ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE TEACHER AS A LEARNER:
ENGLISH TEACHERS LEARNING JAPANESE IN JAPAN

OWEN THOMAS MINNS

A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Anglia Ruskin University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Submitted: November 2021

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I must acknowledge the enormous contribution that all my participants made to this project. The participants in each of my data sets shared their time and experiences with me to help me create this project. I appreciate the honesty and openness you all gave in answering my questions and completing the diaries and surveys.

Thank you to my supervisors Bettina and Sebastian for all your help and support throughout the years. You mentored and guided me throughout this process with skill and patience.

Thank you to all my friends and family for being so understanding and supportive.

I acknowledge the kind support of Anglia Ruskin University, who provided me with financial support to pursue my research.

The final and deepest thanks must go to my wife, Akane. I know it's been a tough road but I could not have done this without you.

ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE TEACHER AS A LEARNER:
ENGLISH TEACHERS LEARNING JAPANESE IN JAPAN

OWEN THOMAS MINNS

November 2021

This study investigates the Japanese learning of foreign English teachers in Japan. Foreign English teachers are an example of a previously under-explored group of migrant language learners due to the linguistic capital they draw from being English speakers which in turn gives them access to employment positions in Japan.

This study used a mixed methods approach and combined three data collection methods. In the Diary Study, nine teachers who had been in Japan for less than 1 year wrote weekly reflective diaries and took part in monthly interviews. For the Linguistic Biographies, thirteen long-term teachers who had been in Japan for over 5 years took part in two semi-structured interviews. In the L2 Motivational Self Survey, 227 teachers took a survey about their attitudes to learning Japanese.

The Diary Study found that it was difficult for newly arrived teachers to manage their Japanese learning because of the pressure of self-directing language learning while living and working in Japan. For these teachers, exercising agency about their learning and having access opportunities to use Japanese were important in helping them maintain Japanese engagement. The Linguistic Biographies data found that a teacher's attitude to learning and using Japanese learning influenced whether a learner could stay engaged with Japanese learning. These teachers' Japanese learning was affected by the commitments that came with being a long-term migrant. The L2 Motivational Self Survey found that Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System was present in the experiences of foreign English teachers in Japan, but it was not possible to fit their responses stably during Structural Equation Modelling analysis.

For both groups of foreign English teachers in Japan, managing Japanese learning while living and working in Japan was influenced by the how each learner valued Japanese learning, the linguistic capital that Japanese learning had for them and investment by communities in them as Japanese speakers. This shows that dominant ideologies that exist within a context and the L2 Learning Experience play a major role in whether teachers can maintain consistent language learning. This suggests that Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System does not fully account for the motivations of foreign English teachers in Japan learning Japanese.

Key words: Motivation, Second Language Acquisition, Migrant Language Learning.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Notation

AJET: The Association for Japan Exchange and Teaching
ALT: Assistant Language Teacher
JALT: Japan Association of Language Teachers
JET: The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme
JLPT: Japanese Language Proficiency Test
JSLA: Japanese Second Language Acquisition
JTE: Japanese English Teacher
SEM: Structural Equational Modelling
SLA: Second Language Acquisition
TOEIC: The Test of English for International Communication

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research context and objectives

In August 2007, I arrived in Tokyo, Japan to work as an English teacher for a chain of commercial language schools. I travelled to Tokyo from London with a group of fifteen other young university-educated novice teachers and was met by a representative of the company that brought me to Japan. I was then taken to my new apartment where I was left with a map of the local area as well as details about how to get to the school where my orientation would be the next day. While I had studied some Japanese before arriving in Japan, I still remember the panic at having to going to the local convenience store to buy dinner and find my way to my new company's offices the next day.

During my orientation, there was no mention of support or encouragement for Japanese learning and over the next 6 years, I developed a complicated relationship with learning and using Japanese, struggling to learn the writing systems and find appropriate classes while encountering Japanese in the workplace and socially. Other teachers and foreigners I encountered also had similarly complicated relationships with Japanese, some regularly attending classes and using Japanese while others did not engage with Japanese at all. As someone with a vested interest in Japanese learning of foreigners and in particular English teachers in Japan, I often wondered why there was such a wide variety of approaches to engaging with Japanese among the foreigners I met. While doing a master's degree in 2014, I became more aware of how the issues that English teachers like me face when learning Japanese were reflective of the broader struggles that migrant language learners around the world have when learning foreign languages. This research project therefore springs from my own lived experiences of learning and using Japanese.

Since Firth and Wagner's (1997) call for Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research to include investigations of the social and contextual in investigations of language learning, the fields of SLA has expanded to investigate issues like identity (Norton 2000), agency (Kinginger, 2004), social class (Block, 2012), and gender (Takahashi, 2013 & Teustch-Dwyer, 2011). Notably Norton (2000) developed the concept of investment to account for how learners learn second languages. This led to research that placed learners at its core and significantly expanded our knowledge of SLA.

At the same time, there has been a wave of interest in language learning motivation driven by the development of Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System. This system was developed in response to the division of motivation into the integrative and instrumental orientations by Gardner and his collaborators. Dörnyei incorporated Marius and Nurius (1986) and Higgins (1987) to divide second language motivation into three components, the Ideal L2 Self, the Ought-to L2 Self and the L2 Learning Experience. The Ideal L2 Self focuses on the self the learner desires to become while the Ought-to L2 Self focuses on the self a learner ought to be to meet the expectations or obligations of those around the learner. The L2 Learning Experience focuses on the actual learning experience of learning, including aspects such as the teacher, the curriculum, other students in the class and the progress a student makes. The development of this system sparked what Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan (2014, p. 145) describe as a "surge" in motivation research.

Despite this wave of interest in SLA research, subsequently Darvin and Norton (2015), the Douglas Fir Group (2016) and Ushioda (2016 and 2017) have all called for SLA research to further account for the influence of context on language learning with the Douglas Fir Group specifically calling for a transdisciplinary approach to SLA research. This is because, as the Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 38) note, SLA research still approaches the groups they are investigating with their own theoretical viewpoint. Motivation research has also yet to expand significantly beyond students learning in formal education settings (Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan, 2015) while Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self does not explicitly address the influence of context on language learning motivation. Research into Japanese Second Language Acquisition (JSLA) has also yet to fully explore the influence of context on language learning. Mori, Y., Hasegawa, A., and Mori, J (2021) have outlined that JSLA has focused on learners in higher education learning Japanese and not explored how Japanese learners access opportunities to use Japanese or how they motivate themselves to learn Japanese. This means that to further expand our knowledge of SLA and of Japanese learning in particular, we need to explore groups of learners outside formal language learning contexts using exploratory frameworks so that we can better discover the role that context plays in language learning.

Investigating how foreign English teachers like me learn Japanese while they are working in Japan can help us expand our knowledge of how migrants learn second languages. Firstly, as foreign English teachers in Japan are largely university educated

employment migrants from the inner circle of English-speaking countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada, they represent a previously unexplored group of migrants that Block (2010) believes we need to explore more: educated employment migrants. When migrating to Japan, foreign English teachers already have a large amount of linguistic capital from being an English speaker which is vital to them getting employment in Japan. They find an environment in Japan much like the one that I found, where there is little institutional support for Japanese language learning from their employers and they are seen as temporary visitors to Japan. As foreign migrants in Japan, these teachers also find a context in Japan where they need to negotiate widely held beliefs about foreigners and their ability to learn Japanese (Muramatsu, 2013 and Mori et al, 2021). Motivation is key to employment migrants like foreign English teachers learning the language of the context they migrate to because they must manage their learning while working. By applying Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System to the Japanese language learning of foreign English teachers, this study can explore whether this system is valid with learners that differ from the learners with it was developed. By examining the Japanese language learning of foreign English teachers in Japan, this study can also examine a previously under-researched group and context to examine how employment migrants learn the language of the country they migrate to.

Therefore, the research objectives of this study were to investigate broadly how foreign English teachers learn Japanese while they are living and working in Japan and more specifically to examine the influence of context on learning and motivation. By investigating these areas, I could investigate the influence of both the learning context and the language learning experience on language learning and motivation more comprehensively than had been done in previous studies of language learning. I chose the following research questions to guide my study:

1. **How do English teachers in Japan learn Japanese?**
2. **Can fluctuations in teachers' motivation for studying Japanese be linked to specific events or changes in their lives?**
3. **Does Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System account for the motivations of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan?**

1.2 Methods & Participants

My research questions drove both the data collection methods and the participants I chose in this study, so I adopted a mixed methods approach that combined qualitative and quantitative data collection devices. Previous research into migrant language learners has often used qualitative data collection methods such as narrative analysis but focused on just single groups of learners. I wanted to use some of the methods that had previously been successfully used with migrant language learners but look at two different types of learners: newly arrived teachers and long-term residents of Japan.

Looking at newly arrived teachers (teachers who had been in Japan less than 1 year) allowed me to examine how learners initially learn and use Japanese when they arrive in Japan, much like Norton (2000) did. To do this, I used a Diary Study as they had previously been used successfully by Norton (2000) to investigate newly arrived migrant language learners in Canada learn English and by Casanave (2013) to investigate her own Japanese language learning in Japan when she was working as an English teacher in Japan. A Diary Study requires participants to write a weekly language learning diary and take part in monthly reflective interviews about their language learning. I recruited nine teachers to take part in the Diary Study.

To contrast the experiences of these newly arrived learners and explore a previously under-researched area, I wanted to examine how those teachers who became long-term residents of Japan learned and used Japanese as they built lives in Japan. Therefore, I choose to interview teachers who had been in Japan for 5 or more years. To investigate these teachers' Japanese learning, I used Linguistic Biographies, which are narratives of language learning constructed from semi-structured interviews with learners and have previous been used by Nekvapil (2003). I interviewed thirteen long-term teachers for this data set.

The quantitative element of this study was a L2 Motivational Self Survey. These surveys were originally developed by Dörnyei and his collaborators to investigate how Hungarian students motivate themselves to learn foreign languages. They were then used to develop Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System. As outlined by Boo et al (2014), most L2 Motivation research has examined large groups of university students learning foreign languages in L1 settings, using L2 motivational surveys. I wanted to replicate this type of survey with very different group of learners like foreign English teachers in Japan, who

are living and working in Japan while learning Japanese, to test its validity in different settings. To do this, I took the survey conducted by Taguchi, Magrid and Papi (2009) and adapted it for use with foreign English teachers in Japan. 227 participants took part in this survey.

1.3 Organisation of this study

Including this chapter, this study consists of 9 chapters. In Chapter 2, I outline important information about Japan as a context for migrants and language learning as well as the English teaching industry in Japan. In Chapter 3, I look at Second Language Acquisition research, focusing on migrant language learning, motivation research and Japanese Second Language Acquisition research. In this chapter, I outline the research questions that guide this study. In Chapter 4, I detail the methods that this study used including details of the three data collection methods: a Diary Study, Linguistic Biographies, and a L2 Motivational Self Survey. In Chapter 5, I detail the results of the Diary Study, in which nine newly arrived foreign English teachers wrote weekly language learning diaries and took part in monthly interviews over a six-month period. In Chapter 6, I examine the experiences of thirteen long-term teachers, whom I interviewed about their language learning, which I used to construct Linguistic Biographies and subsequently analysed. In Chapter 7, I analyse the results of the L2 Motivational Self Survey I conducted of 227 foreign English teachers. In Chapter 8, I discuss the results of the data sets collectively and outline the broader themes from these data sets. In chapter 9, I outline the conclusions of this study, how this study contributions to our understanding of Second Language Acquisition, alongside the study's limitations and areas to explore in the future considering the conclusions of this study.

Chapter 2: Japan, Japanese and the English Teaching Industry in Japan.

In this chapter I present information about Japan, the Japanese language and the English teaching industry in Japan that provides important contextual background for this study. I begin by providing a background to Japan as a nation and Japanese as a language. I then outline information about foreigners in Japan and Japanese second language learning in Japan. In the final section I examine the English language teaching industry in Japan, including the different roles of English teachers in Japan alongside previous research into professional identities of English teachers in Japan.

Japan is made up of four larger islands: Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu and Hokkaido. According to Japanese government figures in 2017, the population of Japan was 126,706,000, with the number of foreign residents in Japan being 2,561,848 or 2% (Immigration Services Agency of Japan, 2017). While Japan is often seen as racially and linguistically homogenous inside and outside of Japan, Kobayashi (2011) and Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2016) both argue that this is a relatively recent phenomenon. However, this image of Japan is pervasive enough that it influences the way in which English teachers are positioned in Japanese society.

2.1 Japanese

Japanese is spoken primarily by those living in Japan and is the 9th most spoken language in the world (Lewis, 2009 in Iwasaki, 2013, p.1). The standard form of Japanese, known as *Hyojun-go*, is based on the dialect spoken in the Tokyo region and is used throughout Japan for education and communication (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 1). While the standard form of Japanese is used in education and the media, regional varieties of Japanese are widely spoken. Two indigenous languages (Ryukyuan and Ainu) are recognised by the Japanese government but according to Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2016, p.53) since the end of the Second World War in 1945, “very little space has been made in the Japanese ideological imaginary for language diversity” and in formal contexts there is no space for the use of regional varieties. This means that while there is widespread variation in language use in social settings, the standard form of Japanese is perpetuated within official circles, through school textbooks, Japanese language textbooks and grammar as part of a “natural phenomenon only to be expected in an ethnically and culturally homogenous state” (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016, p. 16).

The adoption of Standard Japanese is tied in with the reforms of the Meiji Restoration, which also brought foreigners to Japan to teach English. After Japan opened itself up to the outside world in 1868, Japan sought to modernise by emulating the other major world powers by importing their economic and industrial systems through the hiring of foreign experts, including English teachers. Part of these efforts was the large-scale implementation of modern industrial methods and the setting up of a modern education system (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 10-11). In order to create linguistic uniformity, according to Heinrich (2012, p. 82), "a link between linguistic uniformity and social and individual well-being was subsequently invented". This led to negative attitudes to the use of regional varieties in certain contexts alongside very strong ideas about what can be Standard Japanese (Heinrich, 2012 and Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016).

While Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2016, p. 6) challenge the idea of Japan as a mono-ethnic and monolingual country, they note the strength and pervasiveness of these ideas which are articulated in the concept of Nihonjinron. Nihonjinron is an academic term used to describe ideas about the Japanese identity that outline "a nationalist discourse articulated around the overarching theme of cultural homogeneity" with sub-themes of:

1. **Group (versus individualist) models of sociality**
2. **Emphasis on hierarchically defined social relations**
3. **A strong social preference for consensus**

(Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016, p. 6).

The impact of this is that ideologies about linguistic homogeneity and the correct way to speak Japanese still permeate institutions and the popular media (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016, p. 7 and 9).

Therefore, the Japanese education system to tries to "divorce students from their home dialects and encourage the adoption of Standard Japanese" (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016, p. 53). Though the Kansai dialects of Osaka and Kyoto have more prestige than other regional dialects, they are only allowed in specific contexts and do not possess the prestige of Standard Japanese while the speakers of northern Tohoku dialect are seen as "backward" (Yasuda, 1999 in Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016, p. 44 & 54).

It is amidst this background of official polices of linguistic homogeneity that migrants like foreign English teachers learn and use Japanese while living and working in Japan.

2.2 Linguistic Features of Japanese

The Japanese writing system is made up of 3 main writing systems: Kanji, Hiragana and Katakana. Rose (2017, p. 8) describes Japanese as being “highly unusual because it uses a morphographic script, two syllabic scripts and an alphabetic script, side-by-side to represent the language”. Kanji is an ideographic alphabet in which each Kanji represents a concept or idea rather than a sound (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 20). Each Kanji has two meanings, the *On*, which is derived from the original Chinese pronunciation and the *Kun*, which is the pronunciation of the Japanese word that matches as closely as possible the original Chinese meaning. There is a standard set of Kanji, known as the *Joyo Kanji* list, which is announced yearly by the Japanese Ministry of Education and currently comprises 2,136 characters (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 24). High school students are expected to be able to read these characters by the time they graduate, and they are used in newspapers and official government documents.

The other two writing systems, collectively known as Kana, are Hiragana and Katakana. Kana are derived from Kanji and were developed to allow representation of indigenous Japanese words (Iwasaki, 2013, p.25). Each Kana represents a syllabary, meaning that each character represents a single vowel or single constant-vowel combination and there are 46 basic sounds which, unlike English, can only be pronounced in one way (Iwasaki, 2013, p.24-25). Katakana is used to write loan words from other languages and sound-symbolic words while Hiragana is used to write particles and inflectional endings (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 20). According to Iwasaki (2013, p. 20), the three sets of symbols are mixed “systemically” with Kanji and Hiragana being supplemented by Kanji within a sentence.

In Japanese, social relationships are indexed by the way in which speakers use various styles and registers (Iwasaki, 2013). Embedded in register choice is the relationship between people, with the connotation of using formal Japanese being one of respect while using informal Japanese is associated with social situations or when a speaker wants to display power over an interlocutor (Iwasaki, 2013). In Japanese, personal indexical terms not only reference speakers’ relationships but also formality of a situation

and gender. This means there are a number of ways to refer to others and the use of these terms “index the level of formality” of the relationship of the speakers (Iwasaki, 2013, p.316). In companies, university clubs and after-school clubs, a speaker’s seniority in a relationship is indexed by their use of suffixes.

Japanese speakers must be aware of the conventions of gendered speech, with female speakers particularly having to perform fixed roles while men “tend to fluctuate their speech widely” (Iwasaki 2013, p. 329). Iwasaki (2013, p. 329) describes gendered speech as being “strategically used to create a particular register, to express identity, and/or negotiate their roles in a particular speech situation”. Even though Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith (2016) outlined the way in which the use of gendered speech has become more flexible, it is still an issue that Japanese speakers need to be aware of. According to Iwasaki (2013, p.318), in Japanese there are other ways to index formality including the predicate form used in a sentence, the directness of the speech, the honorific form of a verb, the gender of the speaker and the interplay of the sociolinguistic marking devices. Therefore, even a native speaker of Japanese must be aware of multiple linguistic factors in interactions, based on their “relationship with the addressee and knowledge about the situation” (Iwasaki, 2013, p, 318). Japanese is a language with both a complex writing system and detailed linguistic conventions concerning the formality of the speech situation, the relationships between the speakers and gendered language. This means second language learners in Japan like foreign English teachers are not only required to learn grammatical patterns of use but also complex knowledge of the sociolinguistic norms of Japanese.

2.3 Foreigners in Japan

While Japan is depicted as mono-cultural and monolingual by official and popular media discourses, there are increasing numbers of foreign residents in Japan. In 2017, there were 2,561,848 foreign residents in 2017 with 2,130,131 being from Asia, the majority of these from China and Korea (Immigration Services Agency of Japan, 2017). Many of these Chinese and Korean residents are long-term residents of Japan, who came to Japan when areas of Korea and China were part of the Japanese empire. In Japanese there is a specific term that is used to refer to foreigners, *Gaijin* or the longer *form Gaikokujin*, means someone from outside of Japan. Discourses on the position of

Gaikokujin are prominent in the media in Japan and there are a number of cultural practices which are said to discriminate against foreigners.

Most international students who study Japanese in Japan are from Asia, with the majority from China and South Korea, and they attend commercial language schools, colleges and universities. The primary motivation for these students to study Japanese is to gain entry to Japanese university, to work in Japan or for business purposes. This means that commercial Japanese language schools in Japan are designed for students to attend full-time and focus on preparation for language proficiency tests, primarily in major urban areas. The other major providers of Japanese classes are local community-based classes, often based at local government city halls and community centres. These classes are taught by part-time volunteer teachers who are members of the local community (Hatasa and Watanabe, 2017). The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) is the most widely taken Japanese proficiency test with 1,168,000 examinees taking the test around the world in 2018 (JEES, 2018). The test, which was revised in 2010, has 5 levels, ranging from N5 to N1, with N5 being equivalent to A1-A2 and N1 being B2 or more on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) scale. The test examines only reading and listening skills in a multiple-choice format.

While English teachers are not the largest group of foreigners in Japan, they occupy a visible position in Japanese society. As foreign teachers often teach in commercial English language schools and in the state school system as Assistant Language Teachers (ALT), English teachers are often the first foreigners that Japanese school children encounter in Japan (McConnell, 2000, p. 215). As I outline in the following section, learning English occupies a visible and often contradictory position in Japanese society which in turn influences how English is taught in Japan, how foreign English teachers are brought to Japan to teach English and how they are viewed as Japanese speakers.

2.4 English Teaching in Japan

Over the past 150 years, since the Meiji restoration, English education in Japan has been associated with modernisation and internationalisation. While English has been taught in Japan since the opening up of Japan to the rest of the world in the second half of the nineteenth century, the English teaching industry developed in its current form in the

1980s as increasing numbers of foreigners began arriving in Japan to teach English. The main two pathways for most foreign English teachers to come to Japan are through commercial language schools, known as *Eikawa*, and as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), who are employed through the government organised Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme and by private companies.

In terms of the actual numbers of English teachers in Japan, government figures from 2015 put the numbers of teachers at foreign language schools at 9774 in total with 3,125 full-time and 6,651 part-time workers (METI, 2015). Only the previous figures from 2005 break the businesses down into which language they teach, with 91.1% of them teaching English courses (METI, 2005). On the JET Programme, in 2016 there were 4536 participants working as ALTs (JET Programme, 2017). Exact figures for the number of directly hired ALTs and English teachers working both in private and public schools do not exist. Additionally, there is little information available about the number of English teachers employed at universities, by private companies and other educational organisations.

Hawley Nagatomo (2016, p. 35) believes that the demands of industry for workers with increased English proficiency led to reforms in English teaching in schools and universities. She characterises these reforms as moving English education from an examination focus to “communication-focused English” which resulted in this influx of foreign English teachers in Japan. This means the teaching of English has divided into two different functions, the English required for examinations (known as *Eigo*) and the English required for communication, (known as *Eikawa*) (Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p.2). *Eigo* is primarily taught by Japanese English teachers at all levels of education in Japanese while *Eikawa* is taught by foreigners at commercial languages schools, at universities and schools.

Despite large-scale investment in English education in the pursuit of internationalisation, Japan still struggles in the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) test rankings, ranking 41st behind nations with less resources and investment in English education (Educational Testing Service, 2017). Kobayashi (2007) and Takahashi (2013) have describes the enthusiasm for English in Japan whole conversely McVeigh (2006, p.244-245) argues “to acquire English is to be contaminated by non-Japaneseness”. McVeigh (2006, p. 245) suggests that this is because English education in Japan still takes place

between the discourses of Japan as a homogenous nation which is “sustained, or even fortified” by globalisation which “manages and reinforces Japanese identity” for those learning English. For Kobayashi (2007, p. 6-7), the enigmatic position of English within Japanese society is because despite its social and symbolic capital, “English has never cemented itself as societal capital required for future (male) elites”. This means that while Japanese companies do devote resources to English education, there are “suspicious attitudes towards a small number of successful learners of English”. It is against this background that English teachers come to live and work in Japan.

2.5 English Teaching Jobs in Japan

In the following section I outline the three main types of employment that English teachers have in Japan and how the nature of these roles influences how English teachers view their own positions. While no definitive figures exist for the number of English teachers in Japan and a demographic breakdown of their nationalities and genders, from both my own personal experience and from the research done into English teachers in Japan by Hawley Nagatomo (2016) and Appleby (2013, 2014 and 2016), many foreign English teachers in Japan are male. Due to Japanese visa requirements, most foreign English teachers in Japan are university educated and from English speaking countries such as USA, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada.

2.5.1 Eikawa

One of the main areas where foreign English teachers work in Japan are the commercial English conversation schools, known as *Eikawa* in Japanese. These schools grew out of the division of English learning into *Eigo* and *Eikawa* (outlined in the previous section) which means students must supplement their study of *Eigo* with attendance at an *Eikawa* to learn communicative English. Teachers who work at these schools are often seen as “relatively inexperienced transient sojourners to Japan” (Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p.37). By the 2000s, the commercial English teaching industry in Japan had grown to around 30,000 teachers, with 15,000 of them being foreigners (METI, 2005). From my own personal experience of working in this type of school, there was a wide range of students, both male and female, from a wide variety of backgrounds including young children, high school and university students, businessmen and housewives.

Ambivalent attitudes towards teaching in English conversation schools is perhaps typified by the title of Carl Brotherstone's autobiographical account of his time in the industry: 'Lifer: How to be a bald Middle-aged English Conversation teacher in Japan' (Brotherstone, 2014). In his section entitled "Eikawa Is Not A Career", Brotherstone characterises employment in the Eikawa industry as being temporary with little prospect of career progression and he became a "lifer" in the Eikawa industry despite his intention to only stay in Japan for 2 years. While Brotherstone's work is a memoir and not academic work, he does identify that as teaching in an Eikawa is not seen as a career, many Eikawa teachers seek ways out of the industry, often looking to move on to teaching positions in schools or universities. This process that has been identified by both Hawley Nagatomo (2016) and Appleby (2013, 2014 and 2016) as playing a major role in how English teachers develop and build careers in Japan.

2.5.2 ALTs (Assistant Language Teachers)

Another route into Japan for foreign English language teachers is the JET Programme, which began in 1987. It places young foreign university graduates in the Japanese education system as assistant language teachers, known as ALTs, in a programme "to promote internationalisation in Japan's local communities by helping to improve foreign language education and developing international exchange at the community level" (JET Programme, 2017, n.p.). The programme started with 847 participants from 4 countries and in 2016 had 4,952 participants from 40 countries with a peak of 6,273 participants in 2002. By 2014, over 60,000 people had participated in the programme (JET Programme, 2017, n.p.). JET participants are placed in both urban and rural areas for a maximum of 5 years and are required to take part in cultural activities alongside their teaching duties. There is some Japanese language training provided by the JET programme including support for taking the JLPT test, with official documents stating, "JET participants are expected to make an effort to learn Japanese and be motivated to continue studying" (JET Programme, 2017, n.p.).

McConnell (2000) explored the JET Programme and the relationship between Japanese teachers and English teachers in the workplace. Throughout his work, he outlines the issues JET Programme participants had with their position in Japanese schools. McConnell found these teachers were given preferential treatment despite often lacking teaching qualifications and being younger than their Japanese colleagues. Despite this

preferential treatment, on the JET Programme he found “the ALTs are rarely integrated more than superficially into social routines and groupings at their Schools” and in the classroom their role was often unclear and peripheral (McConnell, 2000, p. 223-4). According to McConnell (2000, p. 224), the presence of ALTs, “seemed to heighten the sense of ‘Japaneseness’ among teachers and anxiety about maintaining boundaries”. Indeed, on the programme there were clashes because “the Japanese tendency to assume that linguistic and cultural competence, much less identity, was a priori beyond the grasp of foreigners” while the ALTs tended “to assume that Japanese not only could, but darn well should, learn English and become cosmopolitan” (McConnell, 2000, p. 226).

Since 1999 schools have been able to hire ALTs from sources other than the JET Programme which has significantly diversified the ALT industry as JET Programme participants are costly workers to hire for Japanese local authorities, costing 6 million yen or approximately £39,000 per year (Takahara, 2008 in Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p. 45). The result of this deregulation was that by 2009, 50% of 10,000 ALTs were from recruitment agencies, known in Japan as dispatch companies (Flynn, 2009 in Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p. 460). These ALT positions paid less than the JET Programme, leading to a high turnover of staff and teachers being less qualified because of the varied hiring and training policies of each company dispatching teachers. Generally, ALTs occupy an ambiguous position as they are placed in a ‘hierarchical positioning’ with Japanese English teachers, due to differences in the English and Japanese translation of their job descriptions, so as not to threat the position and authority of the Japanese English teachers (Hashimoto, 2013, p.161 in Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p. 47). These views of ALTs have contributed to the idea that the position is a transitory position for people who are just visiting Japan, similar in many ways to the way Eikawa teachers are viewed.

2.5.3 University and Direct Hire Teachers

The other route into teaching English is to be hired directly by a school in the primary, secondary or university sectors with these positions varying widely from part-time teaching roles to tenured professors. Teachers are often employed through recruitment agencies, not just by institutions directly (Hawley Nagatomo, 2016). Many of these roles also have the same insecurity as the positions of Eikawa and ALT teachers because the

varied employment conditions and the way foreign teachers are positioned differently from their Japanese counterparts (Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p.56). As identified earlier, teachers often come to these positions having initially come to Japan as Eikawa teachers or ALTs.

The English teaching industry in Japan employs teachers in a number of settings and on a number of different contracts, which means some teachers receive the same benefits as Japanese staff employed in the same role, while others do not have the same level of stability. The instability of these positions is reflected in the roles that these teachers play in the classroom and in educational institutions generally. In some contexts, English teachers' classes are an integrated part of the curriculum, whereas in other contexts, there is no integration at all. ALTs occupy ambiguous positions while those teachers employed at *Eikawa* or commercial language schools are often seen as short-term visitors to Japan with no teaching experience.

2.6 Cultural Images of the English teaching industry

The advertising used by commercial language schools, *Eikawa*, is emblematic of some of the discourses that exist about English teachers in Japan. Work by Bailey (2006) and Takahashi (with Piller, 2006 and 2013) explored how an idealised image of a white, male English teacher is used as a marketing tool to attract students to these commercial language schools. Bailey (2006, p.127) describes the goal of the advertising is to recruit younger, female students as learning English will give these learners access to gain extra social capital to empower them against the gender practices of Japan.

Kelsky (2001, p.419) outlines how the Japanese media draw connections between romantic relationships with foreign men and Japanese females realising an *Atarashii Jibun* or New Self. In these discourses, foreign men are assumed to be white as "the white man achieves transcendence of race" and act as "gatekeepers to the 'universal' realm of the west" (Kelsky, 2001, p.421-422). English conversation schools "market the activity of English conversation as an eroticised, consumptive practice" in which advertisements "invoke desire, or yearning (*akogare*), on the part of these female customers" (Bailey, 2006, p.106 & 109). While these advertisements and the images of the English teaching industry in Japan have become more subtle over the years, these discourses are still prevalent.

Building on the research by both Kelsky and Bailey, Takahashi (2006 with Piller and 2013) explored how these links between a*kogore* and the desire for white, western males as teachers manifested in the experiences of 5 Japanese English learners. Her research found that her participants linked their desire for English proficiency with an interest in western, white males and led them to study abroad in Australia. Her participants struggled with their learning in Japan and then experienced conflicts between their images of how they thought their lives in Australia would be and the reality. The implications for the Japanese language learning of English teachers is how this image of the western, male, white English teachers impacts on the Japanese learning of foreign English teachers more generally. Are English teachers treated as valid Japanese speakers or does the image used by the English teaching industry act as a constraint on their Japanese language learning and use?

2.7 Teacher Identity Research

Teacher identity research has explored how the ambiguous positioning in Japan of foreign English teachers impacts these teachers' identity and position as teachers in Japan. This research is significant for this study as it shows how English teachers view themselves as teachers, the industry they work in and Japan as a whole. This research also provided important contextual details about the context in which foreign English teacher's Japanese learning and use takes place.

Given the majority of foreign English teachers in Japan are male, Appleby's (2013, 2014, 2016) exploration of the identities of male English teachers in Japan provide a number of significant insights into their identities as teachers. Appleby (2013, p. 129) uses the image of English teachers in Japan portrayed in an internet comic, 'Charisma Man', to investigate how English teacher develop as teachers in Japan (http://www.charismaman.com/). A typical English teacher is portrayed in this comic as unsuccessful in their home country before moving to Japan to be transformed into "a tall, blonde, muscular Adonis" who "finds himself surrounded by an adoring mob of petite, pretty women" (Appleby, 2013, p. 129). Appleby (2013, p. 144) found her participants, Australian, male teachers, struggled to construct "a professional masculinity identity" in an English teaching industry that used an image of Western masculinity which was "extroverted and eroticised" as a marketing tool. This led in turn to a "blurring of commercial, pedagogical and romantic discourse" as teachers found it difficult to "fulfil

their professional desires" while trying to create "a morally, adequate, yet successfully heterosexual, masculine self" (Appleby, 2013, p. 144).

Appleby's (2014, p.777) participants describe their position as foreign English teachers in Japan as "marginal to the mainstream work of Japanese teachers and students" and English teachers "enjoy certain privileges". These teachers followed the career path outlined earlier in the chapter as they began teaching English in commercial language schools as young, inexperienced teachers before getting better jobs and qualifications which caused them to start to inhabit "a discursive position of the ideal disembodied, a-sexual university educator" (Appleby, 2014, p.777). Some of Appleby's (2014, p.785) participants, despite reaching the secure position of university employment, felt marginalised as they did not feel like legitimate academics and their racial and linguistic differences from their Japanese counterparts highlighted their positions as outsiders. For these teachers, "male homosocial networks" gave them access to "a male-dominated elite" within teaching organisations such as the Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT) (Appleby, 2014, p. 787). These connections are particularly important in a Japanese context, as personal connections are often key to appointments and promotions in Japanese workplaces (Usui, Rose and Kagegama, 2003 in Appleby, 2014, p. 785). These participants recognised the primacy of male, white teachers with one commenting "if you wanted to work in an English conversation school, obviously if you're a white male and you have a pulse, you'd get a job". (Appleby, 2016, p. 135). The ambivalent attitudes towards the Eikawa are emphasised by one of Appleby's participants (2016, p.143): "There's no such thing as a career, in that sense in Japan, it's not a career, it's a job. Employers don't expect you to stay long…you were a novelty".

For these male teachers in Appleby's research, the discourses described by Bailey, Kelsky and Takahashi actually "diminished their own sense of agency amongst the English teachers" (Appleby, 2014, p. 783.). This led to Appleby's participants distancing themselves from the image of Charisma Man and the sexual exploits of other teachers. The professional identities that they were trying to express and inhabit came into conflict with the English teaching industry in Japan, which used "an embodied romantic and sexual allure" in its marketing (Appleby, 2013, p. 144). What might prove ultimately significant for this study is that while many of these teachers were successful in their careers, both they and other foreign workers in Japan did not view English teaching as

a "'real job'" which meant they struggled to "produce an agentive, professional self, operating successfully in a transcultural domain" (Appleby, 2013, p.142 & p.144).

Female teacher identity has also been explored by Simon-Maeda and Hawley Nagatomo. Simon-Maeda (2004) researched how a group of female University English teachers positioned their identities within the broader contexts of their workplaces and Japanese society in general. Simon-Maeda found that her respondents' identities varied across their professional life, home life, dealing with conflicts, LGBT issues, attitudes towards students and professional practices, but did not touch on their Japanese learning (Simon-Maeda, 2004, p. 407-408). Hawley Nagatomo (2016) explored how ten foreign female English teachers built lives and created personal and professional identities in Japan. She found that their positions in Japan were significantly different to their male counterparts because of expectations of them as women by Japanese society. Her participants developed long teaching careers in Japan because of 3 factors: the time when they arrived in Japan, where they lived in Japan and their "resourcefulness" as teachers (Hawley Nagatomo, 2016, p.205). For these teachers, being a native speaker of English and not being Japanese was a 'double-edged' sword as they were able to find employment but the underlying idea in Japanese society was that "the real meat and potatoes of English-language teaching clearly lies in the hands of the Japanese teachers".

This means that while these teachers are valued for their language skills, they are not valuable enough to be entrusted with the important aspects of English teaching such as teaching exam English and curriculum design. Even though Hawley Nagatomo's (2016, p. 209) participants developed extensive knowledge about Japanese society and Japanese language, their experiences show there "may be hesitation to acknowledge foreigners' status as knowledgeable cultural insiders to Japan". Research into English teacher's identities in Japan provides significant context for the Japanese language learning of English teachers. Particularly, Appleby and Hawley Nagatomo's research shows how teachers struggled to develop professional identities amid the broader cultural images of teachers and their position in Japan and in the English teaching industry.

2.8 Conclusion

Japanese is a complex language with challenging conventions and strong social and institutional discourses about Standard Japanese, which English teachers have to be aware of when they are learning Japanese. In addition, English teachers are inserted into broader discourses about the position of foreigners in Japan when trying to learn and use Japanese. By outlining details of Japan as a country and the three major employment roles that initially bring foreign English teachers to Japan, we can see how English teachers are viewed in Japan, the expectations of how long they will stay in Japan and how English teachers view themselves and their identities in Japan. In each of the different English education sectors, there is an expectation that teachers will come for a short term-basis and there is significant variation in the way Japanese and foreign English teachers are seen. Those teachers who do stay for extended periods are often subject to fluctuations in employment and not seen as serious insiders by the teaching industry (Hawley Nagatomo, 2016), while white, male English teachers are often positioned by Japanese society as the desirable other (Kelsky, 2001, Bailey, 2006, Takahashi, 2013 and Appleby, 2013).

