguistic belief that it is a country where English is seldom used as exemplified in the World Englishes (WE) framework (e.g., Kachru, 1985, 1992). As will be explained in further detail in the next section, this problematization is closely connected with the proposition that when the notion of language use is understood differently, the customary view of Japan as a country where English is not utilized very often demands further scrutiny. This proposition is established by the argument that rather than continuing to adopt the terms 'use' and 'learning' in the conventional sense, it is necessary to develop the idea of 'engagement' to thoroughly comprehend the relations between people in Japan and the English language.

When I describe the broader research site of Japan, bring the WE framework into question, and advocate the need for the idea of engagement, I make a passing reference to a section of the primary data collected for the study. This practice, namely the utilization of data before detailing the research design, explaining the data collection and analysis procedure, and introducing the research participants recruited for the study, may go against thesis conventions.

Yet, by partially subverting those traditions, I would like to emphasize the reality that research does not necessarily progress in a linear manner and that the very data gathered often help researchers to better recognize the nature of the research sites and the central concerns of the study.

1.2 Broader research site: Japan

1.2.1 Problematizing the WE framework

Of the several paradigms theorizing the global spread of English, the Three Concentric Circles (Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles) model within the WE framework formulated by Kachru (e.g., 1985, 1992) is the most famous and influential (Seargeant & Swann, 2012). Since its inception over 30 years ago, this model has contributed greatly to enhancing the awareness of the notion of 'English*es*' in the fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics. The model has served to legitimize different varieties of English by confronting the traditionally entrenched idea that these varieties are faulty or inferior versions of Inner Circle Englishes such as American or British English. Yet, while being quite helpful in decentering so-called native speaker norms, the WE framework has also been called into question (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999b; Fujiwara, 2012, 2014; Hino, 2009, 2012; Park & Wee, 2012; Seargeant & Swann, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2009; Tajima, 2015, 2016; Tupas & Rubdy, 2015). One of the major criticisms has been directed to the uneven interest in each circle displayed in the framework. Although the framework gives special focus to local varieties in Outer Circle countries such as India and Singapore, it has less discussion about the Expanding Circle, where English is conventionally viewed as a foreign language. With regard to this tendency, researchers working on Expanding

Circle countries often lament that the Englishes in the circle cannot help depending on the Inner Circle for their norms and end up remaining "exonormative" (Kachru, 1985, p. 17). As a result, numerous studies have tried to redress this insufficiency within the WE framework (e.g., Fujiwara, 2012, 2014; Hino, 2009, 2012; Morizumi, 2009; Park, 2009).

Japan is one of the countries actively involved in this movement. Fujiwara (2012, 2014), for example, identifies which Japanese words are borrowed into English usage by 'Japanese people'[3] and examines the possibility of these words being recognized by other international users. In doing this, he attempts to capture the lexical features of Japanese English and explore endonormative models for Japanese learners of English (Fujiwara, 2014). From a more pedagogical perspective, Hino (2012) proposes a new model of Japanese English (MJE). The MJE, which is designed based on his own university classroom practices, includes phonological, grammatical, lexical, discourse, and sociolinguistic characteristics that are more familiar to and easier for Japanese learners of English than the standard pedagogy (Hino, 2012). Hino believes that the MJE would assist the learners in expressing their "Japanese values in international communication" (2012, p. 30). He also hopes that this attempt "will help pave the way for the autonomy of English language teaching (ELT) in the Expanding Circle, a privilege that has been allowed in the WE paradigm only for the Outer

[3] "To whom does it refer?" This question arises whenever the term 'Japanese people' is used; studies such as Heinrich (2012), Sakai (1996), and Yasuda (2003) elucidate this issue in relation to the constitution of the Japanese language. In order to indicate that the definition of 'Japanese people' is very complicated and political, I have enclosed the term in quotation marks here. However, I will stop this practice hereafter to avoid clumsiness despite my awareness of difficulties that may stem from this decision. The same problem also holds true for terminology such as 'Filipino/Filipina tutors' and 'native (English) speakers.' See Chapter 6 for further discussions about the notion of the 'native (English) speaker.'

Circle with national varieties of English" (2012, p. 29).

Unlike those who strive to explore their own norms, other researchers level the more fundamental criticism that different varieties of English are categorized along national lines within the WE framework (e.g., Bruthiaux, 2003; Canagarajah, 1999b; Kubota, 2015; Park & Wee, 2012; Pennycook, 2007a; Seargeant & Swann, 2012; Tajima, 2015, 2016; Tupas & Rubdy, 2015). As grounds for this argument, it is often mentioned that the nation-state division of English cannot fully explain the complexity of the situations in which English is currently being used. First, even within each country, there are numerous varieties of English. As Seargeant and Swann (2012) point out, categorizing everything and everyone within a country into the same group disregards these varieties. Indian English, for example, cannot be a monolithic representation of all forms of English used in India.

Second, in this globalized world, where people frequently move across national borders, "there is a need to attend to Englishes that may exist at the subnational as well as transnational levels" (Park & Wee, 2012, p. 66). As Blommaert (2010) argues, this view suggests that it is no longer applicable to consider "language and language events from the fixed position in time and space attributed to them" (p. 21). Here, the WE framework is challenged not because it fails to cover every country equally, but because the country-based division itself is problematic. In brief, the very notion of national varieties such as Indian English and Singaporean English is under scrutiny.

1.2.2 Japan, a country where English is seldom used? Proposing the idea of engagement

In relation to the criticism against national English varieties, another important concern is whether the conventional perspective of language use is really relevant when addressing the current global spread of English. To further explore this concern, I introduce statements presented by Yano, a prominent WE researcher in Japan. In his papers, Yano frequently comments that "[English] will probably *never be used* within the Japanese community" (2001, p. 127; emphasis added) or "English is *never used* among the Japanese" (2011, p. 133; emphasis added). Given the fact that English has no official status in Japan and the majority of Japanese citizens do not need to interact in the language in institutional domains of society, these statements are understandable; if we were to follow the WE framework, it could not be denied that Japan belongs to the Expanding Circle. However, as Park and Wee (2012) point out, "there exists a range of *practices* that involve the local appropriation of English" (p. 67; emphasis added) in so-called Expanding Circle countries and these practices are beyond the established view of language use. In fact, as linguistic landscape studies on Japanese society indicate (e.g., Backhaus, 2007; Kallen & Dhonnacha, 2010; Seargeant, 2011b), despite its unofficial status, English is quite often appropriated in product names, signs, advertising, and pop culture in the country, and people who consume these artifacts are also involved in the language practices.

One example of these local language practices is an advertisement for a new suitcase that appeared in a business magazine:

Figure 1.1: Advertisement for a new suitcase (Source: *Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014)

As Figure 1.1 shows, the name of the suitcase is 'STLIGHT.' This word sounds strange to those very familiar with English since the consonant cluster 'STL' does not exist in so-called Inner Circle varieties; in this respect, the name is impossible. However, the nomenclature does make sense to those who speak Japanese and have some knowledge of English. This is because a sales pitch written in Japanese is also provided in the advertisement: '**もっと軽く、もっと強く。** (*motto karuku, motto tsuyoku*),' whose English meaning is 'lighter and stronger.' This sales pitch helps Japanese speakers with some knowledge of English recognize that 'STLIGHT' is the combination of the two words 'strong' and 'light.'

Another case of such appropriation of English can be evidenced in puns often heard in Japan. As researchers such as Inagawa (2015) and Schering (2016) demonstrate, English is creatively blended into the Japanese lexicon or vice versa as useful resources for eliciting humor. One of the examples offered by Schering (2016) is the logo 'I LOVE YOU SO MATCHA,' which is emblazoned on goods such as coffee mugs and T-shirts:

Figure 1.2: 'I LOVE YOU SO MATCHA' (Source: Schering, 2016, p. 289)

This logo, usually accompanied by a visual image of 抹茶 (*matcha*, powdered Japanese green tea) poured into a cup, makes use of the similar homophony between the English word 'much' and the Japanese term '*matcha*,' conveying two messages: 'I love you so much' and 'I love *matcha*' (Schering, 2016). According to Schering, the two messages ultimately "reinforce each other to express in an economic and creative way the high regard extended to green tea: 'I love Matcha very much!'" (2016, p. 288).

These two examples provide us with an opportunity to carefully contemplate what the notion of English use means. As mentioned earlier, given the fact that English is not officially adopted in most institutional domains of society, the language could be described as being seldom used in Japan. Yet, what if we move beyond this established view of language use and embark on an attempt to think about it differently? What if we try to grasp it in a much broader sense and attach greater importance to the perspective of appropriation, which is defined as "taking something that belongs to others and making it one's own, using it for one's own purposes, and with one's own intentions" (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu, & Riazi, 2002, p. 314)? What if we take into account the thought that people "manipulate the multilingual resources they have available to them" (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, p. 241) rather than merely use distinct languages? From these standpoints, an alternative term would be necessary to cover every language practice, including the examples given above, and I would like to develop the idea of engagement throughout this thesis.

It is also crucial to incorporate discussions on language-related issues into the scope of the idea of engagement. In this context, I reiterate Seargeant's (2009) statement that "we talk not only via language but also about language" (p. 1). Indeed, people in Japan talk quite often about English, ELL, and English language teaching (ELT) in various local milieus. A classic instance of such discussions concerns utterances made in English by Japanese athletes and celebrities. Recently, a young professional baseball player, Shohei Ohtani, decided to transfer to Major League Baseball in the USA and a farewell press conference was held in his current team's home stadium. At the press conference, he said only a few words in English, but numerous news articles and

TV programs made a big deal of this speech, reporting it with headlines such as "開口一番英語であいさつ！ (Starting off with a greeting in English!).[4] Additionally, several ordinary bloggers wrote posts that focused on an evaluation of the quality of his English, although all he said was, "Long time no see. I'm Shohei Ohtani. Thank you all for coming to see [the] press conference. Please enjoy!"

In a similar manner, some YouTubers regularly create video clips featuring English spoken by distinguished Japanese people with captions such as "芸能人の英語力 (the English proficiency of stars)" and "英語の上手い芸能人 (stars skilled in English)." Most of these video clips have been watched by over two hundred thousand people and the comment sections below the videos contain numerous reviews that express opinions such as "A's pronunciation is super good!," "B's English has an Australian accent," and "C speaks Japanese English." These viewers as well as the bloggers can be described as actively engaging with English even if they do not use the language in the traditional sense. It can also be argued that their engagements with English are inextricably connected with particular thoughts and beliefs they have about the language: that is, their language ideologies (see Chapter 2 for more on language ideologies).

The data I have collected for this study also demonstrate that people in Japan frequently talk about English-related issues. Although I address the active manner in which my research participants react to and discuss the issues in further detail in later chapters, I present one example here to help me contend

[4] The URL to the news article with this headline is as follows: www.sanspo.com/baseball/news/20171226/mlb17122605050001-n1.html (last accessed on December 27, 2017).

the need to reconsider the conventional view of language use and develop the idea of engagement. The illustration concerns my third research site, EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises.

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the adoption of English as an official corporate language by Japan-based enterprises (Murata, 2016). Two famous enterprises that have already enacted EOCL policies are Rakuten Inc. (hereafter Rakuten, an enterprise running the largest online shopping site in Japan) and UNIQLO CO., LTD. (hereafter UNIQLO, a popular fashion retailer). The establishment of such internal language policies by these two enterprises has drawn considerable public attention because the CEOs have voluntarily selected English as a lingua franca of their organizations. This sort of intentional and top-down decision has made a great impact on both industrial and ELT circles (e.g., Murata, 2016; Oda, 2010; Takahashi, 2010). It has also created what may be called 'urban myths' about language practices not only within Rakuten and UNIQLO but also in the premises of other enterprises that have endorsed EOCL policies:

> **Urban myth 1**
> 丸福では、カフェテリアのメニューも英語で書かれている。しかし、中には英語のメニューが理解できずに、食べたくないものを注文してしまった従業員もいる。
> In Marufuku,[5] even the cafeteria menu is written in English. As a result, some employees ordered what they did not really want to eat because they could not understand what the choices were.

[5] Marufuku is one of the enterprises that have adopted English as an official corporate language. A pseudonym has been applied to preserve the enterprise's anonymity as some of my participants are affiliated to this organization.

Urban myth 2

丸福のあるプロジェクト・マネージャーが部下とのミーティングで英語を使っていた。彼はそのミーティングの途中で、「これから言うことはとても重要なので、日本語で伝える」と言った。

A Marufuku project leader was using English to conduct a meeting with his team members. In the middle of the meeting, the leader said, "What I'm going to say from this point is very important, so I'll tell you the rest in Japanese."

Modern folklore tends to be obscure in its origins and the source of these urban myths is unknown. They are, however, often heard online and offline in Japan as funny, ironic, or unfortunate outcomes of EOCL policies. The myths sometimes display a negative evaluation of the endorsement of EOCL policies within Japan-based enterprises; at other times, they lead to criticizing the ELT in Japan's schools for not adequately developing the English proficiency of students. The urban myths are occasionally refuted by employees working in the enterprises in question. For example, Shota, one of my interviewees from Marufuku (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 1 for more on his profile), remarked that the anecdotes about the enterprise's language practices are twisted to some extent. In response to my question seeking his thoughts on how people outside Marufuku talk or write about its EOCL policy, he said, "一部本当だったり、一部何か、ちょっと脚色入ってるなっていうのはありますね (Some are true, but others are somehow a little bit exaggerated)" (Dec.16.2014).[6] With regard to the first urban myth in particular, Shota stated with soft laughter:

(1)【Dec.16.2014】S: Shota

S: カフェテリアに行くと、入り口のところにあるんですよ、食品サンプルと英語で書いた[メニュー]。僕が思うに、あの一、そのサンプルを見て、みんな[食べるものを]決めてると思うから(笑)。[…]だから、別にみんな英語読んでないと思うんだけどな、みたいな。

[6] (Dec.16.2014) indicates that this account was produced from the interview conducted on December 16, 2014. This convention applies to all interview data used hereafter.

> When you go to the cafeteria, you'll see a display of meal replicas and the English [menu]. What I guess is, er…, everyone has a look at those replicas and decides [what to eat] (laugh). […] So I guess like nobody particularly reads the English.

We can see that by his reaction, Shota contests the humorous anecdote about the cafeteria. He implies that even if employees lack English proficiency or knowledge, they make use of the visual cues offered (the model meals on display) and rarely place a wrong order at the office dining hall. What is also interesting about the narrative account above is that by stating his opinion in this way, Shota consciously or unconsciously argues that language does not function on its own in the real world. In other words, by pointing out that *"nobody particularly reads the English"* in the cafeteria, he suggests that "languages are only one part of a multimodal … environment" (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p. 171).

Although Shota, as a Marufuku insider, casts doubt on the authenticity of the anecdotes, my intention in introducing the anecdotes and in including his reactions to them is not to examine whether they are true or false. Rather, I would like to demonstrate how English-related issues such as the EOCL policies of Japan-based enterprises tend to be matters of public concern in Japan to such an extent that plausible modern folklore has been created around the phenomenon. I also aim to clarify how people, including the employees in question such as Shota, engage in these public discussions on English-related issues by offering their own views on the urban myths. Ultimately, these engagements with English contribute to the ideological constitutions of the language (Seargeant, 2009).

When Pennycook (2010) discusses his conception of language as a local practice, he distinguishes it from language use. According to him, language use implies that "languages exist out there in the world and can then be taken up and put to some use" (p. 8), whereas language practice indicates that "language is a product of social action, not a tool to be used" (p. 8). In his view, language does not exist as a pre-given or a discrete system but always emerges from people's everyday local practices. It is also vital to note here that this notion of language as a local practice incorporates the "ideolingual implications" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 86) of the practices. To put it differently, local language practices always get involved with language ideologies, that is to say, "the ways in which languages are understood locally" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 7). Given this perspective, what matters when addressing the global spread of English is not so much to discuss it within the WE framework that presupposes the conventional view of language use or to bemoan the fact that Expanding Circle countries such as Japan are out of the loop in the framework. Rather, it is crucial to explore what language ideologies constitute or are constituted by people's everyday English practices, which include not only the use of the language in a narrow sense but also the local appropriation of the language as epitomized by the exemplars of 'STLIGHT' and 'I LOVE YOU SO MATCHA' mentioned above. The language practices also cover reactions to and discussions on English-related issues such as EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises. In this study, viewing all these practices as 'engagements with English,' I examine how people engaging with English in Japan understand the language, and untangle the relationships between their engagements with English and the language ideologies surrounding the engagements.

In Section 1.2, I have reviewed the WE framework and problematized its perspective that Japan is a country where English is seldom used. I have, instead, proposed the idea of engagement to address the appropriation of English and the local discussion about the language. Furthermore, I have advocated the investigation into the ways in which the language and its speakers are ideologically constituted through people's discursive practices. In the next sections, I set out the three immediate research sites (Section 1.3) and introduce the research questions of the study, discussing its significance (Section 1.4). I also present the outline of the thesis (Section 1.5).

1.3 Three immediate research sites

This study draws on data related to self-help ELL books, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises. In this section, I describe the nature of each of these three sites and assert the significance of this selection.

1.3.1 Self-help ELL books

As has been discussed in the previous section, people's engagements with English seen in Japan are varied. That being said, it cannot be denied that many individuals are associated with the language through the act of learning it.[7]

[7] Although I propose developing the idea of engagement instead of continuing to adopt the notions of language use and language learning, this proposition does not indicate that I am unaware of the existence of ELL. On the contrary, most of my participants have the perception that they are 'learning' English. Therefore, what I would like to do in the thesis is not to deny the reality that they are involved in ELL but to argue that their ELL could be better understood by going beyond the conventional view of language learning that is premised on the assumption that its primary goal is to enhance linguistic skills in a target language; as will be discussed in further detail in Chapters 4 and 5, a certain number of my participants do not necessarily aim to develop English proficiency through their ELL and I deem that the term 'engagement' is more suitable for depicting the phenomenon.

They continue their ELL even after completing the requirements of 'English as a school subject.' A survey conducted by an economic research institution highlights this trend. According to Yano Research Institute (2016), the foreign language learning market in Japan, most of which is geared to English, is flourishing; its total sales in 2015, for example, were 827.2 billion yen (approx. US$7.52 billion). One of the most popular ways among the many methods available for adult learners is self-studying the language through books. Responding to this tendency, bookstores in Japan often have a special section offering a wide variety of ELL materials. Among these, one can even find comic books that attempt to provide learners with easier access to English. Numerous magazines are also available that evaluate or rank ELL books and introduce successful learners' tips on effective learning. Similarly, search terms such as 'ELL materials' yield quite a number of hits on online shopping sites. Given the sizable sales of foreign language learning materials (Yano Research Institute, 2016), this is an area worth exploring in order to understand recent trends in ELL and the language ideologies that are circulated in this specific sector as well as across society. In addition, now that the significance of research on language and language education as commodities has been increasingly acknowledged (Cameron, 2005; Heller, 2003, 2010; Heller & Duchêne, 2016; Kubota, 2011b, 2011c; Park, 2010, 2016; Shin & Park, 2016; Tan & Rubdy, 2008), it seems timely that critical inquiries in language studies include investigations into self-help ELL books available in the market.

Against this backdrop, I have selected the ELL material industry as the first research site of the study. More specifically, focusing my attention on a paperback (hereafter PB) and a comic book (hereafter CB) written by a popular

and productive material writer named David Thayne — "その英語、ネイティブはカチンときます (*This English Offends Native [Speakers]*)" and "日本人のちょっとヘンな英語 セイン先生が目撃したおかしな英語 (*A Little Weird English from Japanese People: Funny English Mr. Thayne Has Witnessed*)" — I examine the language ideologies that constitute or are constituted by these two ELL books as well as the PB editor's narrative accounts. In particular, I investigate the ways in which the notion of the native speaker is conceptualized in relation to the books through a variety of semiotic resources, including language. Additionally, since the study aims to explore the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers through people's discursive practices, I also utilize customer reviews posted on two online bookstores as another set of data (see Chapter 3 for more on the rationale behind the selection of Thayne and these two particular books, and the detailed data collection procedure).

1.3.2 Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons

Another popular approach to ELL outside formal education is attending *eikaiwa* schools. While it is well-known in the fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics that franchised *eikaiwa* schools, where numerous so-called native English speakers are hired and learners physically gather, are ubiquitous in Japan (Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2006, 2007; Kubota 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Piller, Takahashi, & Watanabe, 2010; Takahashi, 2013), one-on-one lessons via Skype have recently emerged in this educational industry. What is remarkable about this Skype *eikaiwa* is that many providers have established offices in the Philippines and the majority of the tutors are local university students or graduates. Skype *eikaiwa* has been thriving over the last decade,

with currently more than 150 providers in Japan (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014). Statistics released by RareJob, one of the largest Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, also illuminate this popularity. According to its website, the provider has registered over five hundred thousand subscribers and offered around 20 million lessons since its inception in 2007 (RareJob, 2017).

What underpins this flourishing Skype *eikaiwa* business is, first of all, the development of technology. In particular, online communication tools such as Skype have greatly helped learners take lessons wherever Internet access is available (Terhune, 2016). Furthermore, the following features specific to online lessons support the growth of Skype *eikaiwa*:

- Almost all providers offer lessons from early in the morning to late at night; some of them are open 24 hours (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014).
- The length of a lesson is shorter than class duration in a franchised school; normally, one session only lasts for 15 to 30 minutes (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014).
- Booking or cancelling a lesson is undemanding; in RareJob, for example, learners can reserve/call off a session 5-30 minutes before it starts (RareJob, 2017).

While these characteristics make it easy for learners, especially busy people with full-time work, to continue ELL at their own pace, low tuition also plays a significant role in retaining the popularity of Skype *eikaiwa*. As will be shown in further detail in Chapter 3, every Philippines-based provider offers lessons for

surprisingly low instruction fees; RareJob, for example, provides a 25-minute lesson for only 209 yen (approx. US$1.90) (RareJob, 2017). This is almost one-twentieth the price of an online lesson by a franchised *eikaiwa* school; in the case of ECC Web Lesson, which is affiliated to a time-honored franchised *eikaiwa* school proud of its native English-speaking teachers, a 30-minute private lesson costs 4,103 yen (approx. US$37.30) (ECC Web Lesson, 2017). This easy financial access to Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* has benefited those who are hesitant to attend franchised *eikaiwa* schools to (re)start their ELL.

Thus, the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* business owes its prosperity to the nature of the lessons: 'convenience,' 'flexibility,' and 'affordability.' In the nexus of these distinct features, what is actually going on in the Skype *eikaiwa* sector? How do the providers emphasize the legitimacy of Filipino tutors? How do Skype *eikaiwa* learners react to these claims of legitimacy? What language ideologies constitute or are constituted by people's engagements with Skype *eikaiwa* lessons? Is there any difference from the language ideologies marked by past studies on franchised *eikaiwa* schools (Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2006, 2007; Kubota 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Piller et al., 2010; Takahashi, 2013)? These questions have encouraged me to select the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector, utilizing as data the online promotional materials of the providers, public remarks by the founders of these e-learning enterprises, online customer reviews, and narrative accounts produced through individual interviews with both learners and tutors (see Chapter 3 for more on the detailed data collection procedure).

1.3.3 EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises

As has been shown above, the first two research sites of this study provide a focus to people's engagements with ELL and their reactions to or discussions on ELL-related as well as English-related issues. The third research site, on the other hand, pays closer attention to English use in a narrower sense: EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises. The rationale behind this selection stems from my view that the recent popularity of these internal language policies is inextricably connected with particular thoughts and beliefs about English as epitomized by the discourse of English as a/the default lingua franca of the global business arena (Kubota, 2011a, 2013b; Lønsmann, 2015). Policies and people's discussions about these policies should not be overlooked when the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers in contemporary Japan are addressed.

Indeed, enterprises in Japan have progressively come to consider adopting English as an official corporate language in the name of globalization. The most commonly voiced reasons for enacting this internal language policy are as follows. First, the translation of documents from one language to another language results in a huge loss of time and money for enterprises with overseas branches and a higher-than-usual proportion of foreign employees (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014). Second, securing excellent human resources is the initial step to survival in today's highly competitive business world for any enterprise, and demanding Japanese language proficiency from job applicants is tantamount to shutting out talented potential employees from across the world (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014).

With these rather pragmatic aspects in mind, several Japan-based enterprises have already adopted English as an official corporate language, while others have work environments where English is intensely used despite its unofficial status (Murata, 2016). As introduced earlier, two of the most famous enterprises that have ratified EOCL policies are Rakuten and UNIQLO. In particular, the CEO of Rakuten, Hiroshi Mikitani, who was the pioneer of this policy, drew public attention when he announced his decision for the first time in February 2010. His original plan was for Rakuten to fully switch the business language to English by April 2012. Although this deadline was postponed for three months due to the effects of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, English became an official language of the enterprise in July 2012 (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014).

Since Mikitani announced his decision, there have been heated debates on this type of internal language policy. Some consider it to be a reasonable reform plan for the enhancement of the competitiveness of Japanese enterprises in global business. Takahashi (2010) reports that extremists even support the adoption of English as the national language. On the other hand, other voices are skeptical about this policy. From the perspective of ELT, for example, Oda (2010) focuses on public discourses surrounding the policy. By means of newspaper articles and press releases on the policy, and extracts from Twitter messages by Mikitani and his followers, Oda (2010) examines the ways in which movements in the business world influence ELT policy making.

Tsuda (2011a) is more radically critical. He starts his book with the full text of

the letter he sent to both Rakuten and UNIQLO. The ultimate purpose of his letter was to ask the two enterprises to reconsider their decision and withdraw the policy. He raises three major reasons for his strong opposition to the policy. First, the course of action taken by the enterprises opens up the possibility of further promoting an English-oriented society, which he believes will cause public neglect and loss of respect for the Japanese language and culture. Second, the policy can trigger social divisions based on English proficiency. He warns that this class separation might create disharmony within Japan. Third, language is not a mere tool but an aspect of human rights. He claims that EOCL policy forcing employees to use English would amount to a serious violation of human rights. Incidentally, according to an interview with him conducted by a business magazine, he had received no reply from either enterprise as of April 2011 (Tsuda, 2011b).

Thus, while public debates and previous studies concern themselves with the pros and cons of this EOCL policy and its effects on ELT or its wider impact on society, what seems to remain unexplored are the viewpoints of the employees. As far as I am aware, no studies have focused on the employees' actual language practices within the enterprises, and their thoughts or beliefs about the policies. To fill this gap, I have decided to conduct individual interviews with staff employed by Marufuku and Ichigen.[8] Both Marufuku and Ichigen had endorsed EOCL policies at the time of the interviews, although the background behind each policy and the extent of their binding force differed (see Chapter 3 for more on the data collection procedure and Chapter 4 for more on the details of both enterprises). Through the individual interviews, I aim to explore the

[8] Like Marufuku, Ichigen is also a pseudonym.

language ideologies that constitute or are constituted by the participants' engagements with English, and their thoughts and beliefs about the language policies. Taking into account that an increasing number of enterprises are currently considering the adoption of English as an official corporate language (Murata, 2016), it is significant to hear the voices of the recipients of these top-down policies.

1.4 Research questions and the significance of the study

In this chapter, bearing in mind the perspective that language is a discursive construct and problematizing the traditional sociolinguistic belief that Japan is a country where English is seldom used, I have introduced the central concerns of the study. I have also set out the three immediate research sites. On the strength of these efforts, I have elaborated the following four research questions:

1. How do people engaging with English in Japan understand the language?
2. What language ideologies inform their engagements with English and how do these engagements produce different ideologies?
3. How do the language ideologies reinforce or challenge the established categorization of language and native/non-native speakers?
4. What implications for foreign language education and language studies can be drawn from our understandings of these engagements and ideologies?

In aiming to address these research questions, this thesis has the significance as shown in the following. First, given that the broader research site is Japanese society, the thesis will certainly contribute to the field of ELT in Japan. Traditionally, in this academic field, socio-political or cultural-political research pertaining to the English language has seldom been conducted. The few studies that exist, such as Horiguchi, Imoto, and Poole (2015), Kubota (1998, 2002b, 2012), Oda (2007, 2010), Seargeant (2009, 2011a), Terasawa (2014, 2015), and Toh (2015), have often been categorized as 'other' according to conventional divisions of research areas exemplified by 'reading,' 'writing,' 'assessment,' and 'teacher training.' Taking this trend into consideration, it can be argued that undertaking a study on the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers will usher in significant changes in Japan's ELT. It is hoped that this work will raise the awareness among researchers, language educators, and policy makers in the field that while 'how-to' discussions are important, they are not sufficient for comprehensive understandings of English, ELL, and ELT as well as language in general.

Second, the attention to the process of the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers in Japan should not be taken as an indication that this thesis is only an area study. The research findings will likely shed light on similar situations in other countries where, as in Japan, the public has an intense interest in and actively engages with English. This fact suggests that the thesis must also be influenced by studies exploring issues surrounding people's engagements with English in other areas, for example, the English fever in South Korea (e.g., Bae, 2015; Cho, 2017; Choi, 2016; Lee, 2016; Park, 2009, 2010, 2016; Piller & Cho, 2013). It is expected that such "local-to-local connections"

(Ramanathan, Pennycook, & Norton, 2009, p. xiv) will enhance the perspective of the local and global as "mutually constitutive" rather than as "opposites" (Ramanathan et al., 2009, p. xiii).

Third, the thesis can contribute to not only the international academic fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics but also other disciplines such as anthropological studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, poststructuralist studies, and sociology. Although they represent a minority, various researchers in the fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics have investigated the politics of English and ELT (e.g., Appleby, 2010, 2014; Blommaert, 2005, 2010, 2013; Canagarajah, 1999b, 2000, 2005, 2013; Kramsch, 1993; Kubota, 1998, 1999, 2012; Pennycook, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2007a, 2010, 2012; Piller, 2011, 2016; Tollefson, 1991, 2000). Their arguments related to the concept of globalization or the "*discourse of English as an International Language (EIL)*" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 6; emphasis in the original), for example, have enriched the fields, introducing the new academic branch of critical applied linguistics and creating a link to anthropological studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, poststructuralist studies, and sociology. My thesis will also carefully contemplate the concept of globalization and various language ideologies exemplified by the discourse of EIL through its investigation into the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers in Japan. This endeavor is expected to offer significant implications for these innovative academic branches, serving as a new case study on public views of English and its speakers in the era of globalization.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In Chapter 1, I have introduced Japan as the broader research site, questioning the traditional sociolinguistic belief that it is a country where English is seldom used. I have also argued on behalf of the need to understand the notions of language use and language learning in an alternative way. I have further suggested the development of the idea of engagement. Thereafter, I have presented the three immediate research sites of the study: self-help ELL books, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises. I have also offered the four research questions and discussed the significance of the study.

Next, I will theoretically ground the study in Chapter 2. In specific terms, I will deliberate on language ideology theory and assert its effectiveness in exploring the complicated intersection of my participants' engagements with English and the ways in which they appreciate the language and its speakers. This assertion will then lead to providing the rationale behind founding this thesis on a multifaceted study. In this chapter, I will also describe the epistemology of the study and discuss the ways in which I view and interpret such concepts as ideology, knowledge, power, structure, and agency as well as the mixed set of data produced from each of the three research sites.

In Chapter 3, I will locate the study methodologically. I will first rationalize my utilization of the different types of data in further detail. Thereafter, I will explain the data collection and analysis procedure conducted in each of the three research sites. Through this process, I will also present stories behind the

data collection phase, including some of my own engagements with English and its speakers. This presentation is expected to help detail the three research sites. I will conclude the chapter with discussions on translation issues, ethical considerations, and the contextual issues of the study.

Chapters 4 to 7 will represent the data analysis and discussion chapters. In the first half of the chapters (Chapters 4 and 5), I will concentrate on showing how divergently my participants engage with English and what kinds of language ideologies and socio-political or cultural-political components underline these engagements. Particularly in Chapter 4, I will explore my participants' 'engagements with English for self-development,' whereas in Chapter 5, I will address their 'engagements with English for male gratification.' These chapters are expected to support my argument that it is necessary to go beyond the conventional notions of language use and language learning, and develop the idea of engagement to better understand the relations between people in Japan and the English language.

Conversely, in the second half of the data analysis and discussion chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), I will explore the ways in which the thing called English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through my participants' engagements with the language. In Chapter 6, I will focus intensely on the notions of the native speaker and 'correct English,' and investigate the ways in which the former is discursively constituted as a qualified representative of the latter through a variety of semiotic resources, including language. In Chapter 7, I will pay closer attention to particular Japanese phrases: *kireina eigo* and *chantoshita eigo*, whose respective word-for-word translations are 'beautiful English' and

'proper English.' In this chapter, I will examine the ways in which these notions are ideologically constituted through my participants' frequent utilization of them to discuss English-related issues or to depict specific speakers of the language.

Finally, in Chapter 8, revisiting the four research questions, I will assemble the findings and arguments of the study. I will conclude the chapter with discussions on the implications of the study particularly with regard to foreign language education and language studies.

I conclude this section by addressing one more important aspect with regard to the structure of the thesis. In general, a thesis presents a literature review in an independent chapter, which is located between Chapter 1 (Introduction) and Chapter 3 (Methodology). However, as has been shown above, this thesis does not follow these conventions. This is primarily because the thesis is based on a multifaceted study; it needs to cover a wider range of scholarly literature and I consider it more appropriate to integrate a relevant literature review into each of the findings chapters. Therefore, in this thesis, reviews of past studies will appear in Chapters 4 to 7, in relation to the analyses and discussions.

Chapter 2

Locating the Study Theoretically

2.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I have concentrated on raising the central concerns of the study. By introducing my standpoint that language can be considered as a discursive construct, I have first suggested that for better comprehension of the relations between people in Japan and the English language, it is important to investigate the ways in which the language and its speakers are ideologically constituted through their discursive practices. Thereafter, I have argued that for this investigation, it is necessary to understand established notions such as language use and language learning in a different manner, and instead develop the idea of engagement. I have also offered research questions, argued for the significance of the study, and outlined each chapter of the thesis.

Following the introductory chapter, I locate the study theoretically in Chapter 2. I first describe language ideology theory and discuss its relevance to the study. In relation to this discussion, I also present the rationale behind establishing the thesis as a multifaceted study, justifying my utilization of different types of data collected from multiple research sites. The presentation and justification are followed by a brief review of the existing scholarly literature on language ideologies, especially research with regard to the ideological constitutions of English. I conclude the chapter with an epistemological explanation concerning the study: that is, how I view and interpret such concepts as ideology,

knowledge, power, structure, and agency as well as my mixed set of data.

2.2 Language ideology theory

Language ideology theory stems from the field of linguistic anthropology, which has encompassed research on "almost any aspect of language structure and language use" (Duranti, 2004, p. xiii). Of the wide variety of themes addressed in this academic field, language ideology theory has focused particularly on interpretations about language by its speakers (Kroskrity, 2004; Park, 2009; Seargeant, 2009). Because the purpose of this study is, as stated in Chapter 1, to explore the ways in which English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through my participants' discursive practices, drawing on their own views about the language and its speakers, it is suitable to situate the study within a tradition of language ideology research.

The most influential definition of language ideologies, which was provided by Silverstein (1979), clearly reflects the standpoint of the theory that its academic scope features people's interpretations about language; he defines language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). Since Silverstein's proposal of this definition in 1979 — the origin of language ideology theory as a distinctive academic field (Blommaert, 2006; Seargeant, 2009) — several other researchers have offered their own explanations of the notion. For example, in a similar manner to Silverstein, but more briefly, Kroskrity (2004) describes language ideologies as "beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in [the speakers'] social worlds" (p. 498). What is intriguing

about this description is that he includes the concept of 'feelings.' According to Kroskrity (2004), this is because he considers it important that language ideology theory addresses not only the speakers' understandings about languages but also their "relatively automatic aesthetic response[s]" (p. 512) to the languages. He further argues that by doing so, language ideology theory could "go beyond the analytical dichotomies of consciousness — practical and discursive" and "capture a wide range of analytical possibilities" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 512).

On the other hand, researchers such as Heath (1989) and Irvine (1989) attach greater importance to the social and cultural role of language ideologies in their definitions (Cho, 2017). Heath, for example, interprets them as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (1989, p. 393). Irvine likewise explains language ideologies as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (1989, p. 255). Woolard's (1998) and Piller's (2015) definitions are also along the same lines as those provided by Heath (1989) and Irvine (1989). While Woolard defines language ideologies as "[r]epresentations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (1998, p. 3), Piller characterizes them as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language that are socially shared and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion" (2015, p. 920).

As demonstrated above, various definitions of language ideologies have so far been proposed depending on the researchers' academic focal points. However,

as Cho (2017) and Gal (1992) suggest, the differences seen among each definition do not necessarily mean that particular phenomena investigated under divergent labels are incompatible with one another; in contrast, they display similarities or connections. In this respect, what Gal (1992) stresses with special reference to Woolard (1992) can serve as a crucial standpoint when conducting language ideology research; Gal argues that it is much more meaningful to begin not with precise definitions of labels but from the comprehensive perspective that language ideologies are "a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (1992, p. 445). In a similar manner, Kroskrity (2004) also suggests that "it is useful to regard language ideologies as a cluster concept, consisting of a number of converging dimensions" (p. 501). Thus, in this study, basically following Silverstein (1979) and Kroskrity (2004), and simultaneously being inspired by the other researchers' viewpoints regarding language ideologies, I consider them to be 'people's thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about language' both as their own rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use, and as socially or culturally entrenched and widely shared understandings about them. With this interpretation in mind, I examine how people engaging with English in Japan think of the language and what kinds of beliefs and feelings they have toward it, without losing sight of the existence of inevitable influences exerted by established social structures.

In relation to language ideology theory, it should be noted here that this study theoretically relies on the perspectives presented by folk linguistics as well (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003; Paveau, 2011; Preston, 1993, 2011; Wilton & Stegu, 2011). This is because in a similar manner to language ideology theory, folk linguistics also views ideologies not as top-down forces but as the local

public's voicing of its understandings of the world. According to Preston (2011), one of the leading researchers of this camp, the term 'folk' indicates "all persons except academic linguists" (p. 15). With this definition, folk linguistics studies cover not only the comments non-academics offer about linguistic subjects but also the responses they make to language varieties and language practices, including their explicit as well as implicit reactions (Preston, 2011). Advocates of folk linguistics stress that language studies researchers, especially those in applied linguistics, should take folk views about language more seriously because the main focus of applied linguistics is on people's daily language use and the linguistic issues they face (Wilton & Stegu, 2011). Therefore, in order to explore everyday language practices or solve language problems, the folk views should not be discarded as "uninteresting, unqualified, uninformed or even dangerous" (Wilton & Stegu, 2011, p. 1) amateur opinions. This spirit, aligned very closely with that of language ideology theory, serves as a vital standpoint for my study, which draws primarily on ordinary people's thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about English and its speakers.

I conclude this section by pointing out another important aspect of language ideology theory. It is that the theory does not restrict its focal point to language (Piller, 2015; Seargeant, 2009; Woolard, 1998, 2004). According to Woolard (1998, 2004), language ideologies in the field of linguistic anthropology are about the relationship between language and other social elements rather than only about language. On the contrary, "this symbiosis of linguistic and extra-linguistic concerns" (Seargeant, 2009, p. 29) is the very essence of language ideology theory. As will be demonstrated in further detail later, the scope of this study also expands to social and cultural concerns, especially to those of gender

and race (e.g., Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons; see Chapter 5 for more on the concerns), although the major interest remains in English and its speakers. For this reason, too, language ideology theory (as well as folk linguistics) is expected to form a reasonably solid theoretical foundation for the study.

In Section 2.2, I have deliberated on language ideology theory and presented my own perspective with regard to how language ideologies are viewed in this thesis, referring to the definitions offered by several researchers; in specific terms, language ideologies indicate 'people's thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about language' in the thesis. In this section, I have also briefly described the similarity of folk linguistics to language ideology theory and assert the relevance of both theoretical frameworks to my study. In the next section, by further discussing the nature of language ideologies, I justify this thesis being based on a multifaceted research project. In the same section, I also provide a review of Park (2009) and Seargeant (2009) as two good examples of language ideology research in that they draw on a wide variety of data generated from multiple research sites.

2.3 Rationale behind the multifaceted research project

As explained in Chapter 1, this study intends to address the engagements of disparate people with English and their discussions about the language from various perspectives in order to examine the ways in which English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through discursive practices. I have therefore decided to collect different types of data produced from multiple

research sites. The other crucial rationale behind founding this thesis on a multifaceted research project originates from the nature of language ideologies: they operate in both site-specific and multi-sited ways (Agha 2005; Park, 2009; Philips, 2000; Seargeant, 2009; Silverstein, 2005; Wortham, 2005).

2.3.1 Site-specific and multi-sited nature of language ideologies

According to Park (2009), language ideologies are site-specific in that "the ways [they] are articulated within any given site are subject to speakers' metapragmatic understandings of that site" (p. 22). On the other hand, with regard to the multi-sited feature of language ideologies, Park argues that they are conveyed throughout various sites in society; "their articulation is not just limited to a particular site but relevant to many different sites, which may contribute to their social significance" (2009, p. 22). This duality of language ideologies serves as an important function in fostering the reproduction of the ideologies.

First, because thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about language are site-specific, particular ideologies are involved in specific social constraints that have been entrenched in each site. Therefore, by analyzing people's discussions about language in a certain site, we can understand the ways in which social elements play an inevitable role in reproducing the language ideologies within the site (Park, 2009). Second, due to the nature of language ideologies that they are multi-sited, they are circulated across various levels of society. Consequently, by looking across people's ideological views about language permeating several sites, we can capture the ways in which the circulation of the views ultimately

contributes to the establishment of their dominance (Agha, 2005; Silverstein, 2005; Wortham, 2005).

Researchers such as Blommaert (2010), Park (2009), and Seargeant (2009), who are involved in language ideology research, often utilize different types of data produced in diverse sites because they subscribe to the simultaneously site-specific and multi-sited characteristics of language ideologies. To put it differently, the selection of multiple sites and the collection of various kinds of data in the sites help us observe how language ideologies are explicitly and implicitly displayed, identifying their site-specific and multi-sited features through the interconnectedness of each site (Park, 2009). In the next subsection, I provide a brief review of Park (2009) and Seargeant (2009). I have selected these two specific studies not merely because they are based on multifaceted research projects; I deem that they are very informative for my study in that they also explore the local process of the ideological constitutions of English in South Korea and Japan respectively.

2.3.2 Past multifaceted research projects on language ideologies

The main purpose of Park (2009) is to examine the local constitution of English in South Korea. To this end, the study draws on a wide variety of data such as public opinion on whether English should be adopted as an official language in South Korea, Korean humor and TV entertainment shows related to English, and naturally-occurring face-to-face interaction between Korean people that refers to the language. By analyzing these disparate kinds of data generated from multiple research sites, he argues that the local constitution of English in South

Korea is mediated primarily by the following three language ideologies: "*[n]ecessitation*," "*[e]xternalization*," and "*[s]elf-deprecation*" (p. 26; emphasis in the original).

According to Park (2009), the first language ideology (necessitation) can be described as the belief that English is an economically, culturally, and/or politically beneficial and inevitable language in the contemporary world, and an obvious parallel to this belief is found in the worldwide discourse of English as an/the international language. In South Korea, the belief, in conjunction with this discourse, constitutes English as a language that Korean people need to master in order to cope with and survive waves of globalization. Conversely speaking, under this strongly held belief, deficiencies in English linguistic skills are viewed as a serious issue for sustaining individuals' and, by extension, the whole country's prosperity (Park, 2009). On the other hand, the second language ideology (externalization) considers English as a language that belongs to the *Other* and is incompatible with Korean people's national and ethnic identity. With this relatively exclusive thought, English sympathizers in South Korea are regarded as betrayers who could threaten or disrupt the social order of the country (Park, 2009). He further argues that this language ideology is also utilized "to rationalize avoidance and resistance to English" (p. 26), strengthening the boundary between the local language (Korean) and the global language (English).

While necessitation and externalization might be incongruous with each other, the last language ideology (self-deprecation) is interconnected particularly with the first notion. According to Park (2009), what firmly underpins the ideology of

necessitation is Korean people's self-deprecating feeling that they are "illegitimate speakers of English" (p. 224). He also stresses that this very feeling impels Korean people to pursue "a near-obsessive quest that is often called the *yeongeo yeolpung* ('English frenzy')" (p. 2). What is also notable about the ideology of self-deprecation is that this feeling is not necessarily limited to particular groups of people; through this language ideology, even those who have great competence in English tend to underestimate their own ability and constitute themselves as lacking considerable English skills, resulting in sweeping generalizations about all Koreans' incompetence in the language (Park, 2009). In his exact words, the feeling of self-deprecation is not an "other-targeting ideology, which attributes incompetence to some group other than one's own, but a self-targeting one (hence the name *self*-deprecation)" (p. 82). To put it differently, Korean people's concern about English is "not a mere psychological reflex of inadequate English skills, but a socially constructed part of the habitus that is inculcated in the speaker through socially-situated constraints of metalinguistic discourse" (p. 231).

Focusing on Japan, Seargeant (2009) makes similar arguments concerning the state and status of English in the country. Like Park (2009), drawing on mixed sorts of data such as statements on English, ELT, and language policy officially articulated by the Minister of Education or applied linguistics researchers, promotional materials offered by public and private educational institutions, artists' work, and television programs related to English, Seargeant (2009) demonstrates the ways in which people's diverse conceptualizations of English produce the ideological position of the language within Japanese society, simultaneously influencing and being influenced by the worldwide discourse of

English as a global language.

For example, through his critical analysis of pedagogic and policy documents and the academic literature surrounding them, Seargeant (2009) points out that these documents and literature tend to bemoan Japanese people's lack of communication skills in English, almost always highlighting the existence of a problem in the current curriculum and classroom practice, and this serves as the default on which discussions or arguments are based. Two telling examples presented by him are The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century (CJGTC) (2000) and Honna's (1995) appraisal of the ELT situation. The former claims that "[t]oday's Japanese are lacking … basic skills. Their English-language abilities as measured by their TOEFL scores in 1998 were the lowest in Asia. The Japanese themselves are *painfully* aware of the inadequacy of their communication skills" (CJGTC, 2000, p. 4; emphasis added). In a similar manner, the latter states:

> People have not developed proficiency in English as a language for international communication. … The late Edwin O. Reischauer, former US ambassador to Japan, seriously listed Japan's *miserable* performance in English teaching as one of the seven wonders of the world. Many government, industrial, and educational leaders expressed concern and proposed reforms. However, no significant change has been witnessed. What is wrong? (Honna, 1995, p. 57; emphasis added)

What the two statements above share is the lamentation of Japanese people's low level of English competence or inefficiencies of Japan's ELT through utilization of relatively emotive modifiers such as *"painfully"* and *"miserable."* This mindset can be considered to be along nearly the same lines as what Park

(2009) calls the ideology of self-deprecation. In addition, Seargeant (2009) argues that these kinds of statements easily lead to a claim for the necessity of adopting the communicative approach in English classes, simultaneously describing the grammar-translation method as an exemplification of the out-of-date ELT within the Japanese school system.

According to Seargeant (2009), what is also noteworthy about this act of dichotomizing teaching methodology is that it promotes a particular view about English in relation to the history of ELT in Japan. To be specific, by presenting a historical overview of Japan's ELT and explaining that the grammar-translation method developed at its dawn in order to import or decipher Western knowledge in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, studies on Japan's ELT frequently position English "as being something brought from outside" (p. 49). Seargeant (2009) further points out that this trend within the field of ELT is never unrelated to the perspective of English as "political coercion and even invasion" (p. 50) that helps foster "[t]he idea of Japanese ethnocentrism" (p. 54) and "[the] strong essentialist view of the national language" (p. 55), which is often witnessed in Japan. Here again, this analysis can be considered to be quite compatible with Park's (2009) argument with regard to the ideology of externalization in South Korea.

Thus, as exemplified by these past studies, analysis of various sets of data collected from multiple sites and the subsequent discussion about the findings help us detect the ways in which language ideologies are explicitly and implicitly demonstrated, identifying their site-specific and multi-sited nature through the nexus of each site (Park, 2009). Following the footsteps of these studies, I have

also chosen to access three specific research sites to investigate the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers in Japan: that is, self-help ELL books, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises.

I conclude this section with a brief statement regarding my thesis structure. One possible way of organizing the thesis is to assign one chapter to the analysis and discussion concerning particular data produced from one site: Chapter 4 for the first research site, Chapter 5 for the second research site, and so on. While this sort of flow is easy to follow, it may result in emphasizing the site-specific nature of language ideologies. However, as discussed above, language ideologies have the other crucial aspect in that they operate in a multi-sited manner. More concretely, there is the great possibility that people's discursive practices about something in the first research site, for example, may be aligned very closely to those in the second and/or third research site(s). I have thus strived to structure the chapters of the thesis according to themes rather than research sites and have endeavored to utilize each set of data produced from the three research sites in a mixed way as necessary (see Section 1.5 in the previous chapter for more on the thesis structure). By doing this, I intend to clearly indicate that certain language ideologies permeate multiple levels of society.

2.4 Epistemology of the study

As shown in the previous section, language ideology theory is essential to describe the nature of my study. In a similar manner, the epistemological standpoint with regard to such notions as ideology, knowledge, power, structure,

and agency also serves as an important element of the study. In this section, I provide an explanation about my conceptual paradigms (constructionism and poststructuralism), in contrast to Marxist-based critical theory.

This study is situated within a tradition of critical inquiries in language studies. However, what the term 'critical' or 'criticality' indicates varies from one researcher to another. According to Kubota and Miller (2017), the critical turn, which first emerged in the field of social sciences around the 1980s and 1990s, and thereafter affected education and applied linguistics research, comprises three conceptual paradigms: "Marxist-influenced critical theory," "postmodern constructionism including poststructuralist theory," and "postcolonial theory" (p. 133). If a label were to be necessary to describe this study, it could be said that its epistemology corresponds most closely with that of the second theory.

To begin with my discussion concerning constructionism and poststructuralism, I first review Marxist-based critical theory. This is because the critical theory has been influential when the global spread English and the politics of the language are addressed in the fields of applied linguistic, TESOL, and sociolinguistics. Particularly within the field of ELT in Japan, macro-societal theoretical paradigms such as linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2006, 2009, 2016), linguistic human rights (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995), and language ecology (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996) have frequently been deployed to explore the dominant position of English, the close public attention to the language, and the ideological underpinning of the predominance and enthusiasm in the country.

According to Phillipson (1992, 2006, 2009, 2016), the global spread of English needs to be located in the past and present imperialist world order. He further claims that the spread of the language has been promoted and supported by structural inequalities such as the economically, politically, and culturally hegemonic status of Western, especially English-speaking, nation states. From Phillipson's perspective, the harmony of existent languages or language ecology has been disrupted under such a statically unequal world order (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996); in consequence, the linguistic human rights of non-English speakers, particularly of linguistic/ethnic minorities, have also been insecure (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995).

Similar standpoints to Phillipson (1992, 2006, 2009, 2016), and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995, 1996) have been adopted by researchers in Japan such as Nakamura (1989, 1993, 2004) and Tsuda (1990, 1993, 1996, 2003). These researchers' main argument is that the dominant position of English in the country also results from the current imperialist world order, in which English is the hegemonic world language. They further claim that strong public fascination toward English in Japan symbolizes the self-colonized mindset of Japanese people or what Tsuda (1996) defines as "the mental condition in which they renounce their independence, worship English and Western culture, and take pride in doing so, instead of endeavoring to create their own culture" (p. 66; my translation).

The discussions within a macro-societal theoretical framework exemplified by Tsuda (1996) are crucial. This is because, as mentioned in the previous chapter, apart from several studies such as Horiguchi et al. (2015), Kubota (1998, 2002b,

2012), Oda (2007, 2010), Seargeant (2009, 2011a), Terasawa (2014, 2015), and Toh (2015), it was and still is unpopular in Japan to address issues surrounding the English language from the perspective of global forces, power, or ideologies. As Pennycook (2000) highlights in connection with the international fields of applied linguistics and TESOL, the major ELT research topics in Japan also concern the ways in which learners learn to communicate. Simultaneously, however, it cannot be denied that the arguments developed by Phillipson (1992, 2006, 2009, 2016), Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995, 1996), and related researchers in Japan also have some weaknesses.

One of the weaknesses shown by these macro-societal theoretical frameworks is that the discussions taking place within them have a tendency to "rely on broad, rigid categories such as the center and periphery, or essentialist understandings of the nature of language and community" (Park, 2009, p. 8). Referring to Freeland and Patrick (2004), Park (2009) continues to argue that their views are apt to draw on the simplistic and old premise that there is an essential interconnection between language and identity. This type of traditional viewpoint is aligned very closely with the idea of preservation and it can easily be caught in a trap of conservatism, resulting in the possibility that "strong nationalist defences of Japanese language and culture" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 20) may be escalated.[9]

The attempt to move beyond the linguistic imperialism paradigm first

[9] This concern is well epitomized by the title of Tsuda's 1996 book, "侵略する英語 反撃する日本語 (*English Invading and Japanese Fighting Back*)." This title clearly demonstrates Tsuda's perspective, which regards English only as a threat that may demolish the Japanese language (Tajima, 2010).

engenders the necessity of reconsidering the concept of ideology. Researchers working on the global spread of English and strong public fascination toward the language from the perspective of linguistic imperialism tend to regard ideologies only as top-down forces or as Marxist forms of 'false consciousness' (Blommaert, 2006; Seargeant, 2009; van Dijk, 2006). In this view, people are considered to be entities controlled by macro power. Yet, this position relies strongly on determinism and lacks the idea of agency. What is more important when we address the hegemonic position of English, close public attention to the language, and the ideological underpinning of the dominance and enthusiasm is to have a careful look at the complicated intersection of structure (macro) and agency (micro).

Drawing on Giddens's (1979) idea of structuration, which is a striving for overcoming the tendency in sociology to prioritize macro over micro, Pennycook (2001) asserts the importance of examining the reciprocal relation of structure and agency or their continual correlative structuring; that is, "what we do, think, say as humans is always affected by larger questions of social power and to some extent reproduces those same relations, which then reaffect what we do, think, or say" (pp. 119-120). In his more specific words:

> Thus, once we have started to work out how structure may limit or produce (rather than absolutely determine) human agency and how agency may work in fairly complex oppositional ways (but never outside some domain of power), we can then start to work toward a more multilayered model in which the issue is not merely one of a dialectical relation between macro structure and micro agency but rather a poststructuration of constant recycling of different forms of power through our everyday words and actions. (Pennycook, 2001, p. 120)

This epistemological standpoint, namely what Kubota and Miller (2017) call "postmodern constructionism including poststructuralist theory" (p. 133), informs us of two crucial aspects regarding critical inquiries in language studies and language ideology research. First, power exerts via our daily discussions and deeds, and it should not be dichotomized between structure (macro) and agency (micro). Second, ideology is constituted in discourses and power relations rather than only by social structures. In connection with this argument, what should be noted here is that postmodernist and poststructuralist discussions about the constitution of meanings and subjectivities within discourses is greatly influenced by Foucault's (1977, 1978, 1980) view of knowledge not as 'truth' but as 'régime of truth' (Kubota & Miller, 2017; McNamara, 2012; Miller & Fox, 2004). Through this conceptualization, Foucault stresses that what counts is not whether a certain system of knowledge is true or false, but how it produces effects of truth; in his exact words, it matters "how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false" (1980, p. 118). Since this study concentrates on my participants' engagements with English, including their discussions about issues related to the language and its speakers, and explores the language ideologies that constitute or are constituted in and through the discussions, it seems most applicable to locate the study within constructionism and poststructuralism. It is expected that my investigation into language ideologies from these conceptual paradigms will fill the gaps left by previous studies that were based on linguistic imperialism. It is also hoped that this endeavor contributes to the fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics in that it will provide a new understanding of English and its speakers in Japan and ask how else various ideologies underpinning them can be captured.

That being said, the declaration of the adoption of constructionism and poststructuralism does not necessarily indicate that this study completely dismisses the perspectives presented by Marxist-based critical theory and postcolonial theory. For example, as will be discussed in further detail in later chapters, the recent economic movement or the rise of neoliberalism, and its subsequent impact on language, language education, and language learning are crucial social elements that cannot be overlooked when my participants' engagements with and understandings of English are addressed. In particular, given that neoliberalism or the globalized new economy has promoted the notion of linguistic skills as human capital as well as the commodification of language and language education (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012; Cameron, 2005; Heller, 2003, 2010; Heller & Duchêne, 2016; Kubota, 2011c, 2016; Park, 2016; Shin & Park, 2016), analysis of the correlation between the macro political economy and my participants' talk about what is behind their engagements with English in the neoliberal capitalist world is necessary and significant. In this study, I therefore strive to make use of "multiple conceptual threads that intertwine" (Kubota & Miller, 2017, p. 133) in constructionism and poststructuralism as well as Marxist-based critical theory.

This attempt holds true for my standpoint on postcolonial theory. While the postcolonial intellectual movement is distinctive in that it has tried to resist predominant European norms, its view of language, culture, and knowledge takes the same position as constructionism and poststructuralism. The movement has problematized cultural and ethnic essentializing, drawing on the perspective cultivated in constructionism and poststructuralism that language,

culture, race, ethnicity, and gender are not pre-given or distinct (Kubota, 2008; Kubota & Lin, 2006, 2009; Pennycook, 1998, 2001; Ramanathan, 2005, 2013). What is also important about postcolonial theory is that it has put focus more on local contexts of language and language practices (Pennycook, 2001). Although the broader research site of this study, Japan, is seldom categorized as a postcolonial country, unlike India or Singapore,[10] this study pays careful attention to how people engaging with English in Japan understand, appropriate, and resist the language, which is aligned very closely with the postcolonial intellectual movement that "demands that we work contextually" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 71). Thus, once again, I situate my study within constructionism and poststructuralism, but simultaneously, I strive not to lose sight of the existence of global forces, contextuality, locality, and resistance.

2.5 Conclusion

In Chapter 2, I have grounded the study theoretically. In specific terms, I have first deliberated on language ideology theory and argued on behalf of its effectiveness in addressing the complicated relations between my participants' engagements with English and the ways in which they understand the language as well as its speakers. This argument has then led to offering the reason why this thesis is based on a multifaceted study; since language ideologies function in both site-specific and multi-sited ways, it is vital to analyze data generated from multiple research sites. In this chapter, I have also pointed out some

[10] Looking back on Asian history, Japan is rather classified as a colonizing country. Bearing this aspect in mind is essential in this study because while the central focus of the study is placed on Japan, the Philippines also serves as a crucial research site. I take the spirit of postcolonial theory seriously, in particular when addressing the diplomatic and economic relations between Japan and the Philippines, and the human relations between Japanese men and Filipinas (see Chapter 5).

weaknesses of Marxist-based critical theory such as linguistic imperialism, language ecology, and linguistic human rights, and asserted the need to take the conceptual paradigms of constructionism and poststructuralism more seriously. I have argued that by doing so, my investigation into language ideologies will fill the gaps left by existing studies that founded themselves on linguistic imperialism.

In the next methodology chapter, I describe my overall research design adopted for the study. The description includes further explanation about the rationale behind utilizing the different types of data, a full account of each of the three research sites, and discussions with regard to translation issues, ethical considerations, and the contextual issues of the study.

Chapter 3

Locating the Study Methodologically

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I have argued for the effectiveness of language ideology theory to understand the complicated intersection of people's engagements with English, what they think of the language, and what kinds of beliefs and feelings they have toward it. I have also explained the epistemological standpoint of the study, namely how I view and interpret particular concepts such as ideology and power. Following this argument and explanation, in Chapter 3, I present my overall research design employed for the study. I first rationalize my utilization of the different types of data. Thereafter, I describe the three research sites (self-help ELL books, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises), detailing the data collection and analysis procedure. Through this process, I also provide some stories behind the data collection phase, including my own engagements with English, which can help explain the three research sites in further detail. I conclude the chapter with discussions on translation issues, ethical considerations, and the contextual issues of the study.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Rationale for the data collected

Broadly speaking, the data collected for this study consist of online texts and

narrative accounts generated through individual interviews. First, there were two reasons for the selection of online texts; online texts ensured both the quantity and quality of data. Regarding the quantity, more 'participants' were able to be accessed online (via customer reviews posted on two bookstores or a ranking platform and blog entries), compared with other survey methods such as interviews and focus groups. This made it possible to extract a rich variety of voices with varying genders, ages, places of residence, occupations, and ELL experiences. Because this multifaceted study aimed to address as diverse people's engagements with English as possible, online texts served as a useful data source for the study. However, an online entry on a bookstore or a ranking platform is generally anonymous and explicit personal information is not usually available; the information about bloggers is sometimes limited as well, even if they provide their self-introduction. In this respect, it cannot be denied that utilization of online texts, especially customer reviews, might lead to credibility issues. Nevertheless, I argue that customer reviews were relevant to the study. This is because, as described in Chapter 2, the study focuses on the examination of what language ideologies constitute or are constituted in and through discussions about English-related issues. To put it differently, the study explores how Thayne's self-help ELL books and Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons are talked about in particular contexts rather than exactly who talks about them. Given this research aim, I believe that online texts were a helpful data source for the study. Second, the customer reviews and blog entries utilized in the study were naturally-occurring data. This fact indicates that people's reactions to the self-help ELL books and Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons were captured without being affected by the research intentions. As for online texts, this study prioritized the larger participant demographics

and the spontaneous responses to the books and *eikaiwa* lessons.

That being said, for social research, interviewing is also an effective mode of obtaining people's thoughts about a specific topic (Morris, 2015). In particular, interviewing can be considered as advantageous in that it produces rich and thick data from each participant (Denscombe, 2010; Fontana & Frey, 2000) and personal information about him/her is also available. These were in fact crucial elements that could compensate for what online customer reviews (and blog entries) lacked. However, it should be noted here that some researchers point out that what participants say they believe in the interviews may not necessarily represent the entire realm of their beliefs (Park, 2009; Silverstein, 2001). Furthermore, what participants say does not always provide a proper portrayal (Morris, 2015; Rubin & Rubin, 2012); even if an interviewee says, for example, that he/she has strong social connections, he/she might in fact feel lonely and isolated (Morris, 2015). Acknowledging these seemingly negative respects, I still argue that interviewing was relevant to this study as one of the data sources. This argument is closely connected with the idea of interviewing from the perspective of constructionism. According to Morris (2015), from this standpoint, an interview serves as the very site where "[an] interviewee constructs a particular view of reality" (p. 12). Holstein and Gubrium (2003) similarly point out that "[interviewees] are constructors of knowledge in collaboration with interviewers" (p. 68). This stance is in the same lines as the central focus of this study: that is, my participants' 'talk' about their engagements with and understandings of English, and the language ideologies constituting or being constituted 'in and through the talk' in specific contexts. In other words, as Foucault (1977, 1978, 1980) puts focus more on how discourse

produces effects of truth rather than whether it is true or false (see Section 2.4 in the previous chapter), my interest was also in how my participants' discussions about English-related issues produced effects of truth rather than whether what they said was true or false. To this end, interviewing played an important role in collecting my data. Unlike online texts, one of whose strengths was that they were naturally-occurring data without being influenced by the research intentions, as for interview data, I prioritized the interviewer and interviewees' collaborative discussions (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Morris, 2015). It was expected that through these discussions, the interviewees' particular thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about English-related issues would emerge.

Thus, both online texts and interview data have strengths and limitations. However, by combining the two data sources, this study has striven to mutually redeem the limitations; this course of action has also helped form data triangulation, making the study more convincing (Denscombe, 2010; Mertens, 2015). To demonstrate how one data source compensates for what the other lacks, I conclude this subsection with a summary of the strengths and limitations of both online texts and interview data. Following this summary, the next subsections detail the data collected in each of the three research sites (self-help ELL books, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises) and the respective data collection procedures.

	Strengths	Limitations
Online Texts	・large participant demographics ・naturally-occurring data	・relatively non-detailed data ・almost no personal information about the participants
Interview Data	・rich and thick data ・personal information about the participants ・interviewer and interviewees' collaborative construction of a particular reality	・limited number of participants ・possibility of being influenced by the research intentions

Table 3.1: Strengths and limitations of online texts and interview data

3.2.2 Self-help ELL books

My initial encounter with David Thayne's self-help ELL books, which eventually prompted me to utilize the paperback (PB, *This English Offends Native [Speakers]*) and the comic book (CB, *A Little Weird English from Japanese People: Funny English Mr. Thayne Has Witnessed*) as one of the data sources for the first research site, took place at a branch of the city library in Sydney, Australia. As the branch had a small section housing books, comic books, and magazines written in Japanese, I used to go there regularly to get some fresh air apart from my doctoral work. The original owners of most of the items were temporary residents in Sydney such as students, working holiday makers, and expatriates dispatched by their enterprises, and when they left the city, they donated their unnecessary books to the library. Among them were a few dozen English-related books epitomized by glossary books, usage books, and self-help ELL books. One possible interpretation of this line-up is that a certain number of Japanese sojourners in Sydney might have brought with them English-related manuals

that they thought would assist their daily lives in a so-called English-speaking country. What intrigued me with regard to this library's possession was that within such a small selection of English-related manuals, there were several books written by Thayne, including the PB and the CB. Very curious about him at the time, I swiftly checked online, and it turned out that Thayne was a popular and productive ELL material writer in Japan. My latest search on Amazon.co.jp using the author name 'David Thayne' generated 301 book titles (as of May 5, 2017). He also sold as many as 3.5 million copies as of the same time (David Thayne's Native English Gym, 2017).

In addition to the substantial amount of his sales, what drew my attention is the frequent use of the term 'ネイティブ (native [speakers])' in the titles of his books. In a similar manner to the PB (*This English Offends Native [Speakers]*), many of his book titles include the term such as "その英語、ネイティブにはこう聞こえます (*How This English Sounds to Native [Speakers]*)," "その英語、ネイティブは笑ってます (*Native [Speakers] Laugh at This English*)," and "日本人の知らないネイティブ英会話 130 のルール このルールを知らずに、英語を話してはいけない！ (*130 Rules for Native English Conversation Japanese People Do Not Know: You Must Not Speak English without Knowing These Rules!*)." When I noticed this tendency, I started to deeply ponder what was behind Thayne's and his publishers' repeated utilization of the term 'native' and what kind of impact it might exert on the users of his books. I also thought that to address those questions would help capture the ways in which not only English but also the notion of the native speaker is conceptualized through discursive practices in a particular local context (Faez, 2011a, 2011b; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Park, 2009; Pennycook, 2007b; Toh, 2013). These thoughts drove me to select as data

sources for this study Thayne's books and customer reviews posted on online bookstores in response to his books.[11]

The rationale behind my concentration on the PB and the CB is the fact that of all Thayne's materials, these books received the greatest and the second greatest number of customer reviews on two major online bookstores in Japan (Amazon.co.jp and Rakuten Ichiba[12]) at the time I was collecting my data. This fact served as the primary motive in selecting the PB and the CB because I intended to work with as many reactions from as many users as possible. From Amazon.co.jp and Rakuten Ichiba, a total of 258 customer reviews were collected (as of April 2015; see Table 3.2).

	Amazon.co.jp	Rakuten Ichiba	Total
PB	40	30	70
CB	111	77	188
Total	151	107	258

Table 3.2: Summary of the customer reviews

Along with the PB, the CB, and the 258 customer reviews, I also attempted to incorporate editor voice into the first research site. This is because in practice,

[11] Interestingly and surprisingly, after deciding on the first focus of my research project, I happened to find two books written by Thayne in my home in Japan and recalled that I had tried to improve my English by using them. This episode suggests that although I almost completely forgot about the purchase itself and what I had actually learned from his materials, I myself was once attracted to them. In this sense, I can be described as an insider-researcher who shares similar experiences with my 'online participants.'

[12] Amazon.co.jp is part of the most widely known international e-commerce company, Amazon.com, Inc. Rakuten Ichiba is the largest online shopping site within Japan owned and operated by Rakuten, Inc.

self-help ELL books are not only educational but also commercial products sold in the market and publishers' intentions inevitably influence them. With this thought in mind, I first contacted the respective editors of the PB and the CB by phone, and asked them to allow me to conduct an individual interview. At the time, I adequately explained my positionality as a research student who investigated self-help ELL books written by Thayne and would like to be informed of the editors' views about his popularity or recent trends in the ELL material industry. While unfortunately, my request to the editor of the CB was declined because of his busyness, the editor of the PB (Mr. Morimoto)[13] showed an interest in participating in the interview. I then sent Mr. Morimoto an information sheet regarding this study by email so that he could better understand the purpose of the interview (Morris, 2015); this eventually led to his official consent to be an interviewee (see Appendices 3 and 4 for the information sheet and the consent form). The interview was held in the publishing company Mr. Morimoto worked for on the day requested (June 3, 2015). As he was also a busy editor, the time spared for the interview was only 40 minutes. Knowing this tight schedule in advance, I tried to make an effective use of the limited chance by meticulously preparing interview questions. Yet, I simultaneously strove not to stick to the questions at hand in the course of the interview; I paid careful attention to always keeping it conversational so that something unexpected but interesting to and useful for the study could emerge during the interview (see Chapter 4 for the details of Mr. Morimoto).

[13] To preserve anonymity, a pseudonym has been applied to the editor. However, I am aware that he might be recognizable to someone familiar with the publishing industry in Japan, especially the ELL material sector, since he appears in this thesis as the editor of the PB. In relation to this, it should be added here that I informed Mr. Morimoto of the aforementioned probability, and despite that, he consented to participate in my research project.

3.2.3 Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons

People involved in Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons can be classified broadly into three groups: providers, registrants/learners, and tutors. Because, as mentioned earlier, this study aimed to address as diverse people's engagements with English as possible, I decided on all three groups as data sources for the second research site. With regard to the first group, I utilized promotional materials given by 10 Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, including public remarks delivered by some of the founders. As every Skype *eikaiwa* provider had its own website, the data (not only written texts but also visual images used to describe its services) were collected online. I selected these 10 providers because they were introduced in a business magazine featuring ELL (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014) as major institutions offering Philippines-based English lessons via telecommunication tools such as Skype. The summary of the providers is presented in Table 3.3 on the next page.

	Name	Unit Price of a Lesson	Opening Hours
1	レアジョブ英会話 (RareJob)	199 yen (25 mins)[14]	6:00a.m.-1:00a.m.
2	ぐんぐん英会話 (Gn Gn Eikaiwa)	100 yen (15 mins)	6:00a.m.-1:00a.m.
3	DMM 英会話 (DMM Eikaiwa)[15]	98 yen (25 mins)	6:00a.m.-2:00a.m.
4	テノリエイゴ (Tenori Eigo)	190 yen (25 mins)	24 hours
5	ラングリッチ (Langrich)	166 yen (25 mins)	5:00a.m.-1:00a.m.
6	QQ English (QQ English)	248 yen (25 mins)	24 hours
7	イングリッシュベル (English Bell)	780 yen (25 mins)	24 hours
8	PIKT (PIKT)	207 yen (25 mins)	6:00a.m.-1:00a.m.
9	hanaso (hanaso)	422 yen (25 mins)	6:00a.m.-1:00a.m.
10	産経オンライン英会話 (Sankei Online Eikaiwa)	167 yen (25 mins)	5:00a.m.-1:00a.m.

Table 3.3: Summary of the 10 providers (Source: *Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014, p. 39; my summary)

[14] As of May 2017, 100 yen is about US$0.90, which means that the unit price of a 25-minute lesson in RareJob corresponds roughly with US$1.80. It should be noted, however, that it was the cost as of 2014 and the latest price in each provider is slightly different; as mentioned in Chapter 1, RareJob, for example, currently offers a 25-minute lesson for 209 yen (approx. US$1.90) (RareJob, 2017).

[15] Of all 10 providers, DMM Eikaiwa is the only one that hires tutors residing not only in the Philippines but also in various other countries such as South Africa and Nigeria.

As for registrants' voices, I made use of クチコミ ランキング！ (Kuchikomi Rankingu!),[16] one of the biggest and most famous platforms ranking products or customer services according to user reviews. Through this platform, a total of 213 reviews about 57 providers were collected (as of February 2014). I also accessed four blogs written by male learners of English, in which they referred to their ELL experiences or tips on effective learning. From my knowledge obtained from the four men's self-introduction in their blogs, two of them (Daisuke and Eita) were employees and one (Kazutaka) was a self-employed worker; the other (Kamo) provided no detailed information (see Appendix 1 for the details of the four bloggers).[17]

With regard to the four bloggers mentioned above, further information should be added here. As explained so far, the ultimate purpose of this study is to explore people's engagements with, and the ideological constitutions of, English in Japan. In brief, the study looks primarily at the language ideologies underpinning the thing called English. Yet, in the course of collecting data concerning Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, another crucial theme emerged: that is, gendered and sexualized constitutions of young Filipina tutors by Japanese male learners. This theme first caught my eye when I was googling Skype *eikaiwa* providers and happened to find Kamo's blog. As will be discussed

[16] The URL to this platform is as follows: https://kuchiran.jp/business/eng_online.html (last accessed on February 28, 2014).

[17] I use these four men's names (Daisuke, Eita, Kamo, and Kazutaka) as they are because these are their handle names for their blog entries and the entries are open to the public online. The URLs to their blogs are as follows (last accessed on January 20, 2017):

Daisuke: http://philipinizer.blog.fc2.com/blog-entry-32.html (written on October 10, 2014)
Eita: http://learn-create.info/archives/175 (written on February 19, 2015)
Kamo: https://minhyo.jp/hobosute/630/ (written on April 4, 2013)
Kazutaka: http://have-a-good-time.jp/archives/8615 (written on May 13, 2016)

in further detail in Chapter 5, Kamo adopted words or phrases that objectified Filipina tutors' external appearances and personalities in one of his blog entries. His descriptions of Filipina tutors in this particular way immediately reminded me of past studies on gender concerns surrounding *eikaiwa* in Japan, that is, the romanticized interrelationship between Japanese female learners and Western male teachers, primarily in franchised *eikaiwa* schools (e.g., Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2007; Kelsky, 2001; Kubota, 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006).

The close similarity in both *eikaiwa* contexts posed a couple of questions: How do the previous studies on franchised *eikaiwa* schools inform the gendered and sexualized constitutions of Filipina tutors in the Skype *eikaiwa* sector? Do the discursive constitutions challenge earlier gender and race concerns in franchised *eikaiwa* schools? Do they merely reverse the positions of men and women, ultimately reproducing the same concerns? To pursue this line of inquiry, I decided to intentionally collect data regarding the interrelationship between Japanese male learners and Filipina tutors; more specifically, I made an online search using the combination of keywords such as 'フィリピン (the Philippines),' 'スカイプ英会話 (Skype *eikaiwa*),' and '女性講師 (female tutors),' and encountered several blog entries featuring the 'cute' or 'affectionate' nature of Filipina tutors working in the Skype *eikaiwa* sector, as exemplified by Daisuke's, Eita's, and Kazutaka's blogs. In this sense, the blog entries of the four male learners (including Kamo) can be considered to be data obtained through more purposive sampling (Emmel, 2013) than the others.

In addition to online data, face-to-face interaction with participants also served as an important data source for the extraction of registrants' voices. In specific

terms, I conducted individual interviews with university students who were taking Philippines-based online English lessons at the time I was collecting my data. The students interviewed were affiliated to the Department of International Economics within the Faculty of Economics at Chiyoda University,[18] a private university in Tokyo. All were members of the same *zemi* (research seminar), which featured not so much economics as English unlike other research seminars in the department. The lecturer in charge of the *zemi*, Professor Hoshino, was a Japanese TESOL expert and I knew through my personal connections and social networks that in his *zemi*, he utilized Skype *eikaiwa* lessons provided by tutors in the Philippines to enhance his students' English proficiency, particularly their listening and speaking abilities. In Professor Hoshino's *zemi* at the time, the members were required to take a 50-minute online lesson every week, and it was also mandatory for them to participate in a one-month study tour to the Philippines, where they took an intensive English program. While choosing their *zemi* from several options, they were informed of the details regarding each research seminar. The students' choice of Professor Hoshino's *zemi* therefore implies that they prioritized the improvement of their English over studying economics, even though they belonged to the Faculty of Economics.

As for the concrete data collection procedure, I first contacted Professor Hoshino and asked him to distribute information sheets to his *zemi* students. Five students (Aiko, Eri, Shingo, Toru, and Yui) were interested in my research project, all of whom volunteered to participate in individual interviews lasting

[18] To preserve anonymity, pseudonyms have been applied to all institutions and my participants mentioned hereafter.

approximately one hour. All interviews except the one with Shingo were conducted at Chiyoda University. The main topic in the interviews was the participants' thoughts regarding and experiences with the Philippines-based online English lessons and the study tour to the country; however, all interviews extended into other areas, such as future dreams and everyday language practices (see Appendix 1 for the details of the five university students).

Finally, I detail the procedure concerning interviews with Filipino tutors. Regarding the tutors, I knew no potential participants at the beginning of the data collection phase, so I first contacted one of the largest Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, TrueTrade, and asked the provider to allow me to approach its tutors. TrueTrade was very supportive of my research project and generously granted me two months of free access to the online platform that was open only to its registrants; on the platform, they were able to browse and book a tutor, and take a lesson via Skype. To put it differently, TrueTrade permitted me to conduct individual interviews with tutors by utilizing their lesson time.[19] Owing to this permission, theoretically speaking, I could enjoy a maximum of two 25-minute lessons every day during the two months (July and August 2015); within the limits, I was also allowed to take as many trial lessons as possible, apart from my research purpose. This indicates that it was entirely my choice how I would make use of the free access to the online platform. In fact, I took several lessons 'as a learner' without disclosing my positionality for the following reason.

[19] While I offered a gift voucher to every participant I physically met in Japan, it was difficult to do this for Filipino tutors. However, the utilization of their lesson time somehow replaced the voucher because they were paid during the interviews.

The reason was related to research ethics, particularly a confidentiality and anonymity issue. Due to its online system, TrueTrade could track each registrant's learning history, such as when he/she took a lesson with which tutor, and this also applied to me. Although TrueTrade informed me that the system had no function of video/audio recording a lesson itself, which meant that the contents of interviews were completely confidential, there was the possibility that my participants would be identified if someone engaging with administrative work in TrueTrade saw my learning history. To avoid this problem, namely to blur exactly who participated in the interviews on the online platform, I decided to take more lessons than I needed; I took several lessons for no research purpose and managed to have the names of both participant and non-participant tutors coexist within my online learning history. In relation to this, I provided each tutor I approached for the research purpose with the following explanations before the interview:

- TrueTrade might realize that he/she has become one of the researcher's participants, but any information he/she presents will be kept in strict confidentiality.
- The researcher was interested in the tutor's view about online English lessons rather than about working for TrueTrade.
- When the researcher chooses to use any of the interview data in her thesis or publications, she would ensure that no comments that could jeopardize the tutor's work are included.

Listening to these explanations, nobody declined to participate in the interview; on the contrary, all tutors I approached for the research purpose willingly

agreed to become participants and provided me with oral or written consent.

In terms of exact numbers, I booked 25-minute lessons 28 times and out of the total lessons, I utilized 20 for interviewing three male tutors (Ben, Dave, and Kevin) and seven female tutors (Amanda, Jenny, Laura, May, Pauline, Rose, and Tina); conversely speaking, I took eight extra lessons by four non-participant tutors as the solution for avoiding the aforementioned confidentiality and anonymity issue. As for the length, I basically spared two sessions (50 minutes) for one interview. However, I booked three sessions (75 minutes) with the tutor I approached for the first time (May) because in the beginning, I could not anticipate how long the interview would take; after the third lesson with May, it turned out that two sessions were enough, which helped me schedule the rest of the interviews. On the other hand, in the case of another tutor (Ben), I only spared one session (25 minutes) because he had been fully booked after the first lesson until the two-month period of free access expired. According to the information from the interviews, all 10 tutors were university graduates and had taught in TrueTrade from two months (the shortest) to six years and 11 months (the longest). Four of them worked full-time and five worked part-time; one (Ben) answered that he identified himself sometimes as a full-time tutor and at other times as a part-time tutor (see Appendix 1 for the details of the 10 Filipino tutors).[20]

I conclude this subsection by stating that the solution adopted to avoid the confidentiality and anonymity issue generated a by-product. First, the extra

[20] In TrueTrade, it is completely the choice of each tutor whether he/she works full-time or part-time. The tutors can even change their work patterns every week freely, depending on their circumstances such as families, studies, and other jobs.

eight lessons by four non-participant tutors unexpectedly served as a good opportunity for me to directly observe Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* and obtain a glimpse of how actual lessons in this sector proceeded, although this experience could not be used as 'official data.' Second, the experience also happened to bring about an episode that helped me embody one of the central ideas in this thesis that the notion of 'correct English' is always contextually (re)constituted (see Chapter 6).

The episode occurred when I was taking one of the extra lessons, in which the tutor utilized a news article as the major learning material, and questions and answers concerning the article functioned as an interactive exercise. After exchanging greetings, the tutor told me to read aloud the news article and it included the word 'doctor.' I pronounced the word as /ˈdɒktə/, which I regarded as 'correct,' but as soon as he listened to this pronunciation, especially the second syllable /tə/, he stopped my reading and said, "It's not 'doctor ['dɒktə].' It's 'doctor ['dɑːktər],' Misako-san."[21] He also instructed me to repeat after his model, which was super rhotic (a very strong /r/), until I came to be able to pronounce the word in the same manner as he did. In the course of this lesson, I realized for the first time that staying in Sydney for a couple of years, I unconsciously pronounced some English words in a so-called 'Australian' (or perhaps 'British') way, although my own identification was that my English was based on 'American' English because of the ELT I had received at school in Japan. I also became aware that in that specific context of the lesson provided by that particular tutor, who was a speaker of Tagalog and had learned English in the

[21] The Japanese suffix *san* indicates 'Mr.' or 'Ms.' It was used by all TrueTrade tutors whom I encountered.

Philippines, the 'correct' pronunciation of the second syllable of the word 'doctor' was super rhotic (/tər/), and my 'Australian/British' way (/tə/) was the target to be cured. When I imagined that if I had taken that lesson in Japan, I would probably have pronounced the second syllable in an 'American' (if not his super rhotic) manner, I really felt that how to pronounce something was very contextually situated. I also embodied the idea that the notion of 'correct English' is not fixed but fluid. This embodiment encouraged me to make a case for the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers throughout the thesis.

3.2.4 EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises

For the recruitment of interviewees with regard to the third research site, three types of methods were combined: the Internet, my personal connections and social networks, and a snowballing technique. First of all, I started by approaching a blogger who presumably worked for Marufuku; although the blogger (Shota) did not mention the exact name of his enterprise within any of his entries, he wrote that it had enacted EOCL policy, which covertly implied that it was Marufuku. The main purpose of his blog appeared to be writing about his ideas on English and ELL, but he also frequently depicted how people in his enterprise engaged with the language in their workplaces or daily lives. Against this backdrop, I contacted Shota by posting a message on the hidden comment section of his blog. In the message, I asked him whether he would allow me to conduct an individual interview, explaining my positionality as a research student who investigated EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises and would like to be informed of employees' perspectives. I also included my contact

email address in the message. A few days later, Shota emailed me, displaying interest in participating in the face-to-face interview. Thereafter, in a similar manner to the case of the PB editor, Mr. Morimoto, I sent Shota an information sheet regarding the study by email, which led to his official consent to be an interviewee.

Simultaneously, I continued recruiting employees working for either Marufuku or Ichigen. I also approached employees who did not necessarily work for enterprises that had ratified EOCL policies, but often needed to engage with English in their workplaces. Eventually, I was able to conduct individual interviews with four more employees from Marufuku (Fumika, Nichole, Osamu, and Takao), two employees from Ichigen (Koji and Yasushi), and five employees from five other enterprises (Atsuko, Jiro, Momoyo, Ryo, and Taichi). While most of them were accessed through my personal connections and social networks, Nichole and Osamu were exceptions. They were recruited utilizing a snowball technique; Nichole was introduced by Fumika, and Osamu, by Shota, as her/his (former) colleague (see Appendix 1 for the details of the 12 employees). During the interviews, the employees primarily informed me of their thoughts regarding EOCL policies. However, the interviews also referred to such topics as ELT in Japan, their past and present foreign language learning experiences, and the languages and cultures they encountered in their workplaces or daily lives.

Unlike the interviews with Mr. Morimoto, the students at Chiyoda University, and the tutors in the Philippines, those with the 12 employees were basically conducted in the evening after their work. As a consequence of this schedule, cafés, restaurants, or *izakaya*s (Japanese gastropubs) near their workplaces, all

of which were recommended by the interviewees, often became the venues for the interviews. It is often suggested that an interview should be held in a quiet place so that both the interviewer and the interviewee can hear each other and the data generated through the interview can be transcribed properly (Morris, 2015; Rapley, 2007). Acknowledging the relevance of this suggestion, I argue that the venues where my participants felt comfortable and items such as coffee, alcohol, and tasty food positively helped our talk go in a relaxed mood, which lasted from about one hour (the shortest) to about three and a half hours (the longest).

The most positive aspect of this style of interview was that while covering the questions I had prepared, it enabled the interviewees to "'ramble' to an extent" (Morris, 2015, p. 10). This worked well especially for Osamu. Although the main topic of the interview with him was Marufuku's internal language policy and he provided me with his own thoughts about it as a former manager in this enterprise, what was also interesting to and helpful in this study was that as the interview went on, he became franker and franker, and started talking very actively about Thayne's books and Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons. In particular, statements made by Osamu regarding 'cute' and 'affectionate' Filipina tutors had close parallels to the narrative accounts generated by the four male bloggers, which contributed to my arguments on gender and race concerns in the Skype *eikaiwa* sector (see Chapter 5). In a similar manner to Osamu, some other participants also presented their thoughts about self-help ELL books or online English lessons in relation to their ELL, although the central topic of the interviews with them was EOCL policies. Thus, owing to the longer-than-usual interviews in informal settings, some interviewees in the third research site

happened to be helpful informants in the first and second research sites as well.