Appleby (2013) demonstrates that while teachers try to adopt professional identities, they often struggle against this image of the English teaching industry as transitory and unprofessional that is pervasive in Japan society. Interestingly, while much of this research touches on how these teachers learn Japanese, none directly address it. Investigating how English teachers learn Japanese will therefore provide insights into how migrants who are seen as temporary visitors to a country learn languages and whether broader discourses about English teachers in Japan influence foreign English teachers' Japanese learning and use.

Chapter 3: Literature Review: why study how English teachers learn Japanese?

In the following chapter I outline how investigating how foreign English teachers in Japan learn Japanese fits into the broader contexts of Second Language Acquisition and Migrant language learning. I begin by reviewing Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research that focuses on the influence of identity, social class and communities of practice. I then look at research into Japanese Second Language Acquisition generally before concentrating on the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan. The final section focuses one main aspect of SLA: motivation. The development of motivational theory is outlined before concentrating on the pre-eminent theory of motivation, Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System, as well as how it has been replicated in various contexts.

3.1 Second Language Acquisition

Since Firth and Wagner's (1997, p. 295) call for a "reconceptualisation" of the way SLA is researched, there has been an explosion in SLA studies that use a sociolinguistic approach rather than a psycholinguistic one. Firth and Wagner's call was rooted in a belief that at the time there was an "imbalance between cognitive and mentalistic orientations, and social and contextual orientations" (Firth and Wagner, 1997, p. 285). They called for a more "holistic" approach to language acquisition that focused on "a social phenomenon, acquired and used interactively, in a variety of contexts for myriad practical purposes" (Firth and Wagner, 1997, p. 295-296). In the wake of Firth and Wagner's call, examinations of SLA focused on sociolinguistic areas and explored previously underexplored areas.

3.2 Identity in Second Language Acquisition

As part of this movement towards focusing on more social elements in SLA research, learner identity became a major area of enquiry for research into SLA in the 1990s, prompted by the general move of the social sciences away from seeing "biology" and "social structure" as the determining factor in humans to a more nuanced explanation of human behaviour (Block, 2007, p, 11). For Weedon, identity is "the conscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of self, and her ways of understanding her relation in the world" (Weedon, 1997, p. 32 in Block, 2007, p.14). This sense of identity manifests itself, according to Block (2007, p. 43) through identity types based on "ethnic",

“racial”, “national”, “migrant”, “gender”, “social class” and “language” affiliations. These identities are constructed with others and are both “individual and collective”, meaning that identity is constructed socially and different identities within an individual are not mutually exclusive (Block, 2007, p. 42-43). Identity therefore influences the way an individual sees the world, the choices they make, the way others see the individual and opportunities they are offered.

3.2.1 Investment

One of the ‘new directions’ that placed a sociolinguistic interpretation of SLA and identity at its core is Norton’s Social Identity Theory. Building on Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory (1978 with Turner), it incorporates elements of Bourdieu’s social capital (1986 and 1991) and Lave and Wenger’s (1991) communities of practice constructs. For Norton, a second language learner and their context cannot be separated, as a learner interacts with the speakers and the environment in which they are learning. Therefore, Norton believes learning a language is not just “acquired with hard work and education” but is in fact “a complex social practice that engages the identities” of learners (2000, p.132). Norton assigns learners “complex social history and multiple desires” and they invest in learning language in order to “acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources” which will in turn increase their “cultural capital” and “give them access to hitherto unattainable resources” (Norton, 2000, p. 7 and 10). Norton’s work was based upon the work of Bourdieu (1986 & 1991) that outlined the concepts of cultural capital and social capital in which individuals draw economic value from their identities and activities within a social context. In other words, learners invest in a language to gain access to new opportunities, be that employment or social opportunities and their learning is affected by their identities and the context they are learning in.

Norton’s theories were developed using data gathered from a 6-month diary study and a series of interviews with 5 adult migrant students on a full-time ESL programme in Canada (Norton, 2000, p.25-33). Norton (2000, p. 85-86) found that younger participants’ identities were influenced both positively and negatively by their changing circumstances and their use of English, particularly in a work environment. The older participants found their investment in English varied depending on factors such as the English proficiency of their partner and children or how they were positioned by English speakers they encountered (Norton, 2000, p.107-108). Norton’s effective use of learner diaries and the

rich depth of data they produced, show how a learner's investment and interactions between the learner and their environment play a significant role in language learning.

Norton's work focused on learners who had very little symbolic capital in the context that they migrated to and often their struggles with language learning were due to this lack of symbolic capital. However, there is less research on language learners who draw high levels of symbolic and cultural capital from their socio-economic position, their background, their employment and their reason for migration. Given that foreign English teachers migrate to Japan to teach English specifically, rather than working in other industries that migrants typically migrate to, researching how foreign English teachers learn Japanese can examine whether Norton's ideas of investment are valid in a different context where the learners have different symbolic capital and resources to the women in Norton's study.

David Block (2007, p.92 & p.109) considers Norton's work offers "the most complete story" among studies of adult learners in dominant L2 settings and believes her work provides "powerful and compelling narratives" because of the "depth of the five life stories that form its backbone". However, Block (2007, p. 92) does criticise the reliance that Norton's and other similar studies place on their participants' accounts of their experiences instead of using examples of participants' interactions in the second language itself. This criticism, while having some validity, ignores the practical and ethical implications of trying to gather examples of the learners using language in a real setting. Block (2007) also believes that these studies need to follow migrants for longer periods of time to provide more complete pictures of their language learning rather than those provided by Norton and others. This study will address this area by including both newly arrived and long-term English teachers in Japan, further details of which I outline in the methodology in the next chapter.

3.2.2 Ideologies, Context and Capital

Since Norton's development of her theories regarding the importance of context in language learning, Norton and others have built on these ideas. Norton (Darvin and Norton, 2015, p.41) has expanded her ideas of identity and investment to include the role of ideologies because of changes in the way people have migrated over the past twenty years. For Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 43-44), ideologies are "the dominant ways of thinking that organise and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes

of inclusion and exclusion, and privilege and marginalisation of ideas, people and relations" (Darvin and Norton, 2015, p. 43-44). These ideologies influence language learning because they have "the power to impose and to inculcate principles of construction of reality" which positions and labels learners "before they even speak". (Darvin and Norton, 2015, p. 43). Thus, dominant ideologies in a context for language learning have the power to decide the learner's right to speak, learn and the degree of participation they have in a society.

The Douglas Fir Group, a group of SLA researchers, outlined their Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in 2016 and built on many of the ideas outlined by Darvin and Norton about identity, capital and context. The group call for a transdisciplinary framework because current SLA theories are specific to each theoretical and epistemological approach, meaning that there is no integration of different constructs (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 38). They believe for SLA research needs to take account of the contextual forces that influence language learners and define language learning as being influenced by 3 levels (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p.20). The first level is "the micro level of social action and interaction", the second is the meso level of "sociocultural institutions and communities" and the final level is the macro level of "ideological structures" (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 36). The meso level of institutions reflect the "pervasive social conditions (economic, cultural, religious, political) which affect the possibilities and nature of people creating social identities in terms of investment, agency and power" (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 24). Ideologies manifest themselves in language polices and planning (Douglas Fir Group. p. 33).

Therefore, the Douglas Fir Group characterises language learning as an emergent and social process that is "always in a state of construction as they navigate their way through their multilingual contexts of perception; of social action; and of agency, power and emotion" (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 37). In learning another language, a learner is making choices to take part in these broader discourses and exercise agency about how they are learning (Douglas Fir Group, 2016 Group. p. 26). Language learning is a process driven by emotion and if learners have access to a wide range of interactions, "the more enduring the learner's participation in them is, the more complex and enduring their multilingual repertories will be" (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 27). Larger Meso level discourses shape how much access each learner has to these interactions through membership of communities, both real and imagined (Douglas Fir Group, 2016 p. 32).

Therefore for the Douglas Fir Group (2016, p.32), language learning is an ecological process and those researching it should take account of “fair and credible representations of the possibilities and constraints faced by L2 learners in their social worlds on all levels of activity and across time spans”.

Duff (2019) expanded on the framework outlined by the Douglas Fir Group to outline the necessity of using cross-disciplinary frameworks for researching SLA. Duff (2019, p. 8) sees ideologies not just circulating at the broader levels of society, but they “are also instantiated, interpolated, taken up, performed, or resisted at more meso and micro levels”. This influences which language is used in an exchange as well as the register or variety of a language used. The actions of learners and interlocutors are broadly reflective of the social status of a language and this has practical impact on the choices that a language learner makes. For Duff (2019, p. 11) access to opportunities are often dependent on how these broader ideologies impact on whether an interaction in a L2 actually becomes an opportunity for L2 practice. As outlined in Chapter 2, foreign English teachers are inserted into broader ideologies in Japan about foreigners learning Japanese, the status of English in Japan as well as their role as foreign English teachers in Japan so this study will be able to document the lived impact that broader ideologies have on language learning.

For Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 45), learners move in and out of both the offline and online worlds with capital rather than being an “empty vessel” and convert this capital into something new in their new context. The “linguistic capital” that English teachers bring into Japanese society is their ability to speak English, which is the reason they are in Japan. As people move into new environments, the “linguistic capital” they bring with them is subject to the “biases and assumptions of the larger sociocultural context”. Foreign English teachers’ English-speaking ability is valued financially and socially by Japanese society, so they possess a different type of linguistic capital to most other migrants. Therefore, examining how English teachers learn Japanese will help us understand whether the “linguistic capital” of a valued first language either aids or acts as a constraint for language learning. Additionally, as Japan is a context with fixed ideologies about foreigners and their ability to use Japanese, investigating how English teachers learn Japanese in Japan will help us understand the impact of these ideologies on language learning.

3.3 Identity research in action

In the following section, I outline several studies that have explored the identities of second language learners. These studies identify influential factors and experiences relevant to the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan. I look at issues of gender, social class, agency and communities and how investigating the Japanese learning of foreign English teachers in Japan will help us further expand our knowledge of these areas

3.3.1 Gender and second language learning

Explorations of how gender influences language learning provides insights into how learners construct identities and learn second language in dominant L2 settings. Polanyi (1995) analysed journals kept by male and female study abroad students studying in Russian in Russia and found that the female participants experienced unpleasant encounters with Russian men that lead to “self-doubt, social awkwardness, and worry” (Polanyi, 1995, p. 280). These unpleasant encounters were in sharp contrast to male participants who when experiencing similar “romantic/flirtatious/sexual encounters”, saw them as “pleasant, romantic, fun time” (Polanyi, 1995, p.280). The difference in the types of interactions these students had were because of the way Russian men viewed women and foreign women. Polanyi (1995, p. 286) argues that the achievement gap between male and female students during these Study Abroad programmes was due to the difference in the way the women in these programmes were treated and to cope with these experiences, the female students acquired “linguistic and interpersonal strategies to cope”.

Studies of young, Japanese women learning English show how educated migrants adopt and invest in different social identities to learn languages (Block, 2006 and Takahashi 2013). Takahashi’s long-term study focused on 5 women and found they went to Australia to study English because of the way the English teaching industry in Japan had explicitly linked women’s desire for change and empowerment to romantic ideals of Western men in their advertising materials (Takahashi, 2013). As Takahashi’s participants struggled to learn English and find a place in Australian society, they sought out romantic relationships with white native English speakers to improve their English (Takahashi, 2013). However later contact with Australians and other nationalities led to their investment in English being “overridden by emerging importance of creating a home

environment where their worth could be acknowledged (Chizuko and Eika) or where they were able to nourish their identity (Yuka)" (Takahashi, 2013, 7.2.3: Language desire, identity and ELL in Sydney).

While many studies of female second language learning exist, male migrant learners have received less attention. One study that does focus on male migrants is Teutsch-Dwyer's (2011) study of Karol, a male Polish migrant to the USA. Teutsch-Dwyer (2011, p. 192) found that the language learning of men can be "influenced by their image of masculinity and the fluctuating life situations encountered in the new cultural environment". Given many English teachers in Japan are male, it is significant that Teutsch-Dwyer (2011, p. 197-198) found Karol created "his own language system and his own communicative strategies" that were rooted in his own "perceptions of his position as a male" especially in his interactions with his sister's husband, who ended up not tolerating Karol's attempts at conversation in English despite being an important initial interlocutor. Teutsch-Dwyer (2011, p. 192-193) found that Karol's friendship group of female colleagues, one of whom he had a relationship, with meant the extent and quality of his interactions were limited which slowed down his language learning as he only improved his vocabulary knowledge.

The role of gender in these studies shows how significant gender can be in second language learning. Polanyi and Takahashi's findings show that gender roles can influence language learning for female learners, as the imagery and interactions they encounter can push them into uncomfortable situations when learning and using second languages. Teutsch-Dwyer's findings about the strength of the masculine identity in language learning are particularly important for English teachers in Japan, as many who stay for the longer-term in Japan are male and marry Japanese women, so it will be interesting to see if they experience similar issues to Karol. In addition, Japan as a context values English and the English teaching industry explicitly uses a romantic image of male English teachers as an advertising technique, so my study will be able to explore whether English teachers can form social and romantic relationships that allow them to use Japanese or if the linguistic capital of English prevents this.

3.3.2 Social Class

As English teachers in Japan must have a university degree to obtain a visa, the social class of these teachers is likely to play a role in their language learning and use. Block

(2007, p.188) calls for SLA research to place greater emphasis on social class as the inequalities that exist amongst migrants mean “the experiences of unskilled migrants differ markedly from the experiences of middle class or ‘middling’ transmigrants”. Block (2010, p.486) also identifies issues that exist with describing migrants’ experiences in SLA, particularly the definitions that are used to describe the position and affiliations of individuals as researchers seek to “situate and present individuals against the backdrop of forces and flows of migrations in an increasing globalised world”. Block’s labels (2010, p. 490) describe more accurately the different migrants that exist and foreign English teachers are an example of one of these groups: Middling Transmigrants.

English teachers learning Japanese in Japan are “middling transmigrants”, which Block defines as those who are “often, but not always, well–educated” and “are very much in the middle” of the society they come from and the society they migrate to (Conradson & Latham, 2005, p.220 in Block, 2010, p. 489). Block believes the class dimension of their identity “may trump the national or any local affiliation” when these individuals migrate (Block, 2010, p. 491). It is these middling transmigrants that this study will focus on second language learners who are from the ‘middle’ of a society and are positioned in the ‘middle’ of the culture they are migrating to and this could be an influential factor in their Japanese language learning experience. While attending university does not guarantee that foreign English teachers are from middle class backgrounds, by virtue of graduating from university and being from English speaking countries, English teacher draw linguistic capital that gives them the mobility to access English teaching jobs in Japan relatively easily, differentiating them from other employment migrants with less linguistic and social capital. While some studies such as Takahashi (2013) have focused on these “middling transmigrants”, often their focus has been on those in full time education rather than migrants like English teachers who are working while learning second languages.

For many migrants with high levels of education, migrating to a new country actually experienced classes between their backgrounds and their new position in the country they migrated to which influenced language learning engagement and the community they formed in these new contexts. In Block’s study of Carlos, an educated Spanish-speaking migrant to the UK, found that he experienced a clash between his background as an educated, middle-class professional in his home country and his working position where his background did not give him any linguistic capital in England. This meant

Carlos had to work as a security card which brought him into contact with working-class English speakers (Block, 2012). This clash is emblematic of “how migrants insert themselves (and are inserted by others) into established class systems” (Block, 2012, p. 201). Block (2012, p. 202) found “every aspect of his identity and sense of self served to distinguish and differentiate” Carlos from his interlocutors and ultimately, “affected his long-term prospects of developing as a competent and confident speaker of English”. As my participants are university educated, they might be similar to Carlos in the way they seek out language learning opportunities and people to socialise with, as Carlos socialised exclusively with other educated middle-class Spanish speakers. As his socialising was done within this Spanish-speaking social circle, he did not gain access to any English-speaking communities of practice outside of the workplace, which are seen by many as being critical to successful learning. While Carlos was prevented from accessing employment which matched his educational background, the group I am seeking to study, English teachers in Japan, have migrated to Japan for employment purposes because of the value of their first language.

Shin’s (2014) work on middle-class Korean students who studied in English-medium high schools in Canada has some implications for the way in which English teachers might position themselves in Japan. These young Korean students were marginalised by the young Canadians with whom they shared a classroom because of the lack of English proficiency whilst they differentiated themselves from local long-term Korean migrants in Canada by living in middle-class areas. This led them to develop identities as rich ‘transnationals’ who maintained strong ties with Korean culture, socialised with other Korean students and followed the latest Korean fashion and music trends closely (Shin, 2014, p. 101). This caused conflict between the student’s identities and their goal of studying English, which could be mirrored in the experiences of English teachers in Japan.

Ortega (2019, p. 25) identified that SLA research focuses on highly successful learners and elite L2 learners where people choose to learn new languages without “any material threat or symbolic threat to their home language - often aided by ample support and in the midst of great praise”. By studying these middling transmigrants, foreign English teachers in Japan, this study will explore the role of how these migrants with high level of linguistic capital from their first language, learn Japanese. In addition, as foreign English teachers are university educated migrants from inner circle countries, they can

cross borders with privileged mobility so researching their Japanese learning will investigate whether their privilege allows them to step outside of broader inequalities that are faced by migrants in Japan. Exploring how English teachers learn Japanese will determine whether being university educated and employment migrant with a highly valued first language acts as a hindrance or an aid to second language learning.

3.4 Communities of Practice

A number of studies outlined in this section, such as Norton (2000), Kinginger (2004) and Block (2007 & 2012), have identified access to communities of practice as being influential in the language learning of migrants. Originally envisioned by Lave and Wenger (1991, p.98), Communities of Practice are “a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice”. For Wenger (2008, p7-8) they are “an integral part of daily lives” of people as well as “informal” and “pervasive”. Learning is accomplished by “being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities” (Wenger, 1998, p.4). Wenger (1998, p.4) believes that the identities of members of a community are constructed not only by who the individual is but also by “what we are not”. Given Japan’s make-up as a largely mono-cultural and mono-ethnic country, the idea of what English teachers are *not* could influence the opportunities for language learning that English teachers in Japan might have.

For Wenger (1998, p.164), the type of participation that the learner has in a community is key to how successful the community of practice is for the learner, with the degree of participation and non-participation evaluated alongside whether the participant is on the periphery or the margin of a community of practice. If a learner is on the periphery of a community of practice, the learner can start by being included in the practices of the community and has the possibility of full participation in the community – ‘enabling’ the learner. If the learner is on the margin of a group, then they may be unable to “become integrated in the practice” and they may never gain access to full participation. Lave and Wenger’s work was not initially applied to the world of second language acquisition but as demonstrated by the work reviewed in this section, access to a community of practice is an important factor in how migrants learn languages.

Norton built on Lave and Wenger’s theories both in her work on her own (2000) and with Kanno (2003), extending them to the world of language learning by dubbing them

“imagined communities”. Imagined communities are “groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of imagination” (Kanno and Norton, 2003, p.241). The concept of Imagined Communities was originally theorised by Anderson (1983) and was developed to describe how concepts of nation states and nationalism were developed in the 19th and 20th centuries and promoted through the growth of the media, particularly the print media, during this era. For Kanno and Norton (2003, p.242), learners actually connect with communities that they do not have access to outside of their local and surrounding communities and they invest in “imagined communities” and a “possible world” when they choose to learn a language (Norton and Kanno, 2001, p. 246-248).

Norton (2001) examines the influence of these imagined communities and how they influence non-participation in the classroom. Two learners from her original study, Felicia and Katarina, both rejected the label of immigrant and through their interactions with their instructors decided not to participate in their classes to “preserve the integrity of their imagined communities” (Norton, 2001, p.165). Norton’s identification of specific incidents that caused this non-participation is significant, as the English teachers that my study will focus on are likely to have strong identities as English teachers, as demonstrated by the research of Appleby (2013). While Norton identifies Katarina and Felicia as being both highly motivated and invested in learning English, their engagement with native speakers was framed with “different historical reasons and with different consequences” and they both “believed they had old-timer status in their imagined communities” that impacted on their efforts (2001, p. 166-167). Hawley Nagatomo’s (2016) research into the teacher identities of English teachers in Japan revealed the difficulties that even long-term female English teachers in Japan found becoming members of work-based communities of practice, so it will be interesting to see if English teachers can gain access to communities of practice for Japanese learning and use.

Of further significance for this study is Norton’s (2001, p.169) identification that “the onus is on the learner to understand and be understood, and not on the native speaker to ensure that the learner understands” and that the more the learner interacts with the wider community, the more chance there is of non-participation in language courses and resistance to being positioned as a newcomer or as a migrant. Norton believes that teachers need to be aware of the “imagined communities” of learners when planning and teaching language courses. They must be aware that learners may become

“uncomfortable speaking to people in whom they have the greatest investment” (Norton, 2001, p. 170). The issue of non-participation and resistance to being positioned as a migrant or newcomer is bound to be influential on a short and a long-term basis on the language learning of English teachers in Japan, as much of their learning is likely to be self-directed and in informal settings.

3.5 Agency

One common thread that emerges from SLA research outlined previously in this chapter is the role that agency plays in the learning of migrant second language learners. Larsen-Freeman (2019, p.62) defines agency “optimizing conditions for one’s own learning (or not—Duff & Doherty, 2015) and choosing to deploy one’s semiotic resources to position oneself as one would wish in a multilingual world (Byrnes, 2014)”. This means that despite learners being positioned within broader ideologies, they can still access agency (Larsen-Freeman, 2019, p.63). However, Larsen-Freeman (2019, p.66) notes that exercising agency takes place within the ecology of a learner’s context where “Agency arises when spontaneous activity is coupled to the world, forming a coordinative structure”. Therefore, agency is situated within a time and space which means it fluctuates and “is something one achieves by means of an environment, not simply in an environment” (Larsen-Freeman, 2019, p. 66).

Kinginger’s (2004) study of Alice shows how learners developed identities and exercised agency in difficult situations and circumstances. Kinginger explored how Alice, an American student studying French, prepared herself for and then took part in a study-abroad programme at a French University for 2 years despite having a traumatic upbringing and having to self-fund her studies through work. During her time in France, Alice struggled so much with being surrounded by fellow American students and a difficult French university system that “she became progressively depressed to the point of contemplating suicide” (Kinginger, 2004, p. 233).

Alice and Kinginger identify this as being the catalyst for Alice deciding to exercise agency about her language learning, abandoning “her academic pursuits in favour of seeking out speaking practice in whatever formal contexts presented” by engaging with other French university students socially (Kinginger 2003, p. 235). Mirroring Norton’s ideas about the recalibration of identities, Kinginger (2003, p. 239) concludes that Alice had to reconstruct her approach to language learning as “she is challenged by the real

difficulties of developing advanced language proficiency". The ways in which Alice reacted to these experiences demonstrate some of the major struggles that second language learners have and show the way learners need to exercise agency to adopt specific identities and make choices about their learning in reaction to their learning experiences. Atkinson (2019) identified that the agency of learners has not been well represented in SLA so by examining how foreign English language teachers learn and use Japanese, this study will be able to explore the role of the agency of these migrant language learners who are learning Japanese in informal settings.

3.6 Japanese Second Language Acquisition

Research in Japanese as a second language acquisition (JSLA) has been mainly focused on linguistic elements rather than sociolinguistic elements or studies of how learners actually learn and use Japanese. Mori, Y., Hasegawa, A., and Mori, J. (2021, p, 474-475) detail how JSLA has yet to examine Japanese second language learning both inside and outside of Japan in a diverse number of settings while they identify the need to incorporate sociocultural and sociolinguistic approaches. Mori et al (2021, p.90-91) outline that JSLA predominately focuses on international students learning in higher education settings with only 20% of research between 2011 and 2021 examining learning in non-higher education settings. Much of the research has focused on examining the relationship between L2 Japanese learners' first languages and their achievements in learning Japanese as a second language. Mori et all (2021) identify that both linguistic and non–linguistic individual differences in JSLA need to be explored more.

Mori et al (2021, p.103) found in their review of found of JSLA research that despite reaching high levels of proficiency, learners were not guaranteed to gain "the principles of social interaction and work specific discourse, which are acquired through actual participation in language-mediated interaction". One of the key issues that needs to be addressed in JSLA is "how to create such a virtuous cycle between promotion of self-confidence and successful learning in L2 instruction" (Mori et al, 2021, p. 107). In addition, as JSLA relies on quantitative based approaches, JSLA research lacks information about individual learners and "their personal growth or demotivation, and their surrounding contexts tend to be missing, and information about how motivational charge relates to subsequent learning" (Mori et al, 2021, p. 107). Specifically, Mori et al (2021) call for more research into JSLA motivation that examines a wider range of learners and

contexts. Mori et al (2021, p. 113) consider that because of strong ideologies about Japanese language and culture, Japan is a context that accepts ideas about native speakerism regarding Japanese learning. The focus of research of JSLA on Japanese learning in higher education settings means that research focuses on this privileged population, so Mori et al (2021, p.114 & p.116) call for more research that focuses on "multilingual youth and migrant workers".

3.6.1 Gender Roles

While gendered forms can vary depending on the context of the interaction (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith, 2016), in Japanese gender is encoded in interjections, the personal pronoun used by a speaker, the use of pragmatic articles and voice pitch (Iwasaki, 2013, p. 325-329). Gender can be used therefore in Japanese to conform to societal norms, express identity and perform roles in specific speech acts. In this section, I focus on research on foreign women learning Japanese that has some significant implications for the learning of Japanese by English teachers, regardless of their gender.

Siegal's (1995 and 1996) study of four female white middle-class students on an 18 month-long Japanese language programme at a Japanese university explored whether students can acquire language knowledge that is not explicitly taught in the classroom. The audio recordings that the participants made of their conversations in Japanese yielded data that allowed Siegal (1995, p. 239-240) to discover that two participants, Arina and Mary, struggled to use the type of appropriate honorific language that women are required to use in Japanese and were "ambivalent" about its use because of their identities and backgrounds. Mary's interactions with her university supervisor are a notable example of her struggles, in which she displayed "hesitancy", inappropriate grammatical and lexical usage alongside appropriate behaviours all in the same interaction (Siegal, 1996, p.365-366). Siegal (1995, p. 239-240) argues that "individual differences in a learner's sociolinguistic competence" are caused by the "conscious and unconscious desires of the learner to maintain her image" and as a result the language they use might "deviate from the native speaker norms". Siegel's study, despite being conducted over 20 years ago and focusing on specific aspects of language use, is significant for its use of recorded conversations of the participants' interactions in Japanese as it shows the conflicts that Japanese second language learners experience about the use of gendered language in Japanese.

Siegal and Okamoto (2003, p.51) found a number of Japanese textbooks “tend to portray stereotypical images of Japanese men and women”. They found that Japanese language textbooks could better reflect how “today’s learners of Japanese as a foreign language are multicultural and multilingual, and they vary in terms of gender orientation”. They draw attention to the problems that Japanese learners face as legitimate speakers as they “are still questioned about their Japanese language skills and praised for their low-level skills” by native Japanese speakers (Siegal and Okamoto, 2003, p.58). They suggest a number of measures to improve Japanese language teaching materials including “using authentic materials and listening to the voices of learners” particularly those that “portray Japanese gender identities through language in different contexts” as well as allowing learners of Japanese as a second language to practice the identities they wish to have as Japanese speakers (Siegal and Okamoto, 2003, p. 59-62).

Work by Ohara (2011, p.248-249) about the pitch of female speakers in Japanese found that second language learners may reject using the high-pitched voice typically used by females to project femininity in Japanese. Ohara (2011, p, 249) describes Japanese language courses and materials as not adequately preparing students “for decisions they are going to have to make concerning pitch behaviour in Japanese and their construction of an identity in this foreign culture”, mirroring the issues identified by Siegal (1995 and 1996) and Siegal and Okamoto (2003). Ohara’s identification of issues with the materials produced for teaching Japanese and the fact that students rejected some of the gendered roles that are required of them in Japanese, might be replicated by the participants in this study, English teachers in Japan. The issues identified by Siegal, Okamoto and Ohara demonstrate that English teachers, both male and female, may struggle with both the roles that are expected of them in Japanese alongside the materials that they have to use to study Japanese, which in turn may affect their motivation for studying Japanese.

3.6.2 Sociolinguistic Approaches to Japanese SLA

In the following section I examine studies that take a sociolinguistic approach to researching JSLA and explore concepts such as identity and communities of practice. Muramatsu’s (2013) study of four students on an intensive Japanese summer course at an American university found, a “total immersion environment” was created where the participants had “infinite opportunities” to use Japanese (Muramatsu, 2013, p. 302-303).

This created an environment where students had access to opportunities for legitimate participation “by removing the various social constraints” such as “power, gender, and race from the learning environment” and by giving the students “abundant resources and opportunities for L2 learning’” (Muramatsu, 2013, p. 302). Muramatsu (2013, p305) rejects Norton’s link between second language learning and the acquiring of “symbolic capital” through investment, as she views investment as part of the learners’ agency which is present in contexts and when constructing identities. Muramatsu (2013, p.306) found “L2 learner’s aspirations for personal change” were more prominent than Norton’s participants because of the differing context in which their language learning and use took place (2013, p.306).

For Muramatsu’s participants (2013, p.302), there is a complex interplay between the learner’s “agency” and the “social community” and she identifies a learner’s “aspiration for personal change” and “transformation” as being significant in her participants’ Japanese learning. Muramatsu believes that her study has two significant implications for Japanese language learning. The first is that L2 teaching needs to create “social communities that provide rich and effective affordance structures for L2 learning” (Muramatsu, 2013, p.310). The second implication is that L2 teaching needs to “direct L2 learners’ agency to find learning meaningful” as learning experiences are influenced by “learners’ personal histories, beliefs, identities, emotions, and other personal and affective factors”. These aspects then come into contact with the affordance structure of the communities in which they are living and can have a positive or negative affect on their language learning (Muramatsu, 2013, p.311). Significantly, Muramatsu (2013, p. 314) believes that if the programme took place in Japan, the participants would be “likely to face the ideology of the Japanese society and folk beliefs about foreigners”, meaning they would have to “negotiate their learning opportunities” to gain access to “legitimate peripheral participation in local communities of practice”. Researching the Japanese language learning of English teachers will further explore how foreigners are positioned by ideologies in Japanese society about foreigners.

Umino and Benson (2016) used interviews and photo elicitation to explore how an Indonesian student learnt Japanese at a language school and a university over a four-year period in Japan. They found that the student initially struggled to use and understand Japanese when he arrived in Japan despite studying Japanese for 3 years before coming to Japan. Notably, Umino and Benson (2016, p.769) identify that their

participant's involvement in communities of practice was important for their Japanese use and that the learner had to rely on their own "initiative" to gain access to these groups. Membership in communities of practice usually came from two sources, "institutionally organized support or educational communities" or "independently self-organized communities of friends" (Umino and Benson, 2016, p. 769). Given that the membership in the latter group is prompted by "spontaneous everyday incidents" and the participant in Umino and Benson's study struggled to gain access to this kind of group in Japan over his four years there, it demonstrated the challenges that migrants in Japan face gaining access to communities of practice, regardless of Japanese proficiency. While English teachers are significantly different to the participants and the settings where the research in Muramatsu and Umino and Benson's studies took place, the issues raised are likely to be encountered by English teachers. Significantly, Muramatsu and Umino and Benson both identify opportunities for legitimate participation as a barrier to Japanese learning. While the studies outlined in this section are focused on learners in formal settings, studying English teachers will allow Japanese language learning to be explored in more informal settings.

3.6.3 English Teachers Learning Japanese in Japan

Of research into English teachers learning Japanese, two studies are relevant to this study. Casanave (2012) analysed her own Japanese learning diaries, written whilst working as a lecturer in a Japanese university for 8 years. Casanave (2012, p. 653-660) found that her learning, which did not take place in a classroom setting, was affected by the "ecological realities" of her life, such how she was feeling at the time, alongside influences related to her Japanese study such as her interlocutors in Japanese, the way she studied and whether studying Japanese was fun. Given some of my participants will have spent a similar amount of time in Japan as Casanave, similar ecological realities are likely to be influential on their language learning. Her use of diaries shows how they can be used to identify factors that influence English teachers' Japanese learning and use. However, as Casanave came to Japan as an educated university professor rather than a teacher in a high school or commercial language school, she would have had access to different communities of practice compared to English teachers working in schools and in the commercial English education industry.

Simon-Maeda's (2011) autoethnographic study is a comprehensive account of how the author acquired Japanese and how her identity shifted since her arrival in Japan in 1975. She describes her learning as taking place through ''participating'' in "three broad spheres (social, family, career) that overlap and increase or diminish in importance" as her life situation changed and her efforts in these spheres were significant for her Japanese learning (Simon-Maeda, 2011, p. 141 and 145). Simon-Maeda (2011, p.138 & 2009) also details some of the problems that non-white Japanese learners have in gaining "membership in mainstream society" but being from an "English speaking, western country" meant for her "dysfluency" had not prevented her from accessing a position in a Japan university. Her position as a woman was her "determining variable" in her position in Japanese society rather than her position as a non-native speaker (Simon-Maeda, 2011, p.138).

Simon-Maeda describes her Japanese language learning as situated on a "lifelong continuum" and being a "cumulative process" and that language acquisition is "socially constructed" (Simon-Maeda, 2011, p. 146-147). The varying participation in the "three spheres" she describes is likely be replicated in my own study and would be similar to Norton's work that showed economic migrants' development of language proficiency is affected by their position in the workplace, socially and at home (Simon-Maeda, 2011, p. 141 and 145). It will be interesting to see where the participants in my research use Japanese and whether they were given similar advantages as English teachers, given that many English teachers are of a similar racial background to Simon-Maeda. While both Casanave and Simon-Maeda's research provide some interesting insights into the language learning of English teachers in Japan, because their studies are based on their own learning, their conclusions are reflective of their own experiences. My research will discover whether the areas they identify as being significant for Japanese learning for English teachers applies more broadly by examining the experiences of English teachers with different backgrounds and employment roles.

3.7 Motivation

In this section, I focus upon language learning motivation. As English teachers come to Japan to teach English rather than learn Japanese, how they motivate themselves to learn Japanese is a crucial area for this group of learners as they are working while learning Japanese learning. This means they differ from the type of participants who

have been scrutinised in previous motivational research, who tend to be high school and university students (Boo et al, 2015). Motivation itself is particularly hard to define with Dörnyei (2001, p.1) describing it as “an abstract, hypothetical concept we use to explain why people think and behave as they do”. Motivation does play an important role in determining whether a student’s efforts to learn a language are a success or a failure (Dörnyei, 2001, p.2). Examining how foreign English teachers motivate themselves to learn Japanese will allow this study to examine how motivation interacts with the environment in which learning takes place and how employed migrants motivate themselves to learn languages whilst working.

3.7.1 Integrative/Instrumental

Traditionally, motivation has been divided into two categories: integrative and instrumental. Integrative motivation can be described as “a positive disposition towards the L2 group and the desire to interact with and even become similar to valued members of that community” (Dörnyei, 2001, p.16). Instrumental motivation is defined as being concerned with “the potential pragmatic gains of L2 proficiency, such as getting a job or a higher salary” (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 16). Developed by Robert Garner and his colleagues in Canada in the early 1970s, integrative motivation is outlined in a detailed and comprehensive manner in which they identify a number of complex factors that influence a student’s motivation for studying a language.

At face value the integrative/instrumental accounting for language learning motivation does account well for language learning motivation, considering the comprehensiveness of Gardner’s account of integrative motivation. However, whether this is sufficient to describe the reality of what motivates a student to learn a language is open to debate and Oxford and Shearin (1994) identified psychological research as being important in helping to describe motivation and the factors influence student motivation more adequately. Dörnyei (2009, p.10) echoes Oxford and Shearin’s views that the integrative/instrumental view of language learning motivation is inadequate as it does not link with “the new cognitive motivational concepts that had been emerging in motivational psychology” as well as “psychological research on self”. Dörnyei (2009, p.10) believes the integrative/instrumental account of motivation does not reflect the reality of language learning and in response developed the L2 Motivational Self System,

made up of three components: Ideal L2 Self, Ought-to L2 Self and L2 Learning Experience.