3.2.5 Summary of all data

As has so far been described, this thesis draws on different types of data produced from multiple research sites. To tidy up, I provide two tables here that summarize the three research sites and the data collected in each of the sites.

	Data
ELL Books	・Thayne's two books (the PB and the CB) ・258 customer reviews about the books posted on two online bookstores
Skype *Eikaiwa*	・10 providers' promotional materials (including public remarks delivered by some of the founders) ・213 customer reviews about 57 providers posted on an online platform ・four blogs written by four male learners (Daisuke, Eita, Kamo, and Kazutaka)
EOCL Policies	(N/A)

Table 3.4: Summary of the online or written data

	Data
ELL Books	・the PB editor (Mr. Morimoto)
Skype *Eikaiwa*	・five university students (Aiko, Eri, Shingo, Toru, and Yui) ・10 tutors in the Philippines (Amanda, Ben, Dave, Jenny, Laura, May, Pauline, Rose, Santos, and Tina)
EOCL Policies	・five employees from Marufuku (Fumika, Nichole, Osamu, Shota, and Takao) ・two employees from Ichigen (Koji and Yasushi) ・five employees from five other enterprises (Atsuko, Jiro, Momoyo, Ryo, and Taichi)

Table 3.5: Summary of the interviewees (see Appendix 2 for the interview overview)[22]

3.3 Data analysis

In terms of data analysis, this study is situated within critical discourse studies, exemplified by critical discourse analysis (CDA) (e.g., Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2008; van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) or critical multimodal discourse analysis (CMDA) (e.g., Djonov & Zhao, 2014a; Jones, 2013; Machin, 2013; van Leeuwen, 2013). Of particular interest to critical discourse studies is the intersection of language and power, and therefore its principal purpose is to denaturalize ideologies that

[22] Each interviewee was asked in advance to fill in a questionnaire concerning his/her background such as age, educational qualifications, nature of work, experiences of living overseas, and foreign language learning experiences (see Appendix 5). The answers to the questionnaire considerably helped me start the interview or change the topics smoothly. Regarding the Filipino tutors, however, I did not use this strategy. This is because their profiles already appeared on the online platform of TrueTrade and they covered almost all information I needed.

have become naturalized in texts and other semiotic resources (Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Because this study addresses data related to English, and this 'global' language has numerous socio-political or cultural-political implications (e.g., issues of standard forms, varieties, native/non-native speakers, gender, and race), approaching the data through the critical discourse analytical lens was helpful in investigating the ways in which English was ideologically constituted through my participants' discursive practices.

However, drawing on critical discourse studies does not necessarily indicate that this study employed a particular established model. As numerous researchers have so far suggested, CDA is now an umbrella term that covers a wide variety of analytical methods (Djonov & Zhao, 2014b; Lee & Otsuji, 2009; Lin, 2014; Luke, 2002; Noro, 2009). Some draw mainly on systemic functional linguistics (Fairclough, 2001, 2010; Janks, 1997; van Leeuwen, 2008), whereas others focus more on a discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 1996) or a socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 2008) (for the summary of CDA, see Djonov & Zhao, 2014b; Lee & Otsuji, 2009; Lin, 2014; Noro, 2009). Following this suggestion, in my study, I prioritized the view of CDA or CMDA as "a broad theoretical qualitative research approach" (Mirhosseini & Samar, 2015, p. 116) or "a cluster of interdisciplinary approaches" (Lin, 2014, p. 214) rather than as a method. In other words, rather than selecting a specific model from the established methods mentioned above, I adopted "a contextually relevant procedure" (Mirhosseini & Samar, 2015, p. 116), attaching significance to the common spirit of critical discourse studies and also bearing in mind that despite the effectiveness of CDA and CMDA, their weaknesses have been pointed out by several researchers.

One of the major criticisms against CDA, for example, has been directed to the ways in which the relationship between the micro level of linguistic discourses and the macro level of wider society should be viewed. Regarding this issue, Otsuji (2008) argues that CDA has a tendency to over-emphasize ideologies. In particular, she problematizes Fairclough's (2001) rather deterministic and structuralist view that dominant ideologies exert an enormous impact on discursive and social formations. Relying on other researchers such as Luke (2002) and Hammersley (1996), she suggests that individual contributions to the discursive and social formation processes should not be overlooked. Otherwise, we would run the risk of considering the individual "as the collective social, as if the members of the same social group speak in the same manner by sharing the same ideology" (Otsuji, 2008, p. 12).

This suggestion is crucial during critical text analysis. In the case of Thayne's self-help ELL books, for example, it might be easy to analyze the sensational book titles and contents of his books, concluding that they reflect and reproduce native speakerism, that is, "the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2006, p. 385). However, as Pennycook (2001) stresses in relation to the shortcomings of Fairclough's practice of the analytical method based on systemic functional linguistics, an interpretation is only "a particular reading of a particular text" (p. 93), revealing little about how the text is actually read or perceived in society. To put it differently, text analysts should be careful not to reduce the meaning of a text to their own readings outside the context of its social comprehension (Pennycook,

2007a, 2010). To eschew this, especially to avoid making analyses limited to one's own readings (Blommaert, 2005; Sunderland, Cowley, Abdul Rahim, Leontzakou, & Shattuck, 2000), it is vital to have the view of "*transtexuality*" (Pennycook, 2007a, p. 53; emphasis in the original), in which texts are regarded as "hav[ing] meaning not in themselves but only when used" (p. 53).

With this argument in mind, in the case of the first research site, the study enlarged its scope of analysis to users' responses to the PB and the CB. That is, the study put focus more on how the PB and the CB were read and understood by the users. This standpoint also held true for the second and third research sites. Along with presenting my own critical analysis with regard to the promotional materials of Skype *eikaiwa* providers and the trend of EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises, I have striven to incorporate people's reactions to them into the study.

Regarding the concrete analysis procedure, I first translated online texts into English. As for narrative accounts generated through individual interviews, I underwent the same process after transcribing the audio-recorded data; in the case of the data concerning Filipino tutors, this process was omitted because the medium of interaction was English. Thereafter, as the initial stage of analysis, I carefully read through the English versions as well as the original Japanese texts. During this stage, I tried to immerse myself in the data and capture what could be key themes for the whole study (Morris, 2015). In addition, through this first reading, I strove to detect "notable quotes" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 195) that vividly conveyed my participants' thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about English or English-related issues. These quotes also helped me observe the key themes

emerging. Some of the quotes were incorporated in the data analysis and discussion chapters as the participants' "actual words" (Morris, 2015, p. 134) that powerfully supported my arguments.

That being said, my work did not always progress in the linear and tidy way described above. In particular, since this thesis is based on a multifaceted research project and draws on a mixed set of data produced from multiple sites, different tasks were in progress at the same time. For example, when I was repeatedly analyzing the online texts regarding the PB and the CB (the first research site), I interviewed the university students (the second research site). Or when I was transcribing the interview data concerning the employees (the third research site), I elaborated on the thesis structure (all three research sites). I also frequently went back and forth between listening to the audio-recorded data and reading through the English/Japanese transcripts, or among the different types of data generated from each of the three research sites. It was really a messy and time-consuming process, but it helped me familiarize myself with the massive amount of data as thoroughly as possible.

My engagement with the complicated multitasking was effective in another way. Through transcribing and analyzing the data I had obtained earlier, an idea of what the key themes were emerged and the idea enabled me to conduct better interviews with new participants. This worked very well especially when I approached Filipino tutors. As mentioned in Subsection 3.2.3, when all the data were analyzed for information on Skype *eikaiwa* learners, a recurring theme emerged: gendered and sexualized constitutions of young Filipina tutors. As this theme was salient particularly in five male participants' narrative accounts, I

used their descriptions of young Filipinas as anecdotes when I interviewed female tutors. The anecdotes played the role of a prompt (Appleby, 2014) for the women to produce their own stories that tell their "socially and culturally conditioned experiences" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 56) as Skype *eikaiwa* tutors. Their stories contributed to strengthening my arguments regarding gender and race concerns in the Skype *eikaiwa* sector.

3.4 Translation issues

As often witnessed in qualitative research drawing on data generated in a language different from the one in which the findings are produced, translation is a considerable challenge. Although in the previous subsection, I passingly referred to the task of translating Japanese data into English, it was in fact demanding, sensitive, political, and ideological work (e.g., Ramanathan, 2006; van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010). I needed to carefully choose English words or phrases that sounded most equivalent to the original Japanese ones in order not to change my participants' voices; I paid close attention even to sentence structures. In particular, "specific culturally bound words" (van Nes et al., 2010, p. 315) were a serious matter. This is because the literal translation of them had the great possibility of reducing their intended meanings (van Nes et al., 2010).

Although there was no perfect solution for these translation issues, I made every effort to minimize the risk. First, I decided to present both Japanese and English-translated data throughout this thesis when using my participants' direct quotes. It is true that readers of the thesis do not necessarily understand

Japanese, but I considered that it could at least provide the feeling of the original texts. Second, I tried not to force myself to translate everything when it seemed that it would spoil the original meanings; instead, I intentionally utilized some Japanese words or phrases as they were, although they were written in romaji (the Roman alphabet) and added further explanation to them (see Chapters 6 and 7). I decided to take these courses of action, viewing them as sincere and ethical behavior toward my participants.

3.5 Ethical considerations

I carefully managed several ethical issues before and after setting foot in the data collection phase. First, before travelling to Japan for the first fieldwork,[23] I asked the Ethics Committee of the University of Technology Sydney (UTS) to grant ethical approval for my research project; the approval number is UTS HREC REF NO. 2014000490. Second, I created several information sheets and consent forms suitable for each of the three research sites that included the approval number (see Appendices 3 and 4), and sent them to each participant before the interview (see Section 3.2). Regarding how to utilize the information presented by my participants, I provided them with the following four options:

1. The participant agrees that the researcher will use any data freely on condition that he/she is de-identified.
2. The participant agrees that the researcher will use any data freely on condition that he/she is de-identified and with his/her consent to the use.

[23] I visited Japan twice to collect data. The first fieldwork lasted from December 2014 to January 2015 and the second, from May to June 2015.

3. The participant agrees that the researcher will use any data freely without de-identifying him/her.
4. The participant agrees that the researcher will use any data freely without de-identifying him/her, but with his/her consent to the use.

Every participant chose the first option except Shota. As he selected the second option, I asked him in advance whether I could make use of specific information related to him; eventually, all data obtained from Shota and utilized in this thesis is with his consent.

I conclude this subsection with a statement that all the data are kept locked and securely stored on computers.

3.6 Contextual issues

The contextual issues of this study are primarily related to methodology. As has so far been explained, the interviewees (in particular, the employee participants) I met in Japan were basically recruited through my personal connections and social networks. Because of this method of recruitment, most of them resulted in having similar backgrounds to mine, such as places of residence and educational qualifications; in fact, all of the employees interviewed resided in or near Tokyo at the time I was collecting the data, and the percentage of employee participants who had completed a postgraduate course was relatively high. It cannot be argued, therefore, that my participants are representative of the population despite the phrase 'people engaging with English in Japan' appearing in the first research question.

This also holds true for the 10 Filipino tutors. First, as mentioned in Chapter 1, there are currently over 150 Skype *eikaiwa* providers in Japan (*Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014) and TrueTrade is one of them. Second, TrueTrade itself is also a very large provider and hires as many as 4,000 tutors. Third, since one of my major motives in interviewing Filipino tutors stemmed from the theme, gendered and sexualized constitutions of young Filipina tutors, over half of the Filipino tutors interviewed were women in their twenties or thirties. Here again, this sampling cannot be considered to be representative of the Skype *eikaiwa* tutors in the Philippines.

In relation to these issues, however, I would like to cite Marshall's (1996) and Morris's (2015) viewpoints with regard to qualitative research based on interviewing. They argue:

> Qualitative researchers recognize that some informants are 'richer' than others and that these people are more likely to provide insight and understanding for the researcher. Choosing someone at random to answer a qualitative question would be analogous to randomly asking a passer-by how to repair a broken down car, rather than asking a garage mechanic — the former might have a good stab, but asking the latter is likely to be more productive. (Marshall, 1996, p. 523)

> [I]n most studies based on in-depth interviews, it is not possible or desirable to strive for a representative sample. The key aim should be to interview a range of interviewees who will be able to give you insights into the research question/s under review. (Morris, 2015, p. 63)

Following their arguments, I tried to seek out as various participants as possible who were most likely to present rich, thick, and informative insights into this

study. On one hand, I acknowledge the possible limitations of my methodology; on the other hand, I here justify the validity of the study.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have grounded the study methodologically. I first rationalized the data collected, detailing the data collection and analysis procedure. Through this process, I provided some stories behind the data collection phase, which hopefully helped depict the three research sites in further detail. Thereafter, I described what could be concerns in terms of translation, ethics, and validity of the study, and presented how I strove to minimize the concerns.

In the next four chapters, I report on the analyses and discussions of the data to untangle the complicated relations between my participants' engagements with English and the language ideologies surrounding the engagements. In Chapters 4 and 5, I concentrate on demonstrating how divergently my participants engage with English and what kinds of language ideologies and socio-political or cultural-political components underlie these engagements. Following these two chapters, in Chapters 6 and 7, I explore the ways in which the thing called English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through my participants' engagements with the language.

Chapter 4

Engagements with English for Self-development

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I have presented the overall research design employed for this study. Starting with rationalization of utilizing different types of data, I have detailed the three research sites and the data collected within each of the sites. I have also described the data collection and analysis procedure, providing some stories behind it to help explain the nature of the research sites and data in further detail. Following this methodology chapter, I aim to untangle the relations between my participants' engagements with English and the language ideologies surrounding the engagements in the next four chapters. In Chapters 4 and 5, I focus on showing how divergently my participants engage with English and what kinds of language ideologies and socio-political or cultural-political components underpin these engagements. The engagements are indeed more than the mere act of learning or using the language in the conventional sense; the ones explored in Chapter 4 can be considered to be 'engagements with English for self-development,' whereas the ones specifically addressed in Chapter 5 can be termed 'engagements with English for male gratification.'

In Chapter 4, discussions as to engagements with English for self-development are first conducted with special reference to the notion of language learning as a

leisure activity (Kubota, 2011b, 2011c; Kubota, Seo, Kito, Sano, Yamaguchi, & Yonemoto, 2014; Seo, Seo, & Yonemoto, 2015) (Section 4.2). This notion was formulated and developed to explain the ideological dimensions of recent language teaching and learning, and could serve as a helpful tool to describe my participants' engagements with English. However, detailed analysis of my data reveals that the participants' engagements with English cannot be fully understood by only drawing on this notion. The participants' thoughts regarding their ELL display greater complexity than earlier studies have demonstrated and suggest the need to extend the notion of language learning as a leisure activity. In Chapter 4, I therefore address this complexity and add a new layer to the notion: that is, English for self-development (Section 4.3).

Moreover, the attempt to capture my participants' engagements with English for self-development opens up another crucial discussion with regard to the relationship between language, language learning, and neoliberalism (Block et al., 2012; Flubacher & Del Percio, 2017; Kubota, 2011c, 2016; Park, 2010, 2016; Shin & Park 2016). In the latter part of this chapter (Section 4.4), drawing on Park's (2010, 2016) and Shin and Park's (2016) idea of 'neoliberal subjects,' I further discuss my participants' engagements with English for self-development in relation to neoliberalism. This discussion is based on the analysis of the data concerning Ichigen's and Marufuku's EOCL policies.

4.2 Language learning as a leisure activity

Referring to Stebbins's (1997, 2007) series of leisure studies, Kubota (2011b, 2011c) proposes the view of language learning as a leisure activity. This

proposal stems from the reality of her research participants' devotion to English conversation (*eikaiwa*) in rural Japan. According to Kubota (2011b, 2011c), as they do not necessarily learn English for economic benefits, successful careers, or future life changes, the notion of investment (Norton, 2000; Peirce, 1995), which has frequently been employed in studies on language learning and identity, cannot thoroughly explain the participants' motivations for or purposes of ELL. Unlike learners who invest in language learning to boost the value of their economic, social, and cultural capital (Norton, 2000; Peirce, 1995), some of Kubota's (2011b, 2011c) participants enjoy mingling with their *eikaiwa* teachers or fellow learners, and others appreciate the novelty of English-speaking time and space apart from their daily lives. For this group of participants, ELL can be seen to be "leisure, socializing, or escape" (Kubota, 2011c, p. 258).

This tendency is not limited to traditional *eikaiwa* learners. Some data obtained for this study show that language learning as a leisure activity also permeates the self-help ELL material and Skype *eikaiwa* sectors. For example, a reviewer of Thayne's comic book posted the comment that "[英語を]使う機会もほとんどありませんが、セイン先生に英会話を習いたいです (I have little chance to use [English], but I want to learn *eikaiwa* from Mr. Thayne)" (CB/Rakuten/Feb.21. 2012).[24] This comment implies that despite no actual immediate need, the reviewer has an interest in *eikaiwa* and that is why he/she engages with English making use of self-help ELL materials written by Thayne. The comment closely

[24] (CB/Rakuten/Feb.21.2012) indicates that this is a customer review regarding the CB posted on Rakuten Ichiba on February 21, 2012. Likewise, (PB/Amazon/Feb.09.2013) mentioned later in the same paragraph means that it is a customer review concerning the PB posted on Amazon.co.jp on February 9, 2013. This convention applies to all customer reviews about Thayne's comic book or paperback used hereafter.

corresponds to the narrative accounts presented by some of Kubota's (2011b) participants who are learning *eikaiwa* under "low pressure and low communicative urgency in daily life" (p. 480). This type of learning, that is, ELL in a relaxed mood can also be seen in another comment on Thayne's paperback: "60 歳の手習いで英会話をやっています (I'm learning *eikaiwa* as *tenarai* of a 60-year-old)" (PB/Amazon/Feb.09.2013). The Japanese term '手習い (*tenarai*)' needs a brief explanation here. This term originally indicated 'practice of writing with a brush' and has expanded its meaning into 'learning' (*Kojien*, 2009). It is customarily used in the proverb '六十の手習い (*tenarai* of a 60-year-old)' exactly as described by the reviewer. This proverb literally represents 'starting to learn something new in one's 60s (or more loosely, late in life),' connoting that 'it is never too late to learn.' Although it is not very clear how serious the reviewer is about his/her ELL, the title of the customer review "英語って楽しい (English is fun)" (PB/Amazon/Feb.09.2013) suggests that the reviewer, presumably in his/her 60s, has taken up ELL as *tenarai*, with which he/she is having a good time.

ELL for fun is also reported by Skype *eikaiwa* tutors in the Philippines. Here, I provide narrative accounts generated by some of them. First, when I asked the tutors about the demographics of the student population, most of them answered that the profiles were quite rich in variety, ranging from three-year-old kids (the youngest) to retirees in their 80s (the oldest); according to the tutors, they happened to be familiar with their students' personal information through self-introduction and free conversations in the course of the lesson. Then, to the question with regard to adult learners' aims of taking online *eikaiwa* lessons, several tutors gave their responses utilizing the term 'hobby.'

For example, Santos replied, “Some of them [= my students], especially the seniors, er, they just wanted […] a hobby. They just enjoy it” (Aug.02.2015). In a similar manner, Amanda offered the following information: “[…] older students, like 70s, 80s, it’s just their hobby” (Aug.15.2015). These tutors’ statements indicate that in Japan, a certain number of adults (even people in their 80s) engage with ELL as a leisure activity. The statements simultaneously support past studies’ argument that not each and every learner intends to increase human capital or business competitiveness through language learning (Kubota, 2011b, 2011c; Kubota et al., 2014: Seo et al., 2015).

However, questions arise here about this style of learning. Why do people in Japan, regardless of age, select language learning as their leisure activity? Do the hobbyist learners only seek fun? What is behind their selection of English in particular? In the next section, in order to explore these questions, I concentrate on narrative accounts produced by Mr. Morimoto (the editor of the PB) and Osamu (a former manager in Marufuku as well as a user of Thayne’s ELL materials and Skype *eikaiwa* registrant). Considering these two participants’ viewpoints, it can be argued that for some people in Japan, ELL is more than *“pleasure and enjoyment”* (Kubota, 2011b, p. 475; emphasis in the original); their ELL can be better understood from the perspective of ‘self-development aimed at the growth of the whole person.’

4.3 English for self-development: More than pleasure and enjoyment

As an editor of ELL materials with nearly 20 years’ experience, Mr. Morimoto

understands that not all learners of English in Japan are driven by necessity to master the language. On the contrary, he is very much aware of a large demand for English-related books that the purchasers simply would like to enjoy reading. In the course of the interview with him, Mr. Morimoto remarked, "周りにいる主婦で、趣味で英語をやるという人も読者に多い[…] (Of housewives around me [and of] the readers, people who learn English as a hobby are many […])" (Jun.03.2015). In relation to this statement, when I asked him for his thoughts on what was behind those people's selection of ELL as a hobby, he answered as follows:

(1)【Jun.03.2015】M: Mr. Morimoto

M: あのー、やっぱり、向上心があると。[…]何かやらないと、あのー、気が済まないと言いますかね。[…]毎日少しでも、成長する自分を実感したいと言うか。[…]本を読むだけで、別に英会話する機会はないんだけど、それでもやっていたいっていう人が非常に多くいますよね。その人たちにとっては、やっぱり、あのー、英語の学習であり、同時に自己啓発でもあるのかなあという感じがしますね、はい。
Er…, you know, [those people] have desires to improve themselves. […] I'd say, er…, they don't feel right unless they do something. […] I'd say they want to really feel themselves growing even a little every day. […] There are a considerable number of people who only read books and have no particular chance to do *eikaiwa*, but still want to learn English. I feel that for those people, you know, er…, [learning English] is learning English, but at the same time, it's also self-development, yes.

The keywords in Mr. Morimoto's account above are *"desires to improve themselves," "growing,"* and *"self-development."* To sum up, of people learning English in Japan, many are aspirants who wish to improve themselves and realize their growth or development through learning. These learners seem to slightly differ from Kubota's (2011b, 2011c) participants who tend to quest for joy and fantasy by doing *eikaiwa*. For further discussion of this difference, it is

meaningful to contemplate Mr. Morimoto's viewpoint simultaneously referring to part of narrative accounts presented by Osamu, who used to be a manager in Marufuku. Osamu is also a Skype *eikaiwa* registrant as well as a user of Thayne's materials, and during the interview, he self-mockingly confessed that he had so far spent an enormous sum of money on ELL. Below is the excerpt immediately after we talked about the current and future directions of ELL in Japan:

(2)【May.26.2015】O: Osamu / R: Researcher

O: [本は…]ビタミン剤ですよ。[…]あの一、英語だけではなくって、学習っていうモデルは廃れることがないんじゃないですか。あれ、心の安定を提供しているんで、学習自体は。[…]学習をしているという、こう、学んでいる、向上しようとしているっていう、その行為をとっているだけで安心できるっていう。
[Books …] are vitamin tablets. […] Er…, not only ELL but the model of learning won't be obsolete, I guess. That, learning itself, provides mental stability. […] Learning, you know, studying, trying to improve, the mere act of being involved in this makes [us] stable.

R: はあー。それはうーん、社会人として、人として成長するための一要素なんですか？
Uh-huh. Is it, well, a requisite for growing as a working adult, as a whole person?

O: あの、成長しないといけないっていうふうに刷り込まれてるじゃないですか。[…]成長することがいいことなんですっていう形で[…]。
Er, it's been imprinted [on us] that we must grow, hasn't it? […] In the way that growing is something good […].

In a similar manner to Mr. Morimoto, Osamu employs phrases such as *"trying to improve"* and *"must grow"* to explain his thoughts on what motivates people to engage with ELL or learning in general. It should be noted here that his use of the term 'grow' in the last part of this excerpt is triggered by my interpretation *"a requisite for growing as a working adult, as a whole person,"* but he does not deny the idea that learning has something to do with working adults' or people's sense of obligation to improve themselves. On the contrary, he adds his

own view here that we have been infused with the moral that we must develop and this development is a good deed. Thus, although Mr. Morimoto and Osamu are on opposite sides of the ELL material industry (a seller and a buyer), they share nearly the same standpoint concerning the purpose of ELL for some people in Japan; these learners aim to develop and improve themselves through ELL, and the very act of engaging with this learning as well as (or perhaps rather than) what they have actually learned can fulfill their purpose.

Although this style of ELL for self-development might be in the same lines as ELL for fun in that both have a tendency to put less focus on the acquisition of linguistic skills, they are also incompatible with each other in another way. The major difference between them is that books play a crucial role in ELL for self-development and the learners do not necessarily need companionship unlike those who are involved in ELL as a leisure activity. In Mr. Morimoto's analysis, there are a great number of people who *"only read books and have no particular chance to do* eikaiwa." These learners are in contrast with Kubota's (2011b) participants who feel satisfaction in having interpersonal relationships forged through social interaction with their fellow learners. Her participants come together to learn *eikaiwa*, but their relative priority is socializing in and outside the classroom, and this "social space […] can become a primary driving force for engaging in the activity" (Kubota, 2011b, p. 475). However, in the case of learners devoted to English for self-development making use of books, a more considerable emphasis is placed on self-study and what motivates the learners to engage with this learning is a sense of obligation that they *"must grow."* Furthermore, according to Osamu, with this rather obsessive idea about self-development, the act of learning itself leads to *"mental stability"* and books that

accompany the learning function in the same way as *"vitamin tablets"* for the health-conscious. Although Mr. Morimoto does not use the term *"自己啓発 (self-development)"* in either a Buddhist or a Confucian sense, which connotes religious or philosophical 'enlightenment' (Akhavan, 2015; Zhang & Milligan, 2010), the ELL that both Mr. Morimoto and Osamu mentioned in their respective interviews can be viewed as something spiritual or something that yearns for "spiritual well-being" (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2006, p. 153). In this respect, the learning in question does not completely fit the notion of ELL as a leisure activity, which primarily seeks pleasure and enjoyment; here, a new layer that can be termed 'self-development aimed at the growth of the whole person' is necessary.

To further discuss this idea of engagements with English for self-development, I make a specific reference to Mr. Morimoto's standpoint as an editor here. What is noteworthy about his academic, professional, and personal background is that despite his involvement in editing ELL materials, he perceives himself as neither an expert of ELT nor a learner/user of English. When I asked him whether it was his own request or an administrative order that he had joined the ELL material sector, he replied as shown in the following:

(3)【Jun.03.2015】M: Mr. Morimoto

M: いや、あの一、希望。そうですね。あの一、編集者はやっぱり、売れる本を作りたいっていう。それが一番、まあ、大きい意味ですかね。で、英語の学習者の方っていうのは、本を買ってくれると。[…]まあ、俗っぽい言い方になると、手堅い。
No, er…, [my] request. Yes. Er…, an editor wants to edit books that, you know, sell. That is the, well, biggest factor. And learners of English buy books. […] Well, vulgarly speaking, it's solid.

This response indicates that ELL material is one of the most promising genres in Japan's publishing industry, and his intuition as an editor, who *"wants to edit books that [...] sell,"* has led Mr. Morimoto to be involved in English-related books. What is behind his engagement with ELL material editing is therefore its commercial potential; conversely speaking, he does not stick to ELT itself. Indeed, Thayne's series of ELL books is only part of his work. Mr. Morimoto has recently been responsible for many other books unrelated to English, and this fact is displayed in his business card — I received one when I visited him in his office for the interview. On the back of the card is a list of the books that he has planned and edited in the last few years, and interestingly, the list, along with Thayne's series, includes the following themes: '自律神経 (autonomic nervous system),' '折れない心 (tough mind),' '世渡り力 (streetwiseness),' and '終活 (end-of-life planning).'

This line-up suggests that his major interests as an editor are in the genre called 'self-help skills,' and on the face of it, Thayne's series appears to be rather out of place. Yet, given that English or ELL can be a form of fostering self-development that aims at the growth of the whole person, Mr. Morimoto's list of works does make sense. Here, engagements with English for self-development parallel such concerns as 'how to keep the autonomic nervous system in order,' 'how to be tough-minded or streetwise,' and even 'how to end one's life happily.' To put it differently, whether the theme is end-of-life planning or English, under the same category called self-help skills, Mr. Morimoto's books are intended to assist the readers in obtaining physical and mental wellness or leading a life of good quality. His business card symbolically represents that ELL in Japan could be an important component of people's endeavor to achieve physical and mental

well-being or enhance their value of life. The existence of ELL in this particular way definitely differs from the established notion of language learning. This ELL also serves as a new layer to the notion of language learning as a leisure activity.

In this section, by analyzing and discussing several online comments and narrative accounts generated from individual interviews, I have argued that of people learning English in Japan, there are some who consider their ELL to be a form of fostering self-development. I have also suggested that it is important and necessary to add this new perspective to the notion of language learning as a leisure activity for better understandings of people's diverse engagements with English. However, it should be pointed out here that whether ELL is for pleasure and enjoyment or due to a sense of obligation to grow as a whole person, individuals' choice of English is never unrelated to broader socio-political and cultural-political elements. As Kubota (2011b) stresses, in fact, learners' seemingly self-determined selection of ELL is inextricably connected with the hegemonic position or symbolic image of English both in Japan and in the world. This argument is supported by the following 28-year-old housewife's online comment about Skype *eikaiwa*:[25]

(4)【Mar.04.2014 (retrieved)】

現在妊娠 5 ヶ月の妊婦なのですが、家にいることが多くあまった時間の有効活用として始めたのが自宅でできるオンライン英会話でした。[…] オリンピックも日本で開催されるので、お腹にいる子供に私が英語を教えるのが私の目標であり夢になっています。

I'm five months pregnant and often stay at home. What I've started, as a way of using my spare time fruitfully, is online *eikaiwa*, which is

[25] Unlike Amazon.co.jp and Rakuten Ichiba, the online platform where I collected Skype *eikaiwa* learners' comments (Kuchikomi Rankingu!) offers information regarding reviewers' occupations, ages, and genders, as filled out voluntarily by them. However, the platform does not show when their comments were posted. I have therefore provided the date on which I retrieved the comments (see Excerpt (4)).

> available in my place. […] Since the Olympic Games are going to be held in Japan, to teach English to the child I'm carrying has become both my aim and dream.

From this comment, it can be deduced that she views *eikaiwa* as a safe pastime for a woman with child. In particular, for this reviewer, who is trying to stay quiet during pregnancy, Skype *eikaiwa* (not traditional *eikaiwa*) does matter because in the case of online lessons, learners can choose their own homes as a learning space, instead of physically going to a school (Terhune, 2016). However, given the wording *"a way of using my spare time* ***fruitfully****,"* it can also be inferred that it was not just safety that concerned this woman. She wanted a pastime with which she could not only kill time safely but also obtain something meaningful; for her, that was *eikaiwa*. In what respect then does this woman think that *eikaiwa* can be meaningful? It seems that the latter part of her comment clearly answers this question; that is, the *eikaiwa* ability she has obtained through her pastime during pregnancy would be beneficial in that she could pass the ability to her expected child, who might have a chance to display it when the Olympic Games are held in Tokyo in 2020.

This expectation is probably based on the premise that "[f]or business, studying, trading, socializing, or tourism, English is nowadays a truly international language" (Cogo, 2012, p. 97) or that "[t]o facilitate communication on a global level, the default choice is often English" (Terauchi & Araki, 2016, p. 180) (see also Kubota (2013a, 2014) for problematization of this premise). It may likewise be affected by the fallacy that the earlier English is taught, the better the outcome will be (Phillipson, 1992). Thus, whether it is for leisure or for self-development, ELL does not exist in a socio-political and cultural-political

vacuum. Individuals' choice of English not only reflects but also assists its global spread (Kubota, 2011b). Their choice also reinforces various prevailing language ideologies underpinning English, ELT, and ELL, as exemplified by the discourse of English as a/the default global lingua franca and the early start fallacy. This analysis suggests that we should take the perspective of macro forces seriously when conducting critical studies on English, ELT, and ELL, although in order not to fall into determinism, we also need to distance ourselves from counting too much on macro-societal theoretical frameworks (Pennycook, 2001, 2007a).

Finally, the attempt not to lose sight of macro forces reminds us of the recent economic trend, namely the rise of neoliberalism, and its subsequent impact on language, language education, and language learning (e.g., Block et al., 2012; Flubacher & Del Percio, 2017). In particular, for my participants working in Ichigen, Marufuku, or other enterprises, the notion of linguistic skills as human capital, which is a typical language ideology promoted in the globalized new economy (Cameron, 2005; Heller, 2003, 2010; Kubota, 2011c, 2016; Park, 2010, 2016; Shin & Park, 2016; Tan & Rubdy, 2008), does matter. In the next section, drawing on the participants' discussions about Ichigen's and Marufuku's EOCL policies, I explore the ways in which these internal language policies operate within the enterprises and foster the idea of English for self-development. Through this exploration, I argue that the language policies help the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) assume a specific role and exercise institutional discipline over the employees rather than enhance their actual English use for business. I begin this exploration with a brief overview of Park's (2010, 2016) and Shin and Park's (2016) perspectives on the relation

between those who work under neoliberalism (what is called 'neoliberal subjects') and their language learning.

4.4 English for self-development: Neoliberal subjects

4.4.1 Neoliberalism and language learning

Harvey (2005), one of the leading researchers of neoliberalism, defines it as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (p. 5). With this theory, since the 1980s, many nation states have begun the implementation of radical economic reforms such as "[d]eregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision" (Harvey, 2005, pp. 12-13). On a non-governmental level, private enterprises or individual investors have continued questing for a place where the lowest-cost labor is available and the most inexpensive production is possible.

According to Shin and Park (2016), under such competitive and individual-orientated circumstances, people are encouraged to act on their own initiative with regard to their lives and ensure accountability for their own choices or decisions. The researchers further argue that this trend is clearly reflected in the recent phenomenon where personal branding to show abilities and endless self-development to maximize latent potential are celebrated. In other words, people, especially adult workers, in the neoliberal capitalist world (what is called 'neoliberal subjects') are compelled to embark on a risky venture,

compete with others, and develop new skills (Bauman, 2007; Shin & Park, 2016). Shin and Park (2016) also suggest that this phenomenon can be explained by drawing on Foucault's (1988, 1997) notion of 'technologies of the self.' According to Foucault (1988), technologies of the self are the ones that

> permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (p. 18)

With these technologies, individuals are driven to act rationally and regulate their relationship with themselves (Makino, 2009; Ryan, Bissell, & Alexander, 2010). These technologies can also be viewed as practices that embed in individuals a willingness to govern themselves even without conspicuous supervision (Miller & Rose, 2008; Shin & Park, 2016). In the contemporary world, through these practices, individuals strive to conduct themselves and do whatever is necessary such as the acquisition of practical skills. A telling example of the skills regarded as essential under neoliberalism is linguistic skills (Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017; Kubota, 2011c, 2016; Park, 2010, 2016; Urciuoli, 2008). In particular, English proficiency is considered to be the most useful and beneficial for global communication or business (e.g., Cogo, 2012; Terauchi & Araki, 2016). On this premise, neoliberal subjects originally speaking languages other than English devote themselves to ELL, which results in the current state, termed "English frenzy" (Park, 2010, p. 22) in South Korea, "the national obsession with English" (McVeigh, 2002, p. 150) in Japan, and so on.

What is noteworthy about language learning, especially ELL, in the name of

neoliberalism is that willpower as well as (or perhaps rather than) actual competence is valorized. Since in the neoliberal capitalist world, individual responsibility is emphasized, those who can manage themselves as technologies of the self (Foucault, 1997), that is to say, those who can invest time and effort in studying English spontaneously and unstintingly are viewed as ideal neoliberal subjects (Park, 2010, 2016). Focusing on South Korean society, Park (2016) raises two characteristics with regard to ELL under neoliberalism. The first is that despite enterprises' stress on the importance and necessity of their employees' English proficiency, most of them actually do not need great competence in the language for their daily tasks; to put it differently, people in South Korea tend to continue ELL not so much for the practicality of English itself as for competition with rival workers within the country (Park, 2016). The second characteristic is more closely aligned with the neoliberal mindset mentioned above; English skills are apt to be treated as something that displays responsible supervision of self. In Park's (2016) exact words, for neoliberal subjects in South Korea, ELL "is not simply preparation for the job market, but a moral project of developing oneself to become a better person through English … even [though] this also gives [them] a great deal of pain and anxiety" (p. 458).[26]

Kubota (2011c) discusses almost the same role played by ELL under neoliberalism in relation to Japan's language testing industry. Drawing on data obtained from interviews with adult workers learning English and managers of

[26] What I have discussed in the previous section (English for self-development, which is more than pleasure and enjoyment) is inextricably connected with this argument. In particular, Osamu's narrative account regarding the obsessional idea of the relationship between learning and the growth of the whole person (see pages 88-89) echoes Park's (2016) analysis of neoliberal subjects.

manufacturing enterprises in rural Japan, she suggests that while it is often claimed that the TOEIC serves as a means to screen job applicants and candidates for particular positions, the importance of this test appears to be linked more intimately to individuals' beliefs than to enterprises' requirements. More specifically, none of the four managers she accessed for her study reported that their enterprises implement a promotion system utilizing TOEIC scores; in reality, more focus is placed on professional qualities than English skills. In the first place, according to Kubota's (2011c) adult worker participants, only a few employees seem to use English within their enterprises; even for those who need the language while they are on duty, insufficiency of English skills does not seem to exert a very negative impact on their business performance or their enterprises' productivity, either. Nevertheless, her participants urge themselves to continuously study English, in particular to prepare for the TOEIC. As for the role of the TOEIC within the enterprises in question, Kubota's (2011c) study has reached the conclusion that "language tests such as TOEIC work as a convenient tool to measure the level of *effort* rather than proficiency itself" (p. 258; emphasis in the original). This state of the test is in the same lines as the nature of ELL in neoliberal South Korean society described by Park (2016). In sum, for neoliberal subjects, ELL, including preparation for the TOEIC, could be proof of how enthusiastically they try to develop or improve themselves.

Following the overview of language learning under neoliberalism above, in the next subsection, I focus on my employee participants' discussions about Ichigen's and Marufuku's EOCL policies and further explore the idea of English for self-development. This exploration is conducted with special reference to the dominant status of the TOEIC within the two enterprises. I begin with a

presentation of the background behind Ichigen's and Marufuku's EOCL policies in order to convey a glimpse of the atmospheres of both enterprises provided by my participants.

4.4.2 Backgrounds behind Ichigen's and Marufuku's EOCL policies

At the time of the individual interviews with two employees from Ichigen (Koji and Yasushi) and five employees from Marufuku (Fumika, Nichole, Osamu, Shota, and Takao), both had enacted EOCL policies. However, the background behind each policy and the extent of their binding force differed. Ichigen, a long-established manufacturer, adopted English as an official corporate language approximately 15 years ago, when it merged with a foreign-owned enterprise, Basile. Since that time, Ichigen employees have been required to use English as necessary. According to Yasushi, "そこから急に英語が必要になるみたいな、あの一、時代を迎えて（笑） ([In that year, we] entered, er..., the phase where like we suddenly needed English (laugh))" (Jan.10.2015). A good example of this shift is the medium used in meetings; since the merger, English has institutionally become the only language when foreign employees with no or little Japanese proficiency are present. As Koji stated, "あの、ミーティングの中に外人が 1 人でも入れば、英語を使わざるを得ない。日本語できない外国人なら (Er, we cannot help using English in a meeting with even one foreigner unless they speak Japanese)" (Jan.05.2015). This arrangement holds true for written communication within the enterprise. As Koji further informed, "役員とかに出ていくような資料っていうのはまず英語で書いてあります[…]。日本語で書いてあることはないです (Materials that reach people like directors are written in

English anyway […]. They are never written in Japanese)" (Jan.05.2015). To put it the other way around, however, in meetings where all attendees speak Japanese, the medium remains the language. Business documents are also written in Japanese as long as they are only circulated among fellow workers who understand the language. From Yasushi's rather critical perspective, "[会社は]公用語、英語って言ってますけど、[…]全然なってない ([the enterprise] says that its official corporate language is English, but […] this doesn't work at all)" (Jan.10.2015) as a whole. In sum, the status of English in Ichigen can be viewed as an additional language that is utilized depending on time and circumstances.

On the other hand, in Marufuku, a newly established enterprise, the CEO decided to fully switch the business language to English several years ago. The CEO viewed English as absolutely essential for the enhancement of his enterprise's global business competitiveness (see Chapter 1 for more on general backgrounds behind EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises). Ever since, Marufuku has made positive efforts to recruit and hire talented employees from all over the world. The enterprise has also encouraged all pre-existing employees to improve their English proficiency, not to mention the use of the language while they are on duty. In particular, just before and after the press release of the CEO's decision, "[EOCL 政策の縛りは]一番厳しかった ([the binding force of the EOCL policy] was the strictest" in Takao's words (May.24. 2016). Around that time, as he further remarked, "[社内の使用言語は]完全に英語でした。もう日本語、まったく許されな[かった]ですね ([The language used within the enterprise] was completely English. [The use of] Japanese [was] totally forbidden)" (May.24.2016). According to Takao, the menus in the cafeteria within Marufuku, which had been written in Japanese, were also

suddenly changed into English (see pages 12-13 for more on the urban myth about the cafeteria).

However, it should be noted here that Takao's account above is how he felt around the time of the press release of Marufuku's EOCL policy. During the interview, he also reported that the policy's binding force appeared to loosen as time went by. According to Takao, he left Marufuku shortly after the enactment of the policy, but he keeps in touch with his former colleagues, with whom he occasionally exchanges their latest news. From Takao's knowledge obtained through these colleagues, who are still working in the enterprise, they have gradually started to utilize Japanese in business scenes where they used to try to adopt English at the inception of the EOCL policy. Additionally, the interview data gathered from my other Marufuku participants suggest that they perceive a gap between the internal language policy and their own Japanese-dominated workplace communication. Shota, for example, describes his daily language practices within Marufuku as follows:

(5)【Dec.16.2014】R: Researcher / S: Shota

R: […]勤務中の使用言語は日本語なんですか？
[…] Is the language used at work Japanese?

S: 日本語ですね。まあ、[事実を]隠してもあれ[＝無意味]だと思うんで。[…]
It is. Well, I guess hiding [the fact] is senseless. […]

R: […]それは企業の、あのー、言語政策としては OK なことなんですか？
[…] Is that okay for your enterprise's, er…, language policy?