3.7.2 The L2 Motivational Self System

Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System makes a more comprehensive account of motivation as it accounts for the learner, outside forces and the experience of learning a second language. Drawing on the work of Markus and Nurius (1986) on possible selves and Higgins (1987) self-theory in social psychology, the L2 Motivational Self System identifies that future selves, as conceived by Higgins, are the driver of language learner motivation. Dörnyei built on previous research into language learning motivation by including a third component that focuses on the impact of environment on language learning. The Ideal L2 Self is the self that learners desire to become, acting as a "powerful motivator" and accounting for "traditional integrative and internalised instrumental motives" (Dörnyei's, 2009, p.29). The Ought-to L2 Self is concerned with qualities a person "ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes" and is related to motivations that are "extrinsic" or from outside of the learner for instrumental reasons (Dörnyei, 2009, p.29). The third dimension, the L2 Learning Experience, is concerned with how a learner's motivation interacts with "immediate learning environment and experience" including factors such as the "impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, and the experience of success" (Dörnyei, 2009, p.29). In more straightforward language Dörnyei and Chan (2013, p. 439) describe the framework as being broken down into three parts: "the learner's internal desire to become an effective L2 user", "social pressures from the learner's environment to master the L2" and "the actual experience of being engaged in the L2 learning process". A learner's L2 Ideal Self or Ought-to L2 Self ultimately interacts with the L2 Learning Experience to impact on a learner's efforts to learn a Second Language.

The L2 Motivational Self System has been extensively researched and replicated, predominantly to investigate how secondary school and university students learn English in first language dominant settings (Boo, Dörnyei and Ryan, 2015). Dörnyei outlines a variety of studies that "confirmed the explanatory power of the model" and singles out that research has shown "L2 ideal self…playing a substantive role in determining motivated behaviour" (Dörnyei and Chan, 2013, p. 439). Research found that in Sweden the strength of the Ideal L2 Self decreased amongst teenage boys whilst increasing

amongst teenage girls as they got older. In an Iranian study, the Ideal L2 Self and the L2 Learning Experience decreased student anxiety, while the Ought-to L2 Selves of Iranian students increased their anxiety about English learning (Dörnyei, 2013, p. 439). Taguchi, Magid, and Papi's 2009 study in Japan, China and Iran replicated Dörnyei's 2005 Hungarian study and proved validity of the L2 Motivational Self System by replicating it in three different contexts.

However, the third component of the L2 Motivational Self System, the L2 Learning Experience, has not been extensively researched so I will seek to address this in my research questions and methodology. The L2 Learning Experience is potentially as influential as the other two components in the L2 Motivational Self System for English teachers, as they are not in Japan to learn Japanese primarily, they are there to teach English so they must manage their own Japanese language learning and use. My research will contribute to a better understanding of the influence of the L2 Learning Experience, making an important contribution to our understanding of L2 Motivation.

3.7.3 L2 Motivational Self System Research

Since the development of the L2 Motivational Self system, motivation research has explored in a number of contexts and theoretical approaches have been advocated to further account for language learning motivation. In the following section, I examine this research and outline how investigating the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan will expand our understanding of language learning motivation.

While research often views student motivation as static, research suggests that motivation and L2 Motivation Selves can fluctuate. Waninge, De Bot and Dörnyei (2014, p.718-719) found that motivation fluctuated within a 45–50 minute lesson and these variations are often caused by "events prior to a lesson" and the "initial motivational state" with which a student enters a language lesson. Waninge et al's (2014, p.710) most compelling finding is that a student's "motivational variability within a classroom session may help shape a student's L2 overall motivation", meaning that small scale events can play a significant role in a student's motivation. Henry (2015) has explored the dynamics of selves and found that different motivational selves are active at different times and are often competing for the attention of a learner. Given these findings, my research methodology will seek to use methods and choose groups of participants that will allow me to explore fluctuations in motivations both on both short term and long-term scales.

Dörnyei and Chan (2013, p. 440) found that “learners with a vivid and detailed self-image that has a substantial L2 component are more likely to be motivated to take action in pursuing language studies than their peers who have not articulated a desired future goal-state for themselves”. They found that participants with strong Ideal L2 Self Images felt they made more of an “intended effort” to study the L2 and achieved higher grades in the achievement tests but the influence of the Ought-to L2 Self in motivation does not receive as much support from their research (Dörnyei and Chan, 2013, p. 451-453 & p. 457-458). Muir and Dörnyei (2013) detail how the use of Vision can be placed at the heart of language learning through Directed Motivational Currents (DMCs). DMCs incorporate an organised learning structure as a “highly structured behavioural sequence” can act as a “surge” towards a goal and be “self-propelling” (Muir and Dörnyei, 2013, p. 358-359).

Al-Hoorie (2018) conducted a meta-analysis of research of the L2 Motivational Self System, analysing 32 research projects that totalled 32,078 learners. Al-Hoorie (2018, p. 735-737) found that the Ideal L2 Self was a strong influence on intended effort and achievement while the Ought-to L2 Self was less of an influence on intended effort and achievement. Interestingly Al-Hoorie (2018, p. 736) identifies that little research has been done into how to create the conditions to realise and incorporate L2 Selves and incorporated into a learner’s approach to learning. Al-Hoorie (2018, p.734-735) also identified that L2 Motivational Self research predominately focuses on learning English learning in foreign language contexts, rather than in the second language contexts. Duff (2017, p. 599) has questioned whether the type of L2 Motivational Self Surveys that have been used to examine Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System can actually reflect the dynamic nature of language learning motivation because these surveys are “more firmly structural, categorical, quantifiable ones based on self-reported orientations as ‘selves’ at a particular point in time when a questionnaire is completed”.

A research framework, Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST), has also been advocated by a number of researchers to provide a better account of language learning motivation. CDST seeks to account for second language learning through the relationship of different factors in a dynamic and nonlinear pattern that led to patterns of behaviour over time (Hiver and Al-Hoorie, 2016, p. 742). Proponents of this theory believe that it gives a better account of second language learning and motivation but as Hiver and Al-Hoorie (2016, p. 742) have outlined, much less has been written about the

methodological choices that researchers must make to apply this approach to SLA. Hiver and Al-Hoorie (2016) have suggested several approaches that would allow this system to be applied more easily in SLA research. While they note that CDST allows methodological flexibility (Hiver and AL-Hoorie, 2016, p. 750), they do not address how the influence of concepts such as ideologies, capital and context should be addressed.

Macintyre, Baker, and Sparling (2017), in exploring Gaelic language learning in Canada, found that because learning took place as part of a community, these learners developed a "Rooted L2 Self" that is based in the community rather than the internal L2 Selves as outlined in Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System. Ushioda (2017) also questions whether because the L2 Motivational theory focuses on internal constructed selves, it neglects to account for the pragmatic and instrumental value of learning languages, particularly English. Given that foreign English teachers learn Japanese while teaching English in local communities in Japan, it will be interesting to see the role that communities and the instrumental value of Japanese play in their Japanese learning.

For Ushioda (2009, p. 216), research into language learning motivation have only investigated "certain types of learner in an abstract collective sense" and have focused on "individual difference" and "depersonalised learners" (Ushioda, 2009, p.216). Ushioda believes that it is necessary to take a "relational" rather than "linear' view of how the various aspects of a learner and their context are related. Ushioda (2009, p. 225) believes that the type of selves that Dörnyei outlines are "possible selves" that the learner has to engage within "the scope and security of their current communicative abilities, interests and social contexts". By placing the person in the context and analysing discourse data, we can determine how the learner's current self and experiences "facilitate or constrain their engagement with future possible selves". Ushioda (2009, p.225) feels that is necessary to integrate different theoretical frameworks to "inform" how we interpret "interactional processes and relational contextual phenomena" which in turn will allow us to understand the role that motivation plays, how it is affected by interactions in the learning environment and how a learner engages with their identities and the possible selves.

Ushioda (2016) has also proposed that language learning research should be researched "through a small lens" to provide a less general picture of language learning motivation. Ushioda (2016, p. 575) identifies that this would help us know more about

how motivation interacts with cognitive, metacognitive and psycholinguistic aspects of language learning. While I will not address these aspects of learning, I believe this study will address Ushioda's identification (2016, p. 575) that learning more about the social environments in which learning takes place and the influence this has on learners is relevant because English teachers are not learning in formal settings. Therefore, the research questions and methodology outlined in the following sections are based on this belief that it is necessary to integrate different theoretical and methodological frameworks to better illuminate the language learning of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan. By researching how foreign English teachers learn Japanese in Japan, this study will build on previous research about motivation and expand our knowledge of the interrelationship between motivation and context for migrant language learners.

3.7.4 Motivation in a Japanese learning context

Research into the motivation of learners of Japanese has again tended to focus on Japanese being learnt outside Japan. Matsumoto and Obana (2001) looked at factors influencing student motivation and persistence in learning Japanese at Australian universities and found that those students who were able to persist with learning through Japanese were intermediate rather than elementary level students. Matsumoto and Obana (2001, p.82) link student progression in Japanese to increased understanding of the grammatical system and communication with native speakers, while they found that students who persisted with learning Japanese did so because of both integrative and intrinsic motives going "hand in hand to build up a strong learning persistence". In addition, they identify the influence of the teacher and class dynamics having a great impact on lower-level students deciding whether or not to continue studying Japanese (Matsumoto and Obana, 2001, p.82).

One study that uses Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self system in a Japanese language context is Kurata's study (2015) of Japanese heritage learners in Australia. Using a methodological framework of a L2 Motivational Self Questionnaire and two focus group interviews, Kurata outlined the motivational selves of 7 Japanese heritage learners, all of whom studied Japanese at High School, had one or more Japanese parents and lived in Australia for a sustained period. While the participants of my study are quite different to the Kurata's study, Kurata's successful use of Dörnyei's system and methodology in

a Japanese learning context means that it presents several significant findings. The L2 Ideal Selves of the participants displayed were focused on three areas: specific skills such as knowledge of kanji or academic knowledge, career and social identities (Kurata, 2015, p.118-119). The Ought-to Selves sprang from the "Japanese-speaking communities in Australia and Japan" and from the classrooms in which they studied Japanese in Australia. The Ought-to Selves had positive and negative effects on their language learning efforts (Kurata, 2014, p.119-120). Kurata discovered that the participants' motivational selves were not "a fixed set of individual differences" but emerged through the interaction between "a self-reflective intentional agent and a complex social structure".

Of particular interest for this study is the impact that the L2 Learning Experience has on motivational selves (Kurata, 2015, p. 126). Specifically, Kurata believes that "the gap between attributed language expertise and self-perceived expertise may result in a loss of confidence" which in turn has an impact on how heritage learners want to interact with native speakers. Kurata (2015, p.126-127) goes on to outline the importance of teachers helping students construct "vivid and rather elaborate future selves" and that language learners need to make language learning "life-long" as their experiences inside and outside the classroom play an important role in their construction of their motivational selves. Although Kurata's research is into heritage learners, many of the factors that influenced the motivational selves might play a similar role in how English teachers learn Japanese. Significantly Kurata believes that to further investigate the motivational selves of Japanese heritage speakers, more longitudinal studies would help us understand the social and contextual influences on motivation, so the research methodology of this study seeks to address this issue.

3.7.5 English teachers learning Japanese in Japan in the context of L2 motivation research.

Boo et al's (2015, p.145) meta-analysis of research into L2 motivation research from 2005 to 2014 found that research in L2 motivation had experienced an "extraordinary surge" resulting in the publication of 416 articles and chapters on L2 motivation over this period. They found the majority of research into L2 motivation was conducted with participants who were studying at a secondary (20%), or tertiary level of education (51.64%), with only 5.67% at primary school level and 22.69% of studies done on learners outside these 3 categories (Boo et al, 2015, p. 150-151). Given that due to

Japanese Visa regulations English teachers should have a university degree, studying their Japanese language learning motivation will give us different insights into L2 motivation than previous studies because these teachers have higher levels of education and are studying Japanese informally while living and working in Japan.

Boo et al (2015) also demonstrate that the main “cluster” of motivational research is in East Asia, particular in Chinese-speaking countries and Japan (15.22% and 11.34% respectively). This is also reflected in the nationalities of the participants, with 16.12% being Chinese and 9.25% being Japanese respectively. The authors draw particular attention to the paradox of Japan being both a major site of research and investment in language learning and the lack of success of these efforts, so this study will explore whether there is a similar disconnect going on in how English teachers learn Japanese in Japan (Boo et al, 2015, p.151). Boo et al (2015, p. 151) also show that English dominated the focus of L2 Motivational research, with 72.67% of studies being focused on English language learning. Boo et al (2015, p. 154) question whether the foundations of L2 Motivational Research are influenced by a “L2-Specfic bias” and the geographical concentration of learning English in monolingual settings. By investigating how English teachers learn Japanese in Japan, this study will contribute to our understanding of second language learning motivation by focusing on a group, language and setting that is largely unexplored in previous research.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated how investigating English teachers learning Japanese in Japan is a group worthy of further investigation. This study seeks to link sociolinguistic aspects of language learning such as identity and investment with the psychological construct of motivation. As ‘Middling Transmigrants’, English teachers studying Japanese in Japan are an excellent example of a prominent type of new migrant with high levels of education and skills, and with one unique aspect, a first language that is valued and integral to their position and employment in Japan. Japan as a language learning environment has some unique characteristics that are largely unexplored and this study will also evaluate the impact that language, setting, and the lives of migrants have on language learning. I have outlined several factors from previous studies that may emerge as being significant in the language learning of English teachers in Japan and the choice of a broad first research question reflects that. I want this study to be able

to explore whether any of these themes play a role in the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan. The choice of the second research question is a deliberate attempt to discover whether there are links between events in the lives of the participants and fluctuations in their language learning and whether any of these are common to the experiences of all the participants. This question will also allow the study to discover what events, factors or influences influence the participants' motivations for learning Japanese. The third research question looks at a specific construct, Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System as this is the most prominent theory of language learning motivation and whether the experiences of English teachers in Japan can be accounted for by this system.

Research Questions

1. **How do English teachers in Japan learn Japanese?**
2. **Can fluctuations in teachers' motivation for studying Japanese be linked to specific events or changes in their lives?**
3. **Does Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System account for the motivations of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan?**

I hope by combining the data generated by research question 3 with the broader research questions 1 and 2, I can explore the influence of the third component of the L2 Motivational Self System, the L2 Learning Experience. Kurata (2015) found that the learning environment played a significant role in the Japanese language learning of heritage learners while Ushioda (2009 and 2016) has identified the influence of the learning environment as an area that needs to be explored in further detail. Ultimately this investigation seeks to discover how English teachers in Japanese learn Japanese whilst building both a career and a life in Japan, on a short-term and long-term basis, by looking both at the socio-cultural and motivational elements of their language learning.

Chapter 4: Methods

This chapter outlines the methodological approach I used to investigate how English teachers learn Japanese in Japan. In this chapter, I discuss my broader methodological approach before focusing on each data collection tool. In the final section I address the influence and impact of my identity as a former English teacher in Japan on my research. As outlined in my research questions, I was seeking to investigate how English teachers learn and use Japanese alongside specifically addressing how their motivations for learning Japanese are accounted for by Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System. Previous research into migrant language learning has used qualitative methods such as interviews and learner diaries, while quantitative attitudinal surveys have been used to investigate second language learning motivation. Therefore, I decided that the best approach to answering my research questions was to combine these two types of methods in a Mixed Methods approach, using qualitative methods to explore how English teachers learn and use Japanese alongside a quantitative motivational survey that focuses on the L2 Motivational Self System.

Creswell and Piano-Clark (2007, p. 5 in Creswell and Piano-Clark, 2010, p.5) have outlined the principles and conventions behind a Mixed Methods approach and identify its strength as enabling research to gain "a better understanding of research problems" than using either qualitative or quantitative methods on their own. As noted by Creswell and Piano-Clark, (2010, p.8), qualitative methods like those utilised by Norton (2000) to develop her theories of investment in language learning, give a detailed understanding of group but lack generalisability. In contrast Quantitative methods, like the attitudinal surveys used by Dörnyei and others to investigate L2 Motivation, provide general insights into research problems but do not focus on individual experiences. Therefore, to investigate the Japanese learning of foreign English teachers in Japan, I choose to use a balance Mixed Methods approach that gave equal priority to both Qualitative and Quantitative data collection devices as this approach would give me a broader view of the Japanese language learning than if I just utilised one method.

One consideration that researchers must make when adopting a mixed methods approach is the philosophical worldview that they adopt to approach their research. As noted by Creswell and Piano-Clark, (2010, p.40-42), Quantitative research is driven by a Postpositivist worldview where the goal is to verify theories while Qualitative research

is driven by a Constructivist worldview that seeks to look at individuals to discover broader patterns which give us a better understanding of a research problem. Mixed Methods approaches however are driven by Pragmatism as they seek incorporate both types of philosophical viewpoints as they focus on solving research problems by selecting methods that are appropriate for answering these questions (Tashkkari and Teddlie, 2003 in Creswell and Piano-Clark, 2010, p.43-44). Therefore, I adopted a Pragmatic approach to this research project as by combining different data collection devices, I can best answer research questions (Creswell and Piano-Clark, 2010, p.46).

While Mixed Methods approach to data collection places the research questions at its centre, there are a number of practical considerations that researchers need to be aware of. As outlined by Creswell and Piano-Clark (2010, p. 13-16), Mixed Methods require a both a greater time commitment and a wide range of research skills than other methods. Therefore, I choose data collection that had been successfully utilised previously with similar learners to my participants and in similar contexts to English teachers learning Japanese in Japan. In terms of the integration of the Qualitative and Quantitative data collection methods, I choose to conduct each strand independently and integrate them in the Discussion in chapter 8.

The development of the qualitative strand of my methodological approach was influenced by Simon-Maeda's autoethnographic study of her own Japanese language learning (2011) as well as Block's (2007) call for studies of language learning to focus on longer periods. Simon-Maeda explicitly comments that the intention of her work was not to outline how she became fluent but the process by which she learnt Japanese (Simon-Maeda, 2011, p.143). Block (2007) identifies that studies of identity in language learning have tended to focus on relatively short periods of time rather than longer periods, so I wanted to investigate how teachers who have been in Japan for a sustained amount of time learn and use Japanese. Thus, the choice of the qualitative methods in this study was therefore made with the intention of investigating the spectrum of English teachers in Japan, focusing on a wide range of experiences and levels of proficiency. I chose to investigate two groups of teachers, newly arrived English teachers and English teachers who had been in Japan for longer periods, whose experiences had only been investigated on an individual scale by Casanave (2012) and Simon-Maeda (2011).

To investigate the Japanese language learning of long-term English teachers, I needed a data collection tool that would allow to investigate language learning retrospectively, so I choose to use Linguistic Biographies. These are retrospective language learning life stories compiled from semi-structured interviews (Nekvapil, 2003 and Pavlenko, 2007) that produce detailed narratives that can be used to investigate long-term language learning. To ascertain whether there are differences between the experiences of those who have been in Japan long-term and those who recently arrived in Japan, I used a Diary Study with those teachers who have only recent arrived in Japan. A Diary Study involves participants writing diaries and being interviewed about their language learning over a sustained period and has previously been used notably by Norton (2000) to develop her theories of identity and investment.

The choice of these qualitative methods was developed with the lives of English teachers in Japan in mind. While those teachers who have recently arrived in Japan are usually pre-occupied with getting used to living and working in a new culture whilst learning and using Japanese, they have less commitments socially and in the workplace. Those teachers who have been in Japan for longer periods have different commitments, with many having families and other activities alongside employment, that take up their time. I therefore choose these methods as they would allow me to collect data about these two groups' Japanese language learning in a manner that promoted their continued involvement in the research. While the methods used with these two groups differ, Diary Studies and Linguistic Biographies both produce rich narratives of language learning and were practical for the lives of these two groups. By using quantitative data from these two methods, I was able to outline "rich and complex details" of the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan that allowed me to answer **Research Questions 1 and 2** (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 38).

For the Quantitative element of the study, I used a L2 Motivational Self Survey based on the surveys developed by Dörnyei and his collaborators. These questionnaires have previously been used successfully so using one would allow me to examine how English teachers in Japan motivate themselves to learn Japanese and explicitly address **Research Question 3**. The survey also allowed me to collect detailed information about the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan, which helped me identify broader trends about the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan. This survey was distributed both in person and via Online Surveys

(https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/) and is based on one that was originally devised by Dörnyei (2009 & 2010) and is included in Appendix 1.

I have not able to specifically address Block's (2007) criticism of the reliance of studies of identity in SLA on participants' perceptions of their language learning because of the practical and ethical implications of collecting this type of data. Gaining consent from the interlocutors with whom English teachers in Japan use Japanese would have been a difficult process for which I did not have the resources. Providing recording equipment to participants in this study would also have posed significant logistical issues, as the participants were not all located in the same geographical location and were all in full-time employment. Ultimately, I believe that the data collection methods I utilised generated examples of the type of data that Block (2007) says studies of identity lack, as the diary study focused on specific interactions while the linguistic biographies provided details of the participants' language learning over a long-term period.

While there are two qualitative strands and one quantitative strand in this study, there are equally prioritised as Qual-Qual-Quan as each method played an equal role in answering the research questions. While each method was independent of each other, I collected data using a multiphase combination timing as it would have been too difficult to manage in an either concurrent or sequential timing approach, so I collected data both concurrently and sequentially. Each set of data was collected and analysed separately before integrating the data during a final analysis of all three data sets collectively in Chapter 8.

For the weighting of how each data collection methods contributes to my final analysis, I used the Quantitative L2 Motivational Survey as a confirmatory manner while the two Qualitative data collection devices were to be used in an exploratory manner. In using the L2 Motivational Self System to ascertain whether the L2 Motivational Self System accounts for the motivations of foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan, I sought to replicate the data collection and analysis process developed by Dörnyei and his collaborators. This involves taking the survey data and analysing it using the statistical approach Structural Equational Modelling (SEM), which is confirmatory data analysis process that allows researchers to determine whether theories such as the L2 Motivational Self System match the data provided by attitudinal surveys.

For the qualitative elements of this study, the Diary Study and Linguistic Biographies, the data analysis approach needed to be more exploratory because of the nature of the data generated. The language learning narratives generated by these methods are often rich in detail but because of the sheer volume of data generated, the data analysis process is often a complex and time-consuming process. As outlined by Dörnyei (2007), the data analysis process contains a number of stages that are iterative and emergent when working towards final conclusions. Therefore, for both sets of data there were 3 stages of data analysis, following the safes outlined by Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005 in Dörnyei, 2007, p. 245-246):

1. Coding for themes
2. Looking for patterns
3. Building theory

Therefore, I analysed both sets of Qualitative data separately and adopted a qualitative content analysis approach to the data analysis. For both sets of data, I coded them first in NVivo for themes broadly before examining these themes for pattern in how English teachers learned and used Japanese. In the final stage, I examined the data to see if the L2 Motivational Self System accounted for the motivations of these teachers as well as presence of other themes from previous research as outlined in Chapter 3.

My Mixed Methods methodology approach combines both quantitative and qualitative elements to investigate the Japanese language learning of English teachers in Japan. The quantitative element provided quantifiable information about the motivational selves of English teachers in Japan alongside statistical information about English teachers' Japanese learning and use. The qualitative elements of the study delivered insights into how English teachers learn Japanese in Japan, providing the kind of nuance that, according to Dörnyei (2007, p35) and Benson (2014, p. 166), quantitative methods cannot. As noted by Creswell and Piano-Clark (2010, p.77), by combining these three data collection methods allowed me "to develop a more complete understanding of a phenomena". In the following sections I focus on each specific data collection tool, beginning with the L2 Motivational Self Survey.

4.1 Motivational Self Survey

As outlined in the previous section, I used a large survey to investigate whether Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System accounts for the language learning of English teachers in Japan. The questionnaire used to conduct the survey was adapted from Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self Survey. Respondents were gathered from a wide sample of English teachers in Japan by distributing the questionnaire throughout their professional and social communities. In this section I will outline details of why I chose to use this survey, its design and the criteria used to select participants.

4.1.1 Design

A L2 Motivational Self Survey was chosen both for theoretical reasons and because they have previously been successfully used in studying second language motivation. According to Dörnyei (2010, p. 7), the practical advantages of using questionnaires are "their unprecedented efficiency in terms of (a) researcher time, (b) researcher effort and (c) financial resources". Using a survey allowed English teachers from a wide variety of locations to take part in the study without me having to physically travel to meet the respondents. The questionnaire was distributed physically and online via Online Surveys (https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/). As Dörnyei (2010, p.5) outlines questionnaires provide factual, behavioural and attitudinal data, so conducting a survey of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan provided the type of data I need for my study. Questionnaires can also offer insights into attitudes that the participants may not be aware they have and can lessen the effects of interviewer bias and "increase the consistency and efficiency of results" (Bryman, 2008 in Dörnyei, 2010, p. 6). The survey provided the quantitative element of my methodological framework and was used to primarily answer **Research Question 3.**

The L2 Motivational Self Questionnaire was designed according to the guidelines laid out by Dörnyei (with Taguchi, 2010) and based on the item pool and questionnaire provided by Dörnyei (2009, 2010 and 2012). Following Dörnyei's guidelines (2010, p.22) I clarified research problems that the survey sought to explore and what "the critical concepts" of my study were. The research problem my study sought to solve is to discover how English teachers in Japan motivate themselves to learn Japanese. As Dörnyei (2010, p. 23) believes that the formation and framing of a question plays a role in producing levels of agreement and disagreement, I initially focused on modifying

Dörnyei's questionnaire item pool as it was originally generated for university students learning English in Japan, China and Iran. I took Dörnyei's item pool and modified the variables used as well as the wording and focus of the questions to make them appropriate for use in this study. The second stage of the process was to narrow down the item pool to a working questionnaire by getting feedback about the questionnaire from potential respondents. The third stage involved conducting a pilot study to modify the final version of the questionnaire before distributing it.

It was necessary to modify Dörnyei's original variables to make them suitable for English teachers learning Japanese, as one variable focuses entirely on Parental Encouragement/Family Influence and several questions within the Ought-To Self variable focus on family pressure (Dörnyei, 2010, p.141-2). In addition, as the original questionnaire was developed for use in 3 countries for respondents who were learning English at university, it was necessary to change these country and education specific questions to ones that focus on the respondents' lives more appropriately. I substituted the questions that referenced parental and family influence with "the people surrounding me" as this originally appears in the following question, "Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so", in the L2 Ought-to Self set of questions (Dörnyei, 2010, p. 141). I felt this was appropriate as it already appeared in the pool and could be interpreted by the participants as meaning partners, friends, family, colleagues or employers. As the English teachers are employed rather than studying, I had to alter any questions that referenced courses offered by the participants' university to courses offered by the participant's employer. Another element that differed from the original questionnaire was that the participants in my study were living and working in the country where the L2 was spoken so I removed any references to moving abroad as a goal of study. The original variables and the modifications made are summarised in the following table.

Table 4.1: Dörnyei's original variables and the modified variables used in this study

Dörnyei's Original Variables	Variables used in current study	Variable Amended
Criteria measures (related to intended effort)	Criteria measures (related to intended effort)	No
Ideal L2 Self	Ideal L2 Self	No
Ought to L2 Self	Ought to L2 Self	No
Parental Encouragement	Encouragement from people around me	Yes
Instrumentality-Promotion	Instrumentality-Promotion	No
Instrumentality-Prevention	Instrumentality-Prevention	No
Linguistic Self-Confidence	Linguistic Self-Confidence	No
Attitudes towards learning English	Attitudes towards learning Japanese	Yes
Travel orientation	Lifestyle Orientation	Yes
Fear of Assimilation	Fear of assimilation	No
Ethnocentrism	Ethnocentrism	No
Interest in English Language	Interest in the Japanese Language	Yes
English Anxiety	Japanese Anxiety	Yes
Integrativeness	Integrativeness	No
Cultural Interest	Cultural Interest	No
Attitudes toward L2 community	Attitudes toward L2 community	No

The biographical section I designed was more detailed than Dörnyei's (2009) as the information obtained from this section allowed me to collect more biographical information. The questions added to the biographical section referenced the participants' current employment, their initial job when they arrived in Japan, their length of time in Japan, their marital status, the level of the JLPT test that they had passed, whether they had taken Japanese lessons and whether they are currently studying Japanese. These replaced questions in the original questionnaire that referenced having a native English teacher and having lived abroad**.** Both the questions about their JLPT level and self-

assessed level of Japanese allowed me to track any trends in the Japanese learning of foreign teachers in Japan.

During my Pilot Study, I carried out a small survey using a draft version of the questionnaire over a 2-month period in Japan. The first stage of this was to conduct short interviews with a small number of English teachers in Japan focusing on the questions in the item pool. This ensured the questionnaire was driven by theory and an awareness of the participants' backgrounds as well as other factors that might influence the respondents. Then I distributed an initial version of the questionnaire amongst a group of 16 English teachers in Japan who represented the type of participants I draw on for the main phase of data collection. From the data generated by this pilot, I assessed the effectiveness of the questionnaire and made the necessary adjustments to the final version of the questionnaire. At the same time, during this pilot study I compiled a database of friends, acquaintances, and ex-colleagues as well as groups and employers to distribute the questionnaire to.

4.1.2 Participants

The criteria for recruiting participants for the L2 Motivational Self Survey did not include any restrictions on length of stay in Japan, unlike the other two data collection methods, as the goal was to conduct a broad survey of the motivations and language learning of English teachers in Japan. The criteria were:

- **Originally came to Japan to teach English.**
- **Still working in the English teaching industry.**

These criteria excluded those who came to Japan to study Japanese and subsequently worked in the English teaching industry in Japan, as their experiences and access to learning resources differed from those who came initially to teach English. The survey was not restricted to teachers who came to work in a particular section of the English teaching industry. Overall, the criteria used to select participants were inclusionary rather than exclusionary, given that the criteria for participant selection for the other data collection methods were more restricted.

While the population of the survey was English teachers in Japan, the sampling strategy used was driven by a desire to find respondents that were representative of the

population while at the same time being practical. The sampling was a combination of convenience sampling and snowball sampling, with the survey being distributed throughout professional organisations and social media, as well as asking those who took part in the survey to both complete and distribute the questionnaire. Due to the varied nature of their jobs and personal circumstances, English teachers are located throughout Japan and do not have the same sense of cohesiveness as the groups previously investigated with the L2 Motivational Self-System. This study acknowledges that because of these characteristics, generalisability was more difficult to achieve.

It was problematic calculating the exact population that the sample of English teachers in Japan would be drawn from because no exact figures exist for the total number of English teachers in Japan. Government figures from 2005 show that in total 15,247 foreign instructors were employed in the foreign language instruction business sector, with 10,069 being full-time instructors and 5,178 being temporary instructors (METI, 2005). More recently compiled figures from 2015 put the numbers of teachers at foreign language schools at 9774 in total with 3,125 full-time and 6,651 part-time workers (METI, 2015). Only the 2005 figures break the businesses down into which language they teach, 91.1% of them were English courses but the figures for instructors were not broken down by gender or nationality (METI, 2005). For the JET Programme, in 2016 figures there were 4536 participants on the programme while Exact figures for the number of directly hired Assistant Language Teachers (ALT) and English teachers working both in private and public schools do not exist (JET Programme, 2016). Additionally, there are few figures available about the number of English teachers employed at universities, private companies and other education organisations. Due to these constraints, the initial goal was to survey 300 respondents, as this figure is roughly 2% of 14,310. This figure is made up of 9974 teachers working at commercial language schools (METI, 2015) and 4536 ALTs on the JET Programme (Jet Programme, 2016). Conducting a survey of a minimum of 300 participants allowed the survey to examine teachers in different contexts and falls within the figures of between 1% and 10% mentioned by Dörnyei (2010, p.62) as being the '"magic sampling fraction"'.

One problem with the population was that there was the potential for high levels of participant self-selection, because of the small sample size and the participants that it was likely to attract. Those likely to respond to academic research about English teachers learning Japanese in Japan are teachers with either an interest in academic

research or learning Japanese, meaning it might not reach those who are simply not interested in learning Japanese or taking part in academic research. As a result, particular care was taken with the design of the questionnaire and method of distribution while the survey was conducted over a nine-month period to reach a wider group of participants than if it had been conducted over a shorter period.

4.2 Diary Study

A diary study involves participants writing a diary about their language learning and use alongside monthly interviews about their experiences. Norton (2000) used a six-month long diary study to investigate how 5 female, migrant learners of English in Canada interacted with the people surrounding them when learning and using English. Kinginger (2003) and Teutsch-Dwyer (2001) also used diary studies effectively in a similar context while Casanave's (2012) study of her own Japanese language learning diaries shows a diary study can be successful used in the same context as my research, albeit on an individual scale. Barkhuizen, Benson and Chik (2014, p.35) see learner diaries as providing insights into "affective factors, learning strategies, and the learner's own perceptions" while learning is actually taking place. Therefore, I decided to use a diary study so I could collect similar data about the language learning of English teachers who had only recently arrived in Japan. Using a diary study helped me explore how recently arrived English teachers initially learn and use Japanese and discover whether specific events influence a language learner's early efforts to learn Japanese and therefore answer **Research Questions 1 and 2.**

Similar to Norton's study, I recruited newly arrived teachers and asked them to take part in a 6 month-long diary study of their Japanese learning and use. This period was chosen because it is a practical length to manage and for the participants to commit to, bearing in mind the other pressures that newly arrived English teachers feel during their initial time in Japan. The specific processes I explored were how they went about learning Japanese and how they used Japanese and what influenced their Japanese learning and use. I asked participants to focus on these areas in the diary study instructions that can be found in Table 4.2.

A diary study is defined by Curtis and Bailey (2009, p.68) as "keeping an introspective journal" and has been utilised to collect data on both language learners and on language teachers. As noted by Curtis and Bailey (2009, p.70), diary studies provide "insights into

processes that are not otherwise accessible or open to investigation", which make them particularly suitable for investigating the language learning of English teachers in Japan because of several practical and ethical issues. Given the practical and ethical complications of collecting recordings of the participant's interactions in Japanese outlined earlier in this chapter, diaries were able to capture significant interactions in Japanese as the diaries were being written as the participants were learning Japanese, rather than retrospectively like other methods that produce narratives of language learning. While Curtis and Bailey (2009, p.77) note that using diaries can produce volumes of data that can be "overwhelming", the key to successfully using a diary study is to use "selectivity" when choosing "clear, concise and illustrative entries". Curtis and Bailey (2009) also emphasise the importance of collecting data from diary studies alongside other methods to ensure that each method's insights are complemented by data from other sources, hence my decision to combine different sources of data.

As noted earlier, Casanave (2012) successfully used a diary study to investigate how she learned Japanese while living and working in Japan as an English teacher over an 8-year period. Casanave found her Japanese language learning fluctuated because of the "ecological realities" as an English teacher in Japan. Given her background as a university English teacher with considerable experience of academic research and writing methods, it remains to be seen whether the participants in this study will produce as nuanced and detailed a narrative of their language learning. While Benson (2014, p. 165) believes that while Casanave's study is a powerful example of successful use of narrative analysis, it is "difficult to distil any generalizable conclusions" from her research because of Casanave's life in Japan and her focus solely on her own learning.

4.2.1 Design

A practical consideration for using a diary study was that the participants were not geographically concentrated in one area, the diaries could be written physically or on a computer and interviews can be conducted via a video messaging service or in person. Curtis and Bailey (2009, p. 71) suggest that written diaries are the most effective way to generate data using journals, although audio journals have been used in the past by Block (1996) so this option was offered to participants to encourage continued participation. Curtis and Bailey (2009) outline a series of guidelines for keeping diaries and I followed these in designing my diary guidelines. As my participants were all

volunteers, I provided them with the means to record their diaries physically or electronically. The diary study guidelines, which can be found in Table 4.2, included prompts about recording significant details such as day, date and time at which the participant is writing as well as instructions about what to focus upon and instructions not to focus on the technical aspects of their writing, such as grammar, spelling and punctuation. The guidelines are based on the areas that the research questions seek to examine.

Table 4.2: Diary Study Instructions

Diary Instructions
We'd like you to write about your experiences learning and using Japanese. Don't worry about your **grammar, spelling and punctuation**. We are just interested to hear about **your experiences**. Please try to write something **weekly if possible**. Think about the following when you are writing:
1. **How are you learning Japanese? Do you go to classes, use a textbook or study with others?**
2. How are you using Japanese? Who are you using Japanese with?
3. Have you had any particular positive or negative experiences that have influenced your Japanese learning and use?

4.2.2 Participants

Participants for the Diary Study were selected to meet the following criteria:

- **Originally came to Japan to teach English**
- **Been in Japan for less than 1 year**
- **Still working in the English teaching industry**

These criteria were used so the diary study could focus on the language learning and use of English teachers who had just arrived in Japan in Japan. This meant I excluded participants who had come to Japan to study Japanese then subsequently started working as teachers because they would have access to different Japanese learning and resources compared to those who had come to Japan just to teach English.

4.3 Linguistic Biographies

To examine the Japanese learning histories of English teachers who are long-term residents of Japan, I analysed linguistic biographies compiled from semi-structured interviews. Linguistic biographies are personal experience narratives that "focus on the languages of the speaker and discuss how and why these languages were acquired, used, or abandoned" (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 319). Constructing these biographies allowed me to explore how long-term English teachers learn and use Japanese throughout their time in Japan. These narratives were compared during the analysis stage with the narratives of newly arrived English teachers from the diary study in order to answer **Research Questions 1 and 2**. In this section I outline why I used linguistic biographies, the process of compiling them and the criteria used to select the participants.

Nekvapil (2003, p. 4) believes that linguistic biographies are an effective data collection method because of what they tell us about the lives of the interviewees. He believes that they generate three types of data:

1. **What "things" were like, how events occurred (findings from the sphere of life).**
2. **How "things" and events were experienced by the respondents (findings from the sphere of reality of the subject).**
3. **How "things" and events are narrated by the respondents (findings from the sphere of reality of the text).**

Despite some concerns over the validity of linguistic biographies, Nekvapil (2003, p.13) states that "the way…informants speak about language acquisition and use is interesting in itself", "the reality of the life of the subject" is found through "the reality of the text" and the "textual representation of the 'reality of life' itself is the 'reality of life'". Nekvapil, through his study of German-speakers in the Czech Republic, was able to demonstrate that linguistic biographies are a stable and effective means of data collection. He examined the language biographies of his participants over a number of years and varied the person who conducted the interview, the language the interview took place in, the manner in which the interview was conducted and found that the accounts remained stable. Nekvapil's work demonstrates that linguistic biographies are an effective way to collect data about long-term language learning, making them the appropriate data collection method to use with long-term residents of Japan.

Benson (2014, p. 165) outlines using narratives to document learners' linguistic biographies can provide "a broader perspective" on how individuals learn languages because they cover "both in-class and out-of-class settings" and a "range of contextual and psychological variables". Given the lack of studies of long-term language learning and the practical challenges the lives of long-term residents of Japan, linguistic biographies are the best method to document this type of learner's experiences. Pavlenko (2007, p.319 & p.321) cautions that Linguistic Biographies needs to be analysed with care as researchers tend to look at the participants' narratives as being "facts" and they are often used as "a generous use of quotes in support of researchers' observations". Pavlenko (2007, p.322) does believe linguistic biographies can act as an innovative data collection tool when they "supplement" other methods while Nekvapil (2003) sees them as complementing and triangulating other methods, allowing data to be collected when there is no other method to do so. By supplementing the narratives provided by the linguistic biographies with the narratives from the diary study and the survey about English teachers' motivational selves I was able to address Pavlenko's concerns.

4.3.1 Design

Nekvapil (2003) advises that when compiling linguistic biographies, it is necessary to interview participants on several occasions to ensure that the accounts remain relatively stable. I therefore interviewed participants twice and because this is seen as the amount of time that the interviewer and interviewee need to develop a sense of trust (Seidman in Elliot, 2005, p.33). The interviews were conducted in English because it was felt that this would cause less stress for the participants and because interviews in participants' first language are noticeably richer in terms of the details they produce (Miller, 2001 in Barkhuizen et al, 2014, p. 29). In the follow-up interviews, I used a draft linguistic biography compiled from the first interview as a form of stimulated recall in order to allow participants to discuss anything they might have missed or that they might want to expand on from their first interview. Polkinghorne (2007, p. 482) identified this method as helping the interview subject to clarify, further explore and check the meaning of the areas touched on in initial interviews. These follow-up interviews can be used to improve the consistency of the narrative and lessen the impact of positioning by the interviewee amongst other issues (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 480).

Elliot (2005, p.29) outlines a number of suggestions for the actual process of interviewing participants, emphasising that questions should be asked in “everyday rather than sociological language”. Elliot (2005, p. 31) also notes that the interviewer must try not to “impose a rigid structure” so that the interviewee rather than the interviewer drives the narrative and searches for meaning, meaning the questions used in the interview will be broad rather than specific. Therefore, the interviews should be semi-structured with the role of any topics and questions being to sustain the interview and focus on the research questions. A list of broad initial topics and questions to structure the interview around were developed and these can be found below. These questions were developed with the research questions as a starting point alongside interview questions previously used in other research projects. In addition, during the Pilot Study, I completed 5 exploratory interviews with participants that informed the framing of the questions. My initial approach during the Pilot Study was to draw up a broad list of topics and areas to conduct the interview around. During these initial interviews I found that in order to sustain the interview and aid the participants in recalling their Japanese language learning experiences, it was necessary to use more fixed questions as the respondents were recalling events that occurred over extended periods of years.

The broad topics that I used in the interviews were based on the research questions and focused on 7 general areas while the full set of questions is outlined in Appendix 6:

1. **How they originally came to Japan**
2. **How they started to learn Japanese**
3. **Their ongoing relationship with Japanese**
4. **Their access to Japanese language learning including lessons, learning materials and proficiency tests**
5. **Their use of Japanese throughout their time in Japan**
6. **Any positive or negative experiences of learning or using Japanese**
7. **Their position in Japan as an English teacher.**

4.3.2 Participants

While the participants selected for the diary study were newly arrived English teachers in Japan, the participants for the linguistic biographies were long-term residents of Japan. The participants were selected to meet the following criteria:

- **Originally came to Japan to teach English**
- **Spent over 5 years in Japan**
- **Still working in the English teaching industry**

The criteria used for the linguistic biographies was the same as the Diary Study except the time spent in Japan differs. While I found it hard to define what constitutes a more long-term teacher, I defined a long-term teacher as being a teacher who has spent five or more years in Japan because of two factors. On the JET Programme, participants are allowed to stay on as Assistant Language Teachers for a maximum of 5 years so I felt that those who stay on after this would be likely to stay for a long-term basis in Japan. The second factor was based on the Japanese immigration laws regarding becoming a permanent resident of Japan. It is generally considered that a foreign national has to be resident in Japan for 10 years continuously to obtain permanent residency in Japan (Tokyo Immigration Service website, 2017). Therefore, those teachers who had been in Japan for 5 years are almost half way towards becoming permanent residents of Japan and from my own experience as an English teacher, after 5 years teachers have built extensive lives in Japan.

I did not include any gender requirement in my selection criteria as I wanted to get perspectives of both genders in this study, but I was aware that I was likely to recruit more male than female participants. While comprehensive statistics do not exist for the number of English teachers living long term in Japan, both my own experience and international marriage statistics in Japan suggest that more men than women stay in Japan for longer periods. These marriage statistics place men from America second (19.1%) and United Kingdom fifth (4%) in terms of marrying Japanese nationals while women from English speaking countries do not feature in the top 5 of women marrying Japanese nationals (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, 2013). I chose to draw my participants primarily from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand because while no overall statistics exist for the nationalities of English teachers in Japan, the figures for the JET Programme suggest foreign English teachers

primarily come from these 5 countries, making up 4099 out of 4536, or 90% of participants (JET Programme, 2016).

4.4 Researcher's Identity

In this section I describe the role of my identity as an English teacher and a Japanese learner in my research. My own background and experiences have been crucial in this study given that I am an English teacher by profession, I have studied Japanese and taught English in Japan. Undoubtedly as Canagarajah (p.324 in Barkhuizen et al, 2014, p. 111) states, my own "subjectivity" alongside "complex values, ideologies and experiences" have shaped my research. As I outline below, I believe that this is in fact a strength of my research as I have been able to construct a robust methodology approach that goes beyond my own experiences as an English teacher who learnt and used Japanese in Japan while at the same time using my own knowledge of English teaching in Japan to inform my research.

From September 2007 until July 2014, I taught English as a foreign language in Japan. Initially I went to Japan to work at a large chain of commercial English language schools in the Tokyo area before moving in May 2009 to work at a private high school. Neither of my employers provided any access to Japanese lessons or any advice about how to join Japanese classes. Both teaching roles were full-time and there was no level of Japanese proficiency required by either employer or any requirement to use Japanese in the workplace. English was the language of communication in the language school, including all contracts, housing instructions, meetings and other paperwork. In the high school, there was no requirement to use Japanese but there was more exposure to Japanese in the working environment as many of the staff spoke little English and all documentation and other paperwork was written in Japanese. In July 2014, I left Japan to undertake a master's degree in Applied Linguistics and TESOL in the UK, during which I completed my major project on applying Norton's (2000) theories of identity and investment to the learning experiences of male English teachers who had been in Japan for over 5 years.

The journey from novice English teacher in a commercial language school to doctoral student has had a profound influence on the genesis of this study's research questions and methodology. My choice of participants reflects my own experience of the English teaching industry in Japan, focusing on the experiences of those English teachers

involved in teaching at commercial language schools and in the school system, as well as those who have come to Japan to teach English in the university education system. As discussed earlier in the literature review, both Casanave's (2012) and Simon-Maeda's (2011) studies of their own Japanese language learning are good examples of the experiences of those teaching in higher education in Japan. However, the experiences of those not working in the higher education industry have yet to be documented and this informed my choice of participants and data collection methods.

From 2006 until the present day, I have studied Japanese, both in the classroom and independently. Initially I studied at an evening class in Cambridge before moving to Japan. In Japan I tried various Japanese classes, both formal classes at language schools and informal ones taught by volunteers at local city offices. In addition to these early efforts to learn Japanese formally, I also used a wide variety of self-study materials including websites and smartphone applications for learning Japanese. In my employment, I was not required to use Japanese and I often socialised with both native English speakers and Japanese people with high levels of English proficiency. I used Japanese with Japanese people I met socially when playing rugby for a Japanese team and in my employment at a Japanese high school. In terms of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT), I passed the N5 level of the JLPT in 2010 and JLPT N4 in 2016. While my wife is Japanese and a proficient English speaker, we use both Japanese and English and her family do not speak English.

My background and experiences directly influenced the focus and methodological approach of this project. I extended the focus of my investigation beyond Norton's ideas of identity and investment to include Dörnyei's L2 Ideal Self System. In addition, I used a mixed-methodological approach that investigates the experiences of both newly arrived teachers and long-term residents in Japan to provide a nuanced viewpoint of the Japanese language learning of English teachers. Whilst some of the experiences of language learning outlined in later sections mirror many of my own, I tried to extend the scope of my study beyond my own experiences by using a varied methodological approach and selecting participants with varied backgrounds.

4.5 Conclusion

This section has outlined the data collection methods that this study utilised, the rationale for selecting participants and various aspects of the researcher's identity that played a

role in the way the methodological approach was developed. The study employed a three-pronged mixed-methodological approach, with data being generated by a L2 Motivational Self Survey, a Diary Study, and Linguistic Biographies. While the Diary Study and Linguistic Biographies differ in the way they collect accounts of language learning, they complement each other as they both produce similar rich narratives of language learning. Asking long-term residents of Japan to take part in a diary study would not be able to detail their language learning throughout their time in Japan and is impractical, as these older, more settled participants have more commitments than newly arrived teachers. Similarly, using linguistic biographies with the newly arrived teachers would not provide the same level of detail about how English teachers initially learn and use Japanese when they arrive compared to a diary study. The qualitative data generated by these two methods has been combined with the quantitative data provided by the L2 Motivational Self Survey to provide detailed accounts of how English teachers learn Japanese in Japan alongside more general insights into the L2 Motivational Selves of English teachers. The combination of data sources will also provide detailed information about the impact that the third component of the L2 Motivational Self System, The L2 Learning Experience, has on language learning motivation, an aspect that Ushioda (2009) believes needs more investigation.

Chapter 5: The Diary Study

In the following section, I analyse the diaries and interviews of the participants who took part in the Diary Study. The Diary Study, which lasted for six months, involved nine foreign English teachers writing weekly language learning diaries alongside monthly interviews about their Japanese language learning and use. I begin by outlining how I recruited the participants and reflect on the demographic details of the participants. I then analyse the two groups of learners I identified in my study, Rural Teachers and Urban and Suburban Teachers. I examine how both of these groups learned and used Japanese and examine the influence of communities on their Japanese engagement. In the final section, I outline the broad findings of the Diary Study.

5.1 Participants

As outlined in Chapter 5, I recruited the participants using the following criteria:

- **They went to Japan to teach English.**
- **They had not studied Japanese in Japan before taking part in the study.**
- **They had been in Japan for less than one year.**

I initially had planned to recruit participants directly from the organisations that brought them to Japan but only one of these organisations sent my call for participants to their employees. This meant that at one stage of the data collection, it looked like that I would not be able to recruit enough participants to take part in the diary study. However, a member of a Facebook group suggested that I use regional Facebook groups that exist for teachers on the JET Programme and it was from these groups that I recruited five participants. I recruited another three other participants from Facebook groups for Foreigners in Japan while one participant was recruited from the company who distributed my call for participants to their employees. Due to these difficulties, I found it difficult to recruit participants who worked in the commercial English school industry and those based in the major urban areas such as Osaka and Tokyo. Despite this, I believe that their experiences provide important insights into how English teachers in Japan learn and use Japanese initially when they arrive in Japan. Indeed, the inability to recruit specific types of teachers from certain locations perhaps reflects how dispersed and diverse in terms of employment and working location the communities of foreign English teachers in Japan are, which is something that I discussed in chapter 2.

Nine participants took part in the study and their specific details are outlined in Table 5.1. Eight of the participants took full part in the study while one, Mike, dropped out after three months because of a medical issue and left Japan. All of the participants in the diary study were in their mid-twenties and had graduated from university within two years of coming to Japan. Of the nine teachers, seven teachers worked as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), with six being on the JET Programme and one was employed by a private company that provides ALTs. The two non-ALT participants worked at commercial schools, one in a small school based in rural Japan and the other in various freelance teaching jobs. Six of the teachers were female and three were male while the average age was 24 and the age span was 22-26. In terms of nationality, five were American, two Canadian and two were British. One participant, Georgina, was unique amongst the participants as she came to Japan on a working-holiday Visa, which allows foreigners from certain countries to live and work in Japan for up to 18 months. Georgina initially found employment as a freelance English teacher before finding a design job in a computer games company as a full-time employee, leaving the English teaching industry in the fifth month of the diary study. The participants were spread around Japan, with only two in the same prefecture and a split between urban and rural areas. Five participants had previously studied Japanese while none of the participants had studied in Japan. Three of the participants had taught English before while two had English teaching qualifications.

Table 5.1: Diary Study Participant Details

* Japan Language Proficiency Test

Name	Nationality	Gender	Arrival in Japan	Age	Initial Job	Location	JLPT*	Previous Japanese Study	Previous English Teaching Experience	English Teaching Qualification
Nick	American	Male	Jul-17	24	ALT (JET Programme)	Shizuoka-ken	No	Yes	No	No
Alice	American	Female	Jul-17	26	ALT (JET Programme)	Shiga-ken	No	No	Yes	No
Mike	English	Male	Jul-17	22	ALT (JET Programme)	Kochi-ken	No	No	Yes	Yes
Scott	Canadian	Male	Jul-17	24	Commercial Language School	Sendai-ken	No	No	No	No
Dalia	American	Female	Jul-17	22	ALT (JET Programme)	Ehime-ken	No	Yes	No	No
Patricia	Canadian	Female	Feb-17	23	ALT (JET Programme)	Kochi-ken	No	Yes	No	No
Sarah	American	Female	Jul-17	23	ALT (JET Programme)	Ishikawa-ken	No	Yes	No	No
Georgina	British	Female	Sep-17	25	Freelance English teacher	Saitama-ken	No	No	Yes	Yes
Wendy	American	Female	Mar-17	23	ALT (Dispatch Company)	Nagoya-ken	No	Yes	No	No

5.2 Data Analysis

The diary study generated 189 diary entries and 60 interviews with four of these interviews lost because of recoding issues meaning 56 interviews were analysed for this chapter. The diaries produced by each participant varied greatly and towards the end of the study there was a drop off in the frequency, level of detail and length of the diaries produced by the participants. The participants all completed their diaries using word processing programs with some participants e-mailing diaries completed using the Microsoft Word template I outlined in the methodological section, while others completed them via online document sharing programs such as Google Documents and Microsoft OneNote. Interviews were conducted in person and via video messaging services such as Skype, Facebook Messenger, and FaceTime. The interviews were transcribed using https://transcribe.wreally.com, which is a web-based transcription tool that allows recordings to be automatically replayed and slowed to aid the transcription process. Once the diary study was completed and the interviews transcribed, they were collected into separate word files for each participant's interviews and diaries. Due to the sheer volume of data created by the diary study, the interview transcripts and diaries are not included in the appendices. These diaries and interviews were then used to construct narratives of each participant's time in Japan and were analyzed using NVivo for broader themes.

Each initial narrative generated a large volume of data so I organised the data thematically into the following sections to make it more manageable:

- **Community**
- **Japanese language learning and use**
- **The influence of teaching English in Japan**

While this made the data more manageable, it also created a large amount of overlap between the participants, so I then grouped the analysis by the type of community each participant was placed in. I found that from the outset that the setting in which each participant lived and taught was influential on their Japanese language use. The communities the teachers had access to, opportunities to use Japanese and Japanese learning resources differed for those teachers placed in rural settings compared to those placed in urban and suburban areas. Therefore, I grouped the analysis into two groups. One group contained those participants teaching in rural Japan on the JET Programme:

Alice, Dalia and Patricia. The other group contains the participants who were based in urban and suburban Japan: **Mike, Nick, Sarah, Scott, Wendy, Scott, and Georgina**.

For each participant, I analysed their diaries and interviews to examine how they constructed communities in Japan, learned and used Japanese and how their position in the workplace influenced their Japanese learning and use. In the following section, I present an analysis of both groups of participants, focusing on how their community and workplace influence their Japanese learning and use alongside their Japanese learning and use. At times in the analysis, I focus on aspects of a single participant's experiences that highlight issues or experience that were not found in the other participants and were significant for this research project. In the last section, I draw broader conclusions about the Japanese language learning of newly arrived foreign English teachers by looking at my participants' experiences as a whole.

5.2.1 Rural Japan

In this section, I present an analysis of the experiences of the three female JET Programme English teachers who were placed in small rural towns with small numbers of foreigners. These teachers had visible positions in these small towns so they often had greater contact with local communities than those based in urban and suburban areas. This meant they had stronger relationships with Japanese people in these towns but this came with obligations and responsibilities. While all three of these teachers were in their 20s, recently graduated and female, each learner's ethnic background, previous Japanese learning and attitudes to learning Japanese influenced their Japanese learning and use. Despite their prominent position in their local community, they still experienced marginalisation in the workplace and the experience of teaching English in small-town Japan significantly influenced their Japanese language learning and use. In the next section I present a short profile of each participant. I then examine how each participant built a community in their towns and the influence this had on how they learnt and used Japanese. I then explore how their workplace influenced their Japanese learning and use. Finally, I examine how each participant learned and used Japanese.

Alice was 26 and a white American female. She came to Japan to teach English as an Assistant Language Teacher on the JET Programme in August 2017 and was placed in Shiga Prefecture in western Japan. She had a degree in Education and came to Japan after teaching English for one year in South Korea and working for one year as a teaching

assistant in America. Alice had the least experience of learning Japanese of the three participants based in rural areas on the JET Programme. Alice had a long-term partner in America and had studied Korean when she had taught in South Korea.

Dalia was 22 and a white American female. She came to Japan to teach on the JET Programme in August 2017 as an Assistant Language Teacher after graduating from university and was placed in Ehime Prefecture in western Japan. Dalia had studied Japanese at university in America and had visited Japan once on a university trip for one month. Dalia had no formal teaching qualifications or experience.

Patricia was 23, female and of Indian heritage from Canada. She came to Japan in February 2017 on the JET Programme as a replacement Assistant Language Teacher (ALT), was placed in Kochi prefecture in southwestern Japan so had been in Japan for 8 months at the time of joining the diary study. Patricia's parents moved to Canada from India when she was 6 years old, so she grew up speaking a mix of Hindu, Urdu and English at home. She had no experience of teaching English or teaching qualifications, but she had studied Japanese for two years at university. Patricia was engaged to a long-term partner in Canada.

5.2.2 Community building in a small town

While being placed in small rural towns gave Alice, Dalia, and Patricia ready access to local communities, this came with scrutiny and expectations that the teachers based in urban and suburban areas did not have. Patricia provided a striking example of this high level of scrutiny when early in her time in Japan, her Japanese supervisor admonished her for eating a rice ball on the way to work saying: "Oh you're the talk of the town because you eat your breakfast on the way to school, please don't do that anymore" (11/10/2017 Interview). Her supervisor emphasized that because of the town's size, English teachers were "mini-celebrities" which in turn created an atmosphere which meant Patricia felt "it's kind of like work never ends" (11/10/2017 Interview). Despite this, Alice, Dalia and Patricia formed bonds with other English teachers, community groups and individuals. These groups not only provided them with a sense of community and opportunities to use Japanese but all three often linked their motivation to learn Japanese to these groups. In this section, I describe how this prominent position in the local community allowed them to build connections with individuals and groups in these towns, which in turn influenced their Japanese learning and use.

For Alice and Patricia, their connections with individuals had the biggest influence on their Japanese use. For Alice, it was a local mechanic and his wife and later a Chinese-Japanese family that she formed connections with. The local mechanic and his wife acted as a hub for foreigners in Alice's area and enjoyed encouraging Alice to use Japanese by using Japanese in a supportive way that pushed Alice to communicate in Japanese but did not cause her to feel uncomfortable. This couple invited her to BBQs and Japanese calligraphy lessons and introduced Alice to a Singaporean English teacher. Later Alice built connections with a Chinese-Japanese family when she started teaching English to this family's children. The connection Alice felt with this family motivated her to use Japanese and the children often helped Alice with pronunciation problems and taught her new words, which meant Alice felt there was less at stake than when she used Japanese in the workplace. This led to Alice using online resources to learn language to prepare for her interactions with this family and Alice often linked her motivation to improve her Japanese to communicating with the family in Japanese, "meeting this family might be one of my biggest pushes to learn more Japanese since I want to communicate my happiness and appreciation for them" (14/01/2018 Diary).

Patricia's friendship with a Coordinator for International Relations (CIR) from Korea, who worked at the local city office doing community outreach programs, both drove her Japanese learning and gave her opportunities to use Japanese. As the Korean CIR was both a second language Japanese speaker and Patricia's Korean teacher, she was both receptive to and encouraging of Patricia's Japanese: "she's a lot more understanding of my pace and mistakes so she helps me out and is very patient with me" (17/10/2017 Diary). Patricia saw this connection as critical to helping her improve her Japanese and Patricia felt an emotional connection with the Korean CIR that she lacked with Japanese people as they could "have a heart to heart and we're able to talk about real things all the time" (25/06/2018 Interview).

Interactions with community groups played a prominent role in both Dalia and Patricia's engagement with Japanese. Dalia actively embraced her prominent role in the local community to project a positive image as she was required to attend local community events: "every chance I got, whether it was volunteering or giving a presentation or writing an article or even being on TV, I jumped at the opportunity" (26/01/2018 Diary). These interactions in turn boosted her confidence in using Japanese and made her feel

welcomed in the community and her willingness to learn and use Japanese was critical to this:

> **"I think part of the reason why people bother talking to me at all, um, whether they're speaking Japanese or English, is because they know that I'm trying, and that you know I'm trying to learn Japanese and that I'm trying to communicate with them" (16/04/2018 Interview).**

As part of this investment in her image, Dalia was active in her school and became heavily involved in the local community, joining the local *Taiko* (Japanese drum) club, teaching a local English community class, and joining a hiking group. While initial communication in Japanese was difficult, Dalia found people accommodating, particularly the Japanese older women she taught at the community English classes, so she would gravitate towards them at social events.

As Dalia spent more time in Japan, she began to feel valued in her schools and her *Taiko* club but this meant greater expectations and the responsibilities. In the workplace, this meant Dalia had a bigger workload and more expectations on her performance in the classroom. In the *Taiko* club, Dalia was asked to come early to practice, pay membership fees, purchase her own drumsticks, and take part in their annual performance. Therefore, Dalia had to understand more complicated instructions, which in turn made her feel closer to other members of the club. Dalia linked her investment in her local community and her improvement in Japanese: "you are going to have to reach out of your comfort zone and be wrong before you can make any progress" (20/03/2018 Diary). Despite these connections, Dalia found her investment in her community was both stressful and impacted on the time she had to study Japanese.

Similarly, Patricia actively involved herself in community activities by attending summer festivals, community events and drinking parties. Similar to Dalia, Patricia pushed herself to speak at these events so she could practice Japanese. Later in the Diary Study, Patricia joined the local Karate club which exposed her to more conversational and informal Japanese, but the members initially struggled with modifying their Japanese as they "just don't understand the concept of me understanding some Japanese but not all Japanese" (25/06/2018 Interview). Patricia developed enough confidence to ask for clarifications and the group accommodated her full participation in this group as Patricia recognized that the onus was on her to "force yourself to think and speak in Japanese in

order to communicate". Despite these strong bonds, Patricia found that the scrutiny that she was under in her town combined with the lack of emotional connection she felt with Japanese people meant she felt isolated and "I feel like I'm just always at work here" (10/12/2017 Interview). Patricia linked her commitment to involving herself in the local community and the JET Programme community as a method to combat the sense of loneliness that the scrutiny gave her combat this: "it's a self-defense thing to just fill up my free time so I don't have time to get lonely" (25/06/2018 Interview).

The third type of community that features prominently in the Rural Teachers' experience are groups of other foreign English teachers. Another English teacher introduced Alice to local community Japanese classes, who in turn introduced another teacher to these classes. Despite struggling with these classes because of their approach and having to attend them after work, Alice kept attending because of the bond she formed with these two teachers. Dalia also found a close-knit community of JET English teachers in her prefecture with whom she shared the experience of learning and using Japanese and who functioned as a support network. When these groups socialised, Dalia describes how they often discussed their Japanese learning and observed the Japanese that other teachers successfully use:

> **"We'll be ordering things or people will be talking to people in Japanese around us and then as soon as that interaction is over, someone will inevitably be like, 'What was that grammar you used, what did you just say, teach it to me, I wanna know what that is, it seems useful'" (16/04/2018 Interview).**

Patricia also built a community with the other JET Programme teachers and found that this group provided her with the emotional support that she did not get from Japanese people. Her bond with one American female, who worked in the same school as Patricia, was particularly strong. This teacher had been at the school for two years when Patricia arrived and had a high level of Japanese so she provided work guidance, helped Patricia to with communicate with their Japanese colleagues and acted as a confidante (10/12/2017 Interview).

In building their communities in rural Japan, Alice, Dalia, and Patricia had to navigate being young, foreign women in Japan. Dalia describes how the diary study interviews caused her to reassess the role her gender played in her experience in Japan and she

found that she was given female specific roles at school and the Taiko club. Dalia's students made comments about her appearance while one of Dalia's male Japanese colleagues also made comments and compliments about her appearance. As Dalia was single, her relationship status was also the subject of discussion, which meant "people are constantly trying to set me up with other people" (16/04/2018 Interview). This meant Dalia found it difficult to meet people romantically because of her limited Japanese proficiency and "the town is so small that if I start dating someone, it will be known, like it will be very, very, hard to keep it a secret, like everything in my life" (16/04/2018 Interview).

As Patricia is Indian-Canadian, she was questioned as being legitimately Canadian in contrast to her white ALT colleague based in the same school. When Patricia was asked by her supervisor to wear traditional Indian clothing at a cultural event it made Patricia feel that "I was definitely on display" and not as "someone who lives here and is part of our town" (16/01/2018 Interview). Patricia felt that incidents like this positioned her as an outsider in the community as people saw her as "a weird combination of being ghettoized but also finding it exotic and cool" (07/11/2017 Interview). Similar to Dalia, Patricia's physical appearance was often the subject of conversation in her town and focused on aspects such as her clothing choice, her skin colour and even the size of her face.

The experiences of these three young, female teachers show that being placed in a small town gave each teacher access to communities of practice where there was a path to legitimate participation. How Dalia and Patricia were positioned as female teachers and Patricia was positioned as a non-white teacher show each teacher's Japanese learning and use took place against broader discourses about gender, ethnicity and being a foreigner in Japan. Both Dalia and Alice were aware that their status as white English teachers meant they were treated with more respect than other types of migrants from different backgrounds. Dalia saw a connection between the welcome she received in her town and her status as a temporary guest in the town which meant: "I do have little moments like that where I kind of remind myself why they're treating me with such respect and honor" (12/10/2017 Interview). Similarly, Alice found that her experiences were influenced by her identity as a "white foreigner gets you a lot of freedom and attracts a lot of interest" (17/04/2020 Interview). In the next section, I examine the impact of the workplace on their Japanese learning and use.

5.2.3 The workplace

Alice, Dalia and Patricia were each placed in one junior high school in their respective towns and taught in elementary and junior high schools as well as community English classes. As novice teachers, they had to negotiate their positions both in the classroom and in each school amidst broader discourses of foreigners and learning English in Japan. Japanese played a significant role in their access to teaching information, their role in the classroom and relationships with their Japanese colleagues. Alice, Dalia and Patricia each had a Japanese English teacher supervisor who was the first point of contact for managing each teacher's schedule and their involvement in the wider community. Communication issues with their Japanese supervisors caused problems for these teachers as they were often informed of class changes and events they were required to attend at the last moment. For Alice in particular, the least proficient Japanese speaker, communication breakdowns with her Japanese supervisor drove her to study Japanese, learning the Hiragana and Katakana writing systems as well as memorising the names of her colleagues in response to one incident. Dalia also struggled to communicate with her supervisor as her supervisor spoke little English and would often only communicate full details of events to another male JET teacher who spoke better Japanese while her supervisor offered little support for Dalia's Japanese learning beyond "Be better at Japanese" (16/04/2018 Interview).

Japanese played a role in how the Rural Teachers also struggled to be seen as legitimate teachers. Patricia found that as a young foreigner without a high level of Japanese meant: "it's really hard for them (her colleagues) to even have any respect for what we're doing and what we're going through" (16/01/2018 Interview). This in turn influenced the way Patricia's colleagues saw her as a Japanese speaker: "they're just humouring me but I don't think they actually take me seriously". Despite Japanese not being a part of her role, Patricia felt an expectation from her colleagues that she should be able to speak Japanese but she was not allocated any time specifically for Japanese study. Dalia also found her Japanese colleagues were indifferent to her Japanese learning as they assumed that she was learning Japanese: "Well you live here, and you only hear Japanese, you must be fluent by now" (17/04/2018 Interview). Dalia specifically links her colleagues' lack of interest in her Japanese learning to her lack of Japanese engagement. Dalia contrasts her experiences to her friend who had younger colleagues who encouraged her Japanese use and involved her in activities outside of work, which meant

her friend made more progress than Dalia because of “a lot of positive reinforcement” and “a lot of opportunities for feedback” her friend received (13/02/2020 Interview).

These conflicts continued into the classroom as some Japanese teachers actively sought to cooperate over lesson planning and their roles in the classroom, while others saw the ALTs as “an accessory to the lesson” (Dalia 12/10/2017 Interview). Alice, as the least proficient Japanese speaker, was often marginalised in planning lessons as the onus was on Alice to understand the Japanese and English used by her colleagues and Alice’s supervisor blamed her for not saying she did not understand when communication breakdowns occurred. While Alice was placed in a problematic position in these situations, she was aware of the cultural images of Americans: “It’s also again a culturally thing, it feels a bit like a pushy American to be like, ‘Hey can we speak English now?’ even though I need that, you know” (13/12/2017 Interview). Patricia felt, as a novice teacher, there was little support for her that “They don’t really help us develop any teaching abilities but they expect us to be able to teach, I don’t know if they realize that we’re not actually qualified to teach” (16/01/2018 Interview). Alice, Dalia and Patricia all questioned their value as teachers and Patricia saw this as part of a broader attitude that saw learning English as a “a novelty” while ALTs are seen not seen as the same level as the Japanese teachers: “we’re not really treated as serious teachers so we don’t really get a say in anything” (16/01/2018 Interview). However, at elementary and at smaller schools there was a more conscious effort to involve these three teachers in the classroom and they all found that this helped the effectiveness and their enjoyment of the lessons and made them feel more valued. Dalia directly links her improvement in Japanese to using Japanese daily to communicate with her colleagues about lesson planning which in turn improved her relationship with these colleagues.

Outside of the classroom, communication also took place against this ambiguous position of foreign English teachers. Alice’s Japanese colleagues, especially the non-English teachers, refrained from using English because they do not want to be embarrassed and “don’t want people assuming they can speak English” (13/12/2017 Interview). Alice and Dalia developed friendships with non-teaching and part-time staff such as secretaries, administrators, cleaning staff and part-time teachers. In one of Dalia’s schools, two secretaries would engage with her conversation which she found a powerful chance to use Japanese: “I think it’s these times, when I am forced to listen and respond in Japanese that help my learning the most” (31/01/2018 Diary).

Drinking parties (*Nomikai*) were an important forum in which these teachers could socialise with their colleagues, in a non-work environment. Initially these parties were often awkward but they found their colleagues were more willing to communicate when drinking. Dalia found alcohol had a positive effect on her Japanese while for Patricia drinking parties were an important space to get used to using Japanese in an informal environment. Patricia found these parties helped push her to use Japanese compared to using Japanese in the workplace: “normally I catch myself a lot during the day, I either don’t say something or I take longer to say something because I’m trying to say it right without making a mistake” (10/12/2017 Interview). Alice was able to converse with her colleagues in these settings as it was a safe space to use Japanese which made Alice “really feel like a part of a team” and “pushes me to keep picking up Japanese a bit” (25/03/2018 Diary).

5.2.4 Using and learning Japanese

In the follow section I examine how Alice, Dalia and Patricia sought out Japanese classes, independently studied Japanese and experienced fluctuations in their engagement in Japanese learning. I also explore how each teacher used Japanese and the impact that this had on their Japanese learning. Despite the similarities between their experiences in community building and in the workplace, each had different Japanese goals, which influenced their ability to maintain Japanese engagement. Of the three Rural Teachers, Alice was the only teacher who came to Japan without any fixed Japanese goals as she came to Japan to gain teaching experience, save money for graduate school and enjoy living in a foreign country. Both Dalia and Patricia had previous studied Japanese at university, and they had come to Japan specifically to help them improve their Japanese while working. Dalia planned to stay in Japan for 2-3 years and her Japanese goals were to become able to converse and read in Japanese while Patricia’s goal was to pass the JLPT N2 by the time she left Japan. While each teacher’s Japanese goals were important in how each teacher went about studying, the lived experience of living and working in Japan while studying Japanese was significantly influential on their Japanese engagement.

Alice went to volunteer Japanese classes at a local community centre, a 25-minute drive from Alice’s town. Alice struggled with these classes as they were too difficult, unfocused and the teacher assumed that Alice knew Hiragana and Katakana. This left Alice feeling conflicted: “Sometimes I appreciate them because it forces me to try out pronunciation,

other times I feel like, ‘Oh why am I doing this’, I just kind of go to give myself brownie points but I don’t know how much I get out of it” (06/11/2017 Interview). Alice continued with the classes because she was the “connection” between two other English teachers who attended these classes, which meant they became an important weekly social event. However, Alice only attended these classes from October until they finished at the end of November and they did not start again until March.

Outside of these classes, Alice describes her approach to studying as “to poke around, pick it up and randomly study it when a whim hit me” (11/02/2018 Diary). Alice initially focused on learning conversation fillers to sound friendly and help her to engage with people to avoid being seen as “an indifferent foreigner or someone who doesn’t care” (06/11/2017 Interview). Alice also studied Japanese in response to communication breakdowns or to communicate with the people she met and to help in the workplace. Alice used non-conventional study methods such as listening to YouTube and the Japanese used by her students because this was “more powerful” than the Japanese she was taught in the local community classes (17/04/2018 Interview).