S: たぶん、本当はだから、あのー、オフィシャルが英語って言っているぐらいだから、ダメなんでしょうけど、リアルは（笑）日本語です、日本語ですね。[…]
Probably, to be strict, er…, it's no good since [the enterprise] has

> declared that its official [language] is English, but in reality (laugh), it's Japanese, Japanese. […]

The reality that the main business language used within Marufuku is Japanese also applies to Fumika. Fumika was born to ethnically Japanese parents and raised in the USA. She was educated in that country up to the university level but entered a graduate school in Japan to pursue her master's degree. In the USA, she was told to speak in Japanese at home by her mother, who wanted her to maintain the language. Fumika considers English as her definitely dominant language, but according to her, she is gradually becoming confident using Japanese. With this background, she was hired by Marufuku as a foreign employee. Yet, the division to which she was assigned has a highly Japanese-dominated work environment and she has almost no chance to use English at work. In Fumika's exact words, "[…]私の、あの、部署とかはすごいドメスティックで、日本語しか使わないです。私は毎日のメールとか会話とかも、ほとんど英語は使わないです ([…] my, er, division is remarkably domestic and I only use Japanese. I seldom use English for daily email, conversation, and the like)" (Jan.07.2015).[27]

What is important to be discussed here is that despite this sort of work environment, the employees in Marufuku are encouraged to continue their ELL in the name of a 'global' enterprise that has enacted an EOCL policy; they are especially urged to prepare for the TOEIC. My Ichigen employee participants reported that this tendency was also witnessed in their enterprise. Focusing on this respect, in the following subsection, I examine my Ichigen and Marufuku

[27] The interview with Fumika was conducted basically in Japanese, but English was also used depending on topics.

employee participants' discussions on the ways in which the TOEIC as well as the EOCL policies operate within the enterprises. Through this examination, I first point out that in both enterprises, the TOEIC functions as a surveillance mechanism that drives the employees to study English constantly. I then argue that preparation for the test can be an important component of ELL for showing *"忍耐力 (dogged perseverance)"* under neoliberalism, as will be described by one of my participants, Takao.

4.4.3 TOEIC as a surveillance mechanism

Unlike the enterprises to which Kubota's (2011c) participants are affiliated, both Ichigen and Marufuku adopt an evaluation and promotion system utilizing their employees' English proficiency or TOEIC scores. Regarding this aspect, two excerpts from my respective interviews with Koji and Yasushi from Ichigen are first provided below. Koji is in the accounting and finance division, and Yasushi is an engineer and manager in the research and development division:

(6)【Jan.05.2015】R: Researcher / K: Koji

R: 英語ができる・できないがいわゆる出世みたいなのに[…]関わってきている？
Whether [you] have English proficiency or not affects so-called promotion [...]?

K: それはあると思います。[…]経理財務部門でも、必ずその、英語を使わなきゃいけない部署があるので、で、ジェネラルマネージャーとかになるレベルっていうのはあの一、ジェネラルにこう、いろんなものを見なきゃいけないっていう点になってくるとすると、まあ、その、それより上に行くためには、英語ができないと、おそらくダメでしょうね。
It does, I guess. [...] Because within the accounting and finance division, there are sectors where it is mandatory, er, to use English, and [people in high] positions like general managers, er..., need to handle various situations generally, you know, so well, er, without English proficiency, it'd probably be impossible to get promoted to [positions] higher than that.

(7)【Jan.10.2015】R: Researcher / Y: Yasushi

＜after talking about mass email in Ichigen, which is written in both Japanese and English because business efficiency would be reduced without Japanese＞

R: あ、じゃ、中には英語不得意でとかって方も大勢いらっしゃる？
Oh, does it mean that among the employees, there are many who are, like, not good at English?

Y: います、います。います、います。英語 NG で、あの一、昇進に問題が出てる人もいたりとか。やっぱり、それはしょうがない。
Yes, yes. Yes, yes. Like people who are bad at English and er…, have trouble in their promotion. You know, it cannot be helped.

R: あ、それ、どう思われますか。例えば[…]とっても技術なり、スキルなりがある。でも、英語だけがちょっともうダメなんだっていう方の、こう、プロモーションがこう、断たれてしまう可能性が高いわけじゃないですか、今。それについては？
Oh, what do you think of it? For example, [...] let's suppose [someone who] has considerable expertise or skills but is only poor at English. Currently, there is the great possibility that the person's chance to be promoted is cut off, isn't there? What is your thought about this?

Y: ま、あの、結局はまあ、しょうがないかなって。っていうのはハードルがあの一、高くないんですよ（笑）。あの一、例えばその、主任層とかが TOEIC500 点って。
Well, er, ultimately, well, it cannot be helped. You know why, because the hurdle, er…, isn't high (laugh). Er…, for example, er, [the score required for employees in] the section chief rank is a score of 500 in the TOEIC.

The excerpts above indicate that English proficiency, assessed on the basis of the TOEIC, seems to be one of the significant factors for promotion in Ichigen. After this conversation with Yasushi, he also stated that the employees in his division were directed to take the TOEIC regularly to not only achieve the specific scores necessary for promotion but also maintain their English proficiency. Given these circumstances, it could be said that for a certain number of employees in Ichigen, especially for those whom Yasushi calls *"people*

who are bad at English and [...] have trouble in their promotion," ELL is practically equated with preparing themselves to sit for the TOEIC. If they did well on the test, their scores would help them stay on track as business people, which would also contribute to economic stability.

However, while Koji and Yasushi admit the dominant status of the TOEIC within Ichigen, both feel that there is an over-reliance on the test. For example, Koji, who had already obtained a score of 800 before he entered Ichigen and reached a score of 900 several years ago, currently does not take a serious view of the test. He says:

(8)【Jan.05.2015】K: Koji

K: ［TOEIC の点数は］人に評価してもらうための 1 つの客観軸しかないと思っていて、実際に運用能力はって言うと、その、テストに表れないところも出てくると思います。
I guess [a TOEIC score is] nothing but an objective yardstick people utilize to evaluate [me], and as for actual competence, some aspects cannot be assessed by the test.

Yasushi likewise shows an awareness of this low correlation between a TOEIC score and practical English performance (Chapman, 2003). During the interview, he remarked that the upper ranks in Ichigen had recently started to realize there was a gap between what their employees should be able to do (as inferred by their TOEIC scores) and what they could actually do in English. Nevertheless, the test is still being utilized as a means to evaluate the employees in Ichigen. In relation to this TOEIC-orientated culture (what might be called 'TOEICism'), Yasushi further provided an interesting anecdote. He is an active engineer in his academic field and continues publishing articles or presenting at international conferences in English. As a manager in charge of corporate strategy, he also

frequently attends meetings at which foreign managers are present and holds teleconferences with his fellow French employees in Basile, both of which are conducted in English. Despite such a tireless academic and business performance, Yasushi, like other employees, is still encouraged by his boss to sit for the TOEIC regularly.

One possible interpretation of this anecdote is that although the practical function of the TOEIC for evaluation and promotion in Ichigen cannot be denied, the test also serves as a surveillance mechanism with which people in higher positions would like to grasp (if not control) their subordinates. As a result of this mechanism, the subordinates are driven to almost always consider ELL, or preparation for the TOEIC in a strict sense. However, as researchers such as Kubota (2011c), Park (2016), and Shin and Park (2016) point out, for these subordinates, this sort of ELL does not necessarily mean an improvement in English proficiency itself; rather, their ELL results in demonstrating that they are constantly striving to develop themselves as ideal working adults through learning. In this respect, it can be argued that employees in Ichigen are consciously or unconsciously devoted to a neoliberal project of endless self-development as technologies of the self (Park, 2016; Shin & Park, 2016), and the TOEIC promotes this particular engagement with English.

In a similar manner to Ichigen employees, the TOEIC also matters to those in Marufuku; to be precise, it is much more vital for them. The excerpt below from my interview with Nichole displays her understanding of what is going on inside Marufuku in relation to the test. Nichole, a woman in her early 20s, was hired by the enterprise as a foreign employee and came to Japan from the USA

several months prior to the interview. She was born and raised in South Korea, but due to her family's migration to the USA when she was eight, she was educated in that country up to the university level. She started learning Japanese at high school, and it was one of her double majors at university. She identifies English as her first language and Japanese as her second language. The interview was conducted in Japanese, which was her choice:

(9)【May.25.2015】N: Nichole / R: Researcher

N: TOEICで今はベンチマークが800点なんですけど、800点取れなかったら、給料10%カットされるんですよ。
The current benchmark is a score of 800 in the TOEIC, and unless you achieve a score of 800, you have your salary cut by 10 percent.

R: で、本当に800いかない人って、いるの？
And are there any people who actually haven't achieved 800?

N: めっちゃいますね。[…]
Super many. [...]

R: […][点が取れない人たちは]たぶん、勉強してるんだろうね、家帰って。
[...] [Those who haven't achieved the score] probably study at home, don't they?

N: はい、その、毎日、1日に1時間ぐらい、みんな、キャフェテリア行って、勉強してるんですよ、英語。
Yes, er, every day, for about an hour a day, everyone goes to the cafeteria and studies English there.

R: あ、そう。会社でもやってるの？[…]えっと、それは、会社って9時くらいから始まる？
Oh, really? Do they study even in the enterprise? [...] Well, is that, does work in the enterprise start around 9?

N: はい。
Yes.

R: じゃ、8時ぐらいからやってるの？
So do they start around 8?

N: えっと、業務中です、あれ。
Well, [they're studying] during working hours.

R: あ、それ、OK なの？ 業務中に？
Oh, is that okay? During working hours?

N: OK です。むしろ、取れない人が多すぎて（笑）。
It's okay. Rather, too many people haven't achieved the score (laugh).

R: やれって言われてるの？ 業務中でも？ へえー。
Are they told to study? Even during working hours? Wow.

The excerpt above shows that the circumstances in Marufuku are similar to those in Ichigen in that the immediate goal of ELL for a certain number of employees is to do well in the TOEIC. However, there are two major concerns to be addressed here, which are particular to Marufuku. The first is that all employees need to get a score of 800; otherwise, they will have their salaries reduced by 10 percent. This score is by no means easy for people who had regarded English as irrelevant in their lives until the endorsement of the EOCL policy. In fact, according to Nichole, employees struggling to obtain this score are *"super many."* The second concern is that those who have not gained a score of 800 are directed by their bosses to study English *"during working hours."* In brief, the ELL to achieve this specific score is given priority over normal business in some divisions. In the course of the interview with Nichole, she explained why some bosses in Marufuku became very upset about the test. Interestingly, the reason is related to a matter of their administrative ability or the divisions' credibility rather than the employees' English proficiency.

According to Nichole, the entire staff in Marufuku is supposed to attend the same morning gathering every week. As Marufuku is a gigantic, multifaceted enterprise, this morning gathering is one of the only opportunities for employees to catch up on the CEO's latest vision or the projects on which their

fellow workers in other divisions are currently working. As part of this information exchange across the entire staff, the once-a-month morning gathering focuses on the effectiveness of the EOCL policy by releasing the newest divisional rankings based on the ratio of employees who have achieved TOEIC scores over 800. In addition, some employees who have recently obtained that score make presentations in English regarding test tips. Nichole's division always ranks low, and to move out of this position, her bosses require those members who have not yet achieved the score to study English while they are on duty.

This remedy sounds like a case of putting the cart before the horse, but it indicates that certain employees' low TOEIC scores are no longer their own individual problem because their bosses and divisions also shoulder the collective responsibility. Here, in a similar manner to Ichigen, the TOEIC plays a very specific role. The test operates as a surveillance mechanism with which the employees, especially those who have not yet achieved a score of 800, 'have to' expend considerable time and effort to obtain the required score. They 'have to' study English even during working hours. However, this type of ELL is, again, not for genuinely developing English proficiency. The ELL is first aimed at escaping the 10 percent salary-reduction penalty and then so as not to cause their division disrespect. Simultaneously, for people in higher positions, the TOEIC serves as a tool with which their administrative ability and their divisions' credibility can be measured. Either way, the test is being utilized for purposes that are not necessarily related to the conventional views of language use, language learning, and language proficiency. Exerting institutional power, the TOEIC has become a device to further promote the employees' ideological

internalization of self-development and self-help as a good and necessary deed for promising neoliberal subjects.

Finally, to further explore this particular role of the TOEIC and its relationship to the idea of English for self-development, I provide narrative accounts produced by a former Marufuku employee, Takao, who can be considered as a telling example of 'successful' neoliberal subjects. At the time of the interview, Takao had nearly completed his MBA degree at an overseas university,[28] and according to him, this endeavor was inspired by Marufuku's enactment of the EOCL policy. Looking back on that time, he said, "これからは英語[が]できないと、ビジネスマンとして、ちょっとまずいんじゃないかっていう危機感を感じた (I felt the pinch like, if I have no English proficiency, I'll get into trouble as a businessperson)" (May.24.2016). He also informed me that when he was working in Marufuku, his TOEIC outcome was in the 200 score range and he gradually developed a terrible inferiority complex: "日本語環境だったら、仕事はできるって自負はあるのに、そのグローバルな環境になった途端に、自分はできない人みたいになっていて (I was proud that I did well in a Japanese-speaking environment, but once I entered a globalized environment, I became like a person who did poorly) (May.24.2016). Against this backdrop, he decided to quit his job and study abroad, although people around him firmly opposed his decision; he first went to a language school for approximately two years and then entered a university as a postgraduate student in an English-speaking country.

[28] To keep Takao unrecognizable to anyone who knows him, no information about his destination is provided.

During the interview with Takao, I grasped his strong sense of satisfaction and accomplishment obtained from the endeavor mentioned above. This is reflected in one of his descriptions about it: "まったく英語ができない状態から MBA まで行った (I advanced to MBA from a zero-English state)" (May.24.2016). His spirit to make this relatively risky attempt and the subsequent sense of satisfaction and accomplishment parallels the nature of ideal neoliberal subjects who try to undertake a bold venture and learn new skills, which contributes to the realization of their latent potential (Bauman, 2007; Shin & Park, 2016). Indeed, Takao himself perceives that through his endeavor, he was able to improve himself not only in terms of English but also as a working adult; in particular, concerning the former aspect, he has reached the conclusion that "英語[は]やればできる (anyone can acquire English if they just try)" (May.24.2016). To put it differently, from the perspective of Takao, who succeeded in making the impossible possible by sheer willpower (*"MBA from a zero-English state"*), whether someone can be skilled in English does not necessarily depend on his/her ability itself; what is crucial is whether he/she can first commence studying the language earnestly and then continue the pursuit even if they feel it tough.

In relation to this viewpoint, Takao further presented his own analysis with regard to the status of the TOEIC in Marufuku. His interpretation of its absolute dominance is that the enterprise may in fact make use of the test for a "裏の目的 (hidden purpose)": "忍耐力のある社員を残したい、丸福としては (Marufuku wants to secure employees with dogged perseverance)" (May.24.2016). In his more specific and detailed words:

(10)【May.24.2016】T: Takao

T: 要するに、[TOEIC は]やれば誰でも[よい点が]取れるテスト、英語力がなくても。で、だから、やれるかどうかの力を、だから、忍耐力を試しているだけじゃないかって、僕も気づいて。[…]こんな誰でもやれば取れるテストなのに、「ああ、何か、そんなの、もうやだ」とか、継続力がないとか、そういう人はもうこの先ビジネスマンとしても、こう、成長見込めないだろうっていう判断の下、それを公に言っちゃうとしょうがないから、実は[TOEIC の]裏目的として持っておいて[…]。

In short, [the TOEIC is] a test in which anyone who studied can achieve [a good score] even if they don't have English proficiency. So I realized that [Marufuku] only tried to find whether [employees] could just do this or not, let's say their dogged perseverance. […] If some employees say, "Oh well, I can't do this" or they can't display the ability to continue, [Marufuku] judges that they don't show great promise as business people who can improve themselves. But it's too straightforward to say in public, so [Marufuku] has [this actual intention] as a hidden purpose of the TOEIC […].

Within the statement above, in addition to Takao's original wording *"dogged perseverance,"* we can also detect phrases that are similarly employed in Park's (2016) explanations about neoliberal projects of self-development, such as *"the ability to continue"* and *"improve[ing] themselves."* At the same time, these phrases as well as Takao's whole interpretation of the dominant status of the TOEIC in Marufuku closely correspond with Kubota's (2011c) argument concerning the test that "what is valued is not so much whether an individual has language skills as how much he (and perhaps not so much she) makes an effort" (p. 258). In particular, what Takao stated regarding English and the TOEIC during the interview is in line with the account provided by one of Kubota's (2011c) participants: "[t]hose who can tackle English can tackle other things too" (p. 258). Given this respect, it can be argued that for Takao as well as this participant in Kubota's (2011c) study, ELL aiming to achieve a high TOEIC score "[has become] a technology of the self …, through which [they] manage and conduct themselves" (Park, 2016, p. 456).

However, what should be noted here is that not every Marufuku employee strives to manage or conduct him/herself as technologies of the self or is submissive to institutional authority in relation to the TOEIC and self-development. Some display resistance to the enterprise's course of action, although the resistance appears passive and feeble. For example, according to Takao, one of his former colleagues who are still working in Marufuku declares that he does not or will never engage with ELL, despite the 10 percent salary reduction penalty. In Takao's exact words:

(11)【May.24.2016】T: Takao

T: ［元同僚は］「ああ、もう英語なんか使わないし」って言って。はい。「使わないのに、［会社は］TOEIC の勉強とかさせて来ようとするけど、俺はやる気ないし」って言って。
[The former colleague] says, "Well, I no longer use such a thing as English." Yes. He says, "[The enterprise] persuades me to study [English] for the TOEIC or something even though I don't use it, but I have no motive [for the study]."

Likewise, as for the morning gatherings where the divisional rankings based on the ratio of employees who have achieved TOEIC scores over 800 are updated and presentations about TOEIC tips are delivered by recent 'successful test takers,' Nichole informed me of the reactions produced by her colleagues who have not yet obtained the score:

(12)【May.25.2015】N: Nichole / R: Researcher

N: たぶん、あれ［＝プレゼンテーション］でみんな、結構イラついていると思うんですよ（笑）。
Probably everyone gets rather irritated at the presentations, I guess.

R: ああ、そういうふうに感じる？
Oh, do you feel that way?

N: はい（笑）。
Yes (laugh).

R: うん、何か、先輩方の声とか聞こえてくる？
I see, well, do you hear your office seniors' voice?

N: うーん、みんな、寝てますね（笑）。
Well, everyone is asleep (laugh).

R: （笑）あ、会議中？
(laugh) Oh, during the meetings?

N: はい（笑）。[…]でも、ムカつくんじゃないですか。何か、こう、頑張って頑張って取ろうとしてて、取れない英語に対して、その、ドーンと朝会で、何か。
Yes (laugh). […] But I understand that they get irritated. You know, er, they are struggling to achieve [the score] this way or that way, but they can't. And that English [issue], er, is highlighted in the morning gatherings.

R: ああ、言われて。
Yeah, [it is] pointed out.

N: 決して英語ペラペラではない他の人に、「私はこういうふうにやって、800 点を達成できました」みたいなこと言われても、イラッとするじゃないですか。
It's irritating to hear others say, like "I've reached a score of 800 this way," isn't it? And they aren't fluent in English at all.

R: うん、うん、うん。[…]
Yeah, yeah, yeah. […]

N: […]でも、TOEIC で 800 点取ったとしても、決して英語ペラペラなわけではないじゃないですか。
[…] But even if you've got a score of 800 in the TOEIC, it doesn't necessarily mean that you're a fluent speaker of English, does it?

R: そうなんだよねえ。
I agree.

N: なので、私からすれば（笑）、すごく、何か、くだらないのに（笑）。
So from my perspective (laugh), [it's] really, you know, trifling (laugh).

This excerpt reveals that similar to Koji and Yasushi from Ichigen, Nichole is also very aware of the low correlation between a TOEIC score and practical English

performance (Chapman, 2003). She even describes Marufuku's TOEICism as *"really [...] trifling,"* showing compassion toward her unsuccessful colleagues and an understanding of why they get annoyed with the morning gatherings. It should be pointed out here that this view of the ways in which those employees perceive the meetings is based on Nichole's narrative account. Even if she feels that *"everyone gets rather irritated,"* this does not necessarily mean that they are. However, her descriptions such as *"[...] everyone is asleep (laugh)"* capture at least part of the atmospheres regarding the morning gatherings. Although the act of sleeping during the meetings might appear passive and feeble, some Marufuku employees offer resistance to the enterprise's emphasis on the importance and necessity of English, the subsequent dominant status of the TOEIC, and engagements with ELL under (self-)coercion. This phenomenon demonstrates that power is inevitably connected with resistance; as Foucault (1980) argues, "[w]here there is power, there is resistance" (p. 95).

Thus, under neoliberalism, in which English skills are presumably regarded as essential but in reality other elements such as willpower are often prioritized over the skills, English and ELL play a multifaceted role. First of all, as informed by my participants who are employees of Ichigen and Marufuku, even in so-called 'global' enterprises where English has been adopted as their official corporate language, the language does not necessarily exist out there just to be used in the conventional sense. The statements provided by the insiders display a gap between top-down language policies and staff's actual language practices. The statements also help prove that no matter how much policy makers try to regulate people's linguistic and cultural practices, what is actually done with language always escapes regulations (Pennycook, 2013).

It is true that in the nexus of the recent economic trend, the enterprises' desires to enhance their global business competitiveness, and the popular discourse of English as a/the default global lingua franca, they have enacted EOCL policies, and under such policies, English could serve as a/the language of business in transnational workplaces. Simultaneously, however, it can also be argued that with these internal language policies operating, the thing called English is discursively constituted as an ideological product, whose imagined importance and necessity the employees (and the general public as well) have been inculcated with. With this inculcation, the employees engage with ELL, which is frequently equated with preparation for the TOEIC and is not always related directly to the improvement of proficiency in the language. More specifically, they engage with ELL sometimes to receive promotion and at other times not to cause their colleagues or bosses trouble. They also engage with ELL to display their *"dogged perseverance"* as a promising worker who never says, *"[W]ell, I can't do this,"* although some of them mount resistance to this sort of (self-)coercion.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, drawing on a wide variety of data, such as online comments regarding Thayne's self-help ELL books, Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and narrative accounts produced from individual interviews with the editor of the PB, Filipino tutors, and employees of Ichigen and Marufuku, I have proposed the idea of engagements with English for self-development. This proposal has been intended first to indicate that my participants are devoted to the language in

diverse ways, and then to argue that in order to better understand the diversity, it is necessary to add this new perspective to the notion of language learning as a leisure activity formulated by Kubota (2011b, 2011c) and developed by researchers such as Kubota et al. (2014) and Seo et al. (2015). In the latter part of the chapter, following Park's (2010, 2016) and Shin and Park's (2016) perspective on neoliberal subjects, I have pointed out that the idea of engagements with English for self-development is not unrelated to the recent economic trend, namely the rise of neoliberalism, and especially in enterprises such as Ichigen and Marufuku, the TOEIC plays a particular role in promoting the engagements. In specific terms, the test contributes to mediating the employees' engagements with English or ELL as a surveillance mechanism. It sometimes functions for the employees to receive promotion or display their *"dogged perseverance"* as a promising worker who never says, *"[W]ell, I can't do this."* For people in higher positions, the test in turn operates as a device to observe their subordinates. It can also become a tool with which their administrative ability and their divisions' credibility are measured. Under such circumstances, English, ELL, and the TOEIC serve as an active promoter of the employees' ideological internalization of self-development as a good and necessary deed for human beings; to put it differently, the importance of their technologies of the self is reinforced. Yet, not each and every employee is obedient to this project of endless self-development or self-management; there are some who offer resistance to power by giving up receiving the original incomes or sleeping during the meetings, even if this kind of resistance is rather passive and feeble. People's engagements with English or ELL for self-development thus exist in such complicated relations of power.

It is vital to add here that although in the latter part of this chapter, I have focused on the influence of neoliberalism over employee's ELL in order to explore the idea of English for self-development, we should not forget that this idea also holds true for those who are not workers. As argued in Section 4.3, people who are seemingly not under neoliberal pressure and may be described as hobbyist learners (e.g., housewives and pregnant women) also engage with English for self-development. Some of them undertake an internal endeavor to genuinely aim at the growth of the whole person (see Mr. Morimoto's statement on page 87), whereas others engage with ELL expecting that it perhaps will be beneficial somehow in the future (see the pregnant woman's online comment on pages 92-93). Either way, these engagements are inextricably intertwined with "the symbolic meaning attributed to English" (Seargeant, 2009, p. 3) and popular language ideologies exemplified by the discourse of English as a/the default global lingua franca.

Considering this trend, it does not sound very helpful to divide people engaging with English for self-development depending on whether they are workers very much affected by neoliberalism or not; probably, it is impossible even. Rather, what is crucial here is to be aware that at the complicated intersection of all these elements — the discourse of English as a/the default global lingua franca, the hegemonic position and symbolic image of the language, people's desires to improve themselves (whether as a promising worker or as a whole person), and neoliberalism — people's ways of engaging with English are becoming diverse and different from ELL in the established sense. In addition, if we view this phenomenon particularly from the perspective of the commodification and consumption of language and language education (e.g., Cameron, 2005; Heller

2003, 2010; Tan & Rubdy, 2008), it is also important and necessary to realize that people's divergent engagements with English addressed in this chapter consequently yield tremendous profits for not only language schools but also testing service organizations and publishing companies that sell test-preparation materials (Kubota, 2011c). As informed by Mr. Morimoto, the editor of the PB (*"[…] learners of English buy books. […] Well, vulgarly speaking, it's solid"*), this concern can similarly be witnessed in more general English-related or ELL-related books such as Thayne's. Moreover, this tendency is not limited to the ELL material sector; various other realms within the ELT industry now strive to tailor products or services to meet every possible requirement from individuals who engage with English in different ways. In the next chapter, I explore this aspect in further detail, proposing the idea of engagements with English for male gratification.

Chapter 5

Engagements with English for Male Gratification

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I have demonstrated that my participants engage with English in divergent ways from the conventional notions of language use and language learning. More specifically, presenting the idea of 'engagements with English for self-development,' I have argued that these particular acts in relation to English have emerged from the complicated intersection of various elements, such as prevailing language ideologies epitomized by the discourse of English as a/the default global lingua franca, the hegemonic position and symbolic image of the language, people's desires to improve themselves, and the rise of neoliberalism. I have also pointed out that numerous sections of the ELT industry (e.g., the ELL material sector) owe their prosperity to people's changing and diverse engagements with English, and this aspect needs to be further explored when we contemplate concerns surrounding the view of language and language education as commodities under the globalized new economy (e.g., Cameron, 2005; Heller 2003, 2010; Tan & Rubdy, 2008). In this chapter, turning a central focus toward some of my Japanese male participants and their engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, I discuss the concerns in more detail. Through this discussion, I argue that for the male participants, online *eikaiwa* lessons offered from the Philippines via Skype can serve as not only a

learning space in which their English proficiency is developed but also an occasion to gratify themselves by chatting with their favorite Filipina tutors. I also point out that these men's specific engagements with English and their discursive practices in relation to the engagements ideologically constitute Filipina tutors as intimate, affectionate, and romanticized entities.

The constitution of Filipina tutors in this particular way might correspond to that of Western male *eikaiwa* teachers as embodied recipients of Japanese women's *akogare* (longing/desire) (Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2006, 2007; Kubota, 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Piller et al., 2010; Takahashi, 2013) in that both are positioned to and consumed as distinctly gendered and sexualized commodities. In Chapter 5, acknowledging this parallel, I seek to highlight crucial differences between past studies on gender concerns in franchised *eikaiwa* schools and what currently happens within the Skype *eikaiwa* sector. To this end, I analyze and discuss narrative accounts generated by Japanese men taking Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons and also the female tutors providing the lessons (Section 5.4). Before beginning the analysis and discussion, I undertake a review of the literature on the commodification and consumption of language and language education witnessed mainly within Japan's ELT industry (Section 5.2) and describe the development of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* in relation to neoliberalism (Section 5.3).

5.2 Commodification and consumption of English and ELT in Japan

The attempt to capture people's engagements with English that are different

from the traditional notions of language use and language learning opens up another crucial conceptualization of the language and its education: that is, the commodification and consumption of English and ELT (e.g., Kubota, 2011b; Piller et al., 2010; Tan & Rubdy, 2008). When Kubota (2011b) proposes the idea of language learning as a leisure activity (see Chapter 4), she argues that leisure activities are inseparable from the consumption of goods and services, leading to tremendous economic consequences, because most parts of the leisure industry try to accommodate consumer interests. In the case of ELL, numerous realms of the ELT industry strive to address every possible need indicated by different types of learners. As a telling example of this trend, Kubota (2011b) makes a reference to ubiquitous *eikaiwa* schools in Japan. While *eikaiwa* schools' backgrounds, scales, and specializations vary from provider to provider, one of their common features is that a considerable number of native English speakers are hired so that learners expecting to touch 'genuine' English readily loosen the purse strings. It is also often pointed out that these schools especially make use of white male teachers to tempt female learners (Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2006, 2007; Kubota, 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Piller et al., 2010; Takahashi, 2013). Through his analysis of *eikaiwa* promotional materials, for example, Bailey (2006) suggests that white males are frequently depicted in the materials as agents helping female learners achieve "transformed selfhood" (p. 109). He continues to argue that for these female learners, *eikaiwa* schools are wonderlands or "places (destinations) of promise and wonder, of becoming, of transgression, of unreality" (p. 127). In these wonderlands, not only English itself but also the concepts of 'nativeness,' 'whiteness,' and 'masculinity' are commodified, and (female) learners/consumers expend their time and money on these commodities (Appleby, 2014; Kubota, 2011b).

This trend also holds true for the promotion of '留学 (studying overseas).' According to Piller et al. (2010), the popularity in Japan and Korea of studying overseas is supported by two premises: "English as the language of global communication would ensure desirable employment in national and global job markets" (p. 187), and "the best way to master the language, particularly that 'perfect' accent, is to immerse oneself in an English-speaking country" (p. 187). Piller et al. (2010) further argue that on these two premises, the ELT industry advertises study abroad programs as experiences that would change the participants' lives. Particularly in Japan, targeting young women, the industry positively frames studying overseas "as a glamorous means of reinventing and empowering one's womanhood, as a woman's indispensable weapon to cope in chauvinistic Japan" (Piller & Takahashi, 2006, p. 64). Here, in addition to the concepts of 'nativeness,' 'whiteness,' and 'masculinity' as well as English, 'English-speaking countries' are similarly promoted as alluring places where all the elements above are directly available.

To explain what is behind these phenomena, Bailey (2006, 2007), Piller and Takahashi (2006), and Takahashi (2013) employ the notion of *akogare* first formulated by Kelsky (2001). In her anthropological study of middle-class Japanese women, Kelsky (2001) points out that many of her participants have *akogare* for the West, Western men, and foreign languages (especially English), and by this longing/desire they are orientated toward activities connected with overseas countries, such as foreign language learning, studying or living in a foreign country, working for a foreign-owned enterprise, and establishing a romantic relationship with a Western man. In particular, they consider English

and other foreign languages "as the single most indispensable 'weapon' (*buki*) in women's battle for advancement in the business world" (Kelsky, 2001, p. 100). Drawing on this discourse of *akogare*, Bailey (2007) reflects upon his own experiences and positionality as a white male English teacher in Japan's *eikaiwa* schools. Simultaneously utilizing the data obtained from his interviews with *eikaiwa* learners, he argues that females' *akogare* for the West can be granted "as a result of learning English, through learning English, or through habituating the locales frequented by (white, male, *gaijin*, heterosexual) English speakers, or a combination of these activities" (p. 594). Piller and Takahashi (2006) and Takahashi (2013) also draw on the discourse of *akogare* for their (Takahashi's) critical ethnographic study of Japanese women in Australia. They unpack the complicated interrelationship among the participants' longing/desire for the West, their relations with Western men, and their ELL trajectories, stressing that "[t]he effect of language desire on romantic choices [is] fluid, neither uniform nor static" (Takahashi, 2013, p. 153).

These studies provide profound insights of romanticized *akogare* into the field of second language acquisition (SLA), followed by other works such as Appleby (2014), Kennett and Jackson (2014), and Kubota (2011b). Appleby (2014), for example, conversely examines through interview data the identity negotiation processes experienced by Western male native English-speaking teachers working in the field of ELT in Japan, including *eikaiwa* schools. The examination illustrates how "an embodied racialised, romantic and sexual allure [is] implicitly encouraged" (p. 94) in the field, masculinity and heterosexuality remaining unmarked. Kennett and Jackson (2014) turn the spotlight on an iPhone app called "もし彼氏が外国人だったら英会話 (*What If [Your] Boyfriend*

Was a Foreigner English Conversation?)." This *iBoyfriend* app is a learning-aid device that targets Japanese female learners who wish to enhance their *eikaiwa* ability, situating themselves in the enticing context of romance with American virtual boyfriends. Kennett and Jackson (2014) first question the pedagogical effectiveness of this device and then demonstrate how it accelerates distinctly gendered and stereotypical representations of both Japanese women and Western men.

As a classic example of the Japanese ELT industry's attempt to commodify English, Piller et al. (2010) likewise take up learning aids. In their article, they focus on three different types of ELL materials, which, however, are written along the same lines in that "sexual innuendos" (p. 193) are utilized. The first type termed 'English for romantic purposes' primarily provides women with "vocabulary, phrases and communicative routines deemed useful for starting and maintaining romantic and sexual relationships with foreign men" (p. 193). *Roppongi English*, a telling book of this type, describes how the English spoken by a 'traditional' Japanese woman develops through romantic and sexual engagements with a white man. The second type is the one that sexualizes and eroticizes Western female teachers. According to Piller et al. (2010), a distinct example of this sort is *Gaigo TV*. It is a combination of education and entertainment offering multimedia lessons, in which white young women called 'hostesses' teach English while stripping naked. As the last type, the researchers mention *Moetan*, a vocabulary book with illustrative sentences and visual images. Piller et al. (2010) further explain that although the main character of this book is a high school student, she only looks like a girl of around 10 and is often depicted as showing her underwear or adopting a suggestive pose. Thus,

Moetan allures *otaku* (amine geeks) or pedophiles by offering child-pornographic illustrations, while *Roppongi English* constitutes white men as the target of *akogare* for its female readers, and *Gaigo TV* describes white women as eye-catching sexual objects for its male users. To sum up, in all these ELL materials, English is commodified and consumed through eroticization as well as sexualization (Piller et al., 2010).

As reviewed above, studies on the commodification and consumption of English and ELT in Japan have frequently concentrated on the discourse of romantic *akogare*, Western masculinity, sexualization, and eroticization. However, with the development of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, new gender and race concerns have recently emerged. In the next sections, I first explain the growth of Skype *eikaiwa* under neoliberalism and then discuss the new gender and race concerns, paying special attention to narrative accounts produced by my participants who are Japanese male learners of English and Filipina tutors.

5.3 Growth of Skype *eikaiwa* under neoliberalism

While time-honored franchised *eikaiwa* schools, where a considerable number of native English-speaking teachers are hired and learners physically gather, are still in fashion in Japan (see Section 5.2), private lessons offered by Filipino tutors via Skype have recently been soaring in popularity in this educational industry. As introduced in Chapter 1, there are three characteristics that support the growth of Skype *eikaiwa*: 'convenience,' 'flexibility,' and 'affordability.' Of these three defining features, affordability greatly matters given the enormous price difference between a lesson by a franchised school and that by a

Philippines-based provider (see pages 19-20). Although this difference is an important aspect to be discussed in terms of native/non-native English-speaking teacher issues (e.g., Braine, 2010; Llurda, 2005; Mahboob, 2010), what I would like to focus more on here is locating this phenomenon in the broader context of neoliberalism or the globalized new economy (Cameron, 2005; Heller, 2003, 2010; Heller & Duchêne, 2016; Rubdy, 2008; Shin & Park, 2016; Tupas, 2008; Tupas & Salonga, 2016).

As described in Chapter 4, neoliberalism is founded on "an economic doctrine that valorizes individual entrepreneurial freedom and marketization of society" (Shin & Park, 2016, p. 443). With this doctrine, individual investors or enterprises are searching for a place where the lowest-cost labor is obtainable and the most inexpensive production is feasible. According to researchers such as Cameron (2005) and Heller (2010), one good example of the globalized new economy is the emergence of offshore call centers. Enterprises in the so-called First World seek call center operators in less developed countries, where labor costs can be controlled effectively. Yet, not every country may be a candidate for the location of offshore call centers. What matters in this context is language (Cameron, 2005; Heller, 2003, 2010; Rubdy, 2008; Tupas, 2008; Tupas & Salonga, 2016). American or Australian enterprises, for example, obviously do not outsource call center work to, say, Chinese-speaking or Spanish-speaking countries; they do to countries such as India and the Philippines, where English is relatively pervasive (Rubdy, 2008; Tupas, 2008). As Cameron (2005) argues, "[l]anguage is one of the things that determines who invests where" (p. 11). Moreover, what is crucial in relation to this trend is that not all people in India or the Philippines can be operators, either. USA-owned or Australia-owned call

centers need those who speak “a non-local variety of [English]” and this form of linguistic skill is “a valuable commodity” (Cameron, 2005, p. 11) for potential workers in India and the Philippines. With regard to this aspect, Tupas (2008) focuses on Filipino society and points out that only privileged people who went to “expensive exclusive schools concentrated in urban centres like Metro Manila” (p. 98) fulfill this requirement. As he further suggests, well-paid jobs may theoretically be available in the Philippines, but practically those jobs are only for ‘good’ speakers of English. Thus, strengthening the boundary between the haves and have-nots, and “reaffirming different forms of inequality between speakers of Englishes” (Tupas & Salonga, 2016, p. 368), the globalized new economy has promoted the notion of linguistics skills as human capital as well as the commodification of language.

It can be argued that this tendency holds true for Skype *eikaiwa*. As enterprises in the First World look for call center operators in less developed countries, the *eikaiwa* industry in Japan has started to outsource English teaching jobs to the Philippines, especially to individuals who are considered to be almost equal to native English speakers. In fact, many Skype *eikaiwa* providers stress the high quality of their Filipino tutors in their promotional materials by articulating, for example, that “講師の話す英語はアメリカ英語に近［い］ (the English spoken by our tutors is close to American English)” (Gn Gn Eikaiwa, 2017) or that “講師はフィリピンの東大と言われるフィリピン大学の卒業生・在校生が中心［です］ (many of our tutors [are] graduates or students of the University of the Philippines, which is equivalent to the University of Tokyo)” (RareJob, 2017) (see Chapter 7 for more on discussions regarding their promotional materials). Interestingly enough, some providers even cite call centers as evidence to

support the eminence of their tutors. Below is an excerpt from the promotional materials presented by Tenori Eigo:

(1)【Oct.01.2016 (retrieved)】

「発音に癖がないか？ アメリカ人、イギリス人に比べて聞きにくいのでは？」と疑問を持たれる方もいらっしゃると思いますが、フィリピンでは多くのアメリカの企業がコールセンターとして同国を選んでおり、アメリカの消費者に受け入れられています。

Some of you might wonder, "Doesn't [Filipinos'] pronunciation have an accent? Isn't it hard to follow, compared with that of American or British people?" However, many American enterprises have chosen the Philippines as [a location for their] call centers, and [the English spoken by Filipinos] has been accepted by American consumers. (Tenori Eigo, 2017)

This excerpt shows that in response to anticipated questions regarding Filipino tutors' English (particularly their accent), Tenori Eigo utilizes the current economic trend where many enterprises in the USA have set up their offshore call centers in the Philippines. In this provider's logic, speakers of English that is judged by American consumers to be acceptable are good enough to become tutors. Here, in Tenori Eigo's advertising, Filipinos' English is first evaluated through American consumer's experiences with Philippines-based call center services and then commodified as 'legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1991) English for learners in Japan based on that evaluation. Thus, the emergence of Skype *eikaiwa* is never unrelated to the globalized new economy as well as the well-developed audio-videoconferencing infrastructure both in Japan and in the Philippines (Tajima, 2018a). In the nexus of these economic and technological trends, what is actually going on within the Skype *eikaiwa* sector? In the next section, I address this question, particularly focusing on the interrelationship between Japanese male learners and Filipina tutors.

5.4 English for male gratification

5.4.1 Young Filipina tutors as 'a feast for the eyes'

As a striking example of my argument that for Japanese men, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons can serve as an opportunity to satisfy their masculine desires, I first present a narrative account produced by a blogger, Kamo. In his blog entry entitled "英語ど素人がオンライン英会話に手を出したら地獄をみた。(A complete novice English learner dabbled in online *eikaiwa* and saw Hell)," Kamo writes about his own experiences with free trial lessons in four online *eikaiwa* providers. As the blog entry's title implies, his major purpose for posting the account is to tell readers that it was tough for him (*"a complete novice English learner"*) to thoroughly enjoy online lessons. In this entry, until Kamo ultimately recommends that people at the absolute beginner level should find a tutor who will assist their ELL by using some Japanese, he evaluates each provider. He starts his report with RareJob, citing part of the tutor introductions on its website (see Figure 1):

(2)【Apr.04.2013】(emphasis in the original)

こんなページを見せられたら**完全に顔だけで選んでしまいそう**です[…]。とりあえず煩悩の赴くまま美人であることを優先条件に検索してみましたが、時間帯が合わなかったり、先約でいっぱいだったりしてなかなか決まりません。仕方がないので、もう逆の発想でオトコを選んでみました。

Since I [was] shown this webpage, I **almost select[ed] [a tutor] entirely based on [her] face** [...]. As the first step, following my *kleshas*,[29] I gave high priority to finding a beauty but couldn't book [one] because I'd be busy in [those beauties'] open time slots or they were fully booked. As a last resort, I took a different angle and tried

[29] *Kleshas* is a Buddhist term that broadly means "irrational … emotions" (Midgley, 2001, p. 327). In Buddhist thought, irrational emotions represent every type of desire or negative state of mind such as anger, jealousy, and laziness, all of which are considered to hinder human beings from achieving spiritual enlightenment. In daily life, the term is often adopted less religiously. In the case of Kamo's blog entry, *kleshas* can be viewed as most equivalent to romantic or sensual desires.

selecting a male.

Figure 5.1: Part of the tutor introductions on the RareJob website (Source: Kamo's blog)[30]

According to the excerpt, Kamo wanted to take a free trial lesson provided by *"a beauty,"* but once he realized that it would be impossible timewise, he chose to book a male tutor. It is not very clear how serious he was at the time, but he completely left out of consideration female tutors who he thought were not beautiful; he preferred to take a lesson from a man rather than select a woman who did not impress him with *"[her] face."* Additionally, on its website, RareJob offers brief tutor profiles in Japanese, including academic and vocational backgrounds, and how long they have been teaching for the provider, which are supposed to show who the tutors are more precisely than the photos, but it seems that Kamo paid scant attention to these useful pieces of information. As he writes, he *"gave high priority to finding a beauty"* rather than an instructive tutor.

[30] To protect privacy, photo manipulation is applied.