Interestingly Alice’s previous interest in Korean “derailed” her Japanese study as she often studied Korean instead of Japanese as it made her feel “a little more confident” and “‘Wow, I’m doing really good!’” (06/11/2017 Interview). While teaching in Korea, Alice used Korean more than her colleagues so she was considered an “expert” and language broker while she even admonished other English teachers for not learning Korean. In contrast a sense of isolated Japanese learning and use pervades Alice’s diaries and interviews as she did not have the same type of community of teachers around her in Japan and she found that she could survive without using Japanese (11/02/2018 Diary). In one diary Alice wrote how helpful it was to use Japanese with another teacher and this friend had made more Japanese progress than Alice because of the encouragement by her colleagues (18/03/2018 Diary). Even though Alice developed close relationships in her town, often her Japanese use were not matched by her actual Japanese learning. Her affinity with Korean, her lifestyle choices and the lack of structure she was able to impose on her language learning ultimately meant she struggled to maintain Japanese learning throughout her time in Japan. By the end of the Diary study, Alice was able to “express some kind of basic ideas or wants or wishes” but “I can’t understand really a whole lot that people tell me” (17/04/2018 Interview).

Compared to Alice, Dalia and Patricia were more engaged with Japanese. Despite their previous Japanese study, both struggled initially to communicate with their colleagues and people in their towns. When Dalia and Patricia arrived in Japan, they had free time when they could study Japanese at work, but as they became more accepted in the workplace, they had increased commitments which impinged on their time for Japanese study. Initially Dalia studied Japanese in the morning before work using an online learning *Kanji* application, WaniKani, and later used the JET Programme online learning resources and took local community classes. Dalia specifically combined her learning resources to try to recreate the formal school environment in which she had previously studied Japanese. Studying Japanese before work and using Japanese at work meant Dalia could link her Japanese learning with using it in the workplace: "I feel accomplished, certainly when I can apply what I am learning in the morning or that week to my conversations with people" (29/10/2017 diary).

Dalia's increased commitments at work and her Taiko group increased as she spent more time in Japan, which impacted on her Japanese study but she was still exposed to Japanese during these activities which meant that "my head was spinning by the end of the day" (29/10/2017 Diary). However not studying Japanese in the morning impacted on Dalia's Japanese as she felt "less prepared for it, like ready to just listen and comprehend and speak it" (05/11/2017 Interview). These increased commitments influenced how engaged Dalia was in her classes as well as: "I'm usually yawning through the whole thing and I can't remember the right conjugation for a word even though I've said it ten times that day" (06/11/2017 Diary). Despite this, Dalia continued to find her community Japanese classes a valuable learning environment and because they became a social event: "where I can just tell someone is understanding what I'm saying and then understand what they say back to me is really helpful" (14/12/2017 Interview). Ecological factors influenced Dalia's Japanese studying and use throughout the Diary Study and she pinpoints studying in the morning and her levels of tiredness to how much Japanese she can understand.

Despite her Japanese engagement, Dalia was aware of the limitations of her Japanese and that she needed more practical use of Japanese as she experienced frustrations when using Japanese where "I have learned exactly my phrase I want to use, but because I have never needed it or practiced it until this moment, I can't remember it" (01/03/2018 Diary). In response, Dalia tried to include more speaking and reading

practice in her study approach, but she never followed up these plans. Throughout the Diary Study, Dalia could adjust her study expectations and stay engaged with Japanese because her work and social environment exposed her to Japanese daily. Dalia passed the JLPT N5 test In December 2017 and found her spoken Japanese and her Kanji reading improved significantly over the diary study because of her exposure to Japanese in the workplace and in her community.

Patricia, who had been in Japan for eight months at the time of joining the Diary Study, had gained confidence in using Japanese because of previous Japanese learning and the progress she made in these initial months. Encountering the spoken Japanese Patricia had already studied at university meant she created connections for her: “I get an Ah-ha moment where I think like, ‘I’ve encountered this, I know this’ and then I’m able to remember it” (16/01/2018 Interview). However, from her first diary, Patricia outlined the impact ecological factors had on her Japanese as when she is tired, “Japanese becomes impossible”, which meant she found it difficult to construct sentences which in turn caused her to “opt to stay quiet rather try to communicate further” (17/10/2017 Diary).

Patricia studied Japanese primarily in the workplace and used the online JET Programme Japanese course to structure her study and made comprehensive notes of the new language which she then tried to use in conversation. However, as the diary study progressed, Patricia found the course did not prepare her for using Japanese and the pacing of the course meant she had to abandon her study approach. Giving up this approach to studying Japanese meant “I feel like I’m admitting defeat and it’s a bit disappointing since I don’t think I’ll retain what I’m studying as well as I have been with my previous method” (28/01/2018 Diary). Patricia found that there was “a disconnect with what you’re studying and when you can apply it, it's really hard to actually remember the things you’re trying to study” (25/06/2018 Interview).

For Patricia, her goal to pass the JLPT N2 test acted as a “huge motivator” to study Japanese as the test was “this niggling thing at the back of my head saying you should study so when I do get a moment to study, I do try to study” (25/06/2018 Interview). However, she struggled to retain what she studied which caused her to reassess her initial goal to pass JLPT N2. Similar to Dalia, Patricia found it harder and harder to study Japanese because of her increasing commitments inside and outside the workplace, as the Diary Study progressed. Patricia was promoted to being a mentor on the JET

Programme and joined the Karate club so when she tried to study Japanese at home, Patricia found “At this point, I feel like I’m having to choose between taking care of myself or working on my Japanese” (02/02/2018 Diary).

Instead, using Japanese more was more sustainable and easier for Patricia as “it felt much easier for me to go and have a conversation with someone” (25/06/2018 Interview). Using Japanese helped Patricia deal with the negative emotions caused by her fluctuating Japanese study: “I’ve realised that I still am studying Japanese every single day, even if I don’t realise it, even if I don’t consciously sit down to write it all out or whatever” (25/06/2018 Interview). Patricia actively noticed the way in which people used Japanese in conversation as this created connection with language for her: “In my head it almost like a click, like an ‘Ah-ha’, this is way better and this is probably why” (13/02/2018 Interview). For Patricia ultimately, using Japanese created connections for her with the language: “this is the part where you put what you have studied gets put to use, and things click into place – which is the moment where it sticks” (11/02/2018 Diary).

Despite Patricia’s difficulties to structure and maintain her Japanese engagement, in documenting her Japanese use for the Diary Study, Patricia became “conscious of when I’m using Japanese and when I’m using things that are new and really trying to put myself out there” (25/06/2018 Interview). For Patricia, using Japanese created a positive cycle where using Japanese pushed her Japanese learning so she pushed herself to be sociable:

> **“It made me a lot more sociable that I ever really thought I could be where I find myself wanting to talk to people and making conversations and keeping conversations and really trying to think of things to talk to people about, just to keep practicing with it because of what I’ve experienced so far”.**

5.2.5 Small-Town Japan

Throughout the Diary Study, all three Rural Teachers experienced fluctuations in their Japanese learning and use. Initially both Patricia and Dalia describe early, sustained Japanese study in the workplace while Alice found that the irregular nature of her working day often meant she could not study at work. Dalia and Patricia both came to Japan having studied Japanese before and having fixed Japanese goals but as they

progressed to be members of their communities both inside and outside of the workplace, they struggled to maintain Japanese study. Alice, without any fixed previous significant Japanese learning experience or goals, struggled to sustain Japanese learning despite attending Japanese classes and having opportunities to use Japanese and ultimately had become an unengaged Japanese learner by the end of the Diary Study.

Each of these teachers described how being given additional responsibilities in the workplace and joining local community groups impacted on their time to study. For Dalia, these increased commitments at work and in the community affected how much time she had for Japanese study and her enjoyment of her Japanese classes. This is reflected in her engagement with the Diary Study as she did not complete any diaries from November 9th until January 26th. Patricia's diaries also became more infrequent as her community commitments grew. Alice continued to complete diaries and they document how she became disengaged with Japanese study. For these teachers, the struggle was not only to manage their Japanese study alongside their work and community commitments, they also had the added pressure of living alone in a foreign country. Alice perhaps best describes this struggle:

> **"I should be doing a lot of things, yeah learning Japanese or cleaning my apartment or learning about any other thing and instead I just come home some days and just wanna do nothing, just laziness" (17/04/2018 Interview).**

5.3 Urban and Suburban Japan

In this section I examine the teachers placed in urban and suburban areas. These teachers did not have such a visible role in the community so they did not have the same level of access to local communities as the teachers in rural areas. Of these teachers, three were JET Programme English teachers, **Nick**, **Mike** and **Sarah**. **Wendy**, was an also ALT in Japanese schools but hired by a private company. One teacher, **Scott**, worked for a small commercial language school. The final teacher, **Georgina**, came to Japan on a working holiday VISA with the intention of finding an English teacher job in Japan.

Nick was 24, white, American and male. He was placed by the JET Programme in a small city in Shizouka in Central Japan in July 2017. Nick came to the JET Programme

after graduating with a degree in education and mathematics. Nick had studied Japanese previously at college for one year and had reached a high level of Spanish at university.

Mike was 22, white, British and male. He was placed by the JET Programme in a small city on the southern island of Kochi in July 2017. Mike came to Japan after graduating from university and taking the CELTA English teaching qualification. He had some experience of teaching English but had no experience of learning Japanese. Mike left Japan halfway through the Diary Study because of health problems in January 2018.

Sarah was 22, white, American and female. She came to Japan in July 2017 on the JET Programme and was placed in the large city of Kanazawa in central Japan. Sarah had graduated from university with a degree in Asian Studies, had some experience of studying Japanese and had visited Japan before. Sarah had no formal English teaching qualifications but had worked in education.

Wendy was 23, African-American, and female. She came to Japan in March 2017 to teach as an Assistant Language Teacher with a private company that provides English teachers to Japanese state and private schools. She was based in the Nagoya area of Japan and during the diary study lived in both urban and rural areas. She had studied Japanese at university and had some experience of working in education.

Scott was 24, white, Canadian and male. He arrived in Japan in July 2017 to teach at a small commercial language school in a small city in the northern Tohoku area of Japan. He had no experience of teaching English and had never studied Japanese. Scott grew up in Montreal in the French speaking area of Canada but spoke English at home but was educated in French.

Georgina was 25, white, British and female. She came to Japan in September 2017 on a working holiday visa independently, with the intention of finding English teaching work and then looking for a job in design. Japanese Working Holiday Visas are available to citizens of certain countries aged between 18 and 30 and allow them to work and live in Japan for 12 months without restriction (Embassy of Japan in the UK, 2018). Georgina was based in a city just outside of the Tokyo area. Georgina had taught English for 2 years in China and completed some English teaching qualifications. Georgina found several part-time English teaching jobs before finding a full-time job as a designer at a

computer games company 4 months into the diary study. She had no experience of learning Japanese before she came to Japan.

5.3.1 Community building on the periphery

As these teachers lived in urban and suburban areas, they had less prominent positions in their communities compared to the Rural Teachers so there was less scrutiny of their behaviour and expectations on them to take part in community activities. However this meant they were seen as more temporary and transient visitors, which as Sarah describes: “there are a lot of things where you are kind of at a distance” (20/04/2018 Interview). These teachers had more ready access to larger communities of other English speakers, particularly other English teachers, so there was a greater onus on them to build communities in Japan if they wanted to use Japanese.

The JET Programme teachers (Mike, Nick and Sarah) had access to organised and tightly knit groups of teachers. Mike was actively involved in the community of English teachers in his city, often socialising with this group. Nick struggled to build community links in the community of English teachers in his city, as he did not engage extensively with this community when he arrived in Japan, because he wanted to save money when he first arrived. Nick also struggled to build a community with other teachers because he was an introverted character who had struggled to maintain friendships in America. He was invested more in online communities and spent his free time playing video games and watching YouTube videos at home. Sarah actively engaged with a strong community of JET Programme English teachers in her area including teachers who had been in Japan for extended periods and teachers who arrived at the same time as Sarah.

The non-JET Programme teachers, Wendy, Scott and Georgina had to proactively search out communities, both English and Japanese speaking. While Wendy was an ALT like the JET Programme teachers, she was hired by a private company so there was less of an organised community of teachers in her area. Wendy initially built a community amongst other English teachers but found that this community did not sustain Japanese use. While there was not a strong community of English teachers in Scott’s area, he was able to build a community of other English speakers. Scott was introduced by the owner of his school to a Japanese woman living in a large city located one hour from Scott’s city, who connected Scott to a community of international and Japanese people based around a large university in the area. Scott also joined a church in the local

area where he became friends with a group of English-speaking members. Georgina's experience of building a community in Japan was unique among the participants in the Diary Study as she did not come to Japan with a teaching programme or company and she choose to live in a large Guest House. This Guest House gave her access to a large community of other foreigners and Japanese people so there was less obligation on her to proactively build communities. In the common living area of Georgina's shared house, Georgina built a community of foreign and Japanese residents.

The communities of teachers provided support and communities for these teachers but limited the contact they had with Japanese people. For Mike and Sarah, the Japanese people they met were more interested in meeting foreigners and using English instead of Japanese. When Sarah did try to use Japanese with these people "it always lasts for about 3 seconds and I'll mess up and they'll laugh at me and I'll go back to English" (14/12/2017 Interview). For Georgina, the presence of other English speakers in the shared house meant it easier to communicate in English than Japanese. However, the presence of other Japanese learners in these communities of English speakers meant these teachers could share their experiences with more advanced Japanese speakers. In the following section, I outline how learning in communities of other English speakers who were learning Japanese influenced these teachers' Japanese engagement.

5.3.2 "A Japanese superhero": Engaging in Japanese learning in a community of English speakers

Within the communities of other English speakers, each teacher found varying attitudes to learning and using Japanese and this influenced how each teacher engaged with Japanese in a variety of ways. Mike, Nick, Sarah and Wendy all met teachers deeply engaged with Japanese study and Japanese society as well as other teachers who made little attempt to learn Japanese or engage with Japanese society. Sarah found the teachers actively engaged with Japanese learning and their local Japanese communities were happier than those teachers who were not. Wendy linked her efforts to learn Japanese, be involved around her schools and adjusted her personality to Japanese culture to try to fit into Japanese society in a way that some of her colleagues did not. For Nick, meeting teachers who were not engaged with Japanese provided him with a powerful example of the negative consequences of not engaging with Japanese: "If I stay here too long and become apathetic so I guess that's another push, it's a negative influence to push me not to become that" (10/12/2017 Interview).

However, it was comparisons with teachers who were engaged with Japanese learning that had more influence on their Japanese learning as Mike, Wendy and Sarah all found what Wendy terms “A Japanese Superhero”: other teachers who were actively engaged with Japanese learning and local communities. For Wendy, the teacher she dubbed “A Japanese superhero”, was engaged with Japanese learning and his local community as “he really puts himself into it when it comes to Japanese, he’s a very social person” (12/12/2017 Interview). This colleague also encouraged Wendy to speak in Japanese to him and Wendy sought to emulate the example of her friend: “I’m gonna make the effort to go to more events and make more Japanese friends, use my Japanese as much as I can” (12/12/2017 Interview).

Early on, one of Mike’s more experienced colleagues taught him several important phrases and gave notes about how to use this language which Mike found more useful for communicating in Japanese than the language he studied in textbooks. Later, seeing some more experienced teachers make presentations in Japanese and English left Mike feeling:

> **“To me seeing them was like a glimpse into a possible future for me: I‘ve always regarded that ability to flit between languages like that’s a superpower and seeing people able to do it after some time with JET has made for a really optimistic outlook for me” (14/12/2017 Diary).**

Sarah also had an experienced colleague, Adam, who she saw as an inspirational figure for her Japanese learning as he was highly engaged with Japanese learning and had Japanese friends. Adam encouraged and gave Sarah advice about learning Japanese while she often looked to him for advice about teaching and the school environment. Sarah saw teachers like Adam who had been in Japan longer and were engaged in Japanese as “a solid idea of what it means for your quality of life to be an intermediate speaker” (25/10/2017 Diary). When Sarah struggled with attending her Japanese classes, Adam and another colleague encouraged Sarah to continue her classes and when Sarah experienced problems with stress and anxiety, they suggested she attend counselling. When Adam decided to leave the JET Programme in July 2018, it emphasised for Sarah how important Japanese would be for building long-term friendships in Japan: “it really drilled into me that my long-term friendships in Japan are

going to come from Japanese people, which means I need to learn the language" (25/11/2017 Diary).

Nick's experiences show the conflicts these teachers felt from these communities of Japanese learners. Nick found that teachers with higher levels of Japanese were good sources of advice and information about studying Japanese and seeing another teacher speaking Japanese at a drinking party for his gym using Japanese gave Nick a vivid image he could potentially have: "just listening to him talk to the Japanese people, it was amazing first of all, something I want to get to, kind of him being a role model for my ability of speaking" (10/12/2017 Interview). Despite this, Nick often negatively compared his own Japanese level to other English teachers and felt he was not capable of engaging in the same way as his colleagues because of his shy personality and inhibitions about actively building connections with Japanese speakers.

Similarly, Sarah felt a sense of competition with other teachers that left her feeling: "Are you learning as quickly as other people are learning?" (20/04/2018 Interview). Comparing herself to another teacher who had been able to reach JPLT N3 in a year and half was initially motivating but later caused Sarah to question her learning: "at first I thought that was really positive motivation but it ended being me beating my head up over it" (14/12/2017 Interview). After struggling with her classes and seeing the progress another colleague who arrived at the same time made in a different Japanese class and who used Japanese in the workplace, Sarah decided to quit her Japanese classes, join her friend's class and use Japanese in the workplace. While using Japanese at school improved relationships with her students and colleagues, this decision also prompted a long period of disengagement from Japanese learning.

Georgina's unique living situation was also a source of conflict for her. Seeing other foreigners who were learning Japanese meant Georgina saw the possible selves that were available to her if she engaged with Japanese but this caused Georgina to reflect negatively on her own Japanese progress. As many of her friends were studying Japanese full-time, Georgina found she progressed much more slowly and was the weakest Japanese speaker of the people in her Guest House. Georgina also found her foreign housemates with stronger Japanese proficiency were more vocal in Japanese, sought help from their Japanese housemates and often dominated conversations in Japanese. One of her foreign housemates even admonished her for her slow Japanese

progress. This atmosphere meant Georgina found it difficult to communicate with her Japanese housemates and she was reluctant to ask them for help with her Japanese study. Given the conflicted feelings that communities of other teachers caused for these teachers, next I detail how the Urban and Suburban Teachers sought out opportunities to use Japanese.

5.3.3 Struggles to build a community of Japanese speakers

Finding opportunities to use Japanese was a highly stressful for experience for the Urban and Suburban Teachers as they struggled with issues of self-efficacy and confidence as Japanese speakers. Mike, Nick and Wendy all struggled with having the self-confidence to replicate the behaviour of the other learners they saw actively seeking out opportunities to use Japanese. Mike found that despite his Japanese study, he could not have longer conversations with Japanese people and he was reluctant to proactively seek out Japanese friends at local bars after his friend suggested this: “I think it’s quite presumptuous and arrogant to assume that people are going to be my friends, just because of the virtue of being you know, foreign” (04/12/2017 interview).

Nick’s experiences show the pressure that having to build a Japanese speaking community puts on these teachers. Nick, who had experienced mental health issues in America, set himself the goal of going to a local bar in his city where other JET teachers had gone to practice Japanese and the owner was known to be friendly to non-native Japanese speakers. After several failed attempts to go to this bar, Nick felt that he could not go to the bar because of the potential damage it could have done to his mental health as:

> **“Trying to practice in a bar would have been more detrimental to my self-esteem because it’s not safe, you could find a random nice person but the conversation I think would just end up failing fast if one of us didn’t understand” (21/03/2018 Interview).**

For Nick, the stress he felt from building a life and community in Japan led him to spend his winter vacation alone as “I’m technically an introvert so I need to recharge my battery” (13/01/2018 Interview). Nick found it difficult to tap into the Japanese community in his area as “I’m always afraid I’m gonna screw something up and make a bad comment and knowing many Japanese people take words personally” (27/04/2018 Interview). By the

end of the Diary Study, Nick did feel he had the skills to build relationships in the workplace, but the onus was still on Nick to proactively develop these relationships.

While Sarah attended local community events, Sarah found that these events were not good forums for making Japanese friends as they were "run by these sweet Japanese ladies but those Japanese ladies will not become your close friends, like you know they're just there to be kind acquaintances" (20/04/2018 Interview). Sarah was introduced to one Japanese friend by the teacher who preceded Sarah on the JET Programme. While Sarah found that this friend was primarily interested in practicing English, this friend became an important Japanese conversation partner for Sarah as she "was very mindful of exposing me to natural Japanese and like teaches me a lot of slang or vocabulary" (20/04/2018 Interview).

Similar to Nick, Sarah found her low level of Japanese was a barrier to Japanese people wanting to become friends with her and that at times, "I tell myself that I'm not fluent in Japanese ergo no one will want to hang out with me in Japan" (19/02/2018 Interview). Sarah felt that there were Japanese-speaking communities that she could have accessed like her colleague Adam, but she did not have Japanese skills and an extroverted character that was required to make Japanese friends in these communities.

Wendy and Georgina both utilised social networking websites to search for opportunities to use Japanese but they had unpleasant and uncomfortable experiences with the people they encountered. While Wendy did make some connections on these websites, social events were far away and it was difficult to arrange meeting times while she found "It's also difficult to find people who have good intentions" (14/01/2018 Interview). In one incident, Wendy found that Japanese men saw foreign women as:

> **"You know like, 'I'll try a foreigner once or twice', like foreigners are not really people, this sounds so bad, people with emotions but like something to be tried and something to be won, kind of like another, you know like another trophy in the trophy case" (14/01/2018 Interview).**

Wendy's experiences of building a community in Japan were not only influenced by her gender, they were influenced by her ethnic background as she was the only black teacher in the Diary study and along with Patricia, one of two non-white teachers. Wendy found people were influenced by cultural images of black people in Japan: "they feel

intimidated by me because of images they see in the media or like internalised anti-blackness or racism" (14/01/2018 Interview). During interactions with Japanese people, Wendy found people often tried to use English with her or cut Wendy off when she struggled to express herself in Japanese.

In response to these difficulties, Wendy built friendships with Japanese speakers through events organised on a website for meeting friends. These events were based on a shared interest like board games which meant Wendy could socialise in Japanese and English. Wendy saw these groups as crucial in helping her build a community in Japan as "I'm not just the type of person to just walk up to someone here in Japan so I don't know how I would have found friends outside of these groups" (04/2018 Interview).

Georgina used both Tinder, a dating smartphone application, and Hello Talk, a language exchange application, to find opportunities to use Japanese and get feedback about her Japanese. However on these platforms, Georgina came into contact with Japanese men who were using these services for romantic or sexual reasons. One man she met on Tinder actually found her personal details through other social media and messaged her outside of the Tinder application. On other occasions, people she communicated with belittled her Japanese level or did not modify their Japanese enough to accommodate her level of Japanese. In her shared house, Georgina found her housemates who were learning English often pushed her to give them advice about English, which contrasted with the reluctance that she felt about using Japanese:

> **"I feel like I'm being demanding or imposing too much to say: 'Can we just sit down for an hour and I'm gonna talk at you and you will not understand anything I say, I'm gonna make 10,000 mistakes but can I just talk at you?'" (19/01/2018 Interview).**

For the Urban and Suburban Teachers, engaging with communities of Japanese speakers was a challenging experience. Many teachers found it difficult to build friendships with Japanese speakers because of their lack of confidence at actively pursuing Japanese communities, the difficulties of accessing these communities, and negative experiences when looking for opportunities to use Japanese. In the next section, I look at the influence of the workplace on the Urban and Suburban Teachers' Japanese engagement.

5.3.4 Workplace

Due to difficulties Urban and Suburban Teachers faced in finding opportunities to use Japanese, they found that the workplace became their primary opportunity for Japanese use. The workplace where each teacher taught English influenced the support they received for Japanese learning, their opportunities to use Japanese and the time they had for Japanese study. Similar to the Rural Teachers, Mike, Nick, Sarah and Wendy all taught in the Japanese state school sector as ALTs so they worked closely with Japanese teachers and were all based in one main school. I look at the experiences of Scott and Georgina, who taught for private commercial language schools, in separate sections later in the chapter.

The JET ALTs, Mike, Nick and Sarah did not have the same level of conflict as Alice and Dalia had with their supervisors and often saw their supervisors as supportive. However when Sarah had health and mental health problems, she was uncomfortable getting help from her Japanese supervisor because of the closeness of their relationship: “my supervisor is just one of my co-workers and I realized that I would rather die than have her take me to the doctors” (10/11/2017 Interview). While Wendy was employed as an ALT in the same role as the JET Programme teachers, she was paid a reduced salary during the school holidays and did not receive the same level of Japanese learning support.

All the teachers who worked in the Japanese school system were relatively inexperienced and aside from Mike had no formal EFL teaching qualifications. Each teacher also only received short training once they arrived in Japan, so often these teachers questioned their value as teachers as their colleagues were older and more experienced while there was limited communication about their performance and their classroom role. In some classes, each teacher worked closely with their Japanese colleagues while in other classes their role was more peripheral. This meant these teachers questioned their effectiveness as teachers and Nick sums this up: “Sometimes I try my best but I’m not an English teacher so I don’t know what I should be doing half the time” (27/04/2018 Interview).

As the teachers in the school system became more experienced and their colleagues gained confidence in them, they were given more responsibilities, which gave many of them a boost in their self-worth as English teachers. Mike shows how this impacted on

his sense of his own position in the workplace: “I feel as much as I’m an outsider, I do feel like I am more of a working part, I’m more of a cog in the school now” (10/12/2017-17/12/2017 Diary). This confidence helped them when they moved to new schools at the beginning of the Japanese academic year. For Nick, the confidence he gained from his Japanese study and the experiences at his first school meant he felt more comfortable in this new environment while Wendy found her new schools were surprised by both her proactive use of Japanese and involvement in extra-curricular activities.

While there was less expectations on these teachers to use Japanese than the Rural Teachers, when they did use Japanese in the workplace it had a positive impact on the relationships each teacher had with their colleagues. Sarah experienced conflicts with one teacher who only communicated in Japanese with her and treated her as: “I’m just kind of her foreign monkey” (16/01/2018 Interview). This meant Sarah sometimes did not understand her instructions and the teacher told Sarah she was a “bad teacher” during a class and admonished Sarah in the classroom in front of the students (19/02/2018 Interview). However, when Sarah started to use Japanese in the classroom, this teacher’s attitude became friendlier and she told Sarah she was a good teacher.

For Mike and Sarah, specific teachers took an interest in their Japanese learning and became important sources of Japanese practice and feedback. Mike asked one Japanese colleague, Teacher F, daily questions about Japanese use and they allowed him to practice Japanese he was learning: “I’m still bouncing stuff off her all the time, vocab, grammar, if I find something I think I understand, I sneak it into conversation and give her the look, ‘Is that wrong? Is that right?’” (04/12/2017 interview). Sarah found her Japanese colleagues were encouraging of her Japanese study and one particular Japanese colleague made daily efforts to encourage her Japanese use by “catering his conversation points to my classes, which is really sweet of him” (14/12/2017 Interview). Due to Nick’s isolated position in Japan, he also found that his colleagues and students were the main forum in which he could use Japanese.

Mike, Nick and Sarah all found using Japanese with their students allowed them positive opportunities for using Japanese. Nick would often eat lunch with his students and used Japanese to practice Japanese and build a rapport with his students and he found it easier to communicate with his students as he could understand their Japanese and they proactively asked him questions. When Sarah started to use Japanese in the classroom

it improved her rapport with her students and gave her opportunities to use Japanese. Sarah was able to use Japanese and gain knowledge about Japanese culture when she engaged with the students in her school's English Club in Japanese: "I'm young enough that I actually enjoy like having fun hanging out with them, they're really good for like teaching me Japanese and stuff" (20/04/2018 Interview).

Similar to the Rural Teachers, the Urban and Suburban Teachers found the influence of alcohol and the relaxed social atmosphere at work drinking parties meant both teachers and their colleagues could communicate more comfortably. Nick felt more relaxed about using Japanese which meant he showed his interests more and his colleagues began to proactively engage with him which meant "So I had two drinks and I was feeling pretty good, I could carry semi-intelligent conversations" (5/11/2017 Interview). For Sarah, these parties were opportunity to get to know her Japanese colleagues and she could often communicate with the Japanese staff because of the relaxed atmosphere which in turn influenced how much she viewed her job: "I actually think I would like my job less if I had never seen my co-workers in a more easy-going environment" (20/04/2018 Interview).

Despite the conflicts these teachers felt over their position in the classroom and the workplace, they were all aware that living and working in Japan came with privileges. Mike identifies that the linguistic capital that he drew from being a native English speaker was key to his privileged position in Japan as English is "possibly the most in-demand commodity besides oil and iPhones" (4/06/2018 Interview). Despite this, many of the Urban and Suburban Teachers did not see English teaching as a long-term career. Nick and other JET Programme teachers in his area saw the JET Programme as a "stepping stone" to another career or further study (12/02/2018 Interview). For Wendy, it was the lack of impact her teaching had in the classroom that led her question her long-term future as an ALT: "I don't feel that the kids are improving their English and communication" (29/06/2018 interview). For the Urban and Suburban Teachers who worked in the Japanese education system, the workplace was a context where they struggled to negotiate their position, but they also found people invested in them as Japanese speakers, something that they lacked in their other communities.

5.3.5 Japanese learning

In this section, I examine Urban and Suburban Teachers learned and used Japanese. I look at how these teachers sought out opportunities to learn Japanese and how they managed their Japanese learning. I then look at how interactions in Japanese influenced their Japanese engagement. I then present two case studies that show how the context of Japan influenced Japanese engagement. In the first, I look at Georgina's experiences as she was unique among the newly arrived teachers because she came to Japan independently on a working holiday visa. In the second, I examine how Scott's experiences exemplify how a learner's choices and Japan as a context for Japanese learning can combine to lead learners to not engage with Japanese learning or use.

All three JET Programme teachers, Mike, Nick and Sarah, had access to the JET Programme online Japanese learning program. Wendy was offered lessons by her company, but she had to pay for these lessons while Scott was given a Japanese learning textbook by his school and introduced to local community classes. As Georgina did not come via a teaching programme or organisation, she had to access Japanese learning herself. In practice, this meant all the teachers were responsible for managing and organising their Japanese learning when they arrived in Japan.

Apart from Scott, all the teachers had fixed Japanese goals that were often centered on passing levels of the JLPT test or becoming fluent enough to live in Japan comfortably. Mike said he wanted to improve his Japanese enough that he would be accepted in his schools and towns. Nick planned to stay for 2 years and his goal was to pass the JLPT level N3. Sarah's goal was to stay in Japan until she became a fluent Japanese speaker and then decide whether to stay in Japan long-term. Wendy planned to stay in Japan for 3 years and wanted to become conversationally fluent. Georgina's goal was to become fluent enough to get a job as an illustrator in a Japanese company. Scott did not come to Japan with a specific Japanese goal as he only planned to stay in Japan for a year before attending graduate school in Canada.

Therefore apart from Scott, all of the Urban and Suburban Teachers set up combinations of different learning resources to learn Japanese. These combinations included traditional classes like community lessons and private lessons as well as the use of non-traditional learning resources like smartphone and computer-based applications. Of the Urban and Suburban Teachers, only Mike did not have access to local community

classes taught by volunteers. Wendy, Sarah and Scott all began attending community based Japanese lessons when they arrived in Japan, Nick and Mike began by self-studying and Georgina initially took class at a commercial Japanese school called Kumon.

The Urban and Suburban Teachers had mixed experiences of attending formal Japanese classes as they struggled with various aspects of these classes. Before joining the Diary Study, Wendy quit her local community Japanese classes because she found one of the teachers was a “real creep” who made her feel uncomfortable (12/12/2017 Interview). Wendy later found a different class that focused on preparing for the JLPT N3 Test helped improve her test taking skills and evaluate her learning while the shared experience of learning influenced her engagement with Japanese: “I can motivate myself to, you know, learn from people who are learning Japanese and teachers who will really push me to use the Japanese that I’m learning” (12/12/2017 Interview). Sarah had a conflicted relationship with the community classes she attended, often questioning their effectiveness and her progress so so she changed her community classes a number of times. Nick initially tried to self-regulate his own Japanese study but after struggling with this, he started taking private Japanese lessons later in the Diary Study. Scott went to community Japanese classes but quickly quit them. Georgina attended Japanese classes at Kumon, a Japanese supplementary school, that teaches based on rote learning and later attended company provided classes.

Mike, Nick, Sarah, Georgina and Wendy all sought to recreate the classroom learning experience by combining traditional classes and other resources. For these teachers, their learning was conducted in the “imagined classroom” of the internet as they had access to large numbers of online articles that outlined approaches and resources that had been successful for other learners. Many of the computer and smartphone learning resources they used utilised the SRS (Spaced Repetition System) approach, which automatically recycles language for learners to help them retain language. These teachers also supplemented their learning by engaging with Japanese culture and social events. Nick engaged the most with Japanese culture such as video games, comics and animation while he watched videos about video games on YouTube and the streaming website Twitch. Nick also engaged with his students about these topics outside the classroom in Japanese while he shadowed Japanese TV for listening practice. Sarah

attended Japanese tea ceremony classes while Georgina bought art books in Japanese and watched YouTube videos on communicative Japanese.

Similar to the Rural Teachers, the Urban and Suburban Teachers experienced periods of disengagement from Japanese learning caused by managing self-directed learning, the lived experience of living and working a foreign country and other commitments in each teacher's life. Mike identified three major issues with his Japanese learning that reflect the broader problems that these teachers experienced. First, Mike found that he did not receive: "the complex, bespoke feedback that I think one needs, especially when you're learning grammar because you need to understand it or you need to be able to use it" (01/11/2017 Interview). Second, Mike found that his lack of interactions in Japanese meant he lacked "the same kind of reward one would get from say being in a class or watching a teacher's eyes light up when you realise you've got it" (01/11/2017 Interview). Third, self-directed learning meant it was difficult for Mike to maintain consistent Japanese study: "When it's yourself, you can always haggle yourself down to, you know what I'll do two minutes on Duolingo and it will be fine and it never is" (01/11/2017 Interview).

As newly arrived migrants in Japan who were often living away from home for the first time, living and working in Japan meant they had to manage Japanese learning alongside other commitments. Nick describes how the stress of managing his different commitments meant: "Some days it works it that I can get everything I want done in my house and study and some days I sit on the couch and just watch YouTube" (10/12/2017 Interview). Sarah prioritised her hobby of writing over Japanese study as she had a long-term goal to be a novelist and because of the positive effect it had on her mental health. For Scott, living and working in Japan and the commitments in his life meant he struggled to sustain Japanese study: "Only once I have arguably perfected and got all things done, that Japanese would somehow come up on the next category of things to learn" (04/2018 Interview).

Maintaining consistent use of the different resources each teacher set up was difficult for these teachers as they questioned the effectiveness of their approach and compared their progress to others. This led to these teachers often switching resources, classes and approaches as they sought "language learning fixes" for their Japanese learning. The "Imagined Classroom" of the internet also these teachers struggling to determine

what resources would work for them as Sarah identified: “You could honestly just spend years reading articles about to learn Japanese rather than actually learning Japanese” (16/03/2018 Interview). In the next section, I examine how using Japanese influenced the Japanese engagement of the Urban and Suburban Teachers.

5.3.6 Using Japanese

For the Urban and Suburban Teachers, opportunities to use Japanese were vital for their Japanese engagement as they provided feedback about their Japanese learning and allowed them to use the Japanese they had been studying. Positive and negative interactions influenced each learner’s Japanese engagement while praise for using Japanese caused mixed feelings. In this section I explore how interactions in Japanese influenced the Urban and Suburban Teachers’ Japanese learning.

Interactions in the workplace were an important forum for Japanese use. For Mike, the workplace became the primary place for him to use Japanese, acting as “lesson, revision and testing simply through daily duties/responsibilities” through “chatting with colleagues, comparing English/Japanese grammar from mistakes the students make” (12/10/2017 Diary). Mike even prepared jokes in Japanese to tell his colleagues and when his colleagues found them funny, it made him feel that he is “heading in the right direction, that is what motivates me” (04/12/2017 interview). When Sarah started using Japanese in the workplace it had an immediate effect on her relationships with her Japanese colleagues and her students. However, Wendy had negative experiences of using Japanese in the workplace as her students “really like to make fun of the way I speak Japanese” which led Wendy to be more determined to “speak more naturally, sound like a native speaker and get rid of accent, you know improve my Japanese, not sound like a 3-year-old” (16/11/2017 Interview).

Successful and unsuccessful interactions in Japan were significant for each teacher’s Japanese engagement. Successful interactions in Japanese often made these teachers feel that their Japanese learning was working as Mike describes “little eureka moments, light-bulb moments where I think I’m moving forward” (04/10/2017 Interview). However negative interactions often caused these teachers to question their Japanese learning and Nick, in particular, found his anxiety at using Japanese meant he struggled with simple Japanese he already knew. These teachers also used negative interactions as a means to motivate their learning with Sarah describing how communication breakdowns

pushed her learning: “They’ve motivated me a lot because I want to avoid feeling like that ever again” (10/2017 Interview).

All of the Urban and Suburban Teachers found that they retained the Japanese they used and encountered in their daily lives more than the Japanese they studied because it was more communicative and easier to retain. As the least engaged of the Urban and Suburban Teachers, Scott found the majority of Japanese he learned was in the workplace as the owner of his school and his colleague often code-switched between Japanese and English. For Georgina, it was easier to retain everyday language as it was more memorable and showed how people really use Japanese to communicate: “People throw grammar rules out of the window when they speak, particles disappear and I’m following a string of keywords, informal verb conjugations and slang” (23/01/2018 Diary). Wendy found that using Japanese was integral to her Japanese learning:

> **“The things I’ve learned by, just by talking with people and just by experiencing life, I hear it every day and that’s how I learn it because I hear it, I hear it habitually but it’s also ingrained in my mind” (29/06/2020 interview).**

5.3.7 The experience of self-directed learning.

As outlined the Urban and Suburban Teachers describe significant challenges managing their Japanese study. Nick, Sarah and Wendy all experienced mental health problems managing Japanese self-study while Nick and Sarah identify preparing for the JLPT test in particular as a negative effect on their Japanese engagement and mental health. For Nick, his Japanese study struggles exacerbated mental health problems he had already experienced in America which meant he had to take time away from Japanese study: “when my study’s hampering me, I get depressed so I lay off and I start feeling better” (10/12/2017 Interview). Managing Japanese learning and preparing for the JLPT test left Nick feeling: “constantly stressed out, I need to kind of like, take a chill pill” (10/11/2017 Interview). After taking the JLPT test, Nick had to “deload” his brain so he disengaged with Japanese study as “I fried my brain trying to cram the grammar, I wanted to take a step back and work on vocab for a while” (16/12/2017 Diary).

Managing her Japanese learning and preparing for the JLPT test made had a significant impact on Sarah’s Japanese engagement as, “the anxiety of an upcoming, huge exam

backfires and stresses me out to the point of immobility" (14/03/2018 Diary). Her two closest colleagues recognised that she was struggling with anxiety and suggested she seek professional help. While the JET Programme offered mental health support, Sarah felt more comfortable using an independent service so she used a smartphone application to find a counselor. Sarah was diagnosed with General Anxiety Disorder that stemmed not only from her Japanese study but also from moving to Japan which caused her to realise that "studying is not like a matter of life and death" (14/12/2017 Interview). Sarah found her goals were unrealistic so she switched her goals to improving her practical Japanese, quit her Japanese classes and joined a friend's classes as he had been making more progress. However, Sarah was never able to attend these classes because of heavy snowstorms which left her in "hibernation mode" and her Japanese in "stasis" (2/02/2018, 12/02/2018 & 19/02/2018 Diaries).

Wendy also struggled to maintain her Japanese engagement because of ecological factors after one of Wendy's co-workers passed away and Wendy found all aspects of her life were affected: "I had to stay on top of things at work and you know stay on top of - er - taking care of myself, making sure I don't look and smell like shit" (18/03/2018 Interview). Wendy was supported by her company and Wendy saw an English-speaking therapist to help her deal with her feelings about this, who she had previously seen when she arrived in Japan. For Wendy, this event, combined with other ecological factors, had a profound influence on her motivation for Japanese study: "winter's such a crappy time, everything dark and you feel really unmotivated and it's busy because of Visa renewals" (18/03/2018 Interview). For Nick, Sarah and Wendy, learning and using Japanese was not just managing learning resources and finding opportunities to use Japanese, it was managing the whole ecology of their lives in Japan. In the next section, I describe how Nick, Sarah and Wendy exercised agency to deal with these issues.

5.3.8 Reactions to learning issues

Nick, Sarah and Wendy all exercised agency to deal with these issues regarding their Japanese learning. Nick decided to take paid private Japanese lessons and found the classes had an almost immediate positive influence on his anxiety and his Japanese learning. These classes meant Nick could use the Japanese he was studying and provided the structure he previously lacked, "I work better when I have a curriculum to work off of, I'm not very good with just being on my own" (21/03/2018 Interview). Nick

specifically linked positive effects on his mental health with being able to use Japanese in a space Nick was comfortable with:

> **"I think if I didn't do the Japanese lessons, I would actually be more depressed than I am now because doing the Japanese lessons has actually given me the chance to have a safe place to practice" (21/03/2018 Interview).**

The confidence Nick gained improved his relationships with his colleagues, as he was more confident communicating in Japanese. Nick also made a conscious decision to be more socially active, so he took trips on his own and built stronger relationships with other ALTs.

After Sarah's period of disengagement from Japanese study, she returned to her original classes and she found her anxiety had decreased despite having to take a test to rejoin the classes. Sarah reflected that quitting her original classes prompted her period of un-engagement with Japanese: "I feel like the moment I dropped the class, I just lost all motivation" (19/02/2018). Sarah found seeing how her classmates had become more confident and fluent Japanese speakers meant: "I'm newly motivated now that I see the classes are effective" (28/02/2018 Diary). Sarah found the change of weather in her area also impacted on her motivation: "I have transformed from a pizza-hoarding hermit to a rose-smelling optimist. Everything is wonderful! Japanese is easy!" (14/03/2018 Diary).

Wendy's reactions were unique amongst the Diary Study participants because of the level of agency she exercised in reaction to her Japanese struggles. Wendy proactively sought out opportunities to use Japanese by joining weekly social events organised through the Meetup.com website. Wendy set herself ways to evaluate her Japanese improvement throughout her time in Japan and related these to different areas of Japanese, like reading news articles, writing diaries, passing the JLPT test and having conversations in Japanese. Wendy also monitored her energy levels as she struggled with them at social events and found completing the diaries for this research project allowed her to document her Japanese study and use: "I can really see and so actually I was looking back at my older diaries and I don't know, I think I've kind of completed my goals and it's a good way of me to keep track of what, what I'm improving on" (29/06/2020 interview).

Despite her proactive approach to Japanese learning and seeking out opportunities to use Japanese, Wendy still struggled to retain the Japanese she was learning and maintain her social life which left her feeling: “a little depressed and that really took a toll on my motivation to experience Japanese or Japanese culture” (29/06/2020 interview). Wendy choose to move to the larger city of Nagoya and live with a Japanese roommate to reinvigorate herself and her Japanese engagement:

> **“I’ll have a new start, I’ll be in the city, so I’ll be able to socialise more, I’ll have someone to live with so I’ll get closer to her, um, I’ll have new schools so new beginnings and I’ll apply for the JLPT when the application comes out” (18/03/2018 Interview).**

Living in the city immediately gave Wendy more opportunities to use Japanese as she could attend language social events more easily and use Japanese with her roommate. Interactions with her roommate were particularly significant as they allowed Wendy to have conversations about their work problems and their hobbies as well as learn specific Japanese about drinking. Wendy’s roommate also introduced her to her friends and they took a trip where they only spoke in Japanese. Moving to the city created a positive motivational cycle where the ease of socialising led to more interactions in Japanese which then drove Wendy to study more: “I can meet more people, I have a lot more opportunities to learn and to study so that’s been really motivational for me” (29/06/2018 interview). By the end of the Diary Study, Wendy found her investment in these social groups and moving meant she had made several Japanese friends which meant: “I’ve been able to hold conversations with Japanese people, only in Japanese, for a few hours on end” (29/06/2018 interview). The way which these three learners and in particular Wendy exercised Agency in reaction to their learning issues is reminiscent of the agency exercised by Kinginger’s Alice (2004) and demonstrates that a learner’s recognition of issues with language learning can act as a powerful force for change.

5.3.9 Georgina: from dream to reality

In the next two sections, I present case studies of Georgina and Scott as their experiences present a number of important findings about those teachers who come to work in the commercial language sector. Georgina decided to come to Japan after watching a YouTube video about a teacher who came to Japan to teach English, learned Japanese and then interned at an animation company in Japan. Having obtained a

Working Holiday Visa, Georgina choose to come to Japan independently as she wanted to combine teaching with looking for design internships as teaching English provided her with financial security. Georgina was unique among the participants as she lived in a large shared house in the greater Tokyo area, which contained a large number of foreign and Japanese residents.

When Georgina arrived in Japan, she did not only have to find opportunities for Japanese learning and use, she had to look for English teaching employment and apply for design internships. Despite finding initial employment with an online English school, Georgina often worried about her financial situation as she found it difficult to support herself financially. Georgina went on to find a number of part-time teaching jobs but looking for teaching jobs and design internships impacted on the time and energy she had to study Japanese. After 4 months of the Diary Study, she was hired as a designer at a video games company so by the end of the study she was the no longer teaching English.

When Georgina arrived in Japan, she first studied Japanese independently and took weekly Japanese classes at a school called Kumon as she could not afford to take lessons at a commercial language school. At Kumon schools, students use rote learning to learn school subjects, completing large numbers of worksheets and then practicing the subject matter with a teacher. While Georgina had expected a language school full of other foreign students, she had to practice her Japanese learning in a school with young Japanese children who were studying other subjects using the Kumon method. Georgina's teacher did not speak English, so the only interaction Georgina had with her teacher was to practice the Japanese pronunciation through reading.

Georgina wrote almost on a weekly basis about her frustrations with her Kumon classes as she struggled with their content and her teacher's approach, as she improved less noticeably that her housemates who were attending fulltime Japanese schools. Georgina struggled to retain the language she was studying because of the Kumon learning system and she had to push herself to complete the required number of Kumon worksheets every week leading her to feel: "I realized I wasn't understanding the grammar and was just copying it down" (19/01/2018 Diaries). In order to regulate her Japanese study, Georgina reduced the number of sheets and completed her Kumon worksheets in the morning. She had to use online Japanese resources to find out how to use language properly because the Kumon system does not provide grammatical

explanations. Despite her Kumon classes being Georgina's most consistent Japanese engagement, she still saw her Kumon teacher as only a peripheral influence on her learning: "She doesn't really teach me, I just turn up to the centre and she kind of guides me through a few things" (14/03/2018 Interview).

While Georgina had more flexibility that the other newly arrived teachers, it was difficult for her to balance learning Japanese alongside teaching, looking for other teaching jobs and applying for design positions. Ecological factors influenced Georgina as she found it difficult to study in her room, the common areas in her shared house were too social for her to concentrate and cafes were also too noisy. Even after getting a full-time job in design, Georgina regretted her initial efforts to study Japanese: "I think why I didn't spend 4, 5 hours every day really drilling Japanese when I had the time because I don't have the time now" (03/06/2018 Interview).

Despite learning Japanese to get an internship or job at a Japanese company, when Georgina did get a job in design, her interview was in English and she was not required to speak Japanese in the workplace. While Georgina's role also came with a pension, health insurance and free Japanese lessons, it also came with increased commitments such as a long commute to her new job and doing overtime. This led to a period of disengagement from her Kumon classes and eventually she quit the classes, which was mirrored in her engagement with the Diary Study as she wrote less diary entries and did not take part in a monthly interview for two months.

Despite achieving her long-term goal of working as a designer in Japan, Georgina found the reality of her new job was: "incredibly boring or incredibly stressful, there's nothing enjoyable about it, there's nothing creative" (03/06/2018 Interview). Georgina found her work and living situation significantly influenced her Japanese engagement: "my social bucket is full for today, I don't want to talk to anyone else, is kind of full, just from being in the house and then being at work, to then try and focus on using Japanese is extra, almost painful effort" (03/06/2018 Interview). Georgina had come to Japan with a specific goal, to become a designer, and both teaching English and learning Japanese were instrumental to helping her achieve this goal. However, the lived experience of managing Japanese learning, working and looking for design job opportunities meant Georgina struggled throughout the Diary Study to development a consistent and effective approach to studying and using Japanese. This shows how difficult it is for self-directed

learners to develop the learning behaviours that their L2 Motivational Selves required, no matter the strength of the Ideal L2 Self.

5.3.10 The sojourner: Scott's experiences of learning and using Japanese

Scott's experience of living and working in Japan illustrate how foreign English teachers can disengage with Japanese learning and use as well as how different migrants are valued in Japan. From the outset, Scott only planned to spend a short time in Japan before returning to Canada to attend graduate school so he choose to teach in a commercial language school where he could get a job without any English teaching qualification. When Scott joined the Diary study in October 2017, he had been in Japan for 3 months. The school owner had introduced Scott to the local community lessons, given him some Japanese textbooks and introduced him to a Japanese friend who was an important gateway to the international community in Scott's area. Scott initially attended these classes once a week but quit the classes after 2 months. Scott outlined early on that Japanese was not important for him and he did not have any Japanese goals because he only planned to be in Japan for a short period.

Compared to the other newly arrived teachers, Scott had a strong sense of his value as an English speaker in Japan which influenced his decisions about learning Japanese and the groups he socialised with. Scott gravitated towards other communities primarily made up of other young foreign English speakers because of their shared connection of speaking English and experience of living in Japan as foreigners. Scott used Google translate to communicate and relied on friends to act as language brokers which meant "I'll avoid those situations of being alone and potentially having to speak Japanese if I have to or going to certain events where it's mainly people who speak Japanese" (04/2018 Interview). After Scott experienced uncomfortable interactions at his church with the Japanese members, he proactively avoided interactions with these members to avoid negative interactions: "I'm realising that the best way to move forth is to try and escape the conversation" (Early March 2018 Diary).

Despite not having any fixed Japanese goals, Scott linked learning Japanese to help him travel around Japan but he did not link these intentions with actual Japanese study. When Scott went travelling, he found that people wanted to speak English with him and there was more expectation on his Asian-American friend to speak Japanese: "I have the advantage because at least I look white, I can't speak it and I look it" (12/2017

Interview). As Scott felt using the language was enough for him to remember it, he did not make notes of the new language he learned: “I know I’ll be needing in certain situations, have a funny way of sticking” (02/2018 Interview).

Scott was the newly arrived teacher who had a relationship in Japan and his girlfriend, a Filipino nurse, was also a migrant worker. She was in Japan on a government training programme in which foreign nurses work in Japanese hospitals and learn Japanese simultaneously. Scott met her at his church and they dated for a number of months. Scott’s girlfriend encouraged him to learn and use Japanese so she pushed him into situations where he had to use Japanese. She also acted as language broker when he went to dinner with her friends, to the doctors or even for a haircut. Scott saw this relationship as a linguistic exchange because while he was encouraged by his girlfriend to use Japanese and helped by her as a language broker, Scott reciprocated by using English with her, which helped to maintain her English proficiency. In addition, their respective positions in Japan caused tension in their relationship because while his girlfriend had to adapt to Japanese society by learning the language and taking on the responsibilities of a Japanese worker, there were no expectations on Scott to learn Japanese or adapt to Japanese society. Scott’s girlfriend’s efforts to encourage Scott to engage with Japanese ended with their relationship. While Scott was aware that he was “just a replaceable white guy”, he saw himself as “more than just a language tool” and “pretty decent language teacher” (04/2018 Interview).

While Scott encountered people who questioned his limited engagement with Japanese, he did not question his decision not to engage with Japanese because he did not plan to stay in Japan long-term and was not interested in Japanese culture. However, Scott did believe that if he had been able to make Japanese friends, it would have created a personal connection for him with Japanese: “it would push me to get better because we wouldn’t be able to communicate or become friends if it wasn’t already at a certain level” (04/2018 Interview). Scott also felt that if there was a community of Japanese learners around him, it would have pushed him to study Japanese. Scott’s lack of engagement with Japanese and his own sense of his value as English teacher show that migrants with a high level of linguistic capital and privileged mobility can choose not to engage with Japanese and still live comfortably in Japan. This is reinforced by the difference in expectations on Scott and his girlfriend to adjust to Japanese society. Scott as an

Educated, White English teacher, could work and live in Japan without having to adjust to Japanese society and learn Japanese while his girlfriend could not.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how these nine newly arrived teachers learned and used Japanese. I outlined how they built communities in Japan, how they learned and used Japanese and how their position as English teachers in Japan influenced their Japanese engagement. I began by focusing on the three teachers placed in rural areas as they had more visible roles in their communities. I then examined the six teachers placed in urban and suburban areas as they had less prominent roles in their communities. In this section I will discuss the broader implications of the experiences of the newly arrived English teachers who took part in the Diary Study. I begin by examining how access to communities of practice influenced each teacher's Japanese engagement and the implications for how we consider how newly arrived migrants learn languages. I then look at the Japanese learning and use of my participants. Finally, I revisit some of theoretical concepts outlined in chapter 4, in light of the findings about newly arrived foreign English teachers' Japanese learning.

The communities that each participant had access to undoubtedly influenced each teacher's Japanese learning and use. As noted by Wenger (1998, p.4), learning is accomplished by being an active participant in the practices of social communities. For the Rural teachers (Alice, Dalia and Patricia), while living in a close-knit community came with community expectations and scrutiny, there was a clear path to participation in communities of practice in each rural teacher's town. These teachers moved from the periphery of their communities to develop relationships with individuals and groups through "legitimate peripheral participation" while navigating discourses in Japan about gender and race. The close ties Dalia and Patricia formed in their community gave them opportunities to use Japanese which in turn facilitated and often drove their Japanese learning as they struggled to maintain their self-directed Japanese study. For Alice, her connection with the community keep her engaged with using Japanese to communicate until the end of the Diary Study despite having no fixed Japanese goals and constantly struggling to engaged with Japanese study.

The Urban and Suburban Teachers had more peripheral positions in their communities, so it was more difficult for them to find opportunities for Japanese use. They had access

to larger English-speaking communities, which provided friendship, emotional support and a sense of shared Japanese learning. Also in these communities, there were successful examples of Japanese learners that served as role models for Japanese learning. However, at times these groups negatively influenced Japanese engagement as they limited the Urban and Suburban Teachers' opportunities to use Japanese because English was primarily used by these groups while several teachers would often negatively compare their Japanese progress with other members of these communities. The power of these communities mirrors the experiences of young Korean migrants in Shin (2014), where in reaction to becoming marginalised for their weak English skills, these young migrants sought refuge in their identities as young rich "transnationals" and maintained strong ties with Korean culture. While the Urban and Suburban Teachers did not feel the same level of marginalisation, their struggles to find opportunities to use Japanese and their close proximity to other English speakers meant they built stronger bonds with other English speakers rather than Japanese speakers.

Having to proactively seek out opportunities to use Japanese caused different reactions amongst the Urban and Suburban Teachers. Nick set himself the target of visiting a bar where he heard other teachers had practiced Japanese but eventually never went to the bar because he did not have enough confidence in himself and his Japanese. Wendy, Dalia and Sarah describe how they struggled to be as outgoing and sociable as the successful Japanese learners they encountered who proactively sought out Japanese communities. Wendy presents illustrative example of how the teachers in the Urban and Suburban areas exercised agency against the broader context of being a migrant language learner in Japan. Struggling with managing her Japanese learning because of her lack of opportunities to use Japanese, Wendy exercised agency by moving to the larger urban area of Nagoya to live with a Japanese roommate to increase her opportunities to use Japanese and so she could more easily attend the local Meetup.com events. The agency shown by Wendy mirrors the way in which learners, such as Alice in Kinginger (2003), have to reconfigure their approaches to studying and using languages and it was her investment in these communities that meant she could find a way to sustainably study and use Japanese.

Scott was unique among the participants in the Diary Study as he came to Japan with no fixed Japanese goals and engaged little outside of the English-speaking communities he actively sought out when he arrived in Japan. As these communities were based on

the use of English it meant there was little need for him to engage with Japanese so he relied on those around him, most prominently his girlfriend, to act as language brokers or he actively avoided situations where he had to use Japanese. This limited the relationships he could build in Japan, most prominently within the Japanese members of his church. Scott was the most aware of his value as an English speaker in Japan and saw his own use of English as doing a service to the Japanese people he encountered. Scott's approach to community engagement in Japan illustrates how a combination of a learner's own attitude to learning Japanese can combine with the temporary and ambivalent position in Japan of foreign English teachers and cause English teachers not to engage with Japanese.

The dichotomy between the Rural and Urban and Suburban Teachers demonstrates that the communities each teacher was placed in played a significant role in the language learning of migrants. The Rural Teachers, Alice, Dalia and Patricia, felt deep bonds with individual and groups in their towns, which pushed their language learning and use. The lack of this connection for the Urban and Suburban Teachers directly impacted on their Japanese engagement. It meant there were fewer opportunities for these teachers to actually use the Japanese they were learning which meant they struggled to retain the Japanese they were learning, and they experienced ambivalent feelings about their language learning. These teachers often felt less of a connection with Japan, meaning these teachers formed these communities based around other English speakers.

The Diary Study generated a large volume of detailed data about how each teacher studied and used Japanese throughout their time in Japan. The 6 JET Programme teachers were all supported with an on-line Japanese learning programme but most struggled with this programme so they either abandoned using it or had to adjust their approach to using it. The non-JET Programme participants had less support for Japanese learning. This meant that each participant had to find classes or set up self-study resources as they searched for effective study approaches.

Nick, Mike, Scott, Patricia, Sarah, Georgina and Wendy all had fixed Japanese goals and set up a combination of classes and learning resources to focus on learning Japanese and recycling language they had learned to try to recreate the classroom experience. Despite setting up these learning plans, all these teachers encountered similar issues with maintaining Japanese study consistently alongside attending

Japanese classes and their workplace responsibilities. Self-regulating their Japanese learning meant that their Japanese study was often inconsistent as they switched resources in order to find study routines and approaches that were both consistent and what they considered to be effective. In particular, Sarah and Nick describe how they were overwhelmed and paralysed by the amount of information and advice that was available to them on the "imagined classroom" of the internet about Japanese learning. This search for language learning "fixes" led to periods of disengagement with Japanese study.

As Alice and Scott did not have fixed Japanese goals, they did not set up elaborate study plans and their Japanese study was often in response to communication breakdowns or to communicate for specific purposes. Scott was able to learn some simple Japanese phrases but he did not actively make notes of new language he encountered and by the end of the Diary Study he avoided situations where he would be required to speak in Japanese or he relied on language brokers. Alice struggled to extend her practice beyond attending her classes and learning isolated phrases in Japanese but the relationships she developed in her town continued to push her to use Japanese.

On top of the struggles to manage learning, the newly arrived teachers' Japanese study was also impacted by ecological impacts from the participant's lives. These ecological influences were often related to the fact that the majority of these teachers were living and working in a foreign country for the first time. This meant they had to take care of their physical and mental health, maintain their apartments, manage their working commitments alongside other commitments in their lives such as applying to graduate school, hobbies and interests unrelated to Japanese study. The Rural Teachers, Dalia and Patricia, found that their community commitments in their rural areas meant that they were often too tired to study Japanese at times. Both Nick and Sarah experienced problems with mental health issues as they struggled to manage Japanese study alongside their other commitments.

One of the benefits of conducting a long-term study of these teachers' Japanese learning was that it provided insights into how these learners responded to periods of Japanese disengagement. Nick, Dalia and Wendy's experiences show the different ways in which these teachers responded. Nick found that self-directing Japanese learning had a negative effect on his mental health as he struggled to retain the Japanese, so he

decided to take private Japanese lessons after a number of months. These lessons provided Nick with the opportunity to use Japanese in a safe environment and this had an immediate effect on his mental health, meaning that he became reengaged with Japanese study and felt more confident in using Japanese in the workplace. Wendy's experiences offer an illustrative example of how migrant language learners can extend themselves and successfully push themselves to use Japanese more. Her successful investment in extending her opportunities to use Japanese by joining meet-up groups and moving into a shared house with a Japanese roommate allowed her to extend her learning and learn more spoken Japanese. While Dalia could identify that she needed to start using the Japanese she was studying to help her retain the Japanese she was learning, she never was able to meet the targets she set herself of recording an audio diary and reading Japanese comics because she was too busy. The experiences of the newly arrived teachers in the Diary Study show managing learning and using Japanese in Japan as an employment migrant was profoundly influenced by the lived experience of working full-time and self-directing managing Japanese learning and that this experience was stressful and difficult to manage.

One of the primary focuses of this study was to discover whether Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self system can account for the motivation of foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan. Aside from Scott, all of the teachers outlined how they were motivated by reasons that straddled both L2 possible selves. The experiences of the teachers in the Diary Study demonstrate how chaotic the motivational selves of these newly arrived teachers were and the strength of the influence of the L2 Learning Experience on these teachers' Japanese learning. Most illustrative of this is that Sarah and Georgina, who both had expressed a desire to live in Japan long-term and had fixed Japanese goals that could be construed as strong Ideal L2 Selves , struggled with their actual Japanese learning and often had conflicted feelings when attending Japanese class and taking Japanese tests.

The participants' diaries and interviews demonstrate the level of impact that the ecological influences of each participant's life impact on their L2 Learning Experience. The data generated by the teacher's diaries and interviews show that a wide variety of factors influenced choices about their learning and their enjoyment of learning and using Japanese. The Diary Study shows that for newly arrived migrants, influences on motivation are not limited directly related to language learning, but include the whole

ecology of each learner, showing on a broader scale the influence that ecological influences had in Casanave's (2012) self-reflective study of her own Japanese learning as a foreign English teacher in Japan.

Chapter 6: Linguistic Biographies

In this chapter, I present analysis of the narratives of English teachers who had been living and working in Japan and teaching English for over 5 years. I begin by outlining the participant recruitment criteria used and how the participants were recruited. I then present a short biographical section on each teacher before I examine how these teachers learned and used Japanese while they built lives in Japan. In the final section I discuss the broader implications from the experiences of these long-term foreign English teachers' Japanese learning and use.

6.1 The Participants

As outlined in the methodological section in Chapter 4, the participants for the linguistic biographies were long-term residents of Japan and were selected according to the following criteria:

- **Originally came to Japan in order to teach English**
- **Spent over 5 years in Japan**
- **Still working in the English teaching industry**

I conducted interviews with 13 foreign English teachers who ranged in terms of their time spent in Japan from 5 to 39 years. The average length of time of participants being in Japan was 14.5 years at the time of the initial interview. Of these 13 teachers, 5 were female and 8 male while 9 were from the United Kingdom, 2 from the USA, one from Ireland and one from Australia. The majority of the teachers were based in the Tokyo area of Japan and the average age of these teachers was 40. A more detailed outline of the participant's biographical details can be found in Table 6.1 on page 114.

Data collection began in December 2016 and a timeline of this can be seen in Table 6.2 on page 115**.** The general sampling approach was a Snowball Convenience method that utilised my own personal networks as well as the informal networks that exist for teachers in Japan. I spent 2 months in Japan in 2016-2017 when I recruited an initial group of five teachers through my own personal networks. These teachers included those who were currently working in the three major sectors of the English teaching industry in Japan: commercial language schools, the Japanese school system and the university sector.

After the first stage of interviews, I contacted a number of English teaching companies and organisations in Japan to recruit participants for all three data sets but only one organisation, a commercial ALT Dispatch company, distributed my calls for participants. The second set of interviews were conducted from June to October 2017 and were conducted with teachers recruited from various Facebook groups for both foreigners and English teachers in Japan as well as through Twitter. The earlier interviews I had conducted and my own knowledge as an insider in the English teacher industry were very helpful in establishing a rapport with the participants, something that might have been more problematic if I had no prior knowledge of the participants' professional and personal contexts. I then transcribed these 13 interviews in their entirety and compiled linguistic biographies for each participant. Each linguistic biography is a short narrative account of each teacher's time in Japan, beginning from when each teacher arrived in Japan and includes comments from each participant on their Japanese learning and use.

The final phase of data collection was conducted in June to August 2018 and October 2018 to January 2019. Using the Linguistic Biographies constructed from the initial interviews as a stimulated recall exercise, I conducted follow-up interviews which gave each participant the opportunity to consider what they had said in their original interview and further explore areas from the initial interviews. The transcripts of these interviews were then used to add further details to the original linguistic biographies in preparation for data analysis.

Table 6.1: Linguistic Biography Participant Biographical Details

Name	Nationality	Gender	Years in Japan	Age	Initial Job	Current Job	Japanese Language Proficiency Test Level (JLPT)	Marital Status	Children
Mark	British	Male	20	50s	Commercial Language School Teacher	Freelance Examiner/Teacher	N4	Married	Yes
Nigel	British	Male	7	30s	Commercial Language School Teacher	High School Teacher	None	Single	No
Lucy	British	Female	16	40s	Commercial Language School Teacher	Commercial Language School Teacher	None	Married	Yes
Gary	British	Male	13	40s	Commercial Language School Teacher	Commercial Language School Teacher	None	Married	No
Adrian	American	Male	20	40s	Commercial Language School Teacher	University Professor	N4	Married	Yes
Bonnie	Irish	Female	7	30s	Commercial Language School Teacher	Commercial Language School Teacher	N3	Single	No
Charlie	Australian	Female	6	50s	Commercial Language School Teacher	Freelance Teacher	N4	Single	No
Pam	American	Female	17	50s	Commercial Language School Teacher	University Professor	N4	Married	No
Sophia	British	Female	12	30s	Commercial Language School Teacher	Commercial Language School Teacher	N1	Divorced	No
Paul	British	Male	13	30s	Commercial Language School Teacher	University Professor	N4	Married	Yes
John	British	Male	7	30s	Commercial Language School Teacher	University Professor	N3	Married	Yes
Harry	British	Male	39	60s	Commercial Language School Teacher	English Teacher (School Owner)	N1	Married	Yes
Ed	British	Male	12	30s	Commercial Language School Teacher	High School and University Teacher	N2	Married	Yes

Table 6.2: Data Collection Timeline

Date	Phase	Participant Interviews
12/2016-01/2017	First phase of initial interviews	Mark Lucy Nigel Gary Adrian
06/2017-08/2017	Second phase of initial interviews	Charlie Pam Paul John Sophia Bonnie
10/2017	Third phase of Initial Interviews	Ed Harry
06/2018-08/2018	First phase of follow-up Interviews	Adrian Lucy John Charlie Harry
10/2018-01/ 2019	Second Phase of follow-up interviews	Ed Harry Mark Gary Sophia Nigel Pam Paul

6.2 Becoming a Lifer: from Adventure to Career

As I recruited participants who currently worked in a variety of sectors in the English teaching industry, it was as much an accident of circumstance that all of the long-term teachers had started their careers in the commercial English teaching sector. Demonstrating the varied career pathways available to English teachers in Japan, by the time I interviewed each teacher, only four of the participants were still teaching in commercial language schools, with just two of these teachers working for the original school that brought them to Japan. At the time of the initial interview, the participants worked in teaching roles across the spectrum of the English teacher industry in Japan including high school teachers, university lecturers and freelance teachers while one teacher owned his own language school.

The journey of these teachers from the commercial language schools to building careers and lives in Japan is one that intersects with their Japanese learning and use on a daily basis. The vast majority of these long-term teachers arrived in Japan with no intention of staying long-term in the country, but by the time I interviewed them, all had built lives in Japan. Each of these teachers developed deep ties in Japan by marrying Japanese partners, having children and changing sectors of the English teaching industry.

While these teachers moved between the types of roles they worked in, the participants can be grouped into three main groups professionally. The first group of teachers were those currently employed in the tertiary and higher education sectors of the Japanese education system. These teachers had often carried out independent professional development as they had all originally taught for commercial language schools and now worked in various roles at universities and high schools. **John** had completed a doctorate and been able to gain a permanent position at a Japanese university while **Adrian** and **Paul** were employed on limited term full-time contracts at universities. **Pam** was employed part-time at a number of different universities while **Ed** worked at both a high school and some universities in part-time roles. **Nigel** was employed on yearly contracts at a private Japanese high school.

The next group of teachers were those employed at commercial English schools called "*Eikawa*" in Japanese. Of these teachers, **Sophia** and **Lucy** were both employed at the same school that brought them to Japan, although in the period between interviews, Sophia was able to complete a professional development qualification and was

promoted at the same school. **Bonnie** and **Gary** had both come to Japan with commercial English schools but had changed schools during their time in Japan.

The final group were freelance teachers, a group of teachers who had all originally come to Japan to work for commercial language schools and had progressed to working for universities, language schools and businesses on a freelance basis. Both **Mark and Charlie** worked freelance for various companies teaching at businesses, schools, and universities while **Harry** owned his own language school.

Lucy

Lucy is a Chinese-British married female teacher in her mid-40s, from the United Kingdom who teaches at a chain of commercial language schools. She lives in Tokyo, has a daughter and had been in Japan for 15 years at the time of the initial interview. Lucy came to Japan in 2001 after graduating from university to work for a commercial English school. After meeting her Japanese boyfriend while at university in the UK, Lucy decided to come to Japan to teach English after completing the CELTA (Certificate in Teaching English to Adults). She has worked for the same commercial English school chain since she arrived in Japan. Before coming to Japan, she had not studied Japanese but is of Chinese origin so was unique amongst the Linguistic Biographies participants as being non-white.

Bonnie

Bonnie is a white, single, female teacher in her 30s from the Republic of Ireland. At the time of the initial interview she worked for the same chain of large commercial schools as Lucy, based in the Tokyo area. She came to Japan in 2010 and had been in Japan for 7 years at the time of the initial interview. Bonnie had a background in education and is a bilingual English and German speaker who also studied French at university.

Before coming to Japan, Bonnie had studied Japanese independently, taken some classes and had passed the JPLT N4 level. After completing the CELTA, Bonnie came to Japan to work for a small commercial English school in the Nagoya as it was close to the group of Japanese friends she had made at the university in France. After 3 years teaching in Nagoya, she moved to Tokyo to teach for the large chain of Commercial language schools, where she had been for 4 years at the time of the initial interview. After the initial interview, she then went to work for a language school that prepares

students for study in the UK before then moving to a smaller commercial language school for younger students in 2018.

Sophia

Sophia was 32 at the time of the initial interview in 2017, white, female, single and from the United Kingdom. At the time of the initial interview she was an English teacher at a commercial language school that is based in the greater Tokyo suburban area. Sophia completed the English language teaching qualification, the CELTA, but had no previous experience of teaching English before arriving in Japan. Sophia arrived in Japan in 2005 and had spent 12 years in Japan at the time of the initial interview. Sophia had not studied Japanese before coming to Japan but had studied German whilst at university. By the time of the follow-up interview, Sophia had completed the Trinity certificate, a higher-level teaching qualification and had been promoted to a higher teaching position in the company she came to Japan with in 2005. Sophia is one of two long-term teachers to have been divorced and was married to a Japanese man from 2008 until 2016.

Gary

Gary is a white, male, married teacher at a chain of commercial language schools in Tokyo from the United Kingdom in his 30s. He originally came to Japan in 2003 to work for a large chain of commercial language schools in Chiba prefecture and stayed for one year. After returning to the UK for six months, he returned to Tokyo in 2005 to work for a different chain of commercial language schools. He was still working for this chain of schools in 2017 at the time of the initial interview. He had no previous Japanese learning experience before he arrived in Japan and had no English teaching qualifications or teaching experience. He completed a formal teaching qualification, the Trinity Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (Cert TESOL), after 4 years of teaching at the second language school chain.

Pam

Pam is a university English lecturer in her 50s and is female, married and from America with a mixed Japanese and white racial background. She originally came to Japan to work at a large chain of commercial English schools in 1999. Pam's mother is Japanese, but Pam grew up entirely in America and never spoke or studied Japanese. Pam had studied Japanese in America before going to Japan to teach English. After working for

2 years at a chain of commercial language schools, she started working part-time at universities in the Tokyo area because she had a master's degree in social work.