It is interesting to note, however, that Kamo's early determination to book a beautiful tutor changed later. Within the same blog entry, reflecting on the first trial lesson, he mentions that he eventually found the male tutor he had selected very nice and helpful. Regarding this realization, Kamo writes in an amusing way, "ナイスガイのおかげで「若くて美しいレディを見つめながら学びたい」という煩悩が浄化した[…] (Thanks to the nice guy, the *kleshas* that 'I want to learn while gazing at a young and beautiful lady' has been purified […])" (Apr.04. 2013). He further states that owing to this purification, when he was selecting a tutor for another free trial lesson from a different provider, he had a new perspective: "責任を持ってきちんと教えてくれそうなベテランのマダム講師を予約しました (I booked an experienced tutor who was a *madamu* [= middle-aged (married) woman][31] and appeared to feel a sense of responsibility to teach properly)" (Apr.04.2013). This series of statements demonstrates that toward the second trial lesson, Kamo focused much more on learning itself than on an encounter with a beautiful woman. Yet, it can also be observed that these statements result in promoting a sharp contrast between *"middle-aged (married)"* tutors and *"young and beautiful"* ones. While the former is described as *"experienced"* and *"feel[ing] a sense of responsibility to teach properly,"* the latter is perceived as a *"lady"* for *"gazing at."* That is to say, the former is a tutor chosen when Kamo wants to learn English seriously, whereas the latter is someone who would satisfy his desire. Although Kamo's attitude toward online lessons might have shifted after the first trial, the constitution of a young Filipina tutor as a gendered object remains unchanged. For Kamo, a *"young and beautiful"* Filipina tutor is still 'a feast for the eyes.'

[31] 'マダム (*Madamu*)' stems from the French word *madame*. This Japanese expression occasionally connotes a woman who has not only reached 'a certain age' but also is 'married' as the original French word means.

This sort of engagement with Skype *eikaiwa* and the subsequent discursive constitution of Filipina tutors are likewise displayed in Diasuke's and Kazutaka's blogs. In his entry named "オンライン英会話のフィリピン人講師と[の]恋愛について (About romance with a Filipina online *eikaiwa* tutor)," Daisuke writes:

(3)【Oct.10.2014】

最近のオンライン英会話のフィリピン人講師はすごく可愛いので驚きます。アイドル並みに可愛くて、モデル並みにスタイルが良く、そしてフィリピンでも有名大学を卒業している高学歴な先生が多いです。[…]たとえ先生を好きになったとしても、それ[は]恥ずかしがることではなく、むしろそれをモチベーションにして、英会話を学ぶことによって、ますます上達できるのだと私は考えています。

It's surprising that recent Filipina online *eikaiwa* tutors are remarkably cute. Lots of tutors are as cute as a pop idol and as well-proportioned as a model, and graduated from prestigious universities in the Philippines. […] Even if you've come to like a particular tutor, it's not embarrassing; rather, by making it your motivation to learn *eikaiwa*, you could more and more improve [your English], I guess.

In the case of Kazutaka's entry entitled "可愛い女性講師を発見しました！ (I've found cute female tutors!)," listing photos of seven Filipina tutors in their 20s along with their names, affiliations, and even dates of birth, he describes the tutors' cardinal virtues. Two examples are provided below:

(4)【May.13.2016】

明るく可愛く元気な Kim 先生です。彼女のレッスンは受講者を元気にしてくれ、モチベーションが高まります。

[This is] Ms. Kim, [a] cheerful, cute, and vigorous [tutor]. Her lessons lift learners' spirits and motivate them.

(5)【May.13.2016】

写真よりも実物の方が断然可愛い元気で優しい先生です。爽やかな気持ちでレッスンを受けたい方におすすめです。

> [She is] a tutor who is by far cuter than her photo, vigorous, and kind. I recommend her to those who want to take lessons in a refreshing mood.

Daisuke's and Kazutaka's excerpts share two common features. First, both of them frequently adopt words or phrases that objectify Filipina tutors' external appearances and personalities rather than explaining their teaching ability. This tendency is in the same lines as Kamo's descriptions introduced above (e.g., *"beauty"*). However, unlike Kamo, who did not select a *"young and beautiful"* tutor when he wanted to learn English seriously, Daisuke and Kazutaka consider it as the very motive for ELL that their tutors' external appearances are attractive (e.g., *"remarkably cute," "as cute as a pop idol,"* and *"as well-proportioned as a model"*) or that their personalities are great (e.g., *"cheerful," "vigorous,"* and *"kind"*).

These two male learners' view of young Filipina tutors first as 'a feast for the eyes' and thereafter as a strong motive for ELL can also be witnessed in Osamu's narrative accounts. The following is the interaction between Osamu and me immediately after he mentioned that he had just become a registrant of TrueTrade:

(6)【May.26.2015】R: Researcher / O: Osamu

R: なぜ TrueTrade を？
Why [have you chosen] TrueTrade?

O: TrueTrade はやっぱり値段と、あと、あの一、後輩がやってるんですけど。[…]で、「可愛い子、いっぱいいますよ」っていう話だったんで（笑）、「じゃあ、ちょっとやってみようかな」って（笑）。
TrueTrade, you know, the cost, and er… my office junior is attending it. […] And [he said] (laugh), "There are lots of cute girls," so [I said to myself] (laugh), "Well, I'll just give it a try."

R: ええー。（笑）それって、結構大事ですか？ まあ、まあ、それは付属的な話でしょうけど。
Wow. (laugh) Is it that important? Well, well, it's a secondary concern, though.

O: いや、いやいやいやー、あのー、結構大事だと思いますよ。
No, no no nope, er… I guess [it's] quite important.

R: 大事？ え？ あ、それ、ちょっと興味が（笑）。[…]どうして大事ですか？
Important? What? Oh, that just interests [me] (laugh). […] Why [is it] important?

O: あのー、いや、そもそもがそのー、面倒くさかったりとかするじゃないですか。なんで、「ま、いっかー」ってなりがちなんですけど、こう、ちょっとモチベーションになるかなっていう（笑）。
Er… well, in the first place, er… [learning English] is sometimes a bother, isn't it? So I tend to think, "Oh well, it doesn't matter," but I guess, you know, [cute girls] would somehow motivate [me] (laugh).

This excerpt contains several important facets to be addressed. First, the rationale behind Osamu's selection of TrueTrade lies in his office junior's statement that *"[t]here are lots of cute girls."* Here, it is apparent that like the previous three learners, Osamu and his office junior are interested in whether Skype *eikaiwa* tutors are cute rather than whether they are instructive. Another noteworthy aspect of this direct quote is that Filipina tutors are not treated as '先生 (teachers/tutors)' but '子 (girls).' The Japanese word '子' primarily indicates 'child,' but as my English translation above demonstrates, it has the expanded meaning of 'girl/young woman.' Furthermore, it also stands for 'someone who is little or inferior' and 'something that is subordinate' (*Kojien*, 2009). In general, therefore, the word is seldom used to describe people in a respectful way, especially teachers/tutors. Despite these connotations attached to the word, Osamu and his office junior call Filipina tutors '子.' By doing so, the two men consciously or unconsciously push the tutors to a more approachable

and more intimate position than is normally supposed.

In the excerpt above, Filipina tutors' external appearances continue to be the major topic; Osamu keeps emphasizing the importance of the tutors' faces. First, when I present my personal viewpoint that whether tutors are cute or not is *"a secondary concern,"* he quickly and rather stubbornly replies, *"No, no no nope."* Then, he plausibly claims, *"I guess [it's] quite important."* According to Osamu, this is closely connected with his own attitude toward ELL. For him, ELL is something he 'has to do' but occasionally does not feel like being engaged with, and that is why he describes it as *"a bother."* It is important to point out here that in this respect, he can be considered as a 'neoliberal subject' who forces himself to study English continuously, not only to develop his linguistic skills as a promising worker, but also to feel that he is devoted to the act of learning to improve himself as a whole person (Park, 2010, 2016; Shin & Park, 2016) (see Chapter 4). Under these circumstances, Osamu expects that cute female tutors can be a positive motivation for going beyond the *"bother."* As at the time of the interview, he was just about to book his first lesson, I asked him how he was actually going to select a tutor. His answer was, "いや、もう完全にこう、女性で、若い感じで。写真でたぶん選ぶと思うんですけど。[…][写真は]めちゃくちゃ重要じゃないですかねえ。うん。 (Well, absolutely, you know, a woman, like [a] young [woman]. I'll probably select [a tutor] based on her photo, I guess. […] [The photos are] extremely important. Yeah)" (May.26.2015). Here, Osamu's talk about his definite and strong preference regarding tutors helps reinforce Kamo's, Daisuke's, and Kazutaka's constitutions of Filipina tutors. To put it differently, through Osamu's particular engagement with English and his discursive practices in relation to it, a *"young and beautiful"* Filipina tutor is

once again pushed to the position of 'a feast for the eyes' that is judged *"based on her photo."*

5.4.2 Filipina tutors' voices

Male learners' preferences regarding tutors mentioned in the previous subsection are also reported by Skype *eikaiwa* tutors themselves. To examine this aspect further, I provide Filipina tutors' narrative accounts here. As explained in Chapter 3, when I interviewed the tutors, I utilized as a prompt (Appleby, 2014) how some Japanese male learners had described Filipinas. More specifically, I asked each female interviewee almost the same anecdote-based questions as shown in the following:

- I know this guy who has just become a member of TrueTrade. He told me he was looking forward to talking with a cute and young female tutor. Have you ever encountered male learners like him?
- Have your students ever told you something like "You are cute?"

What is noticeable about the responses to the questions above is that all seven female tutors whom I interviewed answered in the affirmative. To the first question, for example, Laura replied, "Oh, yeah, yes, many times" (Aug.05.2015), and with regard to the second question, Amanda answered, "Yeah, a lot of my students say that, you know" (Aug.15.2015). In a similar manner, May remarked, "Honestly, I've already encountered students like that. […] Uh, actually, they told me directly, er, that, yes, they, they do appreciate if the teacher, er, would be a beautiful female" (Jul.29.2015). Furthermore, the following account generated by Tina depicts the reality that male learners tend to select a female tutor based

on not only her appearance and age but also her marital status. Referring to the photo she uses as her Skype icon, Tina stated:

(7)【Aug.14.2015】T: Tina

T: […] I remember, a few years back, when I was still single, then, yeah, of course, I put a profile picture and in the picture it's only me because I was single (laugh) and then I remember a few of them [= my students] would say, "Oh, you're beautiful," "you look good." […] But now, that, I've been married for two years, so I usually put [a] family picture. […] So that makes my students know I am married and I have a family.

These tutors also informed me what kinds of flattering (if not romantic or sexual) words they had received from their male students. In response to my further question, "Exactly what do those male learners say to you?," Rose stated, "Some students said my TrueTrade picture looks like an old Japanese singer. […] Hiromi something?" (Aug.30.2015). Jenny similarly reported, "Well, sometimes, it depends on my, my clothes. Like, they would say, 'Oh, you have a pretty blouse. You look beautiful today'" (Aug.20.2015). Laura and May provided much more intimate examples:

(8)【Aug.05.2015】L: Laura

L: I have this one student. […] He is an advanced speaker and he is a businessman. And he always book[s] my lesson and he tell[s] me, "Oh, Laura, looking forward to talk[ing] to you. I really missed you, Miss Laura. Ahahahaha."

(9)【Jul.29.2015】M: May

M: […] Some students [say], "Oh, you have a beautiful picture," and then sometimes they'd express, er… I, I encountered, er… a few already who were to, to actually meet in person if they visit the Philippines.

It should be noted here that I do not intend to generalize the phenomenon above; I am not arguing that each and every Japanese man selects a female over male tutor or flatters the female tutor in the course of the lesson. Yet, the tutors' narrative accounts as well as the ones produced by the male learners indicate that the photos on the tutor introduction pages somehow play an important role when learners select their tutors, and for a certain number of male learners, talking with a female tutor they have chosen according to their preferences can be a pleasant occasion that not only gratifies their passing masculine desires but also motivates their ELL. The accounts generated by Laura and May also demonstrate that there are even some male learners who have a romantic passion for a specific female tutor, and they stick to booking her or wish to meet her outside the learning space if things go well.

5.4.3 Differences from engagements with English based on *akogare*

The analyses and discussions in the previous subsections concerning the male participants' engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* invite a sense of déjà vu. The relationship of Japanese men to Filipina tutors reminds us of that of Japanese women to Western male teachers, mainly in franchised *eikaiwa* schools (Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2006, 2007; Kubota, 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006; Takahashi, 2013). This is because both learners tend to view their teachers/tutors in romanticized and sexualized ways, and both *eikaiwa* schools and Skype *eikaiwa* providers cleverly utilize their teachers'/tutors' visual images in their advertising to tempt learners of the opposite sex. In the case of time-honored franchised *eikaiwa* schools, their promotional materials often shoot comparatively young (and good-looking) male teachers in suits in nearly

the same way as “Hollywood stars and Western musicians are represented” (Piller & Takahashi, 2006, p. 66). As Piller and Takahashi (2006) continue to argue, these visual images contribute to constituting *eikaiwa* teachers as sophisticated gentlemen who perhaps could be Japanese female learners’ desirable romantic partners (see Figure 5.2). Likewise, in the photos on Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* provider websites, a considerable number of female tutors adopt an attractive (if not seductive) pose epitomized by a head tilt (see Figure 5.3 as well as Figure 5.1 on page 131).

Figure 5.2: Visual images of *eikaiwa* teachers (Source: *an-an*, July 19, 2002, p. 37 cited in Piller & Takahashi, 2006, p. 65)

Figure 5.3: Part of the tutor introductions on the Gn Gn Eikaiwa website (Gn Gn Eikaiwa, 2017)[32]

[32] To protect privacy, photo manipulation is applied.

Yet, a question arises here about this likeness between previous studies and what currently happens within the Philippine-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector. As reviewed at the beginning of this chapter, in the case of Japanese women who are eager to learn English from Western male teachers, the discourse of *akogare* (Kelsky, 2001) is often deployed. To put it differently, what is behind these Japanese women's engagements with ELL is frequently their longing/desire for the West, Western men, and foreign languages (especially English). However, to what extent is this discourse of *akogare* helpful in explaining Japanese male learners' constitutions of Filipina tutors as approachable and intimate entities? As discussed in 5.4.1, my male participants often utilize highly gendered expressions to depict Filipina tutors, but they never use the term *akogare*. Although the learners definitely have a desire to learn English from Filipina tutors, this desire is not the admiration type of *akogare* that Japanese female learners possess toward the West and Western men. Rather, as the expressions used by the men indicate (especially the Japanese word '子'), their romantic feelings toward Filipina tutors originate from the Japanese men's sense of masculinity and Filipinas' femininity. This argument is supported by the following two narrative accounts. The first account is an excerpt from the interview with Osamu, and the second is from the blog entry entitled "フィリピン人英語講師と恋に落ちる可能性 (The possibility of falling in love with a Filipina English tutor)," which was written by the other blogger, Eita:

(10)【May.26.2015】O: Osamu

O: 白人の女性の人でこう、ソフトな感じの人はフィフティフィフティじゃないですか。[…]自己主張もしっかりしているみたいな。こう、「受け」から入るっていうところが[ある]。[…]日本人の男性にとってはアジア系の、で、ねえ、あのー、フィリピンの方はみんなクリスチャンだか

ら、あの一、すごくこう、性格というか、人間性、優しいじゃないですか。で、微笑みも優しいですから、[…]そういう楽しみとして、あの、成立してるんじゃないかなと思いますよね。
[A chance to encounter,] you know, soft white women is fifty-fifty, isn't it? […] They are like self-assertive, too. You know, [communication with them] starts by [us] being 'passive.' […] Asian [women], and you know, er… since people in the Philippines are all Christians, er… their personality or humanity is, er, remarkably affectionate, isn't it? And their smiles are also affectionate, so […] this, er, works for Japanese men as pleasure, I guess.

(11)【Feb.19.2015】(emphasis in the original)

フィリピン人女性は褒め上手
僕はよくフィリピン人女性に「あなたはとても素敵だわ」と言われて照れくさいが、本音ではとても嬉しい。
Filipinas are good with their words.
Filipinas often say to me, "You are so amazing," which makes me embarrassed, but actually, I feel very happy in my mind.

In the narrative account produced by Osamu, he highlights positive aspects of Filipinas by contrasting them with white women. Filipinas are depicted as *"remarkably affectionate,"* which clearly differs from his description of *"self-assertive"* white women; even Filipinas' smiles are considered to represent their affectionate nature here. Likewise, in Eita's blog entry, he describes Filipinas as *"good with their words*" and confesses that their frequent praise for him offers him hidden pleasure. In addition, Osamu states that Japanese men become *"passive"* in their communication with white women. One possible interpretation of this statement is that although Japanese men tend to shrink near a white woman, they can talk with a Filipina dauntlessly. Although Japanese men may find contact with a white woman to be a threat, they can prove their masculinity in front of a Filipina.

When this interpretation is applied to *eikaiwa* lessons, it can be argued that

although Japanese men may hesitate to broach topics unrelated to ELL to white female teachers (e.g., singer, pretty blouse, I-miss-you feeling, and wish to meet in private), it is easier for them to show their flirtatious attitudes or personal emotions to Filipina tutors. This mindset seems to rely on highly gendered and racialized views of these women, but as Osamu and Eita suggest (*"this, er, works for Japanese men as pleasure, I guess"* and *"actually, I feel very happy in my mind"*), a certain number of Japanese men engage with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* enthusiastically because in the course of the lessons, they can display their masculinity and touch Filipinas' femininity. It can also be pointed out that the popularity of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* might have grown partially due to this type of Japanese men's desire. Thus, while what happens in franchised *eikaiwa* schools is primarily underpinned by Japanese women's *akogare*, this discourse does not fit Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* very well. Rather, in this educational sector, what greatly matters is Japanese male learners' sense of masculinity as well as Filipina tutors' femininity that is also constituted through the learners' discursive practices. Japanese men's constitutions of Filipina tutors as *"cute girls"* who let the men perform their masculinity without hesitation contributes to promoting the commodification and consumption of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* (Tajima, 2018a).

Finally, it is more meaningful to locate the analysis and discussion in this subsection within the long-established sex-mediated link between Japanese men and Filipinas. By doing so, I argue that my male participants' engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* and subsequent constitutions of Filipina tutors as distinctly gendered and sexualized entities cannot be explained by the development of telecommunication tools or neoliberalism alone. In the next

subsection, I begin this argument with a presentation of a historical overview of the relations between Japan and the Philippines, giving special focus to the interrelationship between Japanese men and Filipinas mediated by sex, emotions, and capital.

5.4.4 Sex-mediated link between Japanese men and Filipinas

Of the numerous events that have taken place throughout the long history between Japan and the Philippines, the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War in 1941 was the most serious clash for the two countries (Jose, 2008). As Jose (2008) further argues, this war transformed their previously cordial relationship into a conqueror–conquered one and it lasted until the San Francisco Peace Treaty was ratified in 1956. The Japanese invasion and occupation of the Philippines during the war were also of great consequence in terms of sexual exploitation, given the existence of local comfort women[33] to Japanese soldiers at the time: the origin of the sex-mediated link between Japanese men and Filipinas. This link was strengthened in the process of postwar reestablishment of diplomatic, economic, and human relations between the two countries. According to Suzuki (2007), in the context of Japan serving as an active donor in the Philippines' development schemes from the 1960s, Japanese workers, primarily men, visited and stayed in the country, which boosted the chance for them and Filipinas to meet. In Suzuki's (2007) exact words, "through the influx of Japan's capital, technologies, goods, and people to the Philippines, Japanese men's and Filipinas' workplaces and social environments became contact zones where they began to develop

[33] Comfort women are "females who were forced into sexual slavery to provide 'comfort' in the form of sexual services to Japanese Imperial Army troops during World War II" (Lynch, 2009).

transnational imaginations about and desires for each other" (p. 432).

Along with those sojourners who aimed to engage in work in the Philippines, tourists also matter when the interrelationship between Japanese men and Filipinas is discussed. What should be mentioned specifically here is sex tourism (Muroi & Sasaki, 1997; Suzuki, 2000, 2007; Tyner, 1996). With this industry flourishing in the 1970s, approximately 80 percent of Japanese visitors to the Philippines in the 1980s were males, who comprised one of the largest national categories of tourists to the country (Chant, 1997; Ministry of Justice 1981-1990 cited in Suzuki, 2007). Although, as Suzuki (2007) emphasizes, it must be carefully noted that not all male visitors were involved in sex tourism, it cannot be denied that such tours helped foster the emotional and somatic connection between Japanese men and Filipinas.

On the other hand, the number of Filipino entrants to Japan grew considerably in the mid-1980s (Ono, 2015). The gender ratio was completely opposite to that of Japanese sojourners or tourists to the Philippines. While men outnumbered women until the end of the 1970s, the proportion was reversed in 1980; this tendency has continued since then and women constituted approximately 70 percent of Filipinos entering Japan in 2008 (Ono, 2015). What was behind this phenomenon was connected primarily with campaigns against sex tourism mounted by female groups in Asian countries in the early 1980s. Owing to these campaigns, sex tours declined (Muroi & Sasaki, 1997; Ono, 2015; Suzuki, 2000; Tyner, 1996), but it did not necessarily mean that the desire for the tours ceased. As Ono (2015) and Tyner (1996) suggest, protests against sex tourism instead increased the number of Filipinas going overseas on an entertainer visa. While

those women who headed off to Japan, frequently called *Japayuki* (the combination of *Japa-* (Japan) and *-yuki* (to go)), were entertainers in the literal sense of the visa category, it is widely known that most of them in fact worked as hostesses in night clubs that specialized in hiring Filipinas (Philippine pubs) (Allison, 1994; Parreñas, 2011; Tokunaga, 2011). These night clubs became sites where Japanese men built homosocial bonds with their fellows or displayed their masculinity by objectifying the external appearances of hostesses (Allison, 1994; Parreñas, 2011). It is also pointed out that some customers went beyond this male bonding practice, developing romantic relations with their favorites (Faier, 2007, 2014). To put it differently, "[r]ather than travelling to the Philippines, women were 'imported' to satisfy demand in the growing Japanese 'sex industry'" (Tyner, 1996, p. 84).

Filipinas also migrated to Japan as bride candidates for Japanese men (Faier, 2007, 2014; Satake, 2011; Suzuki, 2000, 2007). What underpinned these arranged international marriages was the reality that it has become difficult for Japanese men, especially those in farming areas, to find marital partners over the last few decades (Satake, 2011). In response to this 'bride drought,' private agencies as well as rural public offices began to intermediate marriages between a Japanese man and a Filipina. These marriages benefited both the groom and the bride, although there were also numerous downsides. For grooms in Japan, where the belief permeated that a man could be a full-fledged adult by getting married and becoming a breadwinner for his family, a marriage to a Filipina served as the acquisition of legitimate masculine citizenship with patriarchal supremacy and social credibility (Roberson & Suzuki, 2003). On the other hand, for Filipina brides, whose families in their homeland faced financial difficulties, a

marriage to a Japanese man enabled them to make remittances, simultaneously improving their own social status and economic well-being (Constable, 2009; Faier, 2007, 2014).

Thus, when explaining the connection between Japan and the Philippines, and between Japanese men and Filipinas, emotional and somatic relations as well as capital serve as inevitable elements (Jose, 2008). This fact is epitomized by the various forms of Japanese men's exploitation of Filipinas mentioned above, such as sex tours to the Philippines, Philippine pubs within Japan, and arranged international marriages between a (rural) Japanese man and a Filipina. In the former two industries, Filipinas have been commodified and consumed as highly sexualized objects. In the case of arranged international marriages, by contrast, they have been fantasized as possessing a "'good old feminine virtue' … modern Japanese women have lost" (Suzuki, 2000, p. 431). These representations of Filipinas appear quite contradictory, depending on the contexts (sometimes prostitutes/hostesses and at other times obedient wives), but what can be argued here is that in Japan there is a breeding ground where Filipinas easily become entities to be physically and morally objectified in relation to their sexuality and femininity (Tajima, 2018a).

What is also important about the issues mentioned above is that they are firmly underpinned by the unequal economic relationship between Japan and the Philippines (Constable, 2009), and this argument is perfectly valid in Skype *eikaiwa*. For example, according to Pauline, one of the Filipina tutors whom I interviewed, she is paid 50 PHP (approx. US$1.00) for providing a 25-minute lesson. This wage sounds exceptionally low to most people in Japan, but for

TrueTrade tutors, it is acceptable if not very satisfactory. In fact, all my Filipino interviewees (not only female but also male tutors) informed me that a teaching position in TrueTrade was very competitive, and Amanda said, "As long as there is TrueTrade, I want to work in TrueTrade" (Aug.15.2015).

As discussed in Section 5.3, it is certain that the Skype *eikaiwa* business owes its prosperity to the globalized new economy as well as the well-developed audio-videoconferencing infrastructure both in Japan and in the Philippines. Simultaneously, however, pre-existent disparities between Japan and the Philippines also greatly matter. These disparities have made Skype *eikaiwa*'s surprisingly low tuition possible, which in turn leads to the opportunity for Japanese men exemplified by my participants to enjoy talking with *"cute girls"* at affordable prices, gratifying their desires. For some of these men, the online learning space could even become a site where they encounter a woman whom they may seriously have a romantic passion for and wish to meet at a personal level, going beyond passing pleasure and enjoyment (see May's narrative account on page 138). For these men, there seems no large difference between Skype *eikaiwa* lessons and Philippine pubs, although ostensibly the major purpose of the former is ELL and the cost is minimal compared with the latter. Indeed, during the interview with Osamu, who, according to him, frequently has a chat with his colleagues about 'cute' Filipina tutors over drinks, he described this act of homosocial chatting as "ほとんどキャバクラと同じ感覚[…](笑) (almost the same as [talking about] a *kyabakura* [= hostess bar] [...] (laugh))" (May.26.2015).

It is also necessary and important to point out here that the disparities

mentioned above are advantageous to not only registrants but also Skype *eikaiwa* providers. As informed by Pauline, a tutor in TrueTrade gains 50 PHP (approx. US$1.00) by offering one lesson. On the other hand, providers usually set the price at around 200 yen (approx. US$1.80) (see Chapters 1 and 3). A rough calculation based on these two pieces of information shows that a tutor's share is only 55%. This fact implicitly suggests that Japanese providers profit from their Filipino tutor's English skills more immensely than the tutors themselves do (Heller & Duchêne, 2016).[34]

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, drawing on data such as blog entries and interview findings with regard to Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, I have investigated how differently from the notion of language learning Japanese men engage with this new style of English lesson. Analysis of the data has demonstrated that for some of these men, the online learning space can serve as an occasion to gratify their passing desires by simply enjoying chats with female tutors, whereas for others, the very existence of their favorite female tutors help them maintain their motivation to study English enthusiastically. Among the men, there are even those who seriously have a romantic passion for a particular tutor, resulting in booking her lessons persistently or wishing to meet her privately beyond the learning space. However, no matter what these men seek from their engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, there is a specific feature

[34] In most Skype *eikaiwa* providers, registrants pay their tuition every month and the number of lessons they can take depends on the amount of their monthly payment. Yet, like fitness centers, not every member makes the maximum use of membership privileges; the lazier a learner is, the higher the unit price of a lesson will be and the more profits the providers will generate.

commonly observed in all the men: that is, usage of distinctly gendered expressions to depict Filipina tutors, such as *"young and beautiful," "cute girls,"* and *"as well-proportioned as a model"* to name but a few. While this sort of wording clearly indicates that the men are interested in whether their tutors are attractive as women rather than whether they are instructive as English teachers, it also contributes to ideologically constituting the female tutors as intimate, affectionate, and romanticized entities.

It is significant to recall here as well that these highly gendered and sexualized constitutions of Filipina tutors differ from the ways in which Western male teachers are consumed as embodied recipients of Japanese female learners' *akogare* in franchised *eikaiwa* schools (e.g., Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2007; Kelsky, 2001; Kubota, 2011b; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). The discursive constitutions within the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector are rather grounded on Japanese men's sense of masculinity and Filipinas' femininity cultivated in pre-existent economic disparities between Japan and the Philippines, and between Japanese men and Filipinas; Japanese people's particular attitudes toward Asian others also matter. In this respect, although Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* is definitely a new fashion, the gender and race concerns within the educational sector are not so much new as a refashioning of existing unequal relationships between Japan and the Philippines, and between Japanese men and Filipinas (Tajima, 2018a). These unequal relationships, along with the development of telecommunication tools and the globalized new economy, have fostered Japanese men's engagements with English for male gratification, simultaneously yielding considerable benefits for Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers; the situation in which providers owned and run

by Japanese people profit from Filipino tutors' linguistic skills more enormously than the tutors themselves do is indeed a serious matter (Heller & Duchêne, 2016). In particular, considering the growing business interests of Japan's online English tutoring industry as a whole (Yano Research Institute, 2015) and the tendency that more male than female students take online lessons offered by Filipino/Filipina tutors (RareJob cited in *Diamond Weekly*, January 11, 2014),[35] we, as researchers and language educators, should bear in mind what is actually going on in this educational sector in relation to economic disparities as well as gender and race concerns (e.g., Jenks, 2017).

I conclude this chapter by addressing one more important aspect. Although I have so far concentrated on investigating the ways in which Japanese men engage with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* for their male gratification, this does not necessarily mean that these particular engagements exist singly. On the contrary, for some male learners, these engagements and ELL for self-development discussed in Chapter 4 coexist side by side. For example, Osamu tries to continue studying English even after he quit Marufuku, where EOCL policy is in operation. This is because he views it essential to maintain his English proficiency as a promising worker in the globalized world and also wants to feel that he is improving himself as a whole person by devoting himself to the act of learning: in his exact words, *"[l]earning, you know, studying, trying to improve, the mere act of being involved in this makes [us] stable"* (May.26.2015) (see Chapter 4). To this end, Osamu makes use of self-help ELL

[35] To my knowledge, only RareJob has released information about the ratio of male to female registrants. Lacking learner demographics for other providers, I should not generalize this single sample. It can be argued, however, that the tendency in RareJob at least differs from the overwhelmingly female-dominated learning environment in franchised *eikaiwa* schools (e.g., Appleby, 2014; Kubota, 2011b).

books, including Thayne's materials, which accompany his learning like *"vitamin tablets"* for health nuts. At the same time, in the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* context, to make his ELL (or what can be called 'endless, solitary self-development endeavor') more pleasant and enjoyable, Osamu intentionally selects his favorite female tutor based on her photo (see Subsection 5.4.1). It can be said that this sort of behavior also applies to my other male participants such as Daisuke (employee) and Kazutaka (self-employed worker); both of them regard young and cute Filipina tutors as a strong motive for their ELL.

Given this respect, it seems hard to draw definite lines of demarcation between engagements with English for self-development and those for male gratification; they in fact quite often overlap each other. In the concluding part of Chapter 4, I have argued that it is neither helpful nor possible to divide people engaging with English for self-development depending on whether they are workers affected by neoliberalism or not; rather, we should be aware that people's diverse engagements with English have emerged in the nexus of multiple elements, such as popular language ideologies, the hegemonic position and symbolic image of the language, people's desires to improve themselves, and the rise of neoliberalism. Likewise, categorization of Japanese male learners into, for example, those who study English for self-development or those who do so for male gratification does not really help. Rather, it is crucial to understand that their ways of engaging with English are complicated, and for them, the meanings of these engagements are also multifaceted. This complicity and multifacetedness of people's engagements with English in the contemporary world leads to the constitution, reconstitution, or reinforcement of particular ideologies regarding the language and its speakers. In the next two more

analysis and discussion chapters, I focus on exploring the ways in which the thing called English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through my participants' diverse engagements with the language and their discursive practices concerning the engagements.

Chapter 6

Ideological Constitutions of the *Neitibu*[36] as a Speaker of 'Correct English'

6.1 Introduction

In the previous analysis and discussion chapters, drawing on multiple sets of data collected in the three research sites, such as online customer reviews, blog entries, and interview findings, I have demonstrated that my participants are devoted to English or ELL in far more divergent ways than what language use and language learning mean in the traditional sense. I have also investigated the ways in which their engagements with English are entangled in popular language ideologies and various socio-political or cultural-political components. The demonstration and investigation have been conducted particularly from the perspectives of self-development (Chapter 4) and of male gratification (Chapter 5). Following these two chapters, in Chapters 6 and 7, I explore the ways in which the thing called English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through the participants' engagements with the language and their discursive practices concerning the engagements.

[36] As will be explained in further detail in Section 6.1, the English term 'native speaker' is often shortened to 'ネイティブ (*neitibu*)' when it is used in Japanese. Yet, the Japanese word 'ネイティブ' is not merely an abbreviated form of or a borrowing from the English term 'native speaker'; it has accrued particular strong connotations in a Japanese-speaking environment. In order to retain this specific nature of the concept 'ネイティブ,' I have decided to utilize it as it is but write it in romaji: *neitibu*.

Because in Chapter 6, I give intense focus to the notion of the native speaker, I first present a comprehensive review of the scholarly literature on native/ non-native English issues in the field of ELT (Section 6.2). This review is followed by two analysis and discussion sections. In Section 6.3, drawing on data such as Thayne's paperback (PB) and comic book (CB), and a narrative account produced by the editor of the PB (Mr. Morimoto), I explore the ways in which the notions of the *neitibu* and 'correct English' join together in discourse; I particularly examine the ways in which the former (the *neitibu*) is ideologically constituted as a qualified representative of the latter ('correct English') through a variety of semiotic resources, including language. In 6.4, on the other hand, I pay closer attention to the users of these ELL books and analyze customer reviews about the books posted on two online bookstores. Through this analysis, I investigate the ways in which the users react to or discuss the sellers' discursive constitutions of the *neitibu*, and struggle with prevalent language ideologies surrounding English, ELL, ELT, and ideal English teachers.

Before proceeding to the next section, I offer further explanation about my writing the term 'native' in romaji as shown in the title of this chapter: *neitibu*. In English, when the term 'native' is used as a noun, it generally indicates a person who was born or has lived for a long time in a particular country/region (e.g., a native of Sydney). In Japanese, however, the word 'ネイティブ (*neitibu*)' often replaces 'ネイティブ・スピーカー (native speaker),' or '英語のネイティブ・スピーカー (native English speaker)' depending on contexts. This tendency is epitomized by the title of the PB, "その英語 ネイティブはカチンときます"; its word-for-word translation is *This English Offends* Neitibu, but in fact it stands for *This English Offends Native [Speakers]*. Regarding the usage of this specific

Japanese word, there are two more classic illustrations in the field of ELT in Japan. The first is 'ネイティブの感覚 (*neitibu*'s sense),' meaning 'intuition of the native [speaker],' and the second is 'ネイティブ・チェック (*neitibu* check),' indicating 'proofreading by a native [speaker].' These collocations (*neitibu*, intuition, and proofreading) as well as the title of the PB suggest that the Japanese concept 'ネイティブ' connotes various elements. It is sometimes regarded as a person who might be offended when he/she hears the English that deviates from his/hers. At other times, as the two examples ('*neitibu*'s sense' and '*neitibu* check') show, focus is placed more on a quality and 'ネイティブ' is considered as something that makes it possible to judge the relevance of certain usage based on intuition or to proofread texts.

It is true that the English term 'native speaker' also implies the superiority of people called as such (see Section 6.2), but the Japanese concept 'ネイティブ' tends to be connected far more easily with such ideological ideas as authenticity, legitimacy, correctness, and trustworthiness. In this respect, the word is not merely a shortened form of or a borrowing from the English term 'native speaker.' The concept 'ネイティブ' has acquired cultural-political connotations and can be viewed as an ideological construct that has been socially, culturally, and historically produced through repeated utterances. In order to preserve this specific nature of the concept 'ネイティブ,' I have decided to write it in romaji as *neitibu* (whether it signifies a person or a quality) when analyzing and discussing my data. I have also included the concept within the title of this chapter.

6.2 Native/non-native English issues in the field of ELT

Considerable discussions over native/non-native English issues have so far taken place in ELT and related academic fields. While some researchers have attempted to itemize features of a native/non-native speaker (Cook, 1999; Davies, 1991, 2003, 2004; Medgyes, 1994), others have focused more on the practical aspects of education such as the relative assets of native/non-native speaker teachers and target models desirable for learners (Braine, 1999b, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 2006; Llurda, 2004, 2005; Mahboob, 2010). Among several attributes of a native speaker, Davies (1991, 2003, 2004) lists intuition. He argues that a native speaker has intuition both "about his/her idiolectal grammar" and "about those features of the standard language grammar which are distinct from his/her idiolectal grammar" (2004, p. 435). Yet, he also adds that a native speaker's intuition about the standard language becomes unsteady on occasion and consequently it can be best described as "learnt not innate" (2004, p. 435). Although the concept of 'the standard language' remains controversial, his argument suggests that not every person called a native speaker of a language has pre-eminent intuition about the language or can use it most 'correctly' or 'appropriately' (Mulder & Hulstijn, 2011; Pennycook, 2012). The degree of intuition about a language should vary from one person to another depending on several factors. As Pennycook (2012) points out, "we are not born into languages but are gradually languaged" (p. 84). Doerr (2009) also stresses that the wide-spread belief that native speakers have complete competence in their language is an ideological assumption and it "serv[es] as a discursive force in daily life" (p. 32).

Despite these researchers' arguments, it cannot be denied that native speakers are often lionized in the field of ELT. As Phillipson (1992) suggests, what lies behind this lionization is the "native speaker fallacy" (p. 194), in which native English speakers are believed to make the best teachers of the language. To describe the same tendency, Holliday (2006) coined the term "native-speakerism" (p. 385). This concept is defined as "a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which springs the ideals both of the English language and the English language teaching methodology" (p. 385). Whether it is called the native speaker fallacy or native-speakerism, this language ideology has promoted the dominant status of native English-speaking teachers as intrinsic professionals as well as the owners of the language.

A context where this language ideology often operates, while simultaneously being linked to racial issues, is the recruitment of new teachers. As numerous researchers such as Amin (1999), Kubota (2002a), and Kubota and Lin (2006, 2009) point out, discriminatory hiring practices against non-native speaker teachers are closely related to racial features such as skin color. For example, non-white teachers tend not to be accepted as native speakers even when they consider that their native language is English, whereas white teachers without this linguistic background are apt to be received as native speakers (Holliday, 2013). In this context, "[w]hiteness and the native speaker construct are in a complicit relation" (Kubota, 2002a, p. 87).

As a counterattack on the native speaker fallacy or native-speakerism, various studies have begun to lay great emphasis on the merits of non-native speaker

teachers. Edited collections such as Braine (1999a), Llurda (2005), and Mahboob (2010), most chapters of which are written from the perspective of so-called non-native speaker teachers, can be regarded as representative of the movement. According to this body of literature, one of the positive aspects of non-native speaker teachers is their ability to empathize with students. For example, non-native speaker teachers are familiar with their students' learning difficulties since they themselves have experienced similar problems as former (and perhaps still active) learners. They have the great possibility of being much better at guiding their students' learning processes (Braine, 1999b). In addition, under the circumstances where non-native speaker teachers and their students share the same language other than English, which does not necessarily have to be their first language, it is reasonable for the teachers to utilize the linguistic resources, enhancing the students' English language development (Canagarajah, 1999a; Macaro, 2005).

While awareness of native-speakerism and the subsequent celebration of non-native speaker teachers may have helped displace native speaker teachers from the center, this movement also raises new issues to be addressed. First, it is argued by Houghton and Rivers (2013) that the term native-speakerism should be used carefully so as not to foster the simple dichotomy between Self (native) and Other (non-native). They problematize the typically entrenched idea that native speakers are predominantly "the perpetrators of native-speakerism (the subjects of the verb)" and non-native speakers are "the victims (the objects of the verb)" (p. 3). As they further suggest, it should not be forgotten that this ideology could inhabit "*all* ESOL educators" (p. 4; emphasis in the original). From a slightly different perspective, Pennycook (2012) also stresses that

despite the significance of challenges to the hegemonic position of native speakers, few of the challenges confront the notion itself. By striving to unsettle the status of native English-speaking teachers through emphasis on the legitimacy of non-native English-speaking teachers, the arguments have perpetuated and even strengthened the distinction between the two (Pennycook, 2012). He suggests that in order not to fall into this trap, what is currently necessary is to question the very categorization of native/non-native speakers.

In this regard, it can be said that one of the attempts to place the native/non-native discussions under scrutiny is the project conducted by Faez (2011a, 2011b). On the basis of her case study research on 25 teacher candidates with various linguistic backgrounds in Canada, she points out that the simplistic native/non-native categorization cannot grasp "the true linguistic identities" (Faez, 2011a, p. 395) of her participants. This binary grouping may also end up with the misrepresentation of these linguistic identities. To describe her participants properly, Faez (2011a, 2011b) instead creates and applies six new categories: "(1) Bilingual, (2) English as a First Language Speaker, (3) Second Generation English Speaker, (4) English Dominant, (5) L1 Dominant, (6) English Variety Speaker" (Faez, 2011b, p. 238). However, what is significant here is that Faez does not propose replacing the native/non-native categories with this new typology. This is because these six labels arose through her particular case study and "[o]ther categories may emerge in other contexts at different times and for different purposes" (Faez, 2011a, p. 397). Her argument therefore indicates that (linguistic) identity is not fixed but fluid and is always negotiated. It also suggests that while it may be important to strive continuously to decenter the

native speaker norms or empower so-called non-native speakers, it is also necessary to investigate the ways in which such cultural-political identity negotiations take place and what kinds of language ideologies constitute or are constituted by these negotiations.

Inspired by Faez's (2011a, 2011b) considerations mentioned above, in the next sections, I demonstrate that Thayne's status as a *neitibu* who is supposed to speak 'correct English' is sometimes reinforced, and at other times challenged, for not only linguistic but also social and ethical reasons. First, in Section 6.3, presenting an overview of Thayne's PB and CB, I examine the ways in which people called *neitibu*s, especially Thayne, are depicted through the texts and visual images within the two books. I also utilize a narrative account generated by the editor of the PB, Mr. Morimoto, to help elucidate the sellers' perspective. In Section 6.4, providing a focus to customer reviews about the PB and the CB posted on Amazon.co.jp and Rakuten Ichiba, I investigate the ways in which the users of the books react to and discuss the sellers' depiction of *neitibu*s based on their own thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about English, ELL, ELT, and ideal English teachers.