John

John is a white male, British lecturer at a Japanese university in his late 30s. He lives in the Tokyo area and is married with one son. At the time of the initial interview, John had been living in Japan for 8 years in total, split between two stints. John came to Japan in 2004 after graduating from university. Before John arrived in Japan, he took the English teaching qualification, the CELTA. In his first period in Japan, he worked for two commercial language schools in the greater Tokyo area for 1.5 years. While in Japan his met his partner, who returned to the UK with him in 2006. Whilst in the UK he continued to teach English and completed a master's degree In Applied Linguistics and TESOL. He then returned to Tokyo in 2011 to work part-time at Japanese universities before getting a full-time position in 2013. At the time of the initial interview, John had just gained tenure at his university after also completing a part-time PhD in 2017.

Adrian

Adrian is a white, male, American lecturer at a Japanese university in Tokyo, in his late-40s, married with two daughters. Adrian came to Japan after graduating with a master's degree in English literature. He originally came to Japan in 1997 to work at a commercial English school in Gunma in the Kanto area. After working at this school, he then moved to Tokyo and worked for a commercial language school for 7 years before being made redundant. After a period of unemployment, Adrian worked as a proof-reader and at a junior college. John then completed a second master's degree in Applied Linguistics and TESOL while working part-time at Japanese universities, before gaining a fulltime position at a university outside of Tokyo in 2010. John moved to a different university in Tokyo in 2015 and is currently completing a part-time PhD.

Paul

Paul is a white, male, British lecturer at a Japanese university in the greater Tokyo area and is in his late 30s. He is married with one child. He had been living in Japan for 11 years in total at the time of the initial interviews, across two periods. After completing undergraduate and master's degrees, Paul took the teaching qualification, the CELTA and came to teach in Japan in 2003 for a chain of commercial English schools in the

greater Tokyo area. Paul stayed for a year before moving to teach English in Poland, during which he maintained a long-distance relationship with his Japanese girlfriend. Paul then returned to Japan in 2007 to work for a different chain of commercial language schools in the greater Tokyo area. In 2008, Paul began teaching part-time classes at Japanese universities and in 2010 he left the commercial language school to focus solely on teaching at Japanese universities. He completed a second master's degree in Applied Linguistics and was employed full-time at a Japanese university at the time of the initial interview.

Nigel

Nigel is a white, male, single, British teacher who was in his 30s at the time of the initial interview and had been living in Japan for 6 years over two periods. Nigel works as an English teacher in a private Japanese High School and lives in the greater Tokyo area. He originally came to Japan in 2007 to work for a chain of commercial language schools in the greater Tokyo area and worked for this company for 1.5 years before returning to the UK in 2009. Nigel then returned to Japan in 2011 to work for the same commercial language school before joining his current school, a private Japanese high school in 2015. While at the commercial language school, Nigel completed his first formal teaching qualification, DipTESOL.

Ed

Ed is a white male, in his 30s and married with one child from the United Kingdom. Ed originally came to Japan in 2003 to teach for a large chain of commercial language schools in the greater Tokyo area. Ed worked for this chain of schools for 3 years before returning to the United Kingdom with his Japanese wife to train to be a teacher. After completing this course, he returned to Japan in 2008 and worked as a freelance English teacher and in a bar before getting a full-time position at a language school chain. He worked fulltime for this company until 2011 when he went part-time and combined his role with part-time teaching jobs at schools and universities. In 2015 he completed the DipTESOL and then completed a master's degree in Applied Linguistics in 2017. At the time of the initial interview Ed had left the commercial language school to focus completely on working part-time at Japanese high schools and universities. Ed got divorced from his first wife shortly after returning to Japan and then married his current wife, with whom he has one son.

Mark

Mark is a white, male teacher in his 40s from the United Kingdom and works as a freelance English teacher and examiner. He is married with one daughter and lives in the greater Tokyo area. Before he arrived in Japan, Mark took the CELTA English teaching qualification. Mark originally came to Japan to work for a chain of commercial language schools in the Tokyo area in 1997. Mark worked for this original chain of schools until 2002 before moving to a smaller school in the Tokyo area. He then left this company after 7 years in 2009 to work as a freelance English teacher, a position that he continued in at the time of the initial interview.

Charlie

Charlie is white, single, female, in her 40s and from Australia. She was working as a freelance English teacher at the time of the initial interview. Charlie originally came to Japan in the 1990s and taught English for 1.5 years on a working holiday visa before returning to Australia to get a degree in education and linguistics at university and then teaching in France and Australia. Charlie had been in Japan for 5 years when she took part in her initial interview. She had returned to Japan in 2012 to work for a small Commercial Language school until she became a freelance teacher for a number of companies and schools in 2014.

Harry

Harry is a white male, in his 60s, and from the United Kingdom. Harry runs his own English school in Shizouka prefecture and is married with two children. Harry came to Japan in 1978 and had been in Japan for 39 years at the time of the initial interview. Harry went to university in the UK but did not graduate and came to Japan initially in 1977 to find a job and see his girlfriend. He found a teaching job with a small commercial language school in Akita in Northern Japan. After a year at this school, he moved to another school in the same town. After 4 years at this school, where he met his wife, Harry moved to Shizouka, which is in central Japan. At this school, Harry worked as a teacher trainer and he was dispatched to teach at local kindergartens. One of these kindergartens, run by a Buddhist temple, found him classes in the town next to the one the school he worked in. After 3 years, he bought the branch of the school in this town and set up his own school. Since then Harry has taught at his own school as well as at junior high schools as a directly hired Assistant Language Teacher (ALT).

6.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis of the long-term teachers was a complex and laborious process as I struggled to manage the large amount of information generated by each participant. Data analysis began as soon as I had conducted the first phase interviews, as I used these interviews to construct a series of questions that I used in the second phase of initial interviews. Once all the initial interviews were conducted, I coded a number of the interviews in NVivo. After this initial coding process in NVivo, I organised the data around five thematic threads:

1. **Japanese Learning**
2. **Japanese Use**
3. **Building communities**
4. **Position in Japan**
5. **Conflicts**

Organising my initial analysis around these five themes allowed me to deal with the sheer volume of data produced by the interviews. These five themes were often interlinked as each teacher's Japanese learning and use was influenced by both their social and professional lives. In the next phase of analysis, I identified that there were two groups of learners, **Stable Learners** and **Fluctuating Learners** and was then able to identify that there were a number of common features in how these groups approached their Japanese learning and engaged with local communities. I then identified a number of different factors that influenced both groups of learners' Japanese learning and use. I therefore present an analysis of these two groups of learners and the factors that influenced their Japanese engagement in this chapter.

The follow-up interviews had a powerful impact on the narratives of these learners. The first effect was intended it allowed the participants to reflect on what they had said in their first interview and expand on or revise what they had originally said. As considerable time elapsed between some of the interviews because of the practicalities of arranging the follow-up interview, there was a second unintended effect as I found that the participants experienced changes in their personal and professional lives that directly affected their Japanese learning and use.

As I conducted semi-structured interviews to collect this data, there are often differences in the level of detail that each participant provided. Some participants gave extremely detailed accounts of their Japanese learning and use while others struggled to recall with the same level of detail. A powerful example of this is Harry, who had significant recall of how and where he used Japanese but less detailed recall of how he had studied Japanese. The length of time in Japan, the rapport I developed with each participant and their own openness to discussing their Japanese learning and use influenced the depth of the information each participant provided.

Throughout the following sections, I outline how the participants learned and used Japanese throughout their time in Japan. I look at the experiences of the 13 collectively, focusing both on individual experiences while at the same time making comparisons and contrasts about their experiences. I then explore how being a foreign English teacher in Japan influenced their Japanese learning and use as well as the role that communities played in their Japanese learning and use. In the final section I outline how becoming a long-term resident of Japan influenced their Japanese learning and use.

6.4 Japanese Engagement

In this section, I examine how these long-term teachers engaged with Japanese. I look at how each teacher accessed Japanese language learning when they initially arrived in Japan and how they continued to engage with Japanese as they built lives in Japan. When the long-term teachers arrived in Japan only Charlie and Lucy were offered Japanese classes by their employers. Charlie took the Japanese lessons provided by her school, even though they were taught by the school's accountant, while Lucy did not take her company's classes because they were on her days off. Many schools provided details of local community volunteer classes run by local city governments for teachers when they first arrived in Japan. Therefore, similarly to the newly arrived teachers, the onus was on the long-term teachers to make proactive choices about their Japanese language learning and use.

Hatasa and Watanabe (2017) note that 70% of Japanese as a second language classes are taught by volunteers and the mixed experiences of these teachers demonstrate the impact of having the community language classes taught by volunteers. Ed, Mark, Pam and Nigel all describe how they struggled with both the approach and timing of these lessons. Only Charlie enjoyed these lessons and took them over a sustained period

because she found the teachers were “quite willing to keep building on what you know, step by step”. These issues combined with the lack of Japanese classes provided by their employers meant these teachers initially self-studied Japanese when they arrived or did not engage with Japanese at all. Some teachers started taking formal private or group lessons after this initial period of self-study and over the time these teachers spent in Japan, each teacher’s initial engagement with Japanese was to prove influential on the role Japanese played in their lives. In the next section I look at two groups of learners: Stable Learners and Fluctuating Learners.

6.4.1 Stable Learners

Of the 13 teachers who took part in the study, some were engaged with Japanese throughout their time in Japan with short periods of disengagement while others struggled with their Japanese learning use. In this section, I examine those teachers who had longer, more sustained periods of engagement with Japanese throughout their time in Japan. Of these, three teachers **Harry, Sophia and Ed**, were able to pass the highest level of the JLPT test, N1. **Bonnie and John** had both passed the N3 level of the JLPT test, while **Charlie** had not taken any of the JLPT tests but was still engaged in learning and using Japanese at the time of the initial interview. In this section, I examine the two most prominent features of this group: their engagement with Japanese learning inside and outside the classroom, and their use of Japanese in friendships and relationships.

A prominent feature of this group was that many of these teachers took Japanese classes for sustained periods and extended their learning outside of the classroom from when they arrived in Japan. Harry, the participant with the longest time spent in Japan, arrived in Japan when there were very few foreigners in Japan so had very little access to Japanese learning resources. While Harry struggled to recall his Japanese study in the same level of depth as other participants, when he arrived in Japan he immediately began to engage with Japanese by learning Hiragana and Katakana and using a Kanji Book based on the Joyo Kanji, the standardized Kanji that all Japanese children are required to learn. While Harry did not take Japanese classes, as I describe later in this section, Japanese learning was part of his everyday life: “It’s like you know walking, you don’t study walking, it’s something you do every day”.

Both Sophia and Ed initially studied Japanese on their own before deciding to take classes because of the human contact and structure lessons would give their learning. Sophia and Ed took classes for extended periods and engaged with Japanese outside of the classroom. Sophia continued taking private lessons with the same teacher for 12 years and found homework from these classes motivated her to stay engaged with Japanese. In addition, Sophia studied Japanese outside of her lessons extensively, studying Kanji on her own using textbooks, JLPT practice and Kanji learning books. Sophia passed the highest level of the JLPT test, N1, and used the JLPT tests to structure and motivate her Japanese study. Sophia found after passing each level of the JLPT, she would forget much of the language she learned for the test and found her motivation to study Japanese dissipated. Therefore, Sophia actively worked to bridge the gap between the language she encountered in the JLPT test and the language she encountered in everyday life.

Ed was a proactive Japanese learner from when he arrived in Japan as “I don’t like feeling beholden to people”. Ed initially studied Japanese on his own, but he made the decision to take group lessons at a commercial language school to give his study structure. Despite doubting the effectiveness of the class, the personal connection Ed felt with his teacher and the other students combined with the financial commitment of paying for the classes motivated him to study Japanese and continue attending the classes. Ed took these classes for 18 months before leaving Japan in 2006. After returning to Japan in 2008, Ed did not return to formal Japanese lessons because of financial concerns and he believed that “I can be self-regulated enough to do more self-study”. At this time, Ed was motivated to improve his Japanese to help him get a better job in the future. Ed supplemented his study with other resources in Japanese such as magazines and books, movies and podcasts. Using these resources pushed his learning: “I was motivated through the hobby, it helped me persevere a bit more”. Ed created his own flashcards using any new vocabulary to create a Spaced Repetition System (SRS) for his learning. Ed characterises himself as “overly ambitious” learner, who found reading books in Japanese was challenging but: “I enjoyed it, I found it to be funny, so it kept me going”.

Bonnie also initially took private lessons early on in her time in Japan and found the demands of her teacher influenced her Japanese learning: “I remember my teacher was very strict, but the learning curve was really, really good so I could see lots of progress,

she always gave me lots of home-work". Bonnie found that her bilingual upbringing pushed her to actively engage with learning and using Japanese by watching movies and reading Japanese books and comics. Bonnie continues to take private Japanese lessons every week for 2 hours and these classes allow her to marry the knowledge she had learned from her life in Japan with the formal explanation of Japanese grammar provided by her teachers.

During John's first period in Japan, he primarily engaged with Japanese with a group of Japanese friends he was introduced to. Despite struggling to sustain dedicated study, John learnt Hiragana and Katakana and passed JLPT N5. After returning to the UK in 2005, John continued to study Japanese and passed JLPT N4. John returned to Japan in 2011. He used Japanese with his wife's family and took private lessons. In addition, John wrote a blog in Japanese and used Japanese in a professional context. John used the JLPT tests to structure his learning and passing JLPT N3 in 2014. When his son was born, John quit his Japanese lessons as he found it difficult to manage being a parent, completing a part-time PhD and working as a full-time university teacher. However, between the initial interview in 2017 and the follow-up interview in 2018, John re-engaged in Japanese learning and returned to classes with his previous teacher. John felt that he could return to his Japanese lessons because he had established himself in Japan as a tenured professor.

Charlie engaged with Japanese learning during her two periods in Japan, despite issues with the classes and learning materials she encountered. During Charlie's first period in Japan, she struggled with the teaching methods as she was "magically expected" to learn Kanji by being shown them once. After leaving Japan, Charlie moved to Europe before returning to Australia to do a degree in Linguistics and train as an EFL teacher. When Charlie then returned to Japan to teach for a small commercial English school in her early 40s, Charlie took free lessons provided by the company despite struggling with the approach of these classes.

Having returned to Japan as an experienced teacher and language learner, Charlie utilised the skills to help her Japanese learning. Reflecting on this, Charlie was the only participant to communicate her frustrations about the materials used with her teachers and she would skip classes if her teachers did not adjust their methods. She was selective as a learner, using the language she saw as relevant for her and rejecting

language she did not see as important for her. Despite being one of the motivated Japanese learners, Charlie found studying Japanese grammar difficult as she found it boring. Despite this, continuing to learn and use Japanese was crucial for Charlie as it meant “the more you get out of it, the more Japanese you speak, the more you understand”.

The second important feature of the engaged teachers was their proactive use of Japanese in friendships, relationships and communities around them. For Harry, there was a strong link between his Japanese progress and his active involvement in local communities because it gave him numerous opportunities to use Japanese. Early on in his time in Japan, Harry was introduced to a local bar by his employer where he would get free food and drink in exchange for talking with customers in English. There Harry developed his Japanese speaking skills and eventually he became fluent enough to talk to the customers entirely in Japanese. Harry saw this period as integral for his Japanese development and he further engaged with Japanese through his hobbies of cycling, hitchhiking, playing in local orchestras, surfing and running triathlons. Harry found that hitchhiking was a unique opportunity to practise Japanese and get feedback from native Japanese speakers about his Japanese use:

> **“You tell them all roughly the same but each time you tell it you get better at it because some things didn’t get through the first time, so you try different ways and they come up with when they understand what you said, they’ll repeat as it should have been said”.**

After moving to a school in central Japan, Harry was sent to teach at a local kindergarten in a neighbouring town run by a Buddhist temple. This temple took an interest in Harry and found him enough students that Harry eventually started his own business after 4 years at this school by buying out the original school that brought him to the area. Later his involvement in local orchestras lead to him getting a job teaching English for the local board of education, as the head of this board was in the same orchestra.

For Sophia, using Japanese at home was important in her Japanese learning. Despite taking Japanese classes, studying independently, and making Japanese friends, Sophia did not start speaking Japanese on a daily basis until she began a relationship with a Japanese man. While initially Sophia spoke a mixture of Japanese and English with her partner, her partner’s lack of confidence in using English and her growing

confidence in using Japanese meant using Japanese became, “just easier, you get into the habit”.

Ed proactively sought opportunities to use Japanese and he did this primarily through drinking and he even worked at two bars. Ed first worked at a local bar during his first period in Japan to supplement his Japanese lessons but found the experience was “terrifying, I realised that I was far less fluent that I realised”. Later, Ed started frequenting two bars after he got divorced in 2009 and saw these bars as “a kind of drop-in centre for Japanese practice and fun people to talk to”. Ed stopped going to these bars after meeting his second wife and having a child, but he continued to use Japanese with his wife, his son’s teachers and in the workplace.

When Bonnie came to Japan, she specifically moved to the Nagoya because a group of Japanese university friends lived in the area. This group both accommodated her and encouraged her to use Japanese which meant she made a conscious effort to communicate in Japanese at every opportunity. This initial group of Japanese friends allowed Bonnie to be “introduced to Japanese society” by introducing her to their friends who could not speak English, which meant for Bonnie, since arriving in Japan: “I’ve always been together with Japanese people”.

After moving to Tokyo, Bonnie built a new community by going to fan events for actors who starred in musicals that she was a fan of. After attending several events, Bonnie became friends with a group of fans and now meets with them regularly. Bonnie found being able to communicate with the actors she met at these groups was both a powerful motivator and a barometer of her progress:

> **“It really was a big motivation to keep on going because you say, ha ha, this time I could talk to my favourite actor about this and this because last time I couldn't because I didn't have the words or the structure, but now I can’”.**

This group of friends specifically encourage Bonnie to use Japanese and urge her to continue her efforts to learn Japanese. Both of Bonnie’s communities were crucial to her engagement with Japanese and being comfortable in Japan: “they try to encourage me, like to keep going and they want to keep me here so it’s probably because of that that I feel like home”.

Charlie's and John's engagement with Japanese speakers was less than the other Stable Learners but they both proactively sought out contact with Japanese speakers. Charlie made a specific choice to live in a shared house with Japanese people because it would expose her to Japanese on a daily basis. Outside of her shared house, her community was based around two groups of friends, a mixture of Japanese and foreigners, in which English was the mode of communication. John's initial engagement with Japanese was driven by his introduction to a group of Japanese friends by a student during his first period in Japan. This group of friends were influential in John's Japanese engagement as they gave him an opportunity to use Japanese and prevented him from socialising with other foreign teachers. When John returned to Japan for his second stint, this group did not socialise as much, so he based his community around other English teachers.

While the Stable Learners' Japanese engagement did fluctuate and they experienced periods where they did not engage with Japanese, these periods were shorter than the Fluctuating Learners. For these Stable Learners, they made commitments to learning Japanese by taking Japanese lessons and engaging with Japanese study outside of the lessons. Harry, Ed, Bonnie, and Sophia all used Japanese extensively in either their home or social lives while Charlie and John also engaged with communities of Japanese speakers. While both John and Charlie had more fluctuating engagement with Japanese learning, all of these Stable Learners were committed to learning and using their Japanese even after significant time in Japan.

6.4.2 Fluctuating Learners

The second group of long-term teachers were the Fluctuating Learners. Similar to the Stable Learners, these learners all had periods of prolonged Japanese learning when taking Japanese lessons. However, these teachers struggled to sustain Japanese engagement throughout their time in Japan and they did not have the same level of Japanese learning outside of the classroom. The Fluctuating Learners were **Gary, Lucy, Mark, Adrian, Nigel, Pam and Paul.**

Pam, Lucy, Gary and Nigel all struggled to structure their Japanese learning when they first arrived in Japan. While Pam's primary reasons for moving to Japan to work as an English teacher was to learn Japanese to help connect with her Japanese mother's family in Japanese, she found it difficult to self-direct her own Japanese learning. Lucy

did not engage with Japanese when she first arrived in Japan as she planned to return to England after a few years and had a Japanese boyfriend who acted as a language broker for her. When Lucy did study Japanese, she studied independently and struggled to maintain these efforts. Gary did not engage with Japanese when he arrived in Japan because he was getting used to his job: “When you get here you’re so, err, your brain is focused and used up with studying and how to teach and you’ve got to throw yourself into it really”. When Nigel arrived in Japan, he did not study Japanese as he was not planning to stay in Japan long-term and did not see English teaching as a career.

The Fluctuating Learners did experience periods of engaged Japanese learning, often prompted by taking Japanese classes or the connections they formed with Japanese people. Pam’s periods of Japanese engagement were prompted by taking private classes and summer courses, because they provided a safe environment for Japanese learning. Gary’s most sustained period of learning was when he took weekly private Japanese classes from 2009 to 2014 as he realised that Japan would be the place where he would build a life and because he needed to structure his learning around Japanese classes. However, both Pam and Gary did not develop the same learning behaviours outside of the classroom that the Stable Learners did.

Changes in Nigel’s working environment and relationship status prompted short bursts of Japanese engagement. When Nigel moved to work at a private Japanese high school, it exposed him to more Japanese which prompted him to learn Hiragana. In his follow-up interview, Nigel outlined how his most sustained period of Japanese study took place when he started dating a Japanese girl who could not speak English, so the onus was on Nigel to use Japanese. Nigel bought some Japanese textbooks, used smartphone apps and passed the JLPT N5 test in 2018. Nigel found having the deadline of the JLPT test was key to this sustained period of learning: “So again it gave me a deadline, gave me a target, got me involved and I was able to progress from there”. After he passed the JLPT N5 he describes feeling: “it’s something I really wanted at the time, really wanted to continue and thought I’d ride that energy into level four and so forth”. However, this six-month period of Japanese engagement ended for Nigel when the relationship ended.

Adrian, Paul and Mark all engaged with Japanese early on in their time in Japan. Paul initially took Japanese classes at a local language school because an “inspirational” co-

worker suggested he went to them. Despite doubting the effectiveness of these classes, not being a proactive learner and the significant cost of these lessons, Paul continued taking these lessons for a sustained period because of the strong emotional bond he formed with his teacher:

> **"I was a young lad and there was this older kind of sensei character and he was like my master and I remember crying in the elevator going down after my final lessons".**

After returning to Japan in 2007, Paul took classes from 2009 to 2011 at a commercial language school. Again, the emotional connection was key to Paul's enjoyment of the classes because he developed bonds with other students and enjoyed the style of the first of the teachers as she was "this quite young, pretty Japanese girl", who was "very fun and outgoing and flirty". Later another teacher, an Estonian, created a similar atmosphere," where Japanese was used in a way he had not previously used: "We would just, do things that Japanese people don't do, like talking nonsense, just to practise Japanese, just to get some kind of Japanese out there in the room".

Mark was initially an engaged learner of Japanese, self-studying Japanese and proactively seeking out opportunities to use Japanese. Mark went to English and Irish bars on his own to both practise Japanese and to meet Japanese girls: "So I just found it more interesting just to go out and go to bars, go to pubs talk to people, try and get to know them outside of the work environment and yeah try to pull basically". Mark used these conversations to practise the Japanese he had been learning on his own and because of his initial success felt his approach to studying Japanese would mean: "I would have enough to sustain me and hopefully, you know you reach that tipping point where you think it's not a struggle anymore, it's natural". However once Mark got married and had a child, he had less time to engage with Japanese learning and use.

Adrian initially took Japanese classes at a language school in the small town he initially taught in. After 2 years, Adrian moved to Tokyo to teach for a commercial language school and took private lessons with a male teacher for a short time. Throughout his time in Japan, Adrian had periods of 6 months of dedicated Japanese study, either attending lessons or self-studying Japanese, interspersed with periods of disengagement from Japanese. Adrian found it difficult to settle into the routine of study and Adrian often bought new Japanese textbooks throughout his time in Japan because

“I’ve convinced myself that the presentation’s a bit different each time”. For Adrian, dating Japanese women allowed him to use Japanese in a way he had not previously:

> **“I think it exposed me, it exposes people to more natural use of the language, it’s not textbook Japanese, and the real situations and real time, right, they’re not staged”.**

As the fluctuating teachers spent more time in Japan, the commitments in their lives increased and they did not have the same level of resilience to these changes as the Stable Teachers. After Mark got married, the pressure to support his family impacted on his time for Japanese study and his willingness to seek out opportunities to use Japanese: “I think I’m spending all day talking to people for money then I kind of resent having to do it for free”. Pam’s periods of Japanese engagement ended when she became too busy during her university’s semesters to take private lessons and she began to see the summer intensive courses as a “luxury”. Gary quit his classes as he was under financial pressure and because he found: “I’ve realised that my progress was very negligible, so I’ve lost my motivation a bit”. Paul quit his classes after the classes became more expensive and he had other commitments in his life.

Despite struggling with their Japanese engagement, the Fluctuating Learners continued to have ambitions for their Japanese learning. Even after 18 years of struggling with Japanese, Pam is still seeking to improve her Japanese so she can communicate with her family: “I felt the need, I did feel the desire, I still feel the desire”. Pam often bought Japanese self-study books and discovered learning resources such as extensive reading, Kanji learning programmes and watching Japanese programmes with English subtitles on Netflix. Nigel still wants to communicate more easily with Japanese people: “I’d like to have a bit more kind of deep and meaningfuls with people”. Paul feels conflicted in his relationship with Japanese: “On the one hand I’m embarrassed because of my Japanese and on the other I don’t really care”. Despite Adrian still wanting to improve his Japanese, his decision reflects the conflicts the fluctuating teachers had about Japanese learning: “I had decided that I couldn’t do that with a family, study, family and a job, right, I just would not be able to do the Japanese thing”. In the next section, I outline the factors that impacted each teacher’s Japanese engagement, including how these factors influenced each teacher to become a Stable or Fluctuating Learner.

6.5 Influences on Japanese Engagement

In this section I discuss what influenced these teachers' Japanese learning and use. While there are many similarities to the newly arrived teachers, the influence of these factors is different because of the length of stay in Japan of the long-term teachers. For these long-term teachers, being a foreign English teacher profoundly influenced their Japanese learning and use. The way these teachers were positioned in the classroom, in their companies and in broader Japanese society meant they were placed in conflicting roles regarding Japanese learning and use. In addition, issues of ethnic background, gender and perceptions of foreigners in Japan often influenced how they learned and used Japanese. I begin by looking at the influence that the English teaching industry, which brought these teachers to Japan, had on their Japanese learning and use. I then examine how being a foreigner in Japan influenced their Japanese engagement, touching on issues of gender and ethnicity. Next, I outline the influences that communities played in Japanese engagement, looking at the influence of community investment, the communities of English teachers and relationships. Finally, I explore how being a long-term migrant influenced their Japanese learning and use.

6.5.1 The English teaching industry in Japan

Many teachers saw the English teaching industry in Japan as a limiting environment for developing Japanese proficiency because of the lack of support for Japanese learning and English-only policies inside the classroom. Bonnie explicitly saw the English-only environment in commercial language schools as preventing teachers progressing beyond "the basic conversational level, which is N4 level". In other sectors teachers were expected to have a working knowledge of Japanese but there was little support for their Japanese learning.

Gary's experiences highlight the impact that these policies had on Japanese learning. While initially motivated to learn Japanese when he arrived in Japan, Gary found the lack of structure and support impacted on his motivation to learn Japanese and created an environment where it was ok for English teachers not to engage with Japanese: "And schools tell you not to use Japanese, we probably use that to our advantage and think 'Oh I don't need to know any Japanese then'". Gary saw this lack of encouragement and support of Japanese learning as a deliberate policy of commercial language

schools: “I think they feel the more Japanese you learn, the worse teacher you become because you start reacting when students inevitably speak Japanese at some point”.

Many of the teachers saw this lack of Japanese encouragement as being emblematic of the way teachers are seen as disposable in the commercial language school sector, where, as Bonnie said, “teachers are treated as commodities, we are just replaceable if you’re not happy with the conditions you can leave, there’s always somebody to take your place”. This meant those teachers working in the commercial teaching sector did not receive pay rises, bonuses, and company pension support in contrast with the generous benefits typically available to Japanese workers. Instead of being seen as a valuable, experienced teacher, Gary found his company sees him as “they probably want to get rid of me because I’m on a big, bigger contract and a bigger salary and they can, they can pay a newbie a lot less for the same thing”.

Lucy also found that teachers themselves also saw teaching as a temporary job which she sees as contributing to teachers themselves not taking the job seriously and she was not rewarded as a professional and experienced teacher. For Ed, the commercial language school sector did not want teachers to be members of the wider community in Japan so they can maintain their ready access to a transient workforce:

> **“They don't want people to be members of the community except to avoid inconvenience to the company. They know that they've got essentially a transient workforce, I don't know whether that's necessarily designed into the business model, but it's certainly accounted for within the business model”.**

In teaching contexts other than commercial language schools, there were more opportunities to communicate in Japanese and the ability to communicate in Japanese had linguistic capital. However, there was little financial investment by employers in Japanese learning and little financial benefit for those teachers who reached high levels of Japanese. Charlie found that her Japanese level and cultural knowledge of Japan were integral in getting freelance teaching jobs. Adrian found that university teaching roles are seen as temporary so there were often no expectations of foreign English teachers at universities to use Japanese, but Paul found his lack of Japanese ability meant that at one university he did not get a management position.

The experiences of John, a full-time tenured professor at a Japanese university, illustrate the difficult positions that these teachers occupied in the workplace and the impact this had on Japanese learning. While John is expected to go to meetings in Japanese, within these meetings: “Because of my junior position if I say something it should only be when spoken to because I have seen what happens when you speak out of turn and it’s not, not pretty”. In formal interviews in Japanese related to his university teaching position, John was targeted with difficult questions and in his department there was a divide between the Japanese teachers and foreign teachers. On top of being expected to be a proficient Japanese speaker, John is required to produce research publications and presentations every year, but he cannot use his research funding for his Japanese learning. These experiences in the workplace affected John’s Japanese engagement: “Why should I study the language if I’m already, I’m gonna be discriminated against anyway even if I got fluent”.

The English teaching industry and the manner in which these teachers were expected to learn and use Japanese shows what linguistic capital Japanese had in the lives of these teachers. These teachers were often seen as temporary and disposable employees so there was no institutional support and encouragement for Japanese learning. When teachers did use Japanese in the workplace, it led to communication breakdowns and conflicts which in turn impacted on these teachers’ Japanese engagement. The lack of linguistic capital that Japanese learning gave them led many to invest in professional selves, an area that I explore in more detail in the next section.

6.5.2 Investment in Professional Selves

The position of these long-term teachers in Japan meant they felt a sense of impermanence about being English teachers in Japan, which led to many of the long-term teachers moving on from their original teaching positions in Japan, often through completing academic qualifications or the connections they had with other teachers. Taking academic or professional qualifications was an investment in a professional self over the Ideal L2 Self. Nigel, Adrian, Sophia, Paul, Ed and John all invested at various times in professional development rather than Japanese learning to gain access to better employment positions. Charlie, Nigel, Paul, Glen, Ed, and John all left Japan for periods to work in their other countries because of a widely held view that English

teaching is, as Nigel describes, “a bit dead-end and there’s not a great chance of progression, there’s not a lot of money to be made”.

While Norton (2000) describes investment in terms of learning a language is to symbolic and material resources, investment in academic qualifications and the professional communities offered these teachers more symbolic capital than Japanese learning. An instructive example of this is Nigel, who began teaching English without any professional English teaching qualifications and invested in academic qualifications rather than Japanese learning. Nigel took the English teaching qualification, the Trinity Diploma, which meant he could secure a better-paid position as an English teacher in a Japanese high school, which came with a pension and other benefits.

When Adrian was made redundant from his second company in Japan, he was faced with a similar choice between investing in professional development or Japanese as a way of getting more stable employment in Japan. Adrian had seen colleagues invest in Japanese and move away from the commercial teaching industry but found that he lacked the level of dedication and enjoyment of studying Japanese that these colleagues had. Instead, Adrian began working as a proof-reader and teaching part-time at universities while he completed a master’s degree in linguistics that allowed him to get a full-time position at a Japanese university. Now Adrian is completing a part-time PhD in linguistics so that he can get a tenured position at a Japanese university.

Despite reaching a high level of Japanese and wanting to move out of the commercial English teaching industry, both Sarah and Ed found it difficult to get a job using Japanese, so they switched their investment from Japanese to their professional selves. Ed also took the part-time English teaching qualification course, the Trinity Diploma in English Teaching and a part-time master’s degree. His investment was part of a broader shift in professional identity, as he had originally seen the English teaching industry as “going nowhere” and “there’s absolutely no incentive to being any kind of professional”. Now Ed sees himself as “a sort of a reformed chancer or reformed blagger” and has invested significant material and symbolic capital in professional development. Sophia devoted the time she previously spent studying Japanese to completing the same English teaching qualification, the Trinity Diploma, which allowed her to get a better job in her company. Despite their investment in Japanese learning, each teacher’s position as an English teacher in Japan was the determiner of their position in Japan. This meant

that for both the Stable and Fluctuating Learners, often investing in their professional selves brought them more symbolic capital than learning and using Japanese did.

6.5.3 Being a foreigner in Japan

Being a foreigner in Japan influenced the long-term teacher's Japanese learning and use in a myriad of ways. Similar to their position in the English teaching industry, they were often positioned as temporary visitors to Japan by Japanese people. In addition, these teachers found they were positioned in specific ways before they even spoke Japanese, with Mark describing how Japanese people have "no functional use" of English teachers as Japanese speakers because "everyone wants you as an English speaker". This meant the long-term teachers had to navigate their conflicting identities as an English speaker and a Japanese speaker when using Japanese.

The Japanese people these teachers encountered often wanted to use English with them and this influenced the teachers' Japanese use in different ways. When Bonnie interacted with Japanese people who insisted on using English, it conflicted with her desire to use Japanese as: "they actually try to use you to get a free English lesson in a way, cos it's like, 'Ahh Gaijin, I can practice my English'". Ed had to push to use Japanese in interactions with Japanese people and used high level English and "very gutter Japanese" to depower those trying to use English with him. Charlie found that Japanese people expected that foreigners speak English and not Japanese, which led to communication breakdowns when she tried to use Japanese.

The long-term teachers also found that during interactions with Japanese people, they were overly praised for using even simple Japanese. Each learner reacted in different ways to this praise, which in turn influenced the role this praise played in their motivational selves. Harry differentiated between two types of praise in Japanese, seeing some praise as "pure flattery" whereas the more important praise was "when you talk to someone, and you continue to talk to them without them saying something like that until maybe the very end". Bonnie did not take praise at face value, but instead saw it as Japanese people "showing their appreciation that you tried learning their native language". While Charlie sought to downplay this type off praise, her Japanese friends encouraged her to accept this praise and not downplay her Japanese level, which in turn helped build Charlie's confidence. Interestingly, Gary saw this praise as part of the environment in Japan where there were no expectations on him to use Japanese:

> **“That is part of the problem, there’s no, I don’t get a kick up the arse from any Japanese people except from my wife from time to time.”**

The lack of expectations for these teachers to speak Japanese and the large amount of praise they received for using Japanese meant that it was easy to them to live in Japan without needing to use Japanese. Despite his fluctuating Japanese engagement, Nigel was able to rent a house, open a bank account and get a mobile phone contract all without speaking Japanese. Nigel was able to cope with these situations because he learned the functional Japanese for these tasks and in Japan: “everyone speaks English to a certain degree and that people will come up to you, the people who speak to you, they wanna use English”.

These long-term teachers found that in conversations in Japanese they were often positioned as visitors rather than long-term residents in Japan. For Sophia, negative perceptions of being an English teacher left her feeling: “Japan feels like home but I know there’s still something separating me and everyone else”. Gary found that even his students saw him as a temporary visitor:

> **“I think always there is a perception, you're not seen as permanent, even probably by some of my students, and it’s almost disappointment when some asked yesterday, “Are you going back to England for Christmas?” and I said “No” and it was almost disappointment from them”.**

John’s struggles with using Japanese in a professional context highlight the difference in the way these teachers were positioned as Japanese speakers, in different contexts. While John is seen as an insider in his local community or in his family, within the workplace there is a hierarchy that influences how he speaks Japanese: “As soon as there’s a hierarchy element and I’m lower on the hierarchy then I feel like I’m a worm”. John has particular issues with sociolinguistic competence, similar to the participants in Siegal (1995 & 1996), as using the more formal form of Japanese, *Keigo*, leaves him feeling, “If I’m talking to anyone who is more important than me I’m fucked, cos it’s a different language that you need to speak”.