6.3 The *neitibu* as a speaker of 'correct English': The sellers' perspective

While the perspectives of *akogare* (longing/desire), masculinity, sexualization, and eroticization are helpful in contemplating the ideological dimensions of English-related or ELL-related books published in Japan (see Section 5.2 in the previous chapter), it seems that these approaches cannot explain adequately the

ways in which Thayne's materials are commodified and consumed. The reason for this is that although Thayne is a so-called white male native English-speaking teacher from the USA, the concept of masculinity is not utilized in any of his books. It is true that Thayne's very act of teaching English in Japan might represent his masculinity given that "English language work developed as a male enterprise within the context of British and American expansion and imperialism" (Appleby, 2014, p. 32). As Appleby further argues, although the ratio of women is very high in domestic areas of language education, "men have been dominant participants in the global encounters through which English language teaching emerged as a practice inflected by race, gender, and power" (p. 32). In this respect, Thayne could be considered to be one of these core participants. Yet, in his materials, Thayne's status as a male teacher is at least not stressed in the form of something that yields female learners' romanticized *akogare* for him. This analysis can be supported by some visual images from the CB:

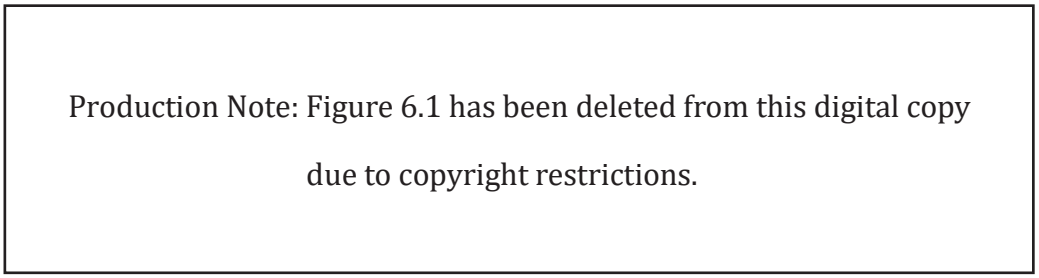


Figure 6.1: Visual images of David Thayne (Thayne, 2012, p. 12, p. 62, p. 109)

As Figure 6.1 indicates, Thayne is a friendly middle-aged man and is almost always depicted as wearing casual clothing and a flat cap. This depiction, which reflects the way he looks in real life, creates a quite relaxed and companionable atmosphere. To put it another way, the depiction is completely divergent from

photos often witnessed in *eikaiwa* promotional materials that depict young and Hollywood-star-like male teachers, as has been discussed in Chapter 5 (see page 140). While those teachers tend to be ideologically constituted as sophisticated gentlemen who could serve as Japanese women's eligible romantic partners (Piller & Takahashi, 2006), Thayne's images in Figure 6.1 are not suggestive of this. Indeed, no online comments about the PB and the CB mention his attractiveness as an embodied recipient of female learners' *akogare*. It can therefore be argued that the intended selling points of Thayne and his self-help ELL books fundamentally differ from those of male teachers working in franchised *eikaiwa* schools and of English-for-romantic-purpose materials exemplified by *Roppongi English*.

Instead of *akogare*, masculinity, sexualization, and eroticization, what is highlighted in Thayne's materials is his '*neitibu*'s sense' (or native intuition) about English. The concept of 'correct English' based on his intuition is specifically emphasized. In other words, the common feature shared by the PB and the CB is that both ELL books aim to point out English usage errors made by Japanese people, orientating the users toward '*neitibu* correctness.' First, this standpoint is evident in the titles of the books (*This English Offends Native [Speakers]* and *A Little Weird English from Japanese People: Funny English Mr. Thayne Has Witnessed*). In particular, the PB clearly demonstrates that it fully utilizes his status as a native English speaker by including the term *neitibu* in its title. During the interview with the editor of the PB, Mr. Morimoto, I asked him about what the overall aim of the PB was and how the title had been chosen. Below is an excerpt after Mr. Morimoto stated that he had been chiefly responsible for deciding the title and content:

(1)【Jun.03.2015】M: Mr. Morimoto / R: Researcher

M: 本屋で見たときに（笑）、嫌な汗かくような、そういう感じを狙いました。[…]
When people see [the book] in the bookstore (laugh), they break into a cold sweat. I aimed at that kind of feeling. […]

R: […]あの、[タイトルが]割とセンセーショナルなというか、割とインパクトのある。
[…] Er, [the title is] relatively sensational or [it] relatively has an impact.

M: インパクト狙いですよね。[…]
I aimed to make an impact. […]

R: […]タイトルに「ネイティブ」ということばを入れたのも、割と意識的ですか。
[…] Did you rather intentionally put the term *neitibu* in the title?

M: ええ、もう、完全に意識しています。
Oh, yes, I did do that completely on purpose.

This excerpt suggests that Mr. Morimoto strategically utilizes the authority of the *neitibu* for the title of the PB. Likewise, the sellers' standpoint that they aim to make the maximum use of Thayne's status as a *neitibu* and point out Japanese people's English usage errors based on his intuition is also explicitly expressed in the prefaces of the PB and the CB, which were presented by Thayne himself. The preface of the PB writes:

(2)【the PB's Preface】

ご存知ですか？ 実はネイティブは、日本人の話す英語を聞いて、「ん？」と違和感を感じたり、時には「なんてことを言うんだ！」と怒りを覚えることがよくあるのです！ ネイティブと英語を話した日本人からも、「なぜか相手からけげんな顔をされた……」という相談を受けることもあります。[…]
Did you know? In fact, listening to the English spoken by Japanese people, *neitibu*s frequently feel a sense of discomfort, wondering, "What?" and sometimes get angry, thinking, "How dare you talk to me like that!" I have also been consulted by Japanese people who talked with a *neitibu* in English and experienced the situation where "my

interlocutor looked puzzled toward me for some unknown reason……" […]. (Thayne, 2010, p. 3)

Within the PB, to help Japanese people solve this sort of problem, that is, for them not to make *neitibus "feel a sense of discomfort"* or *"get angry,"* Thayne first displays what he calls 'dangerous English expressions' Japanese people tend to use and thereafter lists several appropriate ones according to the degree of politeness, using labels such as '**イチオシ** (*ichioshi*, most highly recommended).' In a similar manner, in the preface to the CB, Thayne describes his stance as shown in the following:

(3)【the CB's Preface】

みなさん、はじめまして。私は東京の下町で英語を教えている、デイビッド・セインです。アメリカ出身ですが、これまで 25 年以上日本で英語を教えてきました。でも、たびたび思うのは、日本人の英語がちょっと"ヘン"だということ…。[…]この本では日本人が使ってしまいがちな、ネイティブにはちょっと"ヘン"に聞こえる英語を取り上げました。

Nice to meet you, everyone. I'm David Thayne, teaching English in the *shitamachi*[37] area of Tokyo. I'm from the USA and have been teaching English in Japan for over 25 years. But what I often think is that the English spoken by Japanese people is a little 'weird'…. […] In this book, I cover the English Japanese people tend to use, but which sounds a little 'weird' to *neitibus*. (Thayne, 2012, pp. 2-3)

As his grounds for considering that the English spoken by Japanese people is 'weird,' Thayne further presents the example below:

(4)【the CB's Preface】

例えば、"Thank you."と言われた後に、日本人が決まったように使うフレーズ "You are welcome." 実はこの表現、アメリカ人やイギリス人など、英

[37] *Shitamachi* refers to traditional districts of cities in Japan: especially, the eastern area of Tokyo such as Asakusa and Ueno. This area is known as where many blue-collar workers live. Thayne's self-introduction that he is teaching English in *shitamachi* helps convey the impression that he is not a business-oriented but an approachable teacher.

> 語を母国語とするネイティブには“ヘン”に聞こえてしまうんです。学校では「どういたしまして」と習ったと思いますが、本当の意味は「当然じゃないですか」なんです…。
> For example, “*You are welcome*” is Japanese people’s standard response to “*Thank you.*” In fact, this expression sounds ‘weird’ to *neitibu*s, whose national language is English, such as American and British people. You must have learned at school [that it means] “Sure, no problem,” but the actual implication is “Everyone does this...”. (Thayne, 2012, p. 2)[38]

Setting aside whether the response “You are welcome” is really ‘weird,’ it can be pointed out that with this preface Thayne indicates that the main purpose of the CB is to teach Japanese people ‘correct English’ that is based on his own criterion as a *neitibu* of the language. He also implies that ‘school English (English taught at school in Japan)’ is different from what he regards as ‘correct English,’ constituting a *native* as someone who is qualified to determine what is ‘correct’ and what is ‘weird.’ This discursive constitution of the *native* as “an arbiter on language correctness” (Pennycook, 2012, p. 85) is reinforced by visual images in the CB. Here, I present its front cover as the first example (see Figure 6.2 on the next page).

[38] English used in the original Japanese data is presented in italics in the translated texts.

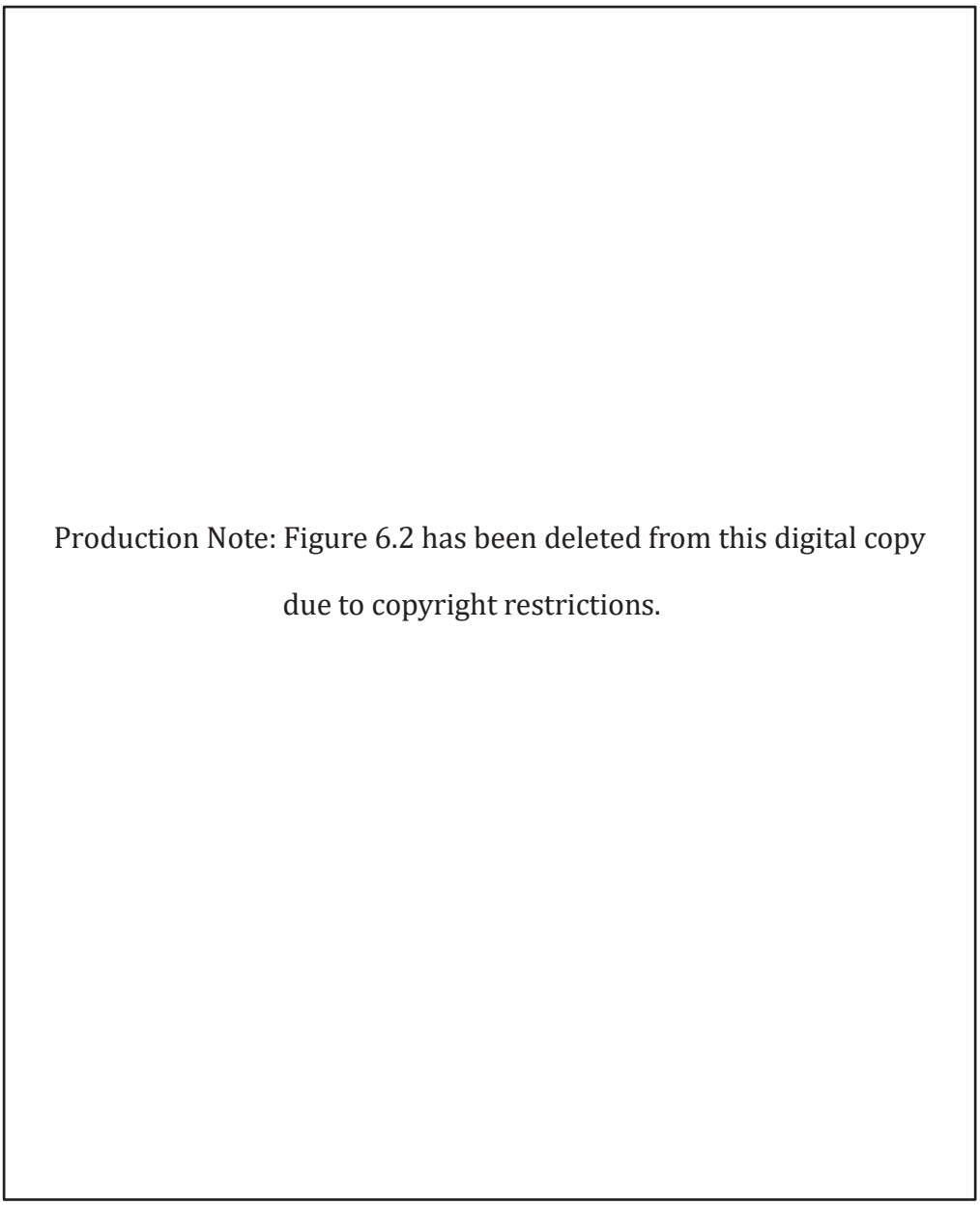


Figure 6.2: Front cover of the CB (Thayne, 2012)

As Figure 6.2 shows, Thayne appears on the front cover with his seven students, who are supposed to speak 'weird' English within the CB. In this illustration, focus is placed more on Thayne than on his students; he is depicted about ten times bigger than the other characters. He is also shrugging with a perplexed look and a drop of sweat is running down his cheek. These visual images offer

the vivid impression that Thayne is really annoyed with 'weird' English spoken by his students. In addition to the front cover above, other visual images also foster this 'annoying–annoyed' relationship between Japanese people and *neitibu*s. For example, Thayne is often depicted as laughing loudly at his students' grammatical and pragmatic errors. Other *neitibu*s, who sometimes appear as extra characters, also openly express their shock and anger after listening to Japanese learners speaking 'weird' English (see Figures 6.3 and 6.4).

Production Note: Figure 6.3 has been deleted from this digital copy due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 6.3: Loud laugh at 'weird' English (Thayne, 2012, p. 12, p. 37, p. 101)

Production Note: Figure 6.4 has been deleted from this digital copy due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 6.4: Shock and anger at 'weird' English (Thayne, 2012, p. 18, p. 83)

It is crucial to note here that Thayne's claim that the English spoken by Japanese people is 'weird' may demand further scrutiny. As an example, I take the right frame in Figure 6.3 (see Figure 6.5 on the next page for the story concerning this frame). In the frame, Thayne is holding his sides with loud laughter, saying, "*Are*

you 'Taxi', Mr. Suzuki?" What Thayne ridicules here is a statement made by Mr. Suzuki (one of Thayne's students) in the previous frame: "*Mr. Thayne! Could you call me taxi?*" As soon as Thayne hears this statement, he starts to laugh loudly (as we have just seen) and in the following frame, he suggests to Mr. Suzuki, "*You should say '**a** taxi', otherwise you will be mistaken for saying, 'Could you call me Mr. Taxi?'*"

Production Note: Figure 6.5 has been deleted from this digital copy due to copyright restrictions.

Mr. Thayne! *Could you call me taxi?* (Intention: Could you call me a taxi?)
I've just remembered an appointment. I can't make it by train.

Are you Taxi, Mr. Suzuki?
[*Pooh ha ha ha ha*]

You should say *'a taxi,'* otherwise you will be mistaken for saying, "Could you call me Mr. Taxi?" [*Pooh kuku*]

Figure 6.5: "Could you call me Mr. Taxi?" (Thayne, 2012, pp. 101-102)

A question arising here is whether the statement "Could you call me taxi?" causes any serious trouble. In the real world, especially in this globalized world, where people with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds daily interact

with one another, making use of their available semiotic resources (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), Mr. Suzuki's interlocutor would understand what he really wants to say. Despite that, such a tiny error is utilized in the CB to suggest that people in Japan often use 'incorrect' or 'inappropriate' English, simultaneously constituting the *neitibu* as someone who not only judges but also sometimes even laughs at the English.

Thus, deliberately providing a focus to Thayne's status as a *neitibu*, the PB and the CB express their purpose, which is to teach Japanese people 'correct English.' In the process of this endeavor, however, the books also negatively frame the English spoken by Japanese people as different from what Thayne regards as 'correct English,' constituting the *neitibu* as someone who is qualified to decide what is 'correct' and what is 'weird.' This sort of ideological constitution is supported by not only written texts but also visual images.

In the next section, I investigate the ways in which my participants (users of the PB and the CB) understand the books' discursive constitutions of the *neitibu* as a speaker of 'correct English.' I also examine the ways in which the participants engage in various English-related ideologies as well as the notion of the *neitibu* by posting their customer reviews on two online bookstores (Amazon.co.jp and Rakuten Ichiba). The section consists of two parts. The first part pays close attention to customer reviews regarding ELT in Japan and Thayne as a teacher; the second part deals with reviews related to the English language and Thayne as a *neitibu*.

6.4 Struggle with prevalent language ideologies: The users' perspective

6.4.1 ELT in Japan and Thayne as a teacher

I start this first part with the following main texts of four customer reviews:

(5)【CB/Rakuten/Feb.09.2012】
こういう先生が学校現場にいるといいのに。
I wish teachers like him were at school.

(6)【CB/Amazon/May.07.2013】
是非日本国民全員に読んで欲しい。学校で習った英語は通じないことを知って欲しい。
I sincerely hope that all the people of Japan will read [this comic book]. I want [them] to realize that they can't make themselves understood in the English [they've] learned at school.

(7)【CB/Rakuten/Feb.05.2013】
特に、学校の英語の先生は絶対に読むべきだと思います。声を大にして言いたいです。
I think that in particular, English teachers at school must absolutely read [this comic book]. I want to say [this] with emphasis.

(8)【PB/Amazon/May.01.2010】
中高の 6 年間の青春時代を返せって感じです。
I feel like [saying,] "Give me back my youth — my six years at junior and senior high schools."

These four customer reviews indicate that the reviewers are highly supportive of Thayne's materials. While Reviewer (5) regards him as a desirable teacher, Reviewers (6) and (7) recommend the CB to others such as *"all the people of Japan"* and "*English teachers at school*." It is also noteworthy that praising Thayne and his materials easily leads to criticizing Japan's ELT in school settings,

which is, as problematized by Oda (2008), often viewed as not effective despite students' efforts over a long period. This mindset is clearly reflected in Review (8). By writing, *"Give me back my youth,"* the reviewer implies that his/her precious youthful years were deprived because of useless ELL at school. Reviewers (6) and (7) are likewise severe critics of ELT in Japan. A summary of what both the reviewers have written equates to: the English schoolteachers teach is pointless and they must learn this reality by reading Thayne's materials.

The next three customer reviews also provide critical viewpoints about ELT in school settings, but in a slightly different way.

(9)【CB/Rakuten/Mar.03.2012】

This is a pen.
学校で習う「教科書英語」と英語圏で話されている「ネイティブ」がこんなに違うのかと面白いです。
This is a pen.
I find it interesting that there is such a big difference between 'textbook English' [we] learn at school and '*neitibu* [English]' spoken in English-speaking countries.

(10)【CB/Amazon/Mar.18.2012】

日本の学校の英語教科書は 80 歳の方が集まって作成されているのでしょうか？
Are English textbooks [used] at school in Japan created by 80-year-old people?

(11)【CB/Amazon/May.09.2013】

日本人で英語を学校で教えている先生は、言語的にジジイになってますね。
Japanese people who teach English at school are linguistically old farts.

These comments are as harsh as Reviews (6), (7), and (8). Reviewer (9) reproduces the belief that there is a gap between the English taught at school

(*"textbook English"*) and the English actually used (*"*neitibu *[English]"*). What is also remarkable here is that this reviewer has entitled his/her review in English ("This is a pen"). In Japan, people, especially those over 50 years old, frequently refer to the sentence "This is a pen" when they self-mockingly depict the ELT they received at school; an often-heard statement is "The English my generation learned is 'This is a pen!'" This stems from the fact that many of them have almost the same experience that they were instructed by their teachers to repeat chorusing "This is a pen" in the classroom at the very beginning of their ELL. What makes them reflect on this particular sentence with a sort of regret is their awareness that in the real world, they have seldom encountered the scene in which the sentence is necessary (Naruke, 2015); in general, people easily recognize a pen without being told that that is a pen. Nonetheless, the sentence was often included in former English textbooks that were edited on the basis of grammar and forms separated from context. Thus, "This is a pen" has become a symbolic and metaphoric expression indicating that the ELT in school settings at the time was not communicative at all.

Although current English textbooks may still be based on grammar and forms, many of them no longer use sentences that obviously ignore their functions in certain situations. Textbooks are edited carefully to set scenes in which particular utterances are natural and necessary to be given. For example, the company publishing *New Crown English Series*, one of the six approved English textbooks for junior high school students, stresses that since the company started editing the first series issued in 1978, it has managed to create in its textbooks situations suitable for introducing every new grammatical item (Sanseido, 2015). Interestingly and coincidentally, the company calls this

endeavor "This is a pen. からの脱却 (Departure from *This is a pen*)" (Sanseido, 2015).

Despite this trend, Reviewer (9) amusingly entitles his/her review "This is a pen," covertly conveying that *"textbook English"* is still useless. Reviewers (10) and (11) are along the same lines as Reviewer (9). By making use of phrases such as *"80-year-old people"* and *"linguistically old farts,"* both reviewers suggest that the English taught at school is old-fashioned. Here, the clear contrast between 'correct *neitibu* English' and 'weird school English' is discursively reinforced, celebrating Thayne as a desirable teacher qualified to distinguish the two. According to Canagarajah (1999a), the native speaker fallacy springs from the idea that the disorder of a language "can be arrested by the prescriptive role of the native speaker teacher" (p. 80). In Thayne's materials, the 'weird English' spoken by Japanese people is arrested by Thayne, and the reviews above foster his role as the leading representative who can teach 'correct English.'

6.4.2 The English language and Thayne as a *neitibu*

While the reviewers introduced above are active supporters of Thayne, others direct their criticisms at not only his materials but also his *neitibu* status. I first provide comments concerning some users' attitudes toward the English language and discuss how their perspectives help the users evaluate Thayne's materials negatively.

(12)【CB/Amazon/Jun.02.2013】
現在、世界で使われている英語は、アメリカ英語がすべてではありません。
English currently used in the world isn't always American English.

(13)【CB/Amazon/Nov.18.2012】

アメリカ合衆国というのは広いですから、いろんな場所で独特の言葉の言い回しなどがあります。[…]まして、英語は「アメリカのもの」だけではありません。

Since the USA is large, there are expressions unique to each area in the country. […] Moreover, English isn't 'a possession belonging only to the USA.'

In Review (12), the reviewer takes up an issue connected with the global spread of English; he/she refers to the undeniable reality that different varieties of English are now spoken in the world. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, how to understand the diversity of English is controversial. From the perspective of researchers who problematize the nation-state division of English, the categorization *"American English"* in Review (12) may need to be scrutinized carefully. However, this reviewer's sociolinguistic awareness that *"English currently used in the world isn't always American English"* contributes to contesting the CB's adherence to Thayne's own norm. Reviewer (13) also raises the same issue related to the global spread of English. Through the sentence *"English isn't a 'possession belonging only to the USA',"* the reviewer argues that English is no longer monopolized by limited people; different people use the language in different places in different ways. Although he/she does not adopt this term, the reviewer happens to introduce the concept 'the ownership of English' here, which has been enthusiastically discussed in the academic fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics (e.g., Canagarajah, 1993, 1999a, 1999b; Matsuda, 2012; Phan, 2008; Rajagopalan, 2007; Widdowson, 1994). Discussions on the ownership of English have offered fresh and profound insights, particularly into how we can deconstruct established thoughts on standard forms and varieties. The discussions have also encouraged so-called

non-native speakers to appropriate English and proudly assert that they are the owners of the language as well (Lin et al., 2002).

It should be added quickly that the assertion that all people using English own the language is naïve. Referring to Tupas (2006), who researches on the political and economic position of English in the Philippines, Pennycook (2012) suggests that the claim that English is everybody's asset "might be critiqued as a liberal aspiration rather than a political reality" (p. 79). As he further argues, issues with regard to the ownership of English "need a much sharper political analysis about who gets to speak" (p. 79).[39] However, the description concerning the current status of English ("*English isn't a 'possession belonging only to the USA'*") helps question the USA-only orientation frequently seen in Japan's ELT (Tajima, 2011) and the subsequent ideological mindset that views American English as the prioritized standard. The reviewer is also reflective enough to point out that there are regional differences even within the USA (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003; Preston, 1993).

Some other users who also question Thayne's judgement in his materials enlarge their scope of criticism to the extent that they even try to challenge his status as a *neitibu*. Three such users are the following reviewers:

(14)【CB/Amazon/May.23.2012】

ネイティブか？

[…]「死語」について出てきますが、これらの言葉は日常普通に使っているものが多く含まれています。だいたいアメリカ人ネイティブが…ということですが、25 年も日本に住んでいてネイティブって…。私の主人は彼と違

[39] Pennycook's (2012) argument is closely connected with an aspect of what Tupas calls 'unequal Englishes.' See his edited book, Tupas (2015), for more on discussions about this concern.

ってネイティブですが、友人のアメリカ人・オーストラリア人ともにしょっちゅう使ってますよ。主人の両親や兄弟もそれぞれイギリスやオーストラリアに住んでいますが同様です。主人に読み聞かせると「頼むからそんなバカな本は信じないでくれっ！」とのことでした。

Neitibu?

[…] This comic book mentions 'dead language,' but many [expressions] included [in the 'dead language'] are used daily. In the first place, he [= Thayne] says that he's an American *neitibu*…, but I'm wondering if he can declare himself so after living in Japan for as many as 25 years…. My husband is a *neitibu*, unlike him, but [my husband and] his American and Australian friends often use [the 'dead language']. My husband's parents and brothers, who live in the UK and Australia respectively, do too. When I read [this comic book] to my husband, he said, "Please don't trust such a stupid book!"

(15)【CB/Amazon/Apr.18.2012】

アメリカ人のヘンな英語

[…]ネイティブの友人にこの本を見せたらあきれかえっていました。こんな本を出して恥ずかしくないのでしょうか？

Weird English from an American

[…] When I showed this book to my friend, who is a *neitibu*, she got thoroughly stunned. Isn't the author ashamed of publishing this kind of book?

(16)【PB/Amazon/Jun.16.2012】

この本カチンとく～る

この本は、カチンカチンにカチンときます。それは、この本のタイトルを見ただけでもわかるでしょう。[…]

This book *offeeends* me.

This book really really offends me. You can see it with the mere sight of the title of this book. […]

One of the features shared by all the comments above is that Thayne's *neitibu* status is questioned in their titles. In the case of Review (14), the reviewer utilizes only one short content word *neitibu*, but *"か (ka),"* a Japanese suffix used to form the interrogative, and a question mark are added to the word. Overall, the title of Review (14) is semantically a quizzical phrase *Neitibu?* — thus expressing doubts about Thayne's position as a *neitibu*. Reviewers (15) and (16) do more. By mocking the titles of the CB and the PB (*A Little Weird English*

from Japanese People and *This English Offends Native [Speakers]*) respectively, the reviewers suggest that it is Thayne's English and materials that are strange (*"Weird English from an American"*) and disrespectful ("*This book* offeeends *me"*). According to Bakhtin (1968, 1984), through the playful imitation of other people's language practices (an aspect of what he calls 'carnival'), a new meaning can be added to established authority and power. In this regard, Reviewers (15) and (16) turn the tables on Thayne by parodying and deconstructing his received status as a *neitibu*, which is often regarded as the "benchmark for knowledge of [the] language" (Davies, 2004, p. 431). Indeed, the titles of all these comments challenge social and cultural values attached to *neitibu*s as well as the relationship between teachers/material writers and learners/users, and raise intriguing questions such as "Who can declare him/herself to be a *neitibu*?" and "Who can approve of someone as a *neitibu*?" In this respect, as researchers such as Canagarajah (1999b), Chun (2016), and Moffatt and Norton (2005) stress, learners/users are neither mere reproducers of dominant ideologies nor passive consumers of textbooks/books. On the contrary, in this specific context, the reviewers actively engage with both (re)constituting the notion of the *neitibu* and evaluating Thayne's materials.

However, when we read through the main texts of Reviews (14) and (15), we will also recognize the struggle these reviewers have with the notion of the *neitibu*. In Review (14), the reviewer takes up *"dead language."* This is because the CB includes a chapter in which Thayne says to his students, "日本人の英語は実は死語だらけ (Actually, the English spoken by Japanese people is full of dead language)" (Thayne, 2012, p. 15) and labels their English as "骨董品 (antique)" (p. 15). Examples of dead language and his alternative proposals are

provided in Table 6.1.

Dead Language	Thayne's Alternative Proposals
1) My name is Kengo Takahashi.	1) I'm Kengo. Kengo Takahashi.
2) A: Hello. How are you?	2) A: Hi! How are you doing?
B: Fine, thank you.	B: Really good.
3) Goodbye.	3) (no mention)

Table 6.1: Dead language and Thayne's alternative proposals (Thayne, 2012, pp. 10-15; my summary)

In a similar manner to the phrase "You are welcome" (see page 166), what should be considered regarding this claim is that it remains debatable whether the expressions he views as 'dead language' are really 'dead.' All the greetings above are still widely accepted and which expression is used totally depends on each individual speaker. In this regard, Reviewer (14) is right since she states that *"many [expressions] included [in the 'dead language'] are used daily*." However, what is noteworthy and also ironic is that she bases her argument on the fact that her husband is a *neitibu* and he as well as his parents and friends use these expressions. Here, she is challenging Thayne's *neitibu* quality, but she does this by dragging other *neitibu*s into her arena. This conscious or unconscious strategy indicates that the authority for her judgement of Thayne is in their hands, particularly in her husband's. For this reviewer, her husband, who advises her, *"Please don't trust such a stupid book!,"* is a more trustful *neitibu* than Thayne. On the contrary, Thayne is no longer a genuine *neitibu* (*"My husband is a* neitibu, ***unlike him****"*) because of his long residence in Japan (*"I'm wondering if he can declare himself so* ***after living in Japan for as many as 25***

years*...*"). From her point of view, a *neitibu* living in a non-English-speaking country for a long time, away from his/her home, is not qualified for that position. Thayne's *neitibu* status is at stake here due to not only linguistic but also social elements.

Reviewer (15) adopts almost the same manner of confronting Thayne's status as a *neitibu*. Within the comment, Reviewer (15) mentions an episode when he/she showed the CB to his/her *neitibu* friend, who ended up expressing utter amazement. The reviewer concludes with the suggestion that Thayne should be abashed at publishing this material. Here, the reviewer's critique also goes beyond linguistic elements, expanding to his personal and professional ethic. Furthermore, this reviewer corresponds closely with Reviewer (14) in that to question Thayne and the CB, he/she pulls a more trustworthy *neitibu* into his/her claim. Like Reviewer (14), who gets her husband on her side, Reviewer (15) labels Thayne's English as *"Weird English from an American"* based on the evaluation made by his/her *neitibu* friend. On the face of it, particularly when we have a brief look at the titles of their comments (*"Neitibu?"* and *"Weird English from an American"*), the two reviewers appear to be contesting Thayne; they indeed do as far as the titles are concerned. However, despite their resistance seen in the titles, the main texts of the comments still unquestionably puts the judgment on 'correct' or 'weird' English in the hands of *neitibu*s. The reviewers' acts of questioning Thayne's *neitibu* quality do not necessarily equal challenging the very notion of the *neitibu*; on the contrary, they may result in perpetuating it (Pennycook, 2012).

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the ways in which the notions of the *neitibu* and 'correct English' join together in discourse. Drawing on data such as written texts and visual images within the PB and the CB, and a narrative account generated by the editor of the PB, I have first examined the ideological manner in which the *neitibu* is discursively constituted as a qualified representative of 'correct English' who can judge whether particular English is 'offensive/weird' or not. Thereafter, by critically analyzing customer reviews posted on online bookstores, I have investigated the ways in which the users of the books react to such ideological constitutions of the *neitibu*. The analysis of the reviews has demonstrated that the users occasionally celebrate, and at other times counter, these constitutions of the *neitibu* as a speaker of 'correct English,' based on their own thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about the English language, ELT, ELL, and ideal English teachers.

In particular, the contrast between 'correct *neitibu* English' and 'offensive/weird school English' in the ELL books is maintained by some users who praise Thayne as an informative teacher. Simultaneously, however, the emphasis on 'correct *neitibu* English' placed by the books is dismissed by others who regard it as irrelevant to judge what is 'correct' and what is 'offensive/weird' by only relying on Thayne's canon. These users even question his status as a *neitibu*. The critiques stem mainly from linguistic reasons, whereas those critical reviews frequently go beyond linguistics, bringing in social and ethical elements. This public struggle among the users on online bookstores illustrates that the positionality of Thayne is constantly negotiated and that the notion of the

neitibu is also socially, culturally, and ideologically (re)constituted through discursive practices (Faez, 2011a, 2011b; Tajima, 2018b; Toh, 2013).

It is also interesting to recall here that some reviewers are trying to contest Thayne's *neitibu* quality, but by introducing counter *neitibu*s into their claims, they result in legitimatizing the *neitibu* authority. Their acts of challenging Thayne by depending on more trustworthy *neitibu*s eventually reinforce the social and cultural values attached to them. This example suggests the difficulty of moving beyond the established conceptualization. Yet, by elucidating the ways in which the users struggle with popular language ideologies while producing conflicting thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about English, I have shed light on their active involvement in the language, which is far more divergent than what English use and ELL indicate in the conventional sense. Thus, as has been reiterated throughout this thesis, it is important and necessary to develop the idea of engagement instead of continuing to adopt the more traditional notions of language use and language learning. This endeavor contributes to providing more comprehensive understandings of the multilayered role of English as well as the ideological position of the *neitibu* both in Japan and in the world, advancing the theorization of language ideologies within critical inquiries in language studies.

Chapter 7

Ideological Constitutions of *Chantoshita*, *Kireina Eigo*[40]

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6, utilizing data such as Thayne's ELL books (the PB and the CB), a narrative account generated by the PB editor, and online customer reviews about the books, I have explored the ways in which the *neitibu* is conceptualized among the sellers and the users. Through this exploration, I have argued that while the *neitibu* is often viewed as a person (and a quality as well) associated with 'correct English,' this conceptualization is not fixed but rather is constantly negotiated; the notion of the *neitibu* is socially, culturally, and ideologically constituted through people's discursive practices.

In Chapter 7, shifting my central focus toward Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* and drawing primarily on the providers' promotional materials as data, I first analyze the ideological manner in which the notion of the *neitibu* is employed when the legitimacy of Filipino tutors is claimed in this educational industry

[40] The terms *chantoshita*, *kireina*, and *eigo* are all Japanese words, indicating 'proper,' 'beautiful,' and 'English' respectively in their most literal translations. Yet, the first two modifiers (*chantoshita* and *kireina*) get tinged with cultural-political connotations when they collocate with the last noun (*eigo*). In the same manner as the term *neitibu*, I have therefore decided to write these Japanese modifiers in romaji when each of them is used together with the noun *eigo* (e.g., *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo*). While analyzing and discussing my data, I explain the difficulty of making word-for-word translations of the modifiers in further detail and provide their multifaceted meanings.

(Section 7.2). Based on the findings from the analysis, I point out that although the providers do not directly adopt the term *neitibu*, they indirectly make use of its power by placing the Philippines within the same bracket as the two top English-speaking countries (the USA and the UK) or by equating Filipino tutors' English with American English. Thereafter, paying closer attention to registrants' online comments as well as my interviewees' narrative accounts, I examine the consumers' reactions to these claims of legitimacy made by the providers (Section 7.3). In particular, I discuss the ways in which my participants engage in the act of constituting the notion of *chantoshita, kireina eigo* in the course of reproducing, reinforcing, or challenging the providers' promotion of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English.' I conclude this discussion with the suggestion that although *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is an ideological construct, which is often based on people's vague mental images, it has a very real effect and greatly contributes to strengthening or questioning the view of specific English speakers as legitimate/illegitimate. However, while *chantoshita, kireina eigo*, which occasionally parallels *neitibu* English, is celebrated, *neitibu* English itself is not always perceived to be ideal. In conclusion, I therefore put forward the other argument that the glorification of *neitibu* English is not absolute.

7.2 Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English': The providers' perspective

As has so far been reiterated, one of the reasons behind the current popularity of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* is its affordability (see Chapters 1, 3, and 5). In consequence, all 10 providers I accessed pitch this financial aspect at potential registrants on their websites. At the same time, however, they also present

rationales behind their employment of Filipino tutors in terms of the tutors' quality. The logic often applied in those rationales is that although the providers offer lessons at surprisingly low prices, it never indicates that as the saying goes, 'You get what you pay for'; throughout their advertising, the providers strive to guarantee the eminence of the tutors they hire. The following excerpts are parts of the online promotional materials given by two providers (Gn Gn Eikaiwa and Tenori Eigo), which describe the reasons for their selection of the Philippines and the strengths of their tutors. English translations are also added below:

講師について

世界で3番目に英語人口の多いフィリピン人講師中心

世界で3番目に英語人口が多い、フィリピン人を中心とした講師陣です。講師が話す英語はアメリカ英語に近く、なまりの少ない聞き取りやすい発音です。

またぐんぐん英会話は、ネットカフェや講師自宅からレッスンを提供するのではなく、ぐんぐんの専用コールセンターに講師を集めて授業をご提供。安定した通信環境の下、講師管理、情報共有を徹底し、ハイクオリティなレッスンをお約束します。

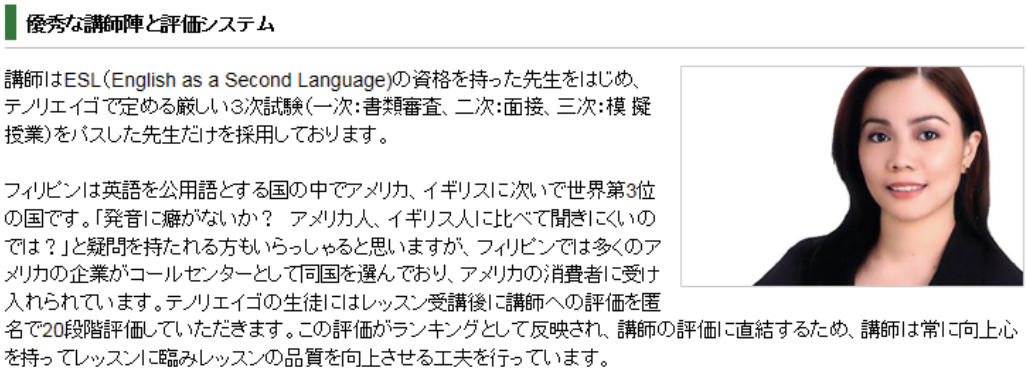
About tutors

Most tutors are in the Philippines, which has the third largest English-speaking population in the world.

Most tutors are people in the Philippines, which has the third largest English-speaking population in the world. The English spoken by the tutors is close to American English and [their] pronunciation, with scarcely any accent, is easy to follow. […]

Visual Image

Figure 7.1: Part of the promotional materials on the Gn Gn Eikaiwa website (Gn Gn Eikaiwa, 2017)



優秀な講師陣と評価システム

講師はESL(English as a Second Language)の資格を持った先生をはじめ、テノリエイゴで定める厳しい3次試験(一次:書類審査、二次:面接、三次:模 擬授業)をパスした先生だけを採用しております。

フィリピンは英語を公用語とする国の中でアメリカ、イギリスに次いで世界第3位の国です。「発音に癖がないか？ アメリカ人、イギリス人に比べて聞きにくいのでは？」と疑問を持たれる方もいらっしゃると思いますが、フィリピンでは多くのアメリカの企業がコールセンターとして同国を選んでおり、アメリカの消費者に受け入れられています。テノリエイゴの生徒にはレッスン受講後に講師への評価を匿名で20段階評価していただきます。この評価がランキングとして反映され、講師の評価に直結するため、講師は常に向上心を持ってレッスンに臨みレッスンの品質を向上させる工夫を行っています。

Excellent tutors and assessment system

[…] The Philippines is the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK. Some of you might wonder, "Doesn't [Filipinos'] pronunciation have an accent? Isn't it hard to follow, compared with that of American or British people?" However, many American enterprises have chosen the Philippines as [a location for their] call centers and [the English spoken by Filipinos] has been accepted by American consumers. […]

Visual Image

Figure 7.2: Part of the promotional materials on the Tenori Eigo website (Tenori Eigo, 2017)

What is noteworthy about these two rationales is that they include the Philippines in the category of English-speaking countries. Gn Gn Eikaiwa ranks the Philippines the third on the grounds of its large English-speaking population (see Figure 7.1). As shown in Figure 7.2, Tenori Eigo implements almost the same strategy as Gn Gn Eikaiwa. The provider promotes the Philippines as *"the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK."* This sort of classification is a quite recent trend in the *eikaiwa* industry because most franchised schools have so far emphasized the fact that the majority of their teachers come from "the center nations" (Canagarajah, 1999b, p. 4) such as the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The *eikaiwa* industry (the whole field of ELT in Japan as well) has lionized so-called

Western native English-speaking teachers, frequently excluding non-Western English users such as Filipinos, regardless of their proficiency and professional skills (Hayes, 2013; Kubota, 2002b; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Lummis, 1976). In other words, the industry has perpetuated "the idealization of a native speaker as someone who has perfect, innate knowledge of the language and culture and thus is the best teacher of English" (Kubota, 2002b, p. 21; see Section 6.2 in the previous chapter for more on native/non-native English issues).

Yet, a question arises here concerning this new movement (the inclusion of the Philippines in the category of English-speaking countries) within the Skype *eikaiwa* sector: Can the movement be considered as a watershed in the history of Japan's ELT field? Before proceeding to detailed discussions with regard to this question, I pay more careful attention to the two rationales offered by Gn Gn Eikaiwa and Tenori Eigo. This is because the rationales appear to serve as an archetype of how discourses produce effects of truth regardless of whether they are true or false (Foucault, 1980).

First of all, as indicated in Figure 7.1, Gn Gn Eikaiwa claims that the Philippines *"has the third largest English-speaking population."* However, the size of the English-speaking population is indeed greatly contingent on how it is counted. In relation to this, a more fundamental question may also emerge: What is meant by the term 'English-speaking' in the first place? In the case of Tenori Eigo's rationale (*"the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK"*), the reason for which the provider has ranked the Philippines the third is not explicitly mentioned. Yet, supposing that the provider writes about the number of English speakers within the country (in a

similar manner to Gn Gn Eikaiwa, and this supposition sounds the most feasible), the question concerning who on earth is included in the number surfaces again. In addition, the relevance of describing the USA and the UK as *"English-as-an-official-language countr[ies]"* could demand further scrutiny; strictly speaking, English has official status at the federal level in neither country. Above all, one might wonder if there is any correlation between the size of the English-speaking population of a certain country and the quality of its local tutors; the Philippines' having the large English-speaking population does not necessarily prove the professional distinction of Filipino tutors.

In these respects, it seems that both Gn Gn Eikaiwa and Tenori Eigo present the rationales by rather advantageously and plausibly utilizing various pieces of information in a 'patchworked' manner. However, in the context of advertising, these kinds of rationales have the great possibility of working efficiently; indeed the providers have so far been successful in gathering registrants. Toward people interested in Skype *eikaiwa*, the rationales help create a positive impression of the Philippines regardless of their truth or falsehood. Particularly by lining up the country alongside the USA and the UK, which are generally conceived as the two top English-speaking countries, the Philippines is set up as legitimate enough to produce excellent English tutors.[41] Here, it can be said that the rationales offered by Gn Gn Eikaiwa and Tenori Eigo exert effects of truth even if their authenticity is uncertain (Foucault, 1980).

Now I return to the question raised at the beginning of this section: Can the

[41] Of the 10 providers I accessed, two others (RareJob and English Bell) also deploy this strategy. See the analysis and discussion starting on page 191 for more on the rationale given by RareJob.

inclusion of the Philippines in English-speaking countries be considered as a watershed in the history of Japan's ELT field, where so-called Western native English-speaking teachers have been celebrated? Contemplating carefully the ways in which Filipino tutors are described in Gn Gn Eikaiwa's and Tenori Eigo's advertising, the answer will be in the negative; their way of publicizing the tutors might result in reproducing and reinforcing the primacy of the *neitibu*. First, in Gn Gn Eikaiwa's rationale, Filipino tutors are promoted as legitimate because of their USA-like English. The tutors are discursively constituted as speakers of the English that is *"close to American English"*; their pronunciation is similarly depicted as *"[having] scarcely any accent"* and *"easy to follow."*

Second, the constitution of Filipino tutors in association with American English also holds true for Tenori Eigo's rationale. In the case of this provider, offshore call centers are dragged into its assertion of Filipino tutors' legitimacy. As has already been introduced in Chapter 5, in response to anticipated questions with regard to their English, such as *"Doesn't [Filipinos'] pronunciation have any accent?"* and *"Isn't it hard to follow, compared with that of American or British people?,"* Tenori Eigo offers the following answer: *"[…] many American enterprises have chosen the Philippines as [a location for] their call centers and [the English spoken by Filipinos] has been accepted by American consumers."* To put it differently, in this provider's argumentation, speakers of the English that is judged by American consumers as acceptable are relevant enough to be tutors for learners in Japan.

Interestingly, this kind of claim is also made by Filipino tutors themselves; of the 10 interviewees I accessed through TrueTrade, three tutors (Ben, May, and

Pauline) have work experience in foreign-owned call centers. During the individual interview with May, for example, she remarked that before joining TrueTrade, she had been employed as an operator by a USA-owned call center and obtained an 'American pronunciation certificate,' which was independently issued by the enterprise. May also added that this call center background as well as her degree in linguistics probably had conveyed a favorable impression to TrueTrade in the hiring process.[42]

Thus, in the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector, Filipino tutors are discursively constituted in particular ways through the providers' emphasis on 'the USA' and 'American English,' and these phrases play a significant role in asserting the tutors' legitimacy. Although the providers do not directly employ the term *neitibu*, they indirectly utilize its power first by stating that their Filipino tutors speak the English that is *"close to American English"* or *"has been accepted by American consumers"* and then by implying that the tutors are consequently almost equated with *neitibu*s. In brief, it can be argued that this trend in the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector might result in reproducing and reinforcing the primacy of the *neitibu* in the field of ELT.

While the promotional materials of Gn Gn Eikaiwa and Tenori Eigo lay great emphasis on the strong relationships between the Philippines and the USA, and between Filipino tutors and American English, RareJob places more focus on

[42] In addition to these aspects, May also considers that her position as an English as a second language (ESL) speaker is her strength; in May's exact words, "I'm actually a living proof that you as a second, er, language learner could actually become fluent, too" (Jul.29.2015). This standpoint could not be adopted by 'innate' *neitibu*s but by 'acquired' ones. See Section 6.2 in the previous chapter for more on discussions about the advantages of so-called non-native English-speaking teachers in the field of ELT.

how widely English is used within the Philippines. The rationale by RareJob is provided below:

Visual Image

Country where English is daily used

The Philippines is the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK. English is used daily in life and education.

Figure 7.3: Part of the promotional materials on the RareJob website (RareJob, 2017)

As demonstrated in Figure 7.3, RareJob begins its rationale with the same statement as Tenori Eigo in order to claim the legitimacy of the Philippines: *"the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK."* Arranging the national flags of the three countries in a line, where the center is occupied by the Philippines's, also visually supports the provider's assertion that the country belongs to the same circle as the USA and the UK. RareJob then explains English use within the Philippines in the following way: *"English is used daily in life and education."* Yet, what this sentence in the passive voice lacks is 'who' uses English on a daily basis in the country. This concern seems to be closely connected with discussions about the ownership of English (e.g., Canagarajah, 1993, 1999a, 1999b; Lin et al., 2002; Matsuda, 2012; Phan, 2008; Rajagopalan, 2007; Widdowson, 1994).

As mentioned in Chapter 6, in the fields of applied linguistics and TESOL, with the global spread of English and also with the movement to go beyond the obsession with standard forms, it is often said that English is no longer owned by only so-called native speakers; it is frequently maintained that English is owned by all people using the language. However, considering the broader socio-political and cultural-political dimensions of language, the claim that English is everyone's property needs to be scrutinized carefully (Pennycook, 2012). Tupas (2006), whose main research site is exactly the Philippines, also stresses that the power to (re)create English is "mainly reserved only for those … who enjoy particular social privileges such as wealth, symbolic power, education, and so on, in their respective communities or societies" (pp. 169-170). In fact, Tupas's argument introduced above coincidentally corresponds to what RareJob states about their tutors in another part of its promotional materials:

(1)【Part of RareJob's promotional materials】
レアジョブ英会話ではこれまで日本の東大にあたるフィリピン大学を中心とした英語力や専門性の高い約 1 万名の講師を採用し、[…]。
RareJob has hired about ten thousand tutors, many of whom are [students or graduates of] the University of the Philippines, which is equivalent to the University of Tokyo in Japan, and who have a high degree of English proficiency and specialization […]. (RareJob, 2017)

In this excerpt, RareJob remarks that the university with which many of its tutors are/were affiliated is the University of the Philippines. In addition, the provider emphasizes the prominence of this educational facility by articulating that it is *"equivalent to the University of Tokyo,"* which is the most prestigious

institution within Japan.[43] This advertising suggests that not every Filipino can be a tutor of English, although RareJob writes on its website that the language *"is used daily"* in the Philippines (see Figure 7.3). To put it differently, in the Skype *eikaiwa* context, not only a speaker of 'quasi-American English' but also a student or a graduate of a prestigious university could claim the ownership of the language, simultaneously serving as a relevant tutor for learners in Japan.[44]

Thus, in Section 7.2, I have analyzed promotional materials presented by Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, and discussed the ways in which the Philippines and Filipino tutors are publicized through the texts and visual images. Based on the findings from this analysis and discussion, I have pointed out that the Philippines is set up as a legitimate country that can produce English tutors of high quality by paralleling it with the USA and the UK. I have also argued that in this process of claiming the legitimacy of the Philippines, Filipino tutors are discursively constituted as speakers of 'quasi-American English,' which connotes *neitibu* English. However, not all Filipinos can claim the ownership of this variety of English; only those who possess social privileges exemplified by high academic qualifications can enjoy it as well as the status of online English tutors.

Following this argument, in the next section, I concentrate on the consumers' perspective. More specifically, I investigate the ways in which the view of

[43] It is intriguing to compare this way of promoting Filipino tutors with promotional materials of franchised *eikaiwa* schools. While those *eikaiwa* schools are very proud of their teachers' *neitibu* nature, the schools have almost never referred to the teachers' universities. For those *eikaiwa* schools, what matters is whether their teachers are *neitibu*s rather than which university they graduated from.

[44] This trend is closely aligned with what happens in the offshore call center businesses within the Philippines (see Section 5.3 in the previous chapter for more on this concern).

Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English' or 'quasi-*neitibu* English' is reconceptualized through the consumers' discursive practices. I also examine the ways in which the notion of *kireina, chantoshita ego* is ideologically constituted in the course of this reconceptualization. To this end, I analyze not only narrative accounts generated through individual interviews with my participants but also customer reviews posted by registrants on the online platform (Kuchikomi Rankingu!).

7.3 *Chantoshita, kireina eigo*: The consumers' perspective

In order to explore consumers' reactions to the claims of legitimacy made by Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, I begin this section with interview findings concerning two of my employee participants: Atsuko and Momoyo. Both Atsuko and Momoyo were originally recruited as participants for the third research site, who could present their views on Ichigen's and Marufuku's EOCL policies, but their respective interviews extended into the recent popularity of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*. Although they themselves had never engaged with this new type of ELL at the time of the interviews, I consider that what they said about Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* helps us contemplate the language ideologies surrounding it.[45]

Atsuko works in a video game enterprise, where she is in charge of voice recording and editing. She often goes on a business trip to the USA and stays there for several weeks to work on English dubbing for her enterprise's video

[45] Both Atsuko and Momoyo have experience of attending franchised *eikaiwa* schools where the majority of the teachers are *neitibu*s. Atsuko has also taken online English lessons offered by *neitibu*s.

games. In the recording studio, she needs to interact with local sound directors and voice actors in English, which serves as the main reason for her engagement with ELL. Yet, because a Japanese-English interpreter always assists her during the recording, Atsuko is not really desperate to improve her English; according to her, she continues ELL, but on a much reduced scale. The following is an excerpt where she expresses her thoughts and feelings about learning English from Filipino tutors:

(2)【Jan.13.2015】A: Atsuko

A: […]フィリピンの人のレベルを知らないから、わかんないんだけど、でも、フィリピンの人がネイティブなんであれば、全然いいとは思う。[…]安く、その、フィリピンの人でも、英語がま、ちゃんとしゃべれる人と話せるんであれば、[いい。でも、][…]「英語学習」って言うかっていうと、ちょっとわかんない。例えばその、何だろう、文法を学びたいとかさ、例えばきれいな英語を学びたいとか、[…]ちゃんとした発音だとか、何か、そういうのを学ぶのがフィリピンのその安い英会話でできるのかどうかっていうと、私はわからない。

[...] I don't know because I have no idea about the level of Filipinos, but as long as they are *neitibu*s, I'm sure it's okay. [...] Cheap and er, even if [tutors are] Filipinos, as long as you can talk with people who speak, well, *chantoshita eigo*, [it's okay. But] [...] I'm not quite sure whether you can call [it] 'English learning.' For example, er, what to say, if you want to learn grammar or, for example, you want to learn *kireina eigo*, [...] *chantoshita* pronunciation or something like that, I'm not sure whether that cheap Filipino *eikaiwa* would do the job.

In this excerpt, Atsuko employs two particular Japanese modifiers to convey her thoughts and feelings about Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, Filipino tutors, and ELL in general: that is, *chantoshita* and *kireina*. Here, both terms need further explanation. First, if the modifier *chantoshita* were to be rendered into English, considering that it is used together with such words as '*eigo* (English)' and 'pronunciation,' the adjective 'proper' is the most appropriate. However, this Japanese modifier *chantoshita* bears several other meanings exemplified by

'correct,' 'decent,' 'legitimate,' 'suitable,' and 'tidy.' Consequently, Atsuko's statements "*people who speak, well,* chantoshita eigo*"* and *"if you want to learn […]* chantoshita *pronunciation"* exhibit more than 'proper English' and 'proper pronunciation.' *Chantoshita eigo*, for example, can sometimes signify 'correct English with legitimacy,' whereas at other times it may mean 'English suitable for a certain occasion.' Or it also has the great possibility of moving beyond the mere act of modifying the term 'English' itself and extending into describing a certain speaker of English; the modifier *chantoshita* could connote an "aesthetic" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 512) aspect of the speaker such as his/her 'decentness' and "tidiness.'

The other modifier *kireina* likewise carries multiple meanings. While its primary interpretation could be 'beautiful,' there are many other contenders such as 'clean,' 'clear,' 'fine,' 'graceful,' and 'pure' to name but a few. Taking into account that here, Atsuko uses the term *kireina* together with the word '*eigo* (English),' the nearest equivalent adjective is 'clear' and the overall translation of the phrase *kireina eigo* is deemed to be 'interference-free English.' However, again, given the other possible meanings introduced above, it can be argued that *kireina eigo* should express more than 'clear, interference-free English.' Depending on circumstances, it can indicate, for example, 'beautiful English,' simultaneously connoting 'cleanness' or 'gracefulness' of the speaker. Thus, the phrases *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo* are semantically complex, and also carry cultural-political connotations. I therefore consider it better to utilize the Japanese expressions as they are, rather than unreasonably translate them into English.

Bearing in mind this particular nature of *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo*, I return to Excerpt (2). In this excerpt, Atsuko does not talk about specific Filipino tutors. As can be seen in her disclaimer at the outset, she indeed has little knowledge of Filipinos; this narrative account is consequently her vague mental image of them.[46] Drawing on that image, Atsuko sets out two conditions for Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* to be acceptable: *"as long as [Filipinos] are* neitibu*s"* and *"as long as you can talk with people who speak, well,* chantoshita eigo*."* From these conditions, it can be deduced that Atsuko regards ordinary Filipinos as neither *neitibu*s nor speakers of *chantoshita eigo*. It can also be inferred that she consciously or unconsciously identifies *neitibu*s as speakers of *chantoshita eigo*. Additionally, what is intriguing about Atsuko's narrative account is that even if the second condition is fulfilled, that is to say, even if Filipino tutors speak *chantoshita eigo*, she still questions whether learning English from them is an apt choice; she adds, *"I'm not quite sure whether you can call [it] 'English learning'."* This is because, as Atsuko further states, she is concerned about the possibility that learners may not be able to acquire *"grammar," "*kireina eigo,*"* or *"*chantoshita *pronunciation"* through *"that cheap Filipino* eikaiwa.*"* Here, the constitutions of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English' or 'quasi-*neitibu* English' produced by the providers are challenged. To put it the other way round, Filipino tutors are reconstituted through Atsuko's discursive practice as not being able to teach grammar or as not speaking *kireina eigo* with *chantoshita* pronunciation, simultaneously conceptualizing this sort of English as belonging to *neitibu*s.

[46] Individual mental images are constituted through one's past and present, and direct and indirect social experiences. These images are also significant parts of language ideologies permeating the society.

This uncertainty about the legitimacy of Filipino tutors is also expressed by Momoyo. Like Atsuko, Momoyo was recruited as a participant for the third research site because she engages with English at work. Yet, as an assistant to patent attorneys, her engagement with the language focuses primarily on writing (translation of official documents). In addition, according to her, Momoyo has 'an obsession with "polite English"' and 'an allergy to foreigners.' Because of this, she always attempts to avoid situations in her daily life where she has to speak English. Below is the interaction between Momoyo and me immediately after I asked her whether she would like to try a lesson with a Filipino tutor:

(3)【Jan.21.2015】M: Momoyo / R: Researcher

M: それは、あれなんですよね、やっぱり。きれいな英語とか丁寧な英語をしゃべりたいと思う気持ちがあるので。つまり、完、完全な偏見なんですけど。
Well, you know. Because I desire to speak *kireina eigo* or polite English. I mean, [this is] com-, complete prejudice, though.

R: うん、うん。いいです、いいです。うん、うん。
Yeah, yeah. Never mind, go ahead. Yeah, yeah.

M: フィリピンとかの先生から教わる英語が本当に丁寧で、きれいな英語なのかなっていうのが一番最初に気になっちゃうので。なので、やっぱり、あのー、やりたいとは思わないですかねえ。[…]何か、こう、たぶん、「これは失礼じゃないんですか」って訊いて、「失礼じゃない」って言われても、「本当かな？」って思っちゃうと思うんで（笑）。
Because what I first get concerned about is whether the English taught by Filipino tutors is really polite and *kireina eigo*. So you know, er…, I don't want to try, I guess. […] Well, er, probably, let's suppose I ask [Filipino tutors], "Isn't this rude?" and they answer, "It's not rude." I'd wonder, "Is it really correct?" I guess (laugh).

In this excerpt, acknowledging that her own idea is biased, Momoyo questions *"whether the English taught by Filipino tutors is really polite and* kireina eigo*"* — it is notable that like Atsuko, Momoyo also adopts the phrase *kireina eigo* here.

According to her, because of this dubiety, she would not be convinced of, for example, the politeness of certain English usage even if Filipino tutors vouched for it. In relation to this narrative account, it may be interesting to introduce her reaction to Thayne's materials here. In the course of the interview, we also talked about self-help ELL books written by *neitibu*s, including Thayne, and she informed me that she had bought some of them. When I asked Momoyo about her thoughts and feelings about catchy titles, exemplified by *This English Offends Native [Speakers]* and *A Little Weird English from Japanese People*, she answered as shown in the following:

(4)【Jan.21.2015】M: Momoyo

M:「日本人の恥ずかしい英語」みたいなタイトルだと、もう（笑）。もし買わなかったとしても、すごい勢いで立ち読みすると思います（笑）。
[…] Titles such as *Embarrassing English from Japanese People* would [make me extremely curious] (laugh). Even if I don't buy the books, I'd seriously read them in the bookstore (laugh).

With this statement, as well as her remark about Filipino tutors, it can be argued that although Momoyo is willing to ask for *neitibus*' (for example, Thayne's) advice, she is not ready to listen to Filipino tutors. Here again, the constitutions of Filipinos as legitimate English tutors through the advertising of Skype *eikaiwa* is challenged. At the same time, the discourse of the *neitibu* as the best and most ideal teacher who speaks *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is perpetuated; in the case of Momoyo, *chantoshita, kireina eigo* also connotes 'polite English.'

It should be noted here, however, that although Atsuko and Momoyo often utilize the notions of *kireina eigo* and *chantoshita eigo*, they themselves do not have a very specific idea with regard to what they really mean by *chantoshita,*

kireina eigo. In particular, Atsuko seems to have a vague image about it:

(5)【Jan.13.2015】R: Researcher / A: Atsuko

R: じゃ、何か、いわゆる「きれいな英語」観みたいなのはある？
Then, well, do you have any particular view of so-called *'kireina eigo'*?

A: もちろん、だから、それがしゃべれればいいけど。でも、何か、アメリカに行って、あの一、一緒に仕事してても、すっげ一癖あるよねえっていう人とか一杯いて。[…]あの一、うん、そうだね、だから、別にきれいな英語が必要ではない（笑）。うーん、ま、もちろん、その、例えば声優さんとかをやるんであれば、きれいな英語じゃないとね、万人に受けなきゃいけないから、駄目だけど。[…]
Of course, you know, it'd be good if I could speak that [English]. […] But well, when I go to the USA and er…, work with people there, I meet a lot of people [speaking English] with a very strong accent. […] Er…, yeah, well, so *kireina eigo* isn't necessary (laugh). Uhhh, well, of course, er, for example, voice actors should speak *kireina eigo*, you know, because they should be accepted by everybody. […]

R: […]敦子さんの言う「きれいな英語」っていうのは声優さんたちが話しているような？
[…] What you call *'kireina eigo,'* is it like the one that voice actors speak, Atsuko-san?

A: ま、いわゆる、本当、あの、うん、何だろうな、訛りもなく、しゃべる、アメリカ人がしゃべる英語。私もそれがどうきれいなのか、よくわかんないけど。
Well, so-called, real, well, yeah, what is it, the English spoken by American people without any accent. I'm not quite sure how *kirei* it is, though.

This excerpt demonstrates that Atsuko does not directly answer my first question about her view of *kireina eigo*. Instead, she informs me that if possible, she would like to be able to speak *kireina eigo* and starts talking about her experiences in the USA. Because in the excerpt, she mentions that voice actors should be speakers of *kireina eigo*, I ask her again about her thoughts in a different manner: *"What you call 'kireina eigo,' is it like the one that voice actors speak?"* Then, she finally answers that *kireina eigo* means *"the English spoken by*

American people without any accent." However, she quickly adds, *"I'm not quite sure how* kirei *it is, though."* This interaction shows that Atsuko's view of *kireina eigo* is based on a very hazy image rather than specific grounds. Nevertheless, this very image definitely operates when Atsuko considers whether she will try Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, challenging the discursive constitutions of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English' or 'quasi-*neitibu* English.' Simultaneously, her mental image of *kireina eigo* — even if she cannot adequately explain what it is — forms a close association with *"the English spoken by American people,"* which reinforces the ideological position of the *neitibu*.

Next, in order to further explore the notion of *chantoshita, kireina eigo*, I introduce four online customer reviews written by Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* registrants. The registrants are a 29-year-old housewife, a 34-year-old female office worker, a 34-year-old male office worker, and a 44-year-old male office worker in the order of the customer reviews below:[47]

(6)【Mar.04.2014 (retrieved)】
訛りやアクセントが心配でしたが、想像以上にキレイな英語だった[…]。
I had been worried about [tutors'] accent, but they spoke more *kireina eigo* than I had imagined [...].

(7)【Mar.04.2014 (retrieved)】
[…]発音はどの先生もきれいでフィリピン特有のなまりが気になりません。
[...] The pronunciation of every tutor is *kirei* and I don't notice any accent peculiar to the Philippines.

[47] As explained in Chapter 4, unlike Amazon.co.jp and Rakuten Ichiba, Kuchikomi Rankingu! provides information about reviewers' occupations, ages, and genders, as filled out voluntarily by them. Yet, this online platform does not indicate when their comments were posted. I consequently present the date on which I retrieved the comments.

(8)【Mar.04.2014 (retrieved)】

あまり期待をしていなかったのですが、ネイティブ同様の正しいアクセントで話され［…］。［…］非常に満足です。

I hadn't expected much, but [my tutors] spoke with the same correct accent as *neitibu*s did […]. […] I'm very satisfied.

(9)【Mar.04.2014 (retrieved)】

何人かの先生と会話したのですが、やはりフィリピン人特有の発音で聞き取れない先生が多かったです。

I talked with several tutors. As expected, [I noticed] pronunciation peculiar to Filipinos in many of the tutors, which made it impossible to catch [what they said].

These customer reviews contain several important aspects to be addressed. First, as shown in Reviews (6) and (7), the modifier *kireina* (or its original form *kirei*) is often employed when Filipino tutors' English is depicted (the term is also adopted in some other customer reviews within my data set). However, Reviews (6) and (7) are different from Atsuko's and Momoyo's narrative accounts introduced above. While in their narrative accounts, Filipino tutors are constituted as speakers of non-*kireina eigo*, both the reviewers use the modifier *kirei(na)* to explain the tutors in a favorable manner. Reviewer (6) writes, *"[T]hey [= Filipino tutors] spoke more* kireina eigo *than I had imagined,"* whereas Reviewer (7) expresses, *"The pronunciation of every tutor is* kirei*."*

In particular, what is noteworthy about Reviewer (6) is that she appears to have changed her mind after the lessons. As demonstrated in her comment, Reviewer (6) *"had been worried about [tutors'] accent"* before she started to engage with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*. Yet, through her first-hand experiences of interacting with the tutors during the lessons, she has come to perceive their

English as more *kirei* than she anticipated. This sort of attitudinal transition can also be witnessed in Review (8). The reviewer begins his comment with the statement *"I hadn't expected much"*; however, within the same comment, he eventually writes that *"I'm very satisfied."* Moreover, by posting the sentence that *"[my tutors] spoke with the same correct accent as* neitibu*s did […]),"* he also helps reinforce the providers' discursive constitutions of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-*neitibu* English.'

That being said, I do not intend to strongly argue here that actual interaction with Filipino tutors encourages people with uncertainty about the legitimacy of the tutors to alter their evaluation. Of course, as epitomized by Reviewers (6) and (8), direct experiences of communicating with the tutors could help registrants adjust their preconceptions. Yet, at the same time, there are also those who still have a negative impression toward Filipino tutors even after attending the lessons offered. Reviewer (9), for example, writes in his comment that *"[a]s expected, [I noticed] pronunciation peculiar to Filipinos in many of the tutors."* Here, the phrase *"[a]s expected"* suggests that the reviewer anticipated *"pronunciation peculiar to Filipinos"* before the lessons and actually recognized it while interacting with the tutors. Additionally, according to Reviewer (9), this 'marked' pronunciation of the tutors interfered in his understanding of what they said.

Thus, consumers' reactions to providers' claims of legitimacy regarding Filipino tutors are complicated; the reactions show contradictions or ambivalence based on the consumers' immediate experiences of the lessons as well as their mixed thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about such ideological notions as *chantoshita eigo*,

kireina eigo, and the *neitibu*. In this context, what matters is not to examine whether the judgements formed by the reviewers as well as Atsuko and Momoyo are accurate or not. Rather, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, it is vital to explore how particular ideological notions such as *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo* are discursively constituted and also utilized to produce, reinforce, or challenge the view that specific English speakers (Filipino tutors in this case) are legitimate/illegitimate.

In relation to Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* and the notions of *chantoshita eigo, kireina eigo,* and *neitibu* English, I provide final narrative accounts, which indicate that *neitibu* English is not necessarily perceived to be ideal and help us reconsider its veneration. The accounts are excerpts from my interview data with Toru, a student at Chiyoda University, and Koji, an employee in Ichigen.

As explained in Chapter 3, in the *zemi* (research seminar) to which Toru belonged at the time of the interview, it was mandatory for the members to take a 50-minute English lesson offered by a Filipino tutor via Skype every week. They were also required to participate in a one-month study tour to the Philippines, where they took an intensive English program. In the course of the interview, Toru expressed his first impression about the study tour to the Philippines in this way: "最初は[…]例えばアメリカとかオーストラリアとかじゃなくて、「フィリピンなんだ」って思ったんですけど[…] (At first, [...] I thought, 'It's the Philippines [that we are going to].' Not the USA or Australia, for example […])" (Jun.17.2015). However, after the weekly online lessons in Japan and the first-hand experience of learning English in the Philippines, he altered:

(10)【Jun.17.2015】T: Toru

T: […]でも、まあ、行ってみたら、大丈夫でした。[…]はっきり話してくれるっていうか、その一、英語圏、まあ、いわゆるアメリカとかに住んでいる人の英語よりは聞きやすいかなあっていうイメージがあります。[…]フィリピンの英語はすごい聞きやすいなあっていう感じでした。
[...] But well, I found it okay when I went there. [...] [The tutors] try to speak clearly or er..., I have the impression that [their English] is easier to understand, compared with the English spoken by people living in English-speaking countries, well, say, the USA. [...] I felt that the English in the Philippines was very easy to understand.

In this excerpt, Toru depicts his Filipino tutors' English as *"very easy to understand."* His attitudinal transition such as this (from questioning the legitimacy of Filipino tutors to feeling satisfied with their teaching) is closely aligned with that of Reviewers (6) and (8). What is also noteworthy about Toru's narrative account above is that he even compares his Filipino tutors' English with that of *neitibus* (*"people living in English-speaking countries"* epitomized by *"the USA"*) and describes the former as *"**easier** to understand."* In a similar manner, when Koji and I were discussing the difficulties he had experienced concerning English interaction, especially those related to listening comprehension, he stated:

(11)【Jan.05.2015】K: Koji

K: いや、やっぱり今でもなんか、結局、会話とか怖いですし。[…]いや、やっぱり聞いててもわかんないこと、多いですよ。[…]インド人の英語とかもわかんないし。メキシコ人もわかんないですよね。スペイン語系のあの巻き舌の発音もわかんないし。で、あと、アメリカ人がわかりやすいかっていうと、結構そうでもない。
Well, you know, even now, I'm afraid of conversation in the end. [...] Well, you know, I often don't understand what I'm listening to. [...] I don't understand anything like Indian English. I don't understand Mexican English, either. I don't understand that trilled 'r' of Spanish origin. But I don't agree that Americans are easy to understand, either.

In this excerpt, Koji displays a lack of confidence in English conversation. In particular, he confesses that he perceives himself as deficient in listening skills by repeating the negative sentence pattern *"I don't understand …"* as many as four times: *"I often don't understand what I'm listening to," "I don't understand anything like Indian English," "I don't understand Mexican English, either,"* and *"I don't understand that trilled 'r' of Spanish origin."* What is also intriguing about Koji's explanation about his own deficiency in listening comprehension is that in addition to these varieties of English, he articulates that *"I don't agree that Americans are easy to understand, either."*

This narrative account, as well as Toru's statement that Filipino tutors' English is *"easier to understand"* than that of *neitibu*s, provides us with an opportunity to question the glorification of *neitibu* English. As has so far been discussed in this chapter, it is true that the notion of *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is ideologically constituted through people's discursive practices and in the process of this ideological constitution, *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is occasionally juxtaposed with *neitibu* English. Furthermore, this ideological construct of *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is frequently employed to legitimatize or illegitimatize particular English speakers, especially Filipino tutors. However, in real life, *neitibu* English itself is not always perceived to be easy to understand; for some people such as Toru and Koji, the English can be hard to follow. To put it differently, while *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is conceptually connected with *neitubu* English and is often celebrated, practically *neitibu* English itself is not always ideal; the glorification of *neitibu* English is not absolute.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, providing a focus to Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, I have explored the process of the ideological constitutions of *chantoshita, kireina eigo*. As the first step in this exploration, I have analyzed promotional materials offered by Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers and examined the ways in which the notion of the *neitibu* is utilized when the legitimacy of Filipino tutors is claimed. Through this analysis and examination, I have argued that although the providers do not directly employ the term *neitibu*, they indirectly take advantage of its power by juxtaposing the Philippines with the USA and the UK or by associating Filipino tutors' English with American English. In this advertising context, what matters is not so much whether these claims are true or false as how they produce effects of truth (Foucault, 1980). Indeed, given the current flourishing Skype *eikaiwa* business in Japan, the providers' plausible depictions of the Philippines as the country that *"has the third largest English-speaking population"* or as *"the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK"* can be seen to work efficiently, regardless of their truth or falsehood.

In relation to this, what should be noted here is that the recent popularity of Skype *eikaiwa,* where the Philippines is set up as a country with legitimacy enough to produce excellent English teachers and Filipinos are constituted as speakers of 'quasi-American English,' does not necessarily contribute to redressing the boundary between *neitibu*s who work in franchised *eikaiwa* schools and Filipino online tutors. This is because for Filipinos to be able to work in Japan's Skype *eikaiwa* industry (in the international field of ELT as well),

their ability to speak 'quasi-American English' does not suffice. Possessing high academic qualifications exemplified by graduation from a prestigious university serves as another 'must' for them to be qualified to teach English (see page 192 for the emphasis on the University of the Philippines in RareJob's promotional materials). This extra condition is almost never witnessed in the advertisements of franchised *eikaiwa* schools, where what matters is whether their teachers are *neitibu*s or not rather than which universities they graduated from. The additional condition also reminds us of the reality that in a similar manner to offshore call centers, the context of Skype *eikaiwa* tutoring may widen the wealth gap between those who have social privileges and the rest of the Philippines, simultaneously "reaffirming different forms of inequality between speakers of Englishes" (Tupas & Salonga, 2016, p. 368).

Following this discussion with regard to promotional materials, I have then paid closer attention to the consumers' perspective. In specific terms, drawing on my interviewees' narrative accounts as well as registrants' online customer reviews, I have investigated the ways in which they react to the claims of legitimacy concerning the Philippines and Filipino tutors made by the providers. In particular, I have explored the ways in which my interviewees and the reviewers engage in the act of constituting the notions of *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo* in the course of reproducing, reinforcing, or challenging the providers' promotion of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English.'

The findings suggest several crucial considerations. First, they demonstrate that through discursive practices of some participants such as Atsuko and Momoyo, the constitutions of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English' are

challenged. In contrast, through these participants' talk about Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, Filipino tutors are reconstituted as not being able to teach grammar or speak *kireina eigo* with *chantoshita* pronunciation. At the same time, this sort of English is conceptualized as belonging to the *neitibu* and the discourse of the *neitibu* as the most ideal teacher is reinforced. However, what is interesting about Atsuko and Momoyo is that neither of them has a concrete idea with regard to what really indicates *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo*. Their views of *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo* are based on vague images rather than particular grounds. Nevertheless, these very images function adequately when they provide their own thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* and Filipino tutors, which simultaneously contributes to perpetuating the ideological status of the *neitibu*.

Second, the findings show that those who have actually tried lessons offered by Filipino tutors also present contradictions or ambivalence based on their first-hand experiences of the lessons as well as their mixed thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about the English language (particularly pronunciation). For example, direct experiences of communicating with Filipino tutors have consolidated some registrants' rather negative feelings toward the tutors; in Reviewer (9)'s exact words, *"I [noticed]* ***pronunciation peculiar to Filipinos*** *in many of the tutors, which* ***made it impossible to catch [what they said]****."* Conversely, other registrants epitomized by Reviewers (6) and (8) have amended their preconceived views about Filipino tutors and describe them as speaking *"more* kireina eig*o than I […] imagined"* or as speaking English *"with the same correct accent as* neitibu*s […]."* Here, it is noteworthy that like Atsuko and Momoyo, both the reviewers adopt terms such as *kireina eigo* and *neitibu*s. This trend indicates

that although *chantoshita, kireina eigo* (as well as *neitibu* English) is an ideological construct, it is recurrently utilized to sometimes strengthen, and at other times question, the view that specific English and its speakers are authentic. This repeated utilization ultimately results in the legitimation of *chantoshita, kireina eigo* as particular truth (Foucault, 1980; Kubota, 2011a; Pennycook, 2007a, 2007b), "serving as discursive force in daily life" (Doerr, 2009b, p. 32).

Finally, the findings, in particular the narrative accounts produced by Toru and Koji, provide us with an opportunity to reconsider the glorification of *neitibu* English. As summarized above, notions such as *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina eigo* are ideologically constituted through discursive practices while occasionally being associated with *neitibu* English. The notions are also deployed to judge particular English and its speakers as legitimate/illegitimate. Yet, Toru's statement that Filipino tutors' English is *"**easier** to understand"* than that of *"people living in English-speaking countries"* such as *"the USA"* and Koji's articulation that *"I **don't agree** that Americans are easy to understand"* suggest that in real life, *neitibu* English itself is not necessarily perceived to be easy to follow. To put it differently, at a conceptual level, the notions of *chantoshita eigo* and *kireina ego* are ideologically constituted as equivalent to *neitibu* English and are frequently celebrated; at a practical level, however, *neitibu* English is not always ideal. Thus, Toru's and Koji's narrative accounts encourage us to be aware of the reality that the veneration of *neitibu* English is not absolute. This awareness will contribute to better comprehension of people's complicated and conflicting thoughts, beliefs, and feelings about the English language and its speakers.

Chapter 7 has brought the analyses and discussions to a close. In Chapter 8, I assemble the findings and arguments of the study, revisiting the research questions introduced in Chapter 1. I then conclude this thesis with a presentation of the implications that have emerged from the study, especially in terms of foreign language education and language studies.

Chapter 8

Concluding the Study

8.1 Introduction

As indicated in the title of this thesis, the dual purpose of my research project is to investigate the process of the ideological constitutions of English and its speakers in Japan, and to develop the idea of 'engagement with English' for better comprehension of people's relations to the language. In this concluding chapter, I bring together the findings and arguments that have been presented to achieve the purpose of the project. I begin this consolidation with an assertion of the significance attached to the proposition of the idea of engagement.

8.2 Significance of the idea of engagement

In this thesis, I have employed the term 'engagement' to describe the complicated interconnections among my participants, the English language, and the ideologies concerning the language. This is primarily because, as has been discussed throughout the thesis, especially in Chapters 4 and 5, the participants' practices in relation to English often go beyond what language use and language learning mean in the traditional sense. Even if they are involved, for example, in an activity normally called ELL, what they expect from it (e.g., self-development and male gratification) is divergent from the commonly shared view on language learning achievement epitomized by an improvement in linguistic

skills. In addition, as the mixed variety of data generated from the multiple sites have demonstrated, my participants actively react to or discuss English-related issues (e.g., EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises and notions such as the *neitibu*, 'correct English,' and *chantoshita, kireina ego*) as well as ELL-related products or services (e.g., Thayne's self-help ELL books and Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons).

In past language studies, these discursive practices have seldom been covered in the category of language use. The reason for this is that language use is generally considered to stand for listening, speaking, reading, and writing in a particular language. Yet, once we take Seargeant's (2009) argument seriously that "we *talk* not only via language but also *about language*" (p. 1; emphasis added), in addition to the ways in which English is locally appropriated in Japan (recall illustrations such as 'STLIGHT' and 'I LOVE YOU SO MATCHA' introduced in Chapter 1), we should be aware of other crucial aspects of language and the need to reconsider the conventional view of language use. In this study, I have therefore expanded the notion of language use (and that of language learning as well), developing the idea of engagement; the idea of engagement includes not only English use and ELL in a narrow sense but also the local appropriation of the language and reactions to or discussions on English-related and ELL-related issues. Here, I argue that this thesis is highly significant in that it has shed light on what remains unexplored in the existing scholarly literature on language studies, forwarded the novel perspective of 'engagement with English,' and afforded an empirical exemplar of how else people's relations to the language can be grasped.

Bearing this significance of the thesis in mind, I reiterate the four research questions of the study here:

1. How do people engaging with English in Japan understand the language?
2. What language ideologies inform their engagements with English and how do these engagements produce different ideologies?
3. How do the language ideologies reinforce or challenge the established categorization of language and native/non-native speakers?
4. What implications for foreign language education and language studies can be drawn from our understandings of these engagements and ideologies?

To address these research questions, I have critically analyzed the mixed set of data produced from the three research sites (self-help ELL books, Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons, and EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises) and attempted to untangle the relationships between my participants' engagements with English and the language ideologies surrounding the engagements. In the next sections, I summarize the findings and arguments of the study, and discuss the implications specifically from the perspectives of foreign language education and language studies.

8.3 Research questions 1 and 2

8.3.1 Engagements with English for self-development

Language learning has normally been regarded as the act of acquiring or improving linguistic skills of a target language. To sharpen metalanguage or raise an awareness of cultural aspects related to the target language has also often been considered as a crucial component of language learning, especially foreign language learning. These interpretations are clearly reflected in the overall objective of foreign language education (substantially ELT) declared by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in Japan: "To develop students' basic communication abilities such as listening, speaking, reading and writing, deepening their understanding of language and culture and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages" (MEXT, 2008, p. 1).

While the view of foreign language learning mentioned above is shared by my participants, detailed analysis of the data has revealed that their engagements with English are more than mere ELL in this established sense. As has been demonstrated in Chapter 4, one of the noteworthy purposes of being involved in English is to stimulate the growth of the whole person. Within this specific practice, the participants wish to realize that they are developing themselves through ELL and simply by engaging in this development, as well as (or perhaps rather than) what they have actually learned, can their purpose be achieved. In Chapter 4, I have therefore proposed the idea of 'engagements with English for self-development.'

Engagements with English for self-development might correspond with ELL as a leisure activity (e.g., Kubota, 2011b, 2011c). The reason for this is that both have a tendency to focus relatively little on the acquisition of English linguistic skills.

Yet, engagements with English for self-development slightly differ from ELL as a leisure activity in that what drives my participants to be devoted to English or ELL is not so much the pursuit of fun or companionship as a sense of obligation to grow. For those who engage with English for self-development, ELL functions as a 'self-help' practice that could assist them in ensuring physical and mental well-being or enhancing their quality of life; this particular understanding of English or ELL is exemplified by Osamu's statement that books (including ELL materials) that accompany his learning are *"vitamin tablets."* Thus, in Chapter 4, I have argued that for deeper comprehension of people's diverse engagements with English in Japan, it is important and necessary to carefully explore this dimension of self-development, in addition to the notion of language learning as a leisure activity.

My data have also suggested that whether people's engagements with English stem from aspirations for the growth of the whole person or those simply for pleasure, their selection of English is never unrelated to the hegemonic position or symbolic image of the language (e.g., Seargeant, 2009). Their selection is also inextricably connected with prevailing language ideologies such as the discourse of English as a/the default global lingua franca and the early start fallacy. What should be borne in mind in relation to this argument is that people's engagements with English do not exist in a socio-political, cultural-political, or ideological vacuum; the seemingly personal domain of self-development cannot be viewed outside the larger forces. In consequence, we should take the perspective of macro forces seriously when conducting critical studies on English, ELT, and ELL, although we also need to detach ourselves from leaning too much on macro-societal theoretical frameworks so as not to

get involved in determinism (Pennycook, 2001, 2007a).

In Chapter 4, I have pointed out as well that the attempt not to lose sight of macro forces leads us to discuss people's engagements with English for self-development in relation to the permeation of neoliberalism and its subsequent impact on language, language education, and language learning. In particular, for those who work in so-called 'global' enterprises such as Ichigen and Marufuku, the notion of linguistic skills as human capital, which is a telling language ideology promoted in the globalized new economy, does matter. However, close analysis of my employee participants' narrative accounts has indicated that even in Ichigen and Marufuku, where English has been adopted as their official corporate language, there is a gap between the top-down policies and the participants' own Japanese-dominated workplace communication. Moreover, the role of English in these enterprises is much more complex than a business lingua franca.

In the complicated intersection of neoliberalism, the enterprises' desires to enhance or maintain their global business competitiveness, and the prevalent discourse of English as the primary language of business, Ichigen and Marufuku have enacted the EOCL policies. It cannot be denied that under such policies, English could serve as a/the lingua franca in transnational workplaces. However, as has been discussed in Chapter 4, with these internal language policies operating, the thing called English is discursively constituted as an ideological product, and its imagined importance and necessity have been inculcated on the employees (and similarly on the general public). Due to this inculcation, the employees are driven to study English continuously; they are especially urged to

prepare for the TOEIC. Yet, this sort of ELL is not for genuinely improving their English proficiency. Rather, it is aimed, for example, at receiving promotion or proving that they are ideal, promising, and dogged workers. I have concluded Chapter 4 with the argument that under these circumstances, the employees ideologically internalize self-development as a good and necessary deed for human beings (an aspect of what Foucault (1988, 1997) calls 'technologies of the self'), and English, ELL, and the TOEIC play an active role in promoting the ideological internalization, although some of the employees mount resistance to this sort of (self-)coercion.

8.3.2 Engagements with English for male gratification

In Chapter 5, as another notable way of being devoted to English that is beyond the narrower definitions of language use and language learning, I have focused on Japanese male participants' involvement in Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*. In the chapter, in order to better understand this particular involvement, I have presented and discussed the new idea of 'engagements with English for male gratification.' Through this discussion, I have argued that for the Japanese male participants, online *eikaiwa* lessons offered from the Philippines via Skype can serve as not only a learning space where they improve their English proficiency but also an occasion to gratify themselves by chatting with Filipina tutors. Analysis of the data has indicated as well that while some of these men only enjoy the chats, others feel that the very existence of their favorite female tutors helps them maintain a strong motive for studying English continuously; of the men, there are even those who seriously have a romantic passion for a specific tutor, resulting in booking her lessons persistently or wishing to meet her

privately beyond the learning space.

Despite the differences in the expectations of Filipina tutors held by the male participants, there is a particular feature commonly seen in all the men: that is, verbalization of Filipina tutors in distinctly gendered and sexualized ways, such as *"young and beautiful," "cute girls,"* and *"as well-proportioned as a model."* In Chapter 5, I have pointed out that these kinds of expressions convincingly show that the men have a special interest in whether their tutors are attractive as women rather than whether they are informative as English instructors. I have also argued that the male participants' engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* in this particular way and their discursive practices concerning the engagements result in ideological objectifications and constitutions of the female tutors as intimate, affectionate, and romanticized entities.

The Japanese men's engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa*, that is to say their relationship to Filipina tutors in this educational sector, reminds us of that of Japanese women to Western male teachers in franchised *eikaiwa* schools. This is because both learners tend to view their teachers/tutors in highly gendered and sexualized ways, and both *eikaiwa* schools and Skype *eikaiwa* providers indeed make use of their teachers'/tutors' visual images in their promotional materials to allure learners of the opposite sex (see Figures 5.1-5.3). In Chapter 5, acknowledging this parallel, I have sought to capture the major differences between previous studies on gender concerns in franchised *eikaiwa* schools and what currently happens within the Skype *eikaiwa* sector. To put it differently, I have argued that although what is going on in franchised *eikaiwa* schools is predominantly underpinned by Japanese women's *akogare*

(longing/desire), the gendered and sexualized constitutions of Filipina tutors within the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector are rather grounded on Japanese men's sense of masculinity as well as the tutors' femininity that is also constituted through the men's discursive practices.

In relation to this argument, I have also pointed out in Chapter 5 that it is more significant to situate my participants' engagements with English for male gratification within the long-established sex-mediated link between Japanese men and Filipinas. As has been exemplified by a number of existing gender studies, various forms of Japanese men's exploitation of Filipinas have been reported; classic examples are sex tours to the Philippines, Philippine pubs within Japan, and arranged international marriages between a (rural) Japanese man and a Filipina. What can be argued in connection with this trend is that in Japan, there is a breeding ground in which Filipinas are physically and morally objectified on the basis of their sexuality and femininity. I have also suggested that this sort of breeding ground is sturdily underpinned by economic disparities between Japan and the Philippines, and between Japanese men and Filipinas; Japanese people's particular attitudes toward Asian others also matter. In sum, although Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* is a recent fashion, the gender and race concerns within this educational sector are not new; rather, they are a refashioning of pre-existent unequal relationships between Japan and the Philippines, and between Japanese men and Filipinas (Tajima, 2018a). In Chapter 5, I have argued that researchers and language educators should realize the fact that these economic disparities, along with the development of telecommunication tools and neoliberalism, have fostered Japanese men's engagements with English for male gratification, yielding tremendous benefits

for Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers owned and run by Japanese people.

I have concluded Chapter 5 with the argument that my participants' engagements with English for male gratification do not necessarily exist independently; on the contrary, for some participants, these engagements and ELL for self-development discussed in Chapter 4 frequently overlap each other. For example, Osamu, a former manager in Marufuku, engages in ELL not only from the necessity to maintain his English proficiency as a promising worker in the 'globalized' world but also from a sense of obligation to improve himself as a whole person. To this end, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Osamu has so far utilized a wide variety of self-help ELL books, including Thayne's materials. At the same time, in the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* context, in order to enjoy his ELL (or what can be called 'endless, solitary self-development endeavor') as greatly as possible, he intends to select *"cute girls"* based on Filipina tutors' photos. Thus, for Osamu, engagements with English for self-development and those for male gratification are not divisible but intertwined; the meaning of his engaging in the language is also multifaceted. In Chapter 5, I have suggested that, as researchers and language educators, we should be very much aware of this intertwinement and multifacetedness of people's engagements with English in the contemporary world; careful investigations into this phenomenon would help us to more deeply understand the complicated process of (re)production and (re)constitution of pre-existing and new ideologies regarding English and its speakers.

8.4 Research question 3: The *neitibu* and *chantoshita, kireina eigo*

In Chapters 6 and 7, I have focused on exploring the ways in which the thing called English and its speakers are ideologically constituted through my participants' engagements with the language and their discursive practices regarding the engagements. Particularly in Chapter 6, drawing on the contents of a paperback and a comic book written by Thayne (the PB and the CB), a narrative account produced by the editor of the PB (Mr. Morimoto), and customer reviews about the two ELL books posted on online bookstores, I have examined the ways in which the *neitibu* is conceptualized among the sellers (Thayne and Mr. Morimoto) and the users (reviewers). In the course of this examination, I have first argued that by the sellers, through a variety of semiotic resources such as texts and visual images (see Figures 6.2-6.4), the notion of the *neitibu* is discursively constituted as someone who is a speaker of 'correct English' and is also qualified to judge whether particular English is 'correct,' based on his/her intuition. I have thereafter pointed out that by presenting this specific conceptualization of the *neitibu* in interconnection with 'correctness,' the sellers ideologically frame the English spoken by Japanese people as 'offensive' or 'weird,' which has a very real effect on users in that they feel concerned about their own English usage. This ideological framing or what can be called the sellers' intentional sales strategy is exemplified by Mr. Morimoto's narrative account: *"When people see [the book] in the bookstore (laugh), they break into a cold sweat. I aimed at that kind of feeling," "I aimed to make an impact,"* and *"[…] I did do that [= putting the term* neitibu *in the title] completely on purpose."*

On the other hand, analysis of the customer reviews has displayed the struggle the users have with the notion of the *neitibu*. The analysis has revealed that the users occasionally celebrate, and at other times counter, the sellers' ideological constitutions of the *neitibu*, based on their own views about English, ELT, and ideal English teachers. In particular, the contrast between 'correct *neitibu* English' and 'offensive/weird school English' in the PB and the CB is reproduced by some users who praise Thayne as an informative *neitibu* teacher, whereas the sellers' great stress on 'correct *neitibu* English' is repudiated by others who consider it inappropriate to judge what is 'correct' and what is 'offensive/weird' by only relying on Thayne's criterion. These users even problematize his status as a *neitibu*. The critiques originate primarily from linguistic reasons, but these critical customer reviewers often move beyond linguistics, bringing in social and ethical components. A good example of this is a female reviewer's way of rationalizing her skeptical view on Thayne's status as a *neitibu*; according to her customer review, Thayne is no more a genuine *neitibu* due to his long residence in Japan away from the USA. In Chapter 6, I have argued that this sort of public struggle among the users on online bookstores clearly demonstrates that the positionality of Thayne is not fixed but constantly negotiated. This argument also suggests that the notion of the *neitibu* is socially, culturally, and ideologically (re)constituted through people's discursive practices (Faez, 2011a, 2011b; Tajima, 2018b; Toh, 2013).

As ideological constitutions of the *neitibu* mattered in Chapter 6, those of *chantoshita, kireina eigo* were of great consequence when I addressed my participants' engagements with Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* in Chapter 7. In the chapter, drawing primarily on promotional materials presented by

Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* providers, I have first investigated the ways in which the legitimacy of Filipino tutors is claimed in this educational sector. Through this investigation, I have argued that many of the providers rationalize the Philippines by lining it up alongside the USA and the UK, which are generally deemed to be the two top English-speaking countries; the most prominent manner of doing this is to describe the Philippines as having *"the third largest English-speaking population"* or as being *"the third-ranking English-as-an-official-language country in the world after the USA and the UK."* I have also pointed out that in the course of this rationalization, the providers depict their Filipino tutors' English as *"close to American English"* or "*ha[ving] been accepted by American consumers,"* thus discursively constituting the tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English' and simultaneously asserting their eminence. As has been discussed in Chapter 7, what is vital with regard to these discursive constitutions is not whether the claims are true or false; rather, it matters how they produce the effects of truth (Foucault, 1980). Given the current increasing popularity of Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* in Japan, it can be argued that the claims have had a very real effect on registrants.

Following the analysis and discussion above regarding promotional materials, I have then examined the ways in which the consumers react to these claims of legitimacy made by the providers. Through this examination, I have suggested that my participants engage in the act of conceptualizing *chantoshita, kireina eigo* in the process of reproducing or challenging the providers' constitutions of Filipino tutors as speakers of 'quasi-American English.' I have also argued that the notion of *chantoshita, kireina eigo* is ambivalent and negotiable; for some participants such as Atsuko and Momoyo, *chantoshita, kireina eigo* parallels

neitibu English, while for others, epitomized by online reviewers, the English that they have perceived to be easy to follow could be *chantoshita, kireina eigo*. In either way, this specific Japanese expression is repeatedly adopted to sometimes reinforce, and at other times challenge, the view of particular English speakers/tutors as authentic. I have suggested that this recurrent adoption ultimately results in legitimatizing *chantoshita, kireina eigo* as particular truth (Foucault, 1980; Kubota, 2011a; Pennycook, 2007a, 2007b). That being said, while *chantoshita, kireina eigo*, which occasionally parallels *neitibu* English, is lionized, *neitibu* English itself is not necessarily perceived to be ideal. I have concluded the chapter with the argument that the veneration of *neitibu* English is not absolute.

8.5 Research question 4: Implications of the study

Following the summary of the findings and arguments above, I conclude this thesis with discussions concerning the implications of the study. They are addressed particularly in terms of foreign language education and language studies.

8.5.1 Implications for foreign language education

As has frequently been pointed out by researchers such as Gottlieb (2012) and Nakamura (2004), successive foreign language education policies in Japan have placed English in a predominant position. Despite the utilization of the term 'foreign language,' the current sets of Courses of Study for junior and senior high schools developed by the Japanese government suggest that English should be selected and taught in principle (MEXT, 2008, 2009). This suggestion indicates

that although English is an elective subject under the label of 'foreign language education,' the selection of the language is practically compulsory. In other words, the term 'foreign language' is almost synonymous with English in public education, which makes other foreign languages invisible to students (Gottlieb, 2012; Nakamura, 2004). Other studies such as Yamagami and Tollefson (2011) and Matsuda (2011) also argue that the government designs foreign language education policies based on the following premise: English is the most important international language, and therefore ELT should be particularly emphasized. This premise is obviously reflected in the latest ELT reform plan entitled "English education reform plan corresponding to globalization" (MEXT, 2013). Its main propositions are that the commencement of ELT in public education should be brought forward by two years; lessons in junior high schools should be conducted entirely in English; and more foreign assistant language teachers should be hired. It has been approximately four years since MEXT released this reform plan, and some of the third and fourth graders at elementary schools are about to officially begin their ELL on an experimental basis in April, 2018 under the name of 'foreign language activities.'

The government's exclusive focus on English also exerts a decisive effect on individuals. Because of the English-oriented policies mentioned above and also due to regret over past ELL experiences (see Chapter 6 for more on discussions regarding the popular symbolic and metaphoric expression 'This is a pen,' which implies that ELT in school settings was and still is not useful), a certain number of parents are eager to choose their children's schools based on the quality of ELT offered. In response to this trend, schools, especially private schools, attempt to publicize their ELT, making use of catchy keywords such as '*neitibu*,'

'practical communication abilities,' 'study abroad tours,' 'the *eiken* (the most popular test of practical English proficiency in Japan),' and 'the TOEIC' (Tajima, 2014). These attractive words help further enhance public attention to ELL, and this attention (as well as the demand from financial and industrial circles) in turn occupies a large part of the justification for the next ELT reforms. Thus, policy discourses, school advertisements, and public enthusiasm for English operate together, contributing to the reinforcement of what McVeigh (2002) calls "the national obsession with English" (p. 150).

As an investigator conducting this research project, I myself often grasped the parents' desires to have their children achieve a high level of fluency in English while interviewing my participants. Regarding his nine-year-old daughter, for example, Yasushi stated, "うん、やっぱり、どっかで留学させたいなと思っていて。[…]やっぱり、現地とかの、もう、あの一、退路を断たないと(笑)、ものにならないと。親と一緒で(笑) (Well, you know, I want to get her to study abroad someday. […] You know, in an overseas country, er…, I should cut off her escape route (laugh); otherwise [her English] would come to nothing. The same as mine (laugh))" (Jan.10.2015). Shota likewise displayed his eagerness to teach English to his daughter, who was under one year of age. According to him, because he recently felt that he was stagnating in ELL, he was losing his motivation to improve his own English skills: "僕はもう、ちょっとあきらめた(笑) (I've, well, just given up (laugh))" (Dec.16.2014). During the interview, he continued to remark that he had instead shifted his focus of interest onto his toddler. In Shota's exact words:

(1)【Dec.16.2014】S: Shota

S: あの、自分の子どもに英語を教えたいっていう、ゆるい目標にすり替わってます（笑）。[…]英語はしゃべれるようになってほしいですよね。[…]同じ目には遭わせたくないので。[…]本人がへんに抵抗しないうちから刷り込んでおこうかなと（笑）。
Er, [my motivation] has been replaced with the relaxed goal of teaching English to my kid (laugh). I want her to be able to speak English. […] Because I don't want her to encounter the same lot as mine. […] I'm planning to imprint [English in her] before she starts resisting one way or another (laugh).

From these narrative accounts, we can observe two entrenched beliefs about ELL or language learning in general: an immersion environment should work effectively for language acquisition (e.g., *"I should **cut off her escape route**"*) and it is better for children to start their ELL before they become conscious that it is learning (e.g., *"I'm planning to **imprint [English in her]**"*). We can also perceive Yasushi's and Shota's parental feelings that they would like their children to avoid the English-related struggle they themselves have faced (e.g., *"I don't want her to encounter **the same lot as mine**"*). These parental feelings simultaneously imply that both Yasushi and Shota regard fluency in English as important linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in the contemporary world and they wish to hand over this capital (or what is more than their own capital in a strict sense) to their children (Lee, 2016).

Insights from my research project have implications for this tendency as well as English-oriented governmental policies. While it cannot be denied that English could serve as a/the lingua franca for cross-cultural communication or global business, the findings have shown that the language does not always function as such. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, even in so-called 'global' enterprises that have ratified EOCL policies, Japanese-dominated workplace interaction is

reported. In this sort of work environment, the importance and necessity of English is ideologically constituted through repeated utterances as well as by the very existence of the policies. With this nature of a discursive construct, the imagined importance and necessity of English produces profound truth effects (Foucault, 1980; Kubota, 2011a; Pennycook, 2007a, 2007b) on the employees to such an extent that the importance and necessity is indelibly 'imprinted'[48] on them. As a result of this 'imprinting,' they devote themselves to studying English enthusiastically and endlessly.

Given the ideological mechanism above, when we encounter exclusive emphasis on the English language, as displayed by parents such as Yasushi and Shota as well as by the Japanese government's foreign language education policies, we should pause and contemplate where on earth this emphasis stems from. Although it is vital to avoid claiming that everything is a discursive product, the perspective of English as an ideological construct, which has been discussed throughout this thesis, helps us view foreign language education differently. One of my recommendations is for policy makers to critically reflect on their own long-held principle that English, among other foreign languages, should be selected and taught in school settings; policy makers instead need to commence serious consideration for the provision of more options so that students can select which foreign language they would like to be engaged with. This freedom of choice would first serve as a promising beginning for the younger generation to develop an interest in languages other than English and contribute to

[48] I borrowed this expression from Shota's statement on page 228. Interestingly, Osamu also uses it to explain the importance of self-development: *"[…] it's been **imprinted** [on us] that we must grow, hasn't it? […] In the way that growing is something good […]."* See page 88 for more on Osamu's narrative account.

fostering their awareness of linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity within Japan as well as in the world. Second, this multilingualism-based reform could likewise affect adults (including parents) positively, which would lead the society as a whole to question not only monolingual-minded fascination toward English but also the dichotomous idea of language (Japanese vs. English).

However, although I recommend the provision of multiple foreign languages as school subjects (e.g., 'Arabic,' 'Chinese,' 'Korean,' and 'Spanish'), I do not intend to reinforce the other ideological view that languages are discrete and bounded entities. As has been shown by recent sociolinguistic studies based on linguistic ethnography and netnography (e.g., Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Seargeant & Tagg, 2011), people's language practices in the globalized world can be described as mobilizing rich linguistic resources rather than merely utilizing separate languages as pre-given systems. It can also be pointed out that along with languages, people draw on a wide variety of multimodal semiotic resources for their everyday interaction (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, 2018; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, 2015).[49] In response to this current sociolinguistic trend, Pennycook (2014) argues that we should "start to view language education in terms of multimodal semiotics […] and the need to develop *resourceful speakers*" (p. 14; emphasis added). According to Pennycook (2014), resourceful speakers are those who "hav[e] available language resources and [are] good at shifting between styles, discourses, registers and genres" (p. 15). As he further stresses, resourceful speakers are also able to serve as accommodators or negotiators in the midst of divergent linguistic and

[49] It is interesting to recall Shota's reaction to the urban myth about the cafeteria in Marufuku (see pages 13-14). What happens in the office dining hall can be seen to be a good example of multimodal semiotic practices.

cultural conventions.

Given this novel and insightful standpoint, it may also be important and necessary for policy makers, researchers, and language educators in Japan to consider designing a school curriculum from the perspective of comprehensive and overarching language education rather than classifying language-related subjects into categories such as '*kokugo*'[50] and 'foreign language(s).' This sort of endeavor would ultimately contribute to enhancing students' "capacity to use a range of linguistic and nonlinguistic resources and to accommodate to each other" (Pennycook, 2014, p. 15), which is essential in the era of globalization. My recommendations mentioned above are not limited to Japan. They also hold true for similar situations in other countries where, as in Japan, the public has a keen interest in and actively engages with the English language.

8.5.2 Implications for language studies

In addition to the insights into foreign language education, my project also has implications for language studies in the following three facets: the theorization of the global spread of English, a presentation of a new case study for language ideology research, and contributions to the international academic fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics as well as other disciplines.

As argued in Section 8.2, I have developed the idea of 'engagement with English' throughout the thesis. Although this attempt primarily aimed to offer more

[50] The term *kokugo* literally means 'the national language' and the Japanese language is generally considered to be equated with it. The term *kokugo* is also utilized as a school subject (see Heinrich (2012) and Yasuda (2003) for discussions on the language ideologies behind the notion of *kokugo*).

comprehensive understandings of people's relations to English and ELL, it likewise has the great possibility of forwarding the theorization of the global spread of English. As has been detailed in Chapter 1, of the several theoretical paradigms addressing the global spread of English, the Three Concentric Circles (Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles) model within the WE framework (e.g., Kachru, 1985, 1992) is the most famous and influential (Seargeant & Swann, 2012). However, once we take the idea of engagement seriously and begin questioning the established notion of language use, the claim that English is infrequently used among people in Japan, a country belonging to the Expanding Circle, seems to no longer stand. From this novel perspective of engagement, which includes not only language use and language learning in a narrow sense but also the local appropriation of language and reactions to language-related issues, it can be argued that people in Japan indeed have active engagements with English. This argument, which serves as a counter-discourse against the traditional sociolinguistic belief, will contribute to advancing academic discussions regarding the reconsideration of the nation-state division of English based on the degree of English use as exemplified in the WE framework.

The second implication concerns language ideology research. Attaching great importance to the site-specific and multi-sited nature of language ideologies (Agha 2005; Park, 2009; Philips, 2000; Seargeant, 2009; Silverstein, 2005; Wortham, 2005), I founded this thesis on a multifaceted research project. This decision enabled me to enter the three disparate research sites and the data collected in the respective sites first constituted rich sources for investigating the language ideologies specific to each of them. For example, the ELL material industry served as a crucial research site for exploring the positionality of the

neitibu carefully. In particular, my analysis concerning how the sellers and the users of Thayne's self-help ELL books actively discuss the idea of the *neitibu* has clearly demonstrated the ways in which this notion is socially, culturally, and ideologically (re)constituted through discursive practices. The analysis has also revealed various conflicting language ideologies underpinning the notion of the *neitibu*, and also the sellers' and users' engagements with English within this particular research site. In this respect, the findings and arguments with regard to Thayne's self-help ELL books can be seen to concentrate on the site-specific nature of language ideologies.

However, part (if not all) of the phenomenon observed in the ELL material industry is also inextricably connected with the second and third research sites. Language ideologies witnessed in the ELL material industry are likewise circulated across the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector and Japan-based enterprises that have enacted EOCL policies (e.g., the commodification of language and language education, language learning as consumption, and the view of linguistic skills as human capital under neoliberalism). Throughout the thesis, I have therefore striven to capture the multi-sited nature of language ideologies as well. I have done so particularly through the utilization of each set of data produced from the three research sites in a mixed way as necessary. This thesis will thus contribute to language ideology research by offering a new multifaceted case study that has captured the twofold nature of language ideologies.

I conclude this final chapter with a presentation of the third implication: that is, how my research project can afford insights into not only the international

fields of applied linguistics, TESOL, and sociolinguistics but also other disciplines. To this end, I take the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector as a telling example.

As for this research site, I have specifically contemplated gender concerns in the field of ELT. As has been pointed out in Chapter 5, the body of literature on gender issues surrounding *eikaiwa* has focused mainly on the interrelationship between Japanese female learners and Western male teachers (e.g., Appleby, 2014; Bailey, 2007; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). Yet, in this thesis, I have opened up a scholarly discussion with regard to Japanese male learners' relationship to Filipina tutors, and the gendered and sexualized constitutions of the tutors through the learners' discursive practices. I have also argued that these findings should be situated within the historical relations and economic disparities between Japan and the Philippines, as well as the long-established sex-mediated link between Japanese men and Filipinas. This argument suggests that further investigations into gender concerns within the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector possess a highly interdisciplinary nature. Those transboundary investigations will ultimately contribute to disciplines such as anthropological studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, poststructuralist studies, and sociology.

Additionally, although my inquiry into the Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* sector in this thesis is specific to Japan, this does not necessarily indicate that the inquiry is only an area study; the findings have wider implications. For example, future research projects may explore whether the gendered and sexualized constitutions of Filipina tutors reported in the thesis can also be seen

in other countries, say, South Korea, which is the pioneer of Philippines-based English lessons. Moreover, given the recent trend where the Philippines has become a newly emerging destination for ELL (Lorente & Tupas, 2014), it is likewise significant for researchers to step out of the online tutoring site and directly observe what is actually going on inside/outside the classrooms at English language schools within the Philippines. This sort of ethnographic research can be conducted from the perspective of not only gender but also the notions of the *neitibu* and *chantoshita, kireina eigo*. Considering the view that linguistic skills are human capital, which now permeates the world under neoliberalism (e.g., Kubota, 2011c; Park, 2016; Shin & Park, 2016; Tan & Rubdy, 2008), Filipino tutors' voices in relation to their engagements with English and ELT can constitute another crucial set of data. All the investigations mentioned above have the great possibility of advancing research projects on language ideologies, language education and gender, and the commodification and consumption of language and language education in the era of globalization. I hope that this thesis will serve as a constructive and helpful footstep for those future critical inquiries in language studies.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Collated participant profiles

First research site (self-help ELL books)

	Name	Age	Sex	Enterprise	Nature of Work
1	Makoto Morimoto	—	male	publishing company	editing

Second research site (Philippines-based Skype *eikaiwa* lessons)

[Students at Chiyoda University]

	Name	Year	Sex	English Language Learning
1	Aiko Fujii	junior	female	started at junior high school
2	Eri Zheng	sophomore	female	started at junior high school
3	Shingo Ishida	junior	male	started at junior high school
4	Toru Koizumi	junior	male	started around ten at *juku**
5	Yui Ono	sophomore	female	started around nine at *juku*

* *Juku* is a tutoring school that helps elementary or junior and senior high school students keep up with their school work or prepare for entrance examinations. Some *juku*s provide elementary school students with English lessons in advance before they officially start to learn the language as a school subject at junior high schools.

[Bloggers]

	Name	Age	Sex	Work (nature of work)
1	Daisuke	30s	male	employee (unknown)
2	Eita	unknown	male	employee (IT)
3	Kamo	unknown	male	unknown
4	Kazutaka	30s	male	self-employed worker (affiliate marketing)

[Tutors in TrueTrade]

	Name*	Age	Sex	Length of Employment (employment status)	Other Languages**
1	Amanda	20s	female	five years and six months (full-time)	Filipino Spanish
2	Ben	30s	male	four years and 11 months (full-time and part-time)	—
3	Dave	30s	male	one year and one month (full-time)	Filipino Japanese
4	Jenny	30s	female	11 months (part-time)	Hiligaynon Filipino
5	Laura	30s	female	six years and 11 months (parti-time)	Hiligaynon another dialect Filipino Japanese
6	May	30s	female	five years and two months (part-time)	Kapampangan Filipino Japanese
7	Pauline	20s	female	one year and five months (part-time)	Filipino
8	Rose	20s	female	six years and seven months (full-time)	Filipino Cebuano Ilonggo Japanese

(Continued on next page)

9	Santos	20s	male	two months (full-time)	Filipino Latin Italian
10	Tina	30s	female	five years and three months (parti-time)	Bisaya Filipino Japanese

* Tutors in TrueTrade only provide their first names on its website.

** I listed the languages other than English the tutors are familiar with, based on their self-declaration. Dave, Laura, May, Rose, and Tina mentioned Japanese, but every tutor except Dave described that they could just say a few greetings such as "Hello" and "Thank you"; according to Dave, whose father is from Japan, he is a fluent speaker of Japanese.

Third research site (EOCL policies in Japan-based enterprises)

[Employees in Marufuku]

	Name	Age	Sex	Length of Employment
1	Fumika Anne Ida	25-34	female	less than one year
2	Nichole Lee	18-24	female	less than one year
3	Osamu Nitta	35-44	male	approximately seven years*
4	Shota Usuda	35-44	male	approximately seven years
5	Takao Wada	35-44	male	approximately six years*

* At the time of the interview, Osamu and Takao had already left Marufuku.

[Employees in Ichigen]

	Name	Age	Sex	Length of Employment
1	Koji Nagashima	35-44	male	approximately 15 years
2	Yasushi Sato	35-44	male	approximately 20 years

[Employees in other enterprises]

	Name	Age	Sex	Nature of the Enterprise (nature of work)
1	Atsuko Ito	35-44	female	development and sales of video games (voice recording and editing)
2	Jiro Masuno	45-54	male	general trading company (development of oil and gas fields)
3	Momoyo Narita	35-44	female	patent office (assistant to patent attorneys)
4	Ryo Ogawa	45-54	male	manufacturing and sales of steel products (management planning)
5	Taichi Saito	45-54	male	consulting and IT platform (consulting)

Appendix 2: Interview overview

	Name	Date	Place	Length
1	Makoto Morimoto	June 3, 2015	Shinjuku, Tokyo	40 minutes
2	Aiko Fujii	June 18, 2015	Chiyoda University Campus, Tokyo	one hour
3	Eri Zheng	June 17, 2015	Chiyoda University Campus, Tokyo	54 minutes
4	Shingo Ishida	June 25, 2015	Shinjuku, Tokyo	54 minutes
5	Toru Koizumi	June 17, 2015	Chiyoda University Campus, Tokyo	50 minutes
6	Yui Ono	June 18, 2015	Chiyoda University Campus, Tokyo	46 minutes
7	Amanda	August 15 and 17, 2015	Sydney*	50 minutes
8	Ben	July 30, 2015	Sydney	25 minutes
9	Dave	July 20 and 31, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
10	Jenny	August 15 and 20, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
11	Laura	August 4 and 5, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
12	May	July 20 and 29, 2015	Sydney	one hour and 15 minutes
13	Pauline	July 19 and 23, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
14	Rose	August 28 and 30, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
15	Santos	July 30 and August 2, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
16	Tina	August 13 and 14, 2015	Sydney	50 minutes
17	Fumika Anne Ida	January 7, 2015	Shimokitazawa, Tokyo	two hours and 12 minutes
18	Nichole Lee	May 25, 2015	Shibuya, Tokyo	three hours and 11 minutes
19	Osamu Nitta	May 26, 2015	Roppongi, Tokyo	two hours and two minutes
20	Shota Usuda	December 16, 2014	Shinagawa, Tokyo	one hour and 45 minutes
21	Takao Wada	May 24, 2016	—**	one hour and 25 minutes

(Continued on next page)

22	Koji Nagashima	January 5, 2015	Itabashi, Tokyo	one hour and eight minutes
23	Yasuhi Sato	January 10, 2015	Sakura-shimmachi, Tokyo	three hours and 24 minutes
24	Atsuko Ito	January 13, 2015	Ikebukuro, Tokyo	one hour and 50 minutes
25	Jiro Masuno	December 15, 2014	Ebisu, Tokyo	three hours and 35 minutes
26	Momoyo Narita	January 21, 2015	Kyobashi, Tokyo	one hour and 36 minutes
27	Ryo Ogawa	December 8, 2014	Shimbashi, Tokyo	one hour and 24 minutes
28	Taichi Saito	December 23, 2014	Yokohama, Kanagawa	one hour and 30 minutes

* All interviews with the Filipino tutors were conducted via Skype, which means that although I was in Sydney, each tutor was in his/her place within the Philippines.

** Due to Takao's request, I provide no information about the place of the interview.

Appendix 3: Information sheet*

[Japanese version]

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

研究プロジェクトへのご協力のお願い

現在、シドニー工科大学人文社会学部の博士課程に在籍しております田嶋美砂子と申します。研究プロジェクト「日本における英語のイデオロギー的構築」を実施するにあたり、皆さまのご協力を頂戴したく、連絡させていただいております。

研究内容につきましては、以下の Q&A で詳しく説明しておりますので、ご参照ください。ご不明な点がございましたら、私（misako.tajima@student.uts.edu.au）、私の指導教官であるアレスター・ペニークック教授（alastair.pennycook@uts.edu.au）、もしくは日本での研究保証人である飯野厚教授（所属：法政大学 / 電話番号：[redacted]）まで、ご連絡ください。

お忙しいところ、大変恐縮ですが、ご考慮くださいましたら、幸いに存じます。どうぞよろしくお願い申し上げます。

研究プロジェクトに関する Q&A

誰が研究を実施するのですか。また、その人の資格は何ですか。

田嶋美砂子が実施いたします。現在、シドニー工科大学人文社会学部の博士課程に在籍し、アレスター・ペニークック教授の下、この研究プロジェクトを進めております。田嶋美砂子は 10 年以上、日本の中学校・高等学校（星美学園中学校・高等学校）で英語教師として教壇に立ちながら、検定教科書の編集に携わってまいりました。修士号を所持しており、現在でも引き続き、教科書の編集委員を務めております。

何についての研究ですか。

人々が日本において英語という言語とどのように関わっているのかを調べると同時に、その関わりがどのような思考・信念によって支えられているのか、また、逆にどのような新しい思考・信念を生み出しているのかを研究するものです。

この研究は誰にとって有益なものですか。

英語教育界にとって有益な研究です。また、英語の社内公用語化を検討している企業にとっても有益な研究であると考えております。

どのような形で参加するのですか。

はじめに、学歴・職歴・海外生活経験などについて 15 分程度のアンケートに回答していただきます。回答したくないものに関しては、未記入で構いません。その後、30 分～1 時間程度の個別インタビューに参加していただきます。インタビューの内容は、(1)日常生活や職場で使用している言語、関わっている文化に対する意見・感想、(2)これまでの、あるいは現在の外国語学習の経験についてです。インタビューは録音させていただきます。希望される方には、録音の書き起こしのコピーをお渡しいたします。

研究に参加するにあたり、何か不利益や不便は生じますか。
ご自身の考えを述べることに対し、ためらいを感じることがあるかもしれません。しかし、すべての質問において、「答える」・「答えない」の選択は完全に皆さまに委ねることにより、そのような可能性は最小限に抑えるつもりでおります。

この研究に協力して、何か有益なことはありますか。
研究結果は皆さまに還元させていただきます。また、皆さまにとりましても、ご自身の言語観・文化観や、これまでの、あるいは現在の外国語学習を内省するよい機会となりましたら、幸いに存じます。さらに、参加してくださった方には謝礼を差し上げます。

研究への参加は必ず承諾しなければなりませんか。
いいえ。必ず承諾しなければならないということはありません。

断った場合、どのようなことが起こりますか。
何も起こりません。これまで費やしてくださったお時間に感謝申し上げます。

もし途中で気が変わった場合、どうしたらよいですか。後で断ってもよいのですか。
田嶋美砂子にご連絡ください。いつでも意向を変えることができます。その理由を伝える必要もありません。

私が回答した内容は、すべて秘密厳守にしてもらえるのですか。
回答してくださった内容は、すべて秘密厳守にいたします。皆さまの名前も（実名を使ってほしいという要望がない限り）、すべて論文上では伏せられます。また、個別インタビューやアンケートから得られたデータの使用・出版に関して、皆さまには以下の 4 つからご希望を選んでいただきます。

(1)私個人を確認できる内容は伏せる形を取るという条件の下、自由に使用・出版することについて同意いたします。
(2)私個人を確認できる内容は伏せる形を取り、私の承諾の下、使用・出版することについて同意いたします。
(3)私個人が確認できる状態で、自由に使用・出版することについて同意いたします。
(4)私個人が確認できる状態で、私の承諾の下、使用・出版することについて同意いたします。

(2)、もしくは(4)を選択された方のデータを使用する際は、事前に相談させていただきます。承諾が得られない場合、そのデータは使用いたしません。

研究について、さらに詳しく教えてもらえますか。
田嶋美砂子（電話番号: [redacted]（オーストラリア） / [redacted]（日本））まで、ご連絡ください。この研究に直接関わっていない者に相談したい場合は、シドニー工科大学人間研究倫理委員会の委員（電話番号: [redacted] / E メールアドレス: research.ethics@uts.edu.au）まで、ご連絡ください。その際は、この研究プロジェクトの照会番号（UTS HREC REF NO. 2014000490）をお伝えください。

[English version]

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Misako Tajima, a doctoral student at the University of Technology Sydney. This is the information sheet to ask for your cooperation on my research entitled "The ideological constitution of English in Japan."

Regarding the detailed content of the research, please see the following questions and answers. If you have any further concerns about it, please feel free to contact me (misako.tajima@student.uts.edu.au), my supervisor, Professor Alastair Pennycook (alastair.pennycook@ust.edu.au), or my research guarantor in Japan, Professor Atsushi Iino (Hosei University, [redacted]).

Thank you very much in advance for your time.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

I am doing the research under the supervision of Professor Alastair Pennycook at the University of Technology Sydney. I was a teacher at a secondary school in Japan (Seibi Gakuen Junior and Senior High School) over 10 years. I have also been a member of the editorial committees of two series of authorized school textbooks published and used in the country. I received MAs in English literature and linguistics, language and literacy, and applied linguistics.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is to investigate how people in Japan engage with English, exploring what thoughts or beliefs underpin the engagements, and how the engagements produce different thoughts or beliefs.

WHO WILL BENEFIT FROM THE RESEARCH?

The research will be beneficial to the academic field of English Language Teaching. It will also be beneficial to enterprises that consider adopting English as their official corporate language.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

First, I will ask you to fill in a questionnaire about your background, professional career, and experiences of living overseas. This will take approximately 15 minutes. If you do not feel like answering particular questions, you will not have to provide the answers to them. Thereafter, I will ask you to take part in an individual interview which will take approximately one hour. The topics of the interview are (1) your thoughts about languages you use and cultures you encounter in your daily life or workplace and (2) your past and present foreign language learning experiences. The interview will be audio-recorded and you can request a copy of the transcript if you wish.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

Yes, there is the risk that you might hesitate to disclose your personal thoughts or beliefs, but I plan to minimize the risk by leaving it completely to you whether you will answer particular questions or not.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH?

Yes, there are. The results of the research will be shared with you. I also hope that the interview will serve as an opportunity for you to reflect on your views of language and culture or your past and present foreign language learning experiences. Besides, I will offer you a gift certificate.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You do not have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing will happen. I will thank you for your time so far and will not contact you about the research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time and you do not have to say why.

IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY THAT I WILL BE IDENTIFIED IN THE RESEARCH?

No, there is not. Your name will be de-identified in the research (unless you would like me to use your real name). You have four choices with regard to how I will be able to use the data obtained through the interview and questionnaire. The four choices are as follows:

(1) I agree that the researcher will use any data freely on condition that I am de-identified.
(2) I agree that the researcher will use any data freely on condition that I am de-identified and with my consent to the use.
(3) I agree that the researcher will use any data freely without de-identifying me.
(4) I agree that the researcher will use any data freely without de-identifying me, but with my consent to the use.

When you choose (2) or (4), I will consult with you before I use particular parts of the data you are involved in. I will refrain from using the parts unless I gain your consent.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS?

If you have concerns, please feel free to contact me on [redacted] (Australia) or [redacted] (Japan). If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on [redacted] or research.ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote this number: UTS HREC REF NO. 2014000490.

* I prepared several types of information sheets, depending on the three research sites. As space is limited, I have only provided the information sheet distributed to the interviewees in the third research site. This also holds true for the consent form on the following pages.

Appendix 4: Consent form

[Japanese version]

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

研究参加同意書

私 _____ は、田嶋美砂子（電話番号：[redacted]（オーストラリア） / [redacted]（日本））によるシドニー工科大学の博士研究「日本における英語のイデオロギー的構築」に参加することを承諾いたします。

当研究は、人々が日本において英語という言語とどのように関わっているのかを調べると同時に、その関わりがどのような思考・信念によって支えられているのか、また、逆にどのような新しい思考・信念を生み出しているのかを研究するものであると理解しています。研究結果は、英語教育界や英語の社内公用語化を検討している企業に還元されるということも了解いたしました。

田嶋美砂子の要望により、私の時間と場所の都合に合わせて 30 分～1 時間程度の個別インタビューに協力することを承諾いたします。インタビューの内容は、(1)日常生活や職場で使用している言語、関わっている文化に対する意見・感想、(2)これまでの、あるいは現在の外国語学習の経験についてです。インタビューは録音され、書き起こしのコピーを希望できることも理解しています。また、学歴・職歴・海外生活経験などについての 15 分程度のアンケートに回答することも承諾いたします。

研究について疑問点がある場合は、田嶋美砂子本人、彼女の指導教官であるアレスター・ペニークック教授、もしくは日本での研究保証人である飯野厚教授に直接連絡を取ることができる旨を十分理解しています。また、当研究のどの時点でも、理由を説明せずに途中で抜けることができるという点も了解しています。

田嶋美砂子は、私の疑問点すべてに明確に答えていることに同意いたします。

当研究で集めたデータを使用して出版する際、（いずれかを選択してください。）

(1)私個人を確認できる内容は伏せる形を取るという条件の下、自由に使用・出版することについて同意いたします。
(2)私個人を確認できる内容は伏せる形を取り、私の承諾の下、使用・出版することについて同意いたします。
(3)私個人が確認できる状態で、自由に使用・出版することについて同意いたします。
(4)私個人が確認できる状態で、私の承諾の下、使用・出版することについて同意いたします。

_____ ___/___/___
署名（参加者）

_____ ___/___/___
署名（研究者）

注記：
当研究は、シドニー工科大学人間研究倫理委員会から承認を受けています。参加を通じて支障を感じ、研究者との話し合いによっても解決できない場合は、倫理委員会の委員（電話番号：[redacted] / E メールアドレス：research.ethics@uts.eu.au）までご連絡ください。苦情内容は、すべて秘密厳守とし、内容を調査した上、結果を報告いたします。

[English version]

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to participate in the research project entitled "The ideological constitution of English in Japan" being conducted by Misako Tajima ([redacted] (Australia) / [redacted] (Japan)) of the University of Technology Sydney for her PhD.

I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate how people in Japan engage with English, exploring what thoughts or beliefs underpin the engagements, and how the engagements produce different thoughts or beliefs. I also understand that the results of the research will be beneficial to the field of English Language Teaching and enterprises that consider adopting English as their official corporate language.

I am aware that my participation in this research will involve a 30-minute to one-hour individual interview and a 15-minute questionnaire. I am also aware that the topics of the individual interview are (1) my thoughts about languages I use and cultures I encounter in my daily life or workplace and (2) my past and present foreign language learning experiences, and that the questionnaire concerns my background, professional career, and experiences of living overseas. I am aware as well that the individual interview will be audio-recorded and I can request a copy of the transcript if I wish.

I understand that I can contact Misako Tajima, her supervisor, Professor Alastair Pennycook, or her research guarantor in Japan, Professor Atsushi Iino, if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Misako Tajima has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

When Misako Tajima publishes the data gathered from this research, (Please choose one from the following options.)

(1) I agree that she will use any data freely on condition that I am de-identified.
(2) I agree that she will use any data freely on condition that I am de-identified and with my consent to the use.
(3) I agree that she will use any data freely without de-identifying me.
(4) I agree that she will use any data freely without de-identifying me, but with my consent to the use.

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (participant)

_____ ____/____/____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:
This study has been approved by the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: [redacted] / research.ethics@uts.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 5: Questionnaire

[Japanese version]

アンケート

1. 氏名

2. 年齢（いずれかを選択してください。）

a. 18-24　b. 25-34　c. 35-44　d. 45-54　e. 55-64　f. 65+

3. 性別（いずれかを選択してください。）

a. 男性　b. 女性

4. 最終学歴（いずれかを選択してください。）

a. 中学校　b. 高等学校　c. 高等工業学校・工業専門学校　d. 各種・専修学校
e. 短期大学　f. 大学　g. 大学院　h. その他（　　）

5. 専攻

6. 勤務先の業種

7. 勤務部門

8. 主な仕事内容

9. 勤務年数

10. 勤務中の主な使用言語

11. 海外生活経験（経験がある場合は、国名・期間・目的をご回答ください。）

12. 外国語学習経験（どこで、何年間学習したか[しているか]、ご回答ください。）

[English version]

Questionnaire

1. Name

2. Age (Please choose one from the following options.)

a. 18-24 b. 25-34 c. 35-44 d. 45-54 e. 55-64 f. 65+

3. Sex (Please choose one from the following options.)

a. male b. female

4. Educational qualifications (Please choose one from the following options.)

a. junior high school	b. high school	c. college of technology
d. vocational school	e. junior college	f. university
g. graduate school	h. others ( )	

5. Major area of study

6. Nature of the enterprise

7. Name of the department

8. Nature of work

9. Length of employment with this enterprise

10. Main language(s) used for business interactions

11. Experiences of living overseas (Names of countries, period, purpose)

12. Foreign language learning experiences (Where? How long?)

Appendix 6: Sample interview questions

[Japanese version]

1. 同僚とのコミュニケーション一般について

・いつ、どのような場面で、同僚と話しますか。

・同僚と話すとき、主にどの言語を使用しますか。

・同僚に E メールを送るとき、主にどの言語を使用しますか。

・どのくらいの頻度で、取引先の人々と話しますか。

・取引先の人々と話すとき、主にどの言語を使用しますか。

・取引先の人々に E メールを送るとき、主にどの言語を使用しますか。

2. 会社内での言語（英語）使用について

・英語が社内公用語になると初めて聞いたとき、どのように感じ、また、どのようなことを考えましたか。

・英語の社内公用語化に向けて、どのようなことを準備しましたか。

・現在の職場について、どのようなことを考えていますか。

・言語（英語）使用という観点から、勤務中に何か困難を感じますか。

・現在の職場に適応するために、していることはありますか。

3. 外国語学習経験について

・あなたの外国語学習経験について、教えてください。

・過去の外国語学習において、しておけばよかったと思うことはありますか。

・英語の役割について、どのようなことを考えていますか。

・日本の学校における外国語教育について、どのようなことを考えていますか。

[English version]

1. Communication with your colleagues in general

・When and in what context do you interact/speak with your colleagues?

・Which language do you mainly use when you interact/speak with your colleagues?

・Which language do you mainly use when you email your colleagues?

・How often do you interact/speak with business acquaintances?

・Which language do you mainly use when you interact/speak with business acquaintances?

・Which language do you mainly use when you email business acquaintances?

2. Language (English) use within the enterprise

・How did you feel and what did you think when you first heard about English being an official corporate language?

・What did you do to prepare for this policy?

・How do you find your current work environment?

・Are there any difficulties while working in terms of language (English) use?

・Is there anything you are doing now to adjust yourself to your current work environment?

3. Foreign language learning experiences

・Please tell me about your foreign language learning experiences.

・Do you have anything you think you should have done regarding your past foreign language learning?

・What do you think of the role of English?

・What do you think of foreign language education in Japan's schools?

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