The Fluctuating Learners felt conflicted about their position in Japan and how they were viewed by Japanese people, because of their struggles with Japanese. Gary and Nigel have both lied about how long they’ve been living in Japan because as Gary outlines,

he feels “a bit ashamed of poor language ability when living so long in the country, not being able to have a really big in-depth conversation”. Even after 16 years in Japan, Pam saw herself as being in “an in-between place” because while she is close enough to her husband’s family to prepare traditional Japanese New Year food at her house for them, she cannot communicate with them more deeply because of her Japanese ability. For Gary, his limited Japanese meant conversations in Japanese were limited: “I have to dominate and dictate it and talk about me”. Paul felt that his lack of Japanese speaking proficiency had limited his ability to make Japanese friends, especially male ones. Nigel’s lack of Japanese proficiency has influenced the relationships he had with Japanese people and his students because:

> **“I can’t have these conversations with people in Japanese, so you know wanna engage with students and sort of build a rapport with students outside of the English that they know because it is very limited”.**

Both Stable and Fluctuating Learners felt they were not seen as intelligent by Japanese speakers and some teachers avoided using Japanese to try to combat this image. Charlie believes when she uses Japanese: “Japanese people think ‘I’m dumb or I’m superficial’ because in Japanese I don’t feel I can be intellectually challenging; I can’t say sophisticated things”. Paul avoided using Japanese as “I don’t like to come across as an idiot in Japanese”. Lucy found her character in Japanese is more subdued than in English to fit in with Japanese behaviour expectations and in particular events at her daughter’s school often “really kind of highlight my inadequate Japanese level”.

As a bilingual Chinese/English speaker from England with Chinese parents, Lucy had to navigate issues related to her ethnicity, gender, and linguistic background in Japan. Lucy found her knowledge of Chinese was a barrier to learning Japanese as while she could read many Japanese Kanji, she struggled to learn them in Japanese while she believes her ethnicity meant that there is a “bigger onus on me to speak Japanese because I look Japanese”. Lucy found her ethnic background affected her ability to find jobs as well as when she applied for positions at different types of schools, “if someone looks Caucasian and has got the blonde hair, blue eyed image, they are more likely to take that person”. In addition, because of Lucy’s Asian background, when she can’t produce fluent Japanese, “people look at me as though I’m sort of retarded, ‘Why are

you speaking Japanese?'" Interactions with people who questioned why her Japanese level was low, made Lucy feel even more demotivated to learn Japanese.

For all the teachers in this study, their position in Japan influenced their Japanese learning and use and their Japanese use also played a role in how they viewed their position in Japan. These teachers found they were positioned as outsiders and temporary visitors in Japan in conversations, so they had to work hard at times to be recognised as Japanese speakers. Many of them experienced issues with their confidence in using Japanese and the Fluctuating Learners, in particular, struggled to build relationships with Japanese people because of their lack of Japanese proficiency. Lucy's experiences as a Chinese-British English teacher highlight the influence that being a non-white, non-male teacher had on both her position in Japan and her confidence in using Japanese.

6.6 Communities

In the following section, I examine how the long-term teachers built communities in Japan. I begin by looking at the influence of communities of other English teachers on Japanese use before moving on to how these teachers interacted with the communities of Japanese speakers. Finally, I examine the choices that these teachers made about their communities in Japan. The responsibility was on these teachers to find opportunities to use Japanese in the areas where they were initially placed. Japanese use took place in multiple contexts for these long-term teachers, from the workplace to socialising and as they spent more time in Japan, in romantic relationships and to raise children. For these teachers, communities of other English teachers were pervasive throughout their experiences and Bonnie captures the power of the English-speaking communities in Japan and their influence on Japanese engagement:

> **"You get to get incredibly lazy, you kind of like, you isolate yourself because you are staying with people who speak the same language as you, your whole social life is usually evolving around that group and once you are into that circle, it is very difficult to break out of it because you can feel yourself getting lazy, why bother learning Japanese if I can hang out with my English friends".**

6.6.1 Communities of English Teachers

For both the Stable and Fluctuating Learners, communities of other English teachers provided support, friendship and even access to job opportunities. These communities of long-term English teachers in Japan were often made up of white male teachers married to Japanese women, so female teachers were in the minority. While this community existed, it was not a cohesive or concrete one because as Sophia identifies, “people work strange hours, people work weekends and people work in different areas”. Nigel found there were issues with the community of English teachers as “we're trying to outdo each other in some way” and “I would not say that there's a particularly strong community, people tend to avoid each other I think”. Sophia distinguishes between two groups of teachers that exist in this community: “a core group” of long-term teachers and short-term teachers “on the periphery who come and go”.

These communities of teachers often sprang from the shared interests and experiences that grew organically. For instance, Nigel’s community grew from people he met at his first school in Japan, with many being from the same country and sharing similar interests as Nigel. Often these teachers describe how drinking and socialising formed a vital part of these teaching groups. Ed’s initial community was made up of other teachers as he lived in a guest-house with other teachers, describing his initial time teaching in Japan:

> **“It was very much kind of how much can we drink and how many people can we sleep with, I mean I was not a, I wasn’t promiscuous or anything like that although there were some people who were very shag happy”.**

The strength of these communities meant that these teachers could live under what Gary describes as an “English umbrella” where communities were made up of English speakers, Japanese and foreign. As many of teachers were male and married to Japanese women who speak English, English was often the method of communication at home.

Within these communities of English teachers, Japanese occupied an ambivalent position. Charlie describes two contrasting attitudes towards Japanese learning and use. One group of teachers were those who were engaged in Japanese learning and with Japanese society and encouraged other teachers to engage in the same way, while the

second group did not engage with Japanese, as it held no value for them. For the Fluctuating Learners, encountering other Japanese learners often led these teachers to question their Japanese learning and feel a sense of competition with other teachers. Gary often compared himself to other English teachers who did not engage with Japanese: “I like to compare myself to people who are even worse and there are quite a few of them so that makes me feel better”. Mark felt an underlying sense of competition about Japanese learning and use with other teachers:

> **“You meet them for a drink or you find yourself working in the same school and you hear them rattling on in Japanese and you're thinking, ‘Fuck, he's better than me’, you know, or you show off yourself, you think I think I can nail this fucker so you know, start talking about and you're hoping to get that kind of ‘wow, he's done that in this short space of time’, but I think you should get out of that.”**

This community of English teachers also formed networks for teachers to find employment opportunities. Mark utilised this community to build his teaching portfolio when he became a freelance teacher. For Paul, the network of English teachers in Japan meant that teaching opportunities are readily available to Paul as “it’s much easier to give it to me than to advertise it to someone else”. As Paul describes, communities of teachers often act as gateways into the universities sector as “once you’re in, there’s no threat to your job and no one really cares what you do a lot of the time”.

Communities of English teachers formed important support networks for these long-term migrants. These groups provided a sense of community, a shared experience and even networks for career advancement. However, they did limit how much exposure each teacher had to opportunities for Japanese learning and use. Within these communities, varying attitudes to Japanese learning exist but often the teachers learned Japanese in isolation from other teachers and some teachers even felt a sense of competition with other teachers over their Japanese progress.

6.6.2 Japanese use in relationships and the home

Japanese use in relationships and in the home was an area where the linguistic capital of English often played a role in the language choices made by each teacher and their

partners. The Stable Learners Harry, Sophia and Ed often used Japanese in the home while many of the other teachers used English in relationships and to bring up their children. The experiences of these long-term residents of Japan show the deep connection that existed between language and romantic relationships, mirroring Takahashi's (2013) work that links learning English in Japan with the Japanese concept of *Akogore* or desire. Conflicts over the use of Japanese and English in the home had a powerful influence on the Japanese learning of many of the long-term teachers.

How each participant and their partners valued the use of English and Japanese influenced the language choice in each teacher's relationship. Some couples initially used a combination of Japanese and English before settling into the exclusive use of one language. For many of the male teachers, their relationships would often begin in English as the women they dated had higher levels of English than their levels of Japanese. Mark explicitly draws a link between Japanese women dating foreign men and the potential symbolic capital it gives them: "I think a lot of international marriages are based on that understanding that the wife wants to escape from Japan and one of the ways to do that is to get an English-speaking husband".

Harry, Ed and Sophia all used Japanese in their relationships and the journey to Japanese becoming the language of their relationships was influenced by both their and their partner's attitude to using Japanese and English. In Harry's case, he used both English and Japanese with his wife before Harry's attitude to using English caused Japanese to become the language used in the home:

> **"I managed to destroy my wife's willingness to speak English at home because of continuing to be a teacher when I got home, so she won't speak English these days but that helped me learn Japanese a lot".**

This meant by the time Harry's children were born, Japanese had become the established mode of communication in his home and he did not bring up his children bilingually.

While Sophia's ex-husband moderated his Japanese until she could use Japanese fully, Sophia found there was a greater onus on her to speak Japanese because of the gender dynamics of marriages in Japan. As part of the expectations on women in Japan, Sophia was expected to do much of the housework. Sophia's relationship differed from her male

colleagues as “you tend to get a lot of women who just want to improve their English”. While Ed’s first partner in Japan primarily spoke English, his second partner did not like to speak English with him so he used Japanese exclusively in the home. However, Ed and his wife made a conscious decision to bring up their son bilingually because of the advantages that it has in Japan and the United Kingdom.

In other teacher’s relationships, the same space for Japanese use did not exist because of their partners’ attitude to the use of Japanese and ambitions to bring up children bilingually. Pam’s relationship began in similar fashion to Sophia’s, using both Japanese and English, but they soon communicated solely in English because Pam’s partner found it easier to use English and both Pam and her partner had tiring jobs. Pam’s partner was not accommodating of her Japanese level as he mumbled in Japanese and used informal, idiomatic Japanese while the only support or advice he offered her was just to copy him. In addition, Pam felt that being a woman in Japan meant there was an obligation on her to prioritise taking care of her husband and his family over studying Japanese, which left her feeling: “I think I let it prevent myself from really devoting myself to it”.

John’s wife speaks excellent English and while she has suggested that they spend time practising Japanese, the dynamics of their relationship prevent them doing this: “She gets cross really easily, she loses her temper in Japanese, so I don't think it would be a safe place even if we spoke Japanese”. John’s wife was against him taking Japanese lessons because of their cost and his wife had a “weird, slight jealousy about it I think and so she was at home with Alan, the baby, me going off to learn Japanese was sort of discouraged”. This dynamic that exists in the relationship between John and his wife, was mirrored in the other teachers who were married with children.

Apart from Harry, the long-term teachers with children choose specifically to bring up their children using both Japanese and English because of the linguistic capital that it would give their children if they could speak Japanese and English. This had a direct impact on their Japanese learning and use for a number of these teachers, as well as on their actual relationship with their children. Mark’s wife specifically wanted Mark to use English with his daughter because “she wanted our daughter to grow up in a household where there was a native English speaker so she could absorb that model by some osmosis”. Mark found his daughter’s English use decreased as she got older,

and tensions arose between Mark and his wife. Now Mark provides his daughter with English support, but they do have communication problems as “we can have rudimentary conversations but there are still some things she can’t really, you know, she can’t explain to you”.

Adrian speaks English with his daughters and his wife but has found it difficult to communicate with his younger daughter. This younger daughter uses Japanese with her sister and Adrian’s wife. Due to the dominance of Japanese outside the home, Adrian believes this will impact on his relationship with his children in the future: “they will grow up with Japanese as their first language and I’m already seeing a bit of a disconnect between me and them because they can’t express themselves to me in a way that I can understand, I’m already losing them and their personality, just a bit”. Interestingly, this meant that Japanese still has a purpose in Adrian’s life after 19 years in Japan as a method of maintaining a connection with his children. Adrian found that those the people around him, such as his wife, cannot function as “resources” for his Japanese learning because:

> **“They just don't know how to teach the language, they don't know how to respond to people who are not communicating in a more fluent way in Japanese”.**

As Lucy moved to Japan with her Japanese partner, she relied on him for Japanese support so English has always been the language of communication in the home. Lucy brought up their daughter up bilingually and during the first year of her daughter’s life, she spoke English exclusively with her daughter, which enabled her daughter to develop a high level of English proficiency. As Lucy struggles to communicate in Japanese, her husband has taken up the role that Japanese mothers traditionally play in the local Parent Teacher Association. While this has prevented Lucy from developing bonds with the other mothers at her daughter’s school, she has avoided the significant time commitment these roles require.

Paul and his wife also decided to bring up their son using only English so they have made a financial investment in their son’s education, sending him to an English kindergarten and classes at a complementary school for bilingual English and Japanese students at weekends. For Ed, using English primarily to communicate with his son has caused issues as the son sees no “utility” in learning English and “doesn't really love

English and sees it as a massive bloody inconvenience". This means there is tension as his wife pushes him to use English in the house, impacting on Ed's relationship with his son:

> **"Kind of, it feels like I'm trying to coerce him to do stuff but then as a parent I'm trying to coerce him to do stuff anyway, like eat vegetables and use appropriate table manners, so it's part and parcel of, it might be why he gets along better with his mother than he gets on with me."**

The choice to use English only in relationships also became the source of tension for some couples and limited the role the long-term teachers could play as a parent in Japanese society. Parent Teacher Associations play an important organisational role in schools In Japan but because of their limited Japanese, both Adrian and Lucy were constrained in the roles they could perform. As those teachers in university settings had to use Japanese for administrative duties, teachers such as Paul, Pam and Adrian had to rely on the help of their wives or university staff with administrative work. Paul's wife gradually provided less Japanese language support as she has tired of supporting him and wants Paul to "fight my way through things a lot more, especially when I take my kid to hospital or something like that".

Mark's experiences really emphasise the impact that getting married and raising a family in Japan had on Japanese engagement. As outlined earlier in the chapter, Mark was an engaged and proactive learner when he arrived in Japan. However when Mark got married, he had less time to study Japan while when he used Japanese in the home, it would be met negatively: "amazingly most of my attempts to speak Japanese at home were met with total derision and ridicule, every time I make the slightest of efforts I would just be, I would just have been slaughtered". In addition, Mark's wife reacted negatively to Japanese he used: "Don't say it like that, you'll be a bad influence on my daughter, you know you sound too casual and that actually sounds rude, where did you learn to speak like that?" Ultimately this meant Mark disengaged from Japanese study to support his family:

> **"I didn't really have much energy and any study I was doing then was of little benefit to me because it would just go in, I'd fall asleep and by morning I had forgot it. By that stage, it wasn't that I lacked motivation, but it was just through exhaustion, I couldn't really, it wasn't really beneficial**

for me. So, I was happy to fall into this mode of being the English model in the house. And that's basically when any kind of formal study or any kind of ambitions to get good at Japanese kind of went."

The two single, female teachers, Bonnie and Charlie, both felt frustrated with dating in Japan. Bonnie found Japanese men are reluctant to approach her because "it's like not written on my face that I speak Japanese and then also Japanese men tend to be very shy, especially with foreigners". When Charlie initially lived in Japan, she found Japanese men, "wanted to teach me Japanese as some kind of bizarre courting ritual". After Charlie returned to Japan, men would approach her on trains, move closer to her or bump into her so they could try to speak English with her. For Charlie this was part of a perception in Japanese society that "being a foreign woman in Japan, yes, people will feel I'm up for it".

For these teachers, dating and relationships were a context where broader ideologies about the value of English in Japan and the ability of foreigners to speak Japanese were played out on an individual basis. Ed, Sophia, and Harry did not use English with their partners because their partners did not see the linguistic capital in using English or the dynamics of their relationship meant the lingua franca of their relationships became Japanese. Apart from Harry, the long-term teachers choose to raise their children bilingually because of the linguistic capital being an English speaker would give them but this also led to tensions with their children and partners while denying them the opportunity to use Japanese in the safe environment of the home. Those teachers who used English in the home struggled to stay engaged with Japanese, despite having periods of sustained Japanese study. The explicit links in Japanese society between language learning and relationships was seen in the way some of the teachers were often advised that dating a Japanese person was the best way to learn Japanese.

6.6.3 Community Investment

Given the strength of communities of other English teachers in Japan and the conflicts over language choices in relationships, the choices each teacher made about whom they used Japanese with were immensely influential on their Japanese engagement. Both the stable and fluctuating groups of teachers saw the benefits of using Japanese, with Mark describing that using Japanese makes living in Japan more fulfilling: "You know if I make more of an effort with this, there is so much more I can get out of the

experience of living here". For Bonnie, using Japanese had a powerful impact on a foreigner's position in Japan: "I realised it makes a huge difference, no matter how bad your Japanese is, it opens so many doors, like I notice people's attitude changing if you try speaking Japanese".

As outlined in section 6.4.1, the Stable Learners often made choices about their Japanese use in relationships and in friendships that gave them opportunities to use Japanese. As Bonnie had grown up bilingually and studied French at university, she made conscious decisions about who she socialised with as "I try to avoid this kind of Gaijin hangouts because once you start circulating in those circles, it's very difficult to get out of there". Bonnie is aware of how vital the communities she made were for her Japanese progress because of the English teaching industry:

> **"I feel like if it hadn't been for my Japanese friends and my hobby, it probably would have slowed down the learning process significantly because with the company so adamant about limiting Japanese activities at the workplace to the bare, bare minimum".**

Harry draws a similar distinction between himself and other English teachers because while other teachers' social lives revolved around other foreigners: "Whereas mine's the other way, my social life revolves around what I do". Harry saw those who used Japanese with him as being integral to his Japanese learning and ultimately Harry's engagement with Japanese in his daily life was crucial to his Japanese learning as "Real experience was a much better teacher than anything in books". A powerful example of this was when Harry started his own school. He had to use formal Japanese, known as *Keigo*, to communicate with his students' parents. Despite previously studying *Keigo*, Harry struggled to use it appropriately so seeing others use it taught him how formal Japanese is used:

> **"It was something I read about that exists and you know the odd textbook here and there tried to explain it but actually using it in real life was what sorted it out for me".**

The experiences of the Fluctuating Learners emphasise the importance of communities for Japanese development as many describe how powerful it was when they encountered someone who was willing to engage with them and modify their Japanese.

Pam found one colleague, a Chinese university professor, who accommodated her level of Japanese and saw Pam as an equal when they used Japanese in a way that other Japanese speakers did not. Paul's strong emotional connection with some of his Japanese teachers and other students show how important emotional connections with teachers and community of L2 learners could have potentially been for these learners. For Adrian, the absence of people who were able to modify their Japanese and encourage him to use Japanese really impacted on his Japanese engagement: "I could have learned from that person, if I had spent a lot of time with them as well, that would have been a constant source of education for me". For Mark, visiting his wife's family in southern Japan where the communication was only in Japanese emphasised that:

> **"If I had the chance to do this, all of the time, in this environment, I really would be making connections with people rather than making superficial connections where you don't really get beyond this barrier, you're saying kind of basic stuff and they're saying, 'That's amazing'".**

Community investment was not fixed as the lives of these teachers in Japan shifted as they built lives in Japan. One of the fluctuating teachers, Mark, describes seeing older foreigners in the pub when he arrived in Japan who did not engage with Japanese and thinking: "I hated that at the time, I just thought, 'Why don't you just go home, you miserable old git'". Therefore, Mark initially worked hard to avoid building his community around other teachers by going to English and Irish bars alone so he could use Japanese. However as Mark built a life in Japan, he became unengaged with Japanese and he sees himself in a similar position to these older teachers he first encountered. John also experienced a similar shift in his communities as he spent more time in Japan. John built a community of Japanese friends when he first arrived in Japan and he saw communities of teachers negatively: "I hated these people whose Japanese wasn't getting better because they live in a bubble, and I was like, 'You've made that bubble yourself mate, I've got loads of friends who I speak Japanese with, and I'm integrated'". However now John enjoys socialising with English speakers more than Japanese speakers as "I suppose it's like to stave off the homesickness, it's just, just nice to have that, that cultural connection".

The communities that each teacher built in Japan ultimately played a significant role in their Japanese learning and use. Some teachers built communities of other English

teachers and English-speaking Japanese people while other teachers built their communities with Japanese people. The communities each teacher interacted with in Japan often shifted depending on the realities of a teacher's life in Japan. Ultimately, the communities these teachers built reflected their investment in both real and imagined identities and impacted on their Japanese engagement.

6.7 Long-term language learning of migrants

Part of the rationale behind using Linguistic Biographies to collect data from these long-term residents of Japan was that it would allow the investigation of language learning over longer periods. The experiences of these learners show how influential becoming a long-term migrant in Japan was on Japanese engagement. While I found there were two groups of teachers, Stable and Fluctuating Learners, both these groups' Japanese engagement fluctuated throughout their time in Japan. In this section, I first examine outline how the length of time these teachers spent in Japan influenced their Japanese engagement. I then examine how Japanese learning resources such as learning materials, Japanese proficiency tests and Japanese classes influenced each teacher's Japanese engagement.

Becoming a long-term resident of Japan impacted on how these teachers engaged with Japan society and culture. Many of the Fluctuating Learners discuss how when they arrived in Japan, they were more engaged with Japanese society, but the growth of the internet caused a shift in this engagement. Gary describes how he arrived in Japan, he related to Japan more closely: "It was more of a Japanese society I lived in, I feel, only Japanese TV, only Japanese radio". Now Gary's interest in Japan has dissipated as "You can go around the world and live your kind of country's life because of the internet, apps and downloading things". For Mark, this access to media and the lack of symbolic capital Japanese had for his life in Japan means "On occasions I can just phase out the whole Japanese experience". As a long-term migrant Mark now sees Japanese as: "Functionally it is of little use to me learning any more, I'm tired, I'm getting older, this is enough for me now". Paul also experienced this shift between when he first arrived in Japan and his current attitude to Japanese:

> **"My first year in Japan, buying into the whole yeah, my sensei, doing all sorts of Japanese things, spending a whole lot of money on Japanese lessons because I wanted to immerse myself in the culture and then yeah**

since I came back in 2007, I never seem to have the time or the motivation to".

For all the participants, there is a sense that being a long-term migrant in Japan means that Japanese learning is something that never ends, which in turn leads to Japanese learning becoming a frustrating process. Bonnie, who had a strong L2 Ideal Self, well-developed learning behaviours and a strong community in Japan, found that making Japanese breakthroughs was a frustrating and laborious process. However, Bonnie found that her own perseverance and the support of her friends pushed her to maintain her Japanese engagement. Pam, despite having a strong Ideal L2 Self, did not develop the same level of learning behaviours and communities, so she was never able to move beyond a certain level of Japanese: "you know like you talk about like a wall, that you have to break though, well I never broke through that". For Gary, learning Japanese over a long period has taken an emotional toll on him:

"I have realised, you know I've got to be realistic with myself after 10 years or so, my improvement has been pretty minimal, so I don't, I've kind of realised I'm not cut out for languages maybe".

Despite their struggles with Japanese engagement, the Fluctuating Learners still had ambitions to improve their Japanese but found it difficult to approach Japanese learning and lacked the confidence in their language learning abilities. Nigel really encapsulates the challenges that the Fluctuating Learners' group of long-term teachers felt. Despite Nigel still wanting to improve his Japanese and growing expectations on him to speak Japanese as he spent more time in Japan, he still faces a central quandary about learning Japanese: "It is a massive, long road of study ahead, where even a rudimentary, elementary conversation about anything interesting, it would be difficult to get to that level".

Building careers through investing in professional selves, getting married and having children all impinged on the time they had to study and use Japanese. Mark specifically linked his disengagement with Japanese with the pressures of bring up a family in Japan, "you do reach a crisis point where you have to decide your effort allocation, especially if you've got a family, and you have to decide, 'Is this really gonna serve me any purpose?'". Lucy's experiences show how these pressures of family life impacted on her Japanese engagement as any short bursts of motivated Japanese study were curtailed

by the commitments of her life as a mother and full-time teacher. While Lucy identified joining a commercial Japanese language school as the step she needed to take to improve her Japanese, Lucy has never been able to study Japanese formally because of the financial and time commitments this would entail.

For these long-term teachers, Japanese teaching approaches and learning materials directly influenced their Japanese engagement. As noted earlier, many of the participants struggled with community lessons and some participants outlined issues with the paid lessons. As these learners gained teaching experience and qualifications, they questioned the methods their textbooks and teachers used. Paul found the teaching methods used by the Japanese classes were inadequate and the materials were “designed to extol the virtues of Japanese culture”. John also struggled with the approach to teaching Japanese because of the focus on “standardness and being correct in Japanese”. Bonnie found her lessons were often teacher focused and did not teach the nuances of Japanese and she encapsulates the feelings of many of the participants about Japanese learning materials:

> **“To be honest I find them very dull. They are very Japanese, they are very fit to the Japanese system of education which is listen and repeat, listen and repeat, listen and repeat, repeat until you memorise, and you know it. Um it's not exactly flexible, it's more teaching a language as if it was a science like Maths where 1 and 1 is always 2, it’s not treating language as a living thing, which is quite a different learning experience all together compared to learning French”.**

The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) figured strongly in the experiences of each teacher as a both a barometer of Japanese proficiency and a structure to build Japanese study around. However, many of the teachers struggled to retain the language they learned to prepare for this test and below level N2, the test did not have much symbolic capital for these teachers. Bonnie saw the JLPT test as representative of the general approach to language learning in Japan: “I think it's really the being able to understand and to be understood that matters the most, and that is an ability that is not tested in JLPT and neither it is in TOEIC when it comes to the English skills”.

Sophia presents a noteworthy example of how the deficiencies of learning materials, length of time spent in Japan and changing priorities could combine to push even an

engaged learner to question their Japanese learning. Sophia outlines that after 12 years of studying Japanese and passing JLPT N1, she struggles to motivate herself to learn Japanese: “I have done all the tests, so I don’t really know what to study, it’s quite hard to find texts”. Between the initial and follow-up interviews, Sophia was promoted by her company, which impacted on her time to study Japanese so she stopped Japanese lessons after 12 years with the same teacher. This combined with less Japanese use in the home after her divorce, meant Sophia felt she was losing her Japanese proficiency and struggling for ways to stay engaged with Japanese. The long-term teachers, both stable and fluctuating, were both influenced by becoming a long-term resident of Japan, as it impacted the time and energy they had for Japanese learning, while the classes and learning materials at times did not match the needs of the long-term residents of Japan.

6.8 Conclusion

Similar to the newly arrived teachers, the onus was on the long-term teachers to find opportunities to study and use Japanese from their initial arrival in Japan. Some teachers studied Japanese independently, some went to classes while others did not engage with Japanese. Ultimately how each teacher prioritised Japanese study, how they invested in communities, their relationships, their workplaces, their professional selves and how they brought up their children all influenced their language learning throughout their time in Japan. I identified two different groups of learners amongst the long-term teachers: stable and fluctuating. The Stable Learners studied Japanese both independently and in classes, pushed themselves to study Japanese outside of the classroom and made choices about their communities that allowed them to use Japanese. The Fluctuating Learners had periods of engaged learning where they took Japanese classes and socialised with Japanese people interspersed with periods of disengagement from Japanese and limited contact with Japanese people.

The initial approach each participant made to studying Japanese, how much they engaged with Japanese outside of the classroom and the connections they felt with Japanese people, were important indicators to how each teacher engaged with Japanese throughout their time in Japan. The Stable Learners often took Japanese classes early on in their time in Japan while they studied and used Japanese outside of the classroom. This group of learners had strong and robust Ideal L2 Selves and often

linked their Japanese engagement to building relationships with Japanese people and gaining access to job opportunities using Japanese.

The Fluctuating Learners struggled to study Japanese when they first arrived in Japan and continued to have fluctuating relationships with their Japanese learning throughout their time in Japan. While a number of these teachers reached a level of Japanese where they could communicate in Japanese through self-study and lessons, their Japanese engagement lessened as they spent more time in Japan. For the Fluctuating Learners, periods of engaged learning were often prompted by taking formal Japanese lessons but they did not engage in the same level of learning outside of the classroom as the Stable Learners did. These teachers struggled to find appropriate Japanese classes as well as communities to use Japanese with. As these teachers spent more time in Japan, they had less time to study Japanese as they built professional careers in Japan and had friendships, relationships and raised their children, all in English.

Both groups of learners experienced fluctuations in their Japanese engagement throughout their time in Japan, caused by changes in their professional, social and romantic lives. Two powerful examples of these fluctuations in Japanese engagement are John's re-engagement with Japanese learning and Nigel's sustained period of Japanese engagement in the period between participant interviews. One of the Stable Learners, John, experienced a period of disengagement from studying Japanese as he completed a PhD, became a tenured professor, and focused on his family life. John was able to re-engage with Japanese study after watching an academic talk about language learning motivation and he restarted Japanese lessons and studied Japanese outside of the classroom. One of the Fluctuating Learners, Nigel, experienced his most sustained period of learning after he had been in Japan for 6 years because he needed to communicate with a woman he was dating, who did not speak English. This period pushed him to pass level N5 of the JLPT but once this relationship ended, Nigel abandoned Japanese learning again.

The long-term teachers' attitudes about Japanese learning were often shaped by their position as foreign English teachers in Japan. The broader ideologies in Japan that see foreigners as deficient Japanese speakers and English teachers as short-term visitors to Japan meant these foreign English teachers were labelled and positioned before they even arrived in Japan. Despite these teachers establishing roots in Japan and becoming

experienced and professional teachers, they received little support or encouragement for their Japanese language learning throughout their time in Japan from the companies and organisations they worked for. The linguistic capital they drew from being English teachers often outweighed the linguistic capital that Japanese learning gave them with Mark's situation perhaps best illustrates how this impacted on their Japanese engagement. While Mark was an engaged learner when he first arrived in Japan, once he got married and had children, he had to abandon his Japanese study because of financial and time pressures. When Mark was having financial problems, he considered investing in learning Japanese to support his family but ultimately the power of English in Japan meant English teaching was more lucrative.

While Norton (2000, p.7 and 10) envisages language learning investment is "to acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources", for these long-term teachers, building professional and social lives in Japan meant there were competing interests in which these learners could invest to gain symbolic capital. Foremost amongst these was the symbolic capital they could draw from getting further professional and academic qualifications, as these gave them access to more stable English teaching jobs with better employment conditions. This meant that as the long-term teachers spent more time in Japan, they invested more in their professional selves as an English teacher instead of their possible self as a Japanese speaker.

The influence of the linguistic capital they drew from being English teachers in Japan also influenced the friendships and relationships that the teachers built. Communities of other English speakers were a particular pull for these teachers as they provided a sense of community and belonging as well as access to professional networks. In relationships with their Japanese partners, as well as bringing up their children, there was an awareness of the linguistic capital that English held for many of these teachers and their partners. Aside from Harry, Ed and Sophia, these teachers all used English with their partners and most teachers also brought their children up bilingually, meaning that the home became an English-only environment. The power of English in Japan for these teachers meant that to use Japanese they had to specifically find individuals and communities that offered the opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation and which were facilitative for their language use.

The Stable Learners' interactions with Japanese speakers show the importance of not just how these learners actively invested in communities, but how these individuals and communities of Japanese speakers invested in and valued these English teachers as Japanese speakers. Stepping beyond the broader ideology in Japan that sees English teachers as temporary visitors and values them for their English-speaking ability, these individual and groups were vital for the Japanese engagement of the Stable Learners. They provided these teachers with opportunities to use Japanese and grow as Japanese speakers. Harry detailed how throughout his time in Japan the communities he encountered were crucial to his Japanese learning, as these Japanese people valued him as a Japanese speaker and facilitated his Japanese development. Similarly, Ed, Sophia, Bonnie, John and Charlie all outline how a variety of partners, friends and groups facilitated their Japanese use by investing in them as Japanese speakers. This demonstrates that investment as envisaged by Norton (2000) is not just confined to learners, but also takes place in the communities that engage with second language learners, particularly migrant workers like foreign English teachers.

The lack of connections with individuals and communities meant that the Fluctuating Learners struggled to feel the same connection with the Japanese language and by extension Japanese society. These teachers outlined how when they arrived in Japan they struggled to learn Japanese and once they had been in Japan for an extended period, there was less need for them to learn or use Japanese as they had established careers and built lives. The growth of the internet meant these teachers felt closer culturally to their home countries, while the stress of living and working using English also lessened their interest in Japanese. Mark identifies the potential of how powerful connections with Japanese people could have been for learners like him:

> **"If I had found people who were genuinely interested in me improving as a Japanese speaker and if I could have made some kind of connection through them, I think I would have made progress".**

As long-term migrants in Japan, these long-term teachers' experiences show how motivation for learning Japanese fluctuated as each teacher built a life in Japan. These accounts provide a more detailed and comprehensive account of second language learning motivation than the snapshot of how a learner feels when they take part in an L2 Motivational Self Survey. The L2 Motivational Selves of both the Stable and

Fluctuating Learners were often contradictory and evolving throughout their time in Japan. Despite the Stable Learners combining learning behaviours with developing communities with whom they could use Japanese, there was still conflict between these teachers' L2 Motivational Selves and the context that their learning took place in. This led to a number of the Stable Learners switching from investing in their Japanese selves to developing their professional selves instead. Throughout their time in Japan, the Fluctuating Learners struggled to develop the learning behaviours that their Ideal L2 Selves required. The Fluctuating Learners did not engage outside of the classroom and develop communities of practice in the way the Stable Learners did, indicating that the Fluctuating Learners' failure to develop the learning behaviours that their Ideal L2 Selves required, the lack of communities to invest in them as Japanese speakers and their inability to self-regulate their learning, led to their fluctuating engagement with Japanese.

Chapter 7: L2 Motivational Self Survey

In developing the L2 Motivational Self System, Dörnyei drew on research involving possible selves by Markus and Nurius (1986), Higgins (1987) as well as previous SLA motivation theories and research as described in Chapter 3. To develop the L2 Motivational Self System, Dörnyei, Csizér and Nemeth (2006) conduct a large-scale, longitudinal research into the attitudes of learning foreign languages. They surveyed large numbers of Hungarian students who studied a foreign language using an attitudinal questionnaire. Dörnyei et al (2006) used Structural Equational Modelling (SEM) to test the relationships between the different theoretical components that make up the L2 Motivational Self System. Using SEM analysis allowed Dörnyei et al (2006) to find links between a learner's attitude to the speakers of the L2 and the strength of their Ideal L2 Self (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 28).

SEM analysis measures whether models such as the L2 Motivational Self System fit the data collected from questionnaires (Winke, 2014, p.108 & p.116). SEM combines two types of modelling, a measurement model and a full structure model (Dörnyei et al, 2006, p. 74-75). The measurement model allows the strength of the relationship between theoretical constructs (latent variables) and the questionnaire items (measured variables) to be assessed. The full structural model allows researchers to "posit causal links between the latent (theoretical) variables" (Dörnyei et al, 2006, p. 74-75). The strength of these relationships is then tested by the "goodness-of-fit" model.

Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009) subsequently took the tools developed by Dörnyei et al (2006) and conducted a large-scale survey of 3 different contexts, where they found that the L2 Motivational Self System could be applied to the Chinese, Japanese and Iranian contexts. From this starting point, motivational research has utilised large-scale attitudinal surveys analysed using Structural Equational Modelling to investigate the relationship between the different factors that influence language learning motivation.

Recent research has expanded on the work originally done by Dörnyei, Csizér and Nemeth (2006). It has looked at foreign language learning anxiety (Papi, 2010), the motivations for learning of languages other than English (Dornyei and Ushioda, 2017) as well as expanding its theoretical and methodological framework (Hiver and Al-Hoorie, 2016 & Papi and Hiver, 2020). Work by Boo et al (2015) and Al-Hoorie (2018) has shown that the L2 Motivational Self System has become the pre-eminent theory of L2

Motivational Theory but as Al-Hoorie (2018) outlines, several researchers have questioned the theoretical validity of the L2 Motivational Self System. Much of this research was drawn from closed groups of school and university students studying foreign languages with students learning English as a foreign language in dominant L1 contexts, particularly China and Japan (Boo et al, 2015 & Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie, 2017). Less research has been done into the motivational selves of learners outside formal education contexts and whether Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System can be applied to informal language learners, with Kurata (2015) and Macintyre et al (2017) being notable exceptions to this.

Therefore, to answer research question 3, I adapted both the survey and data analysis approach used by Taguchi et al (2009) to investigate whether Dörnyei's L2 motivational self-system accounts for the motivational selves of foreign English teachers. To do this, I changed the questionnaire items so that they were suitable for the context of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan and then analysed the data using SPSS and Structure Equational Modelling. Taguchi et al's (2009) research objectives were focused on replicating Dörnyei et al's (2006) original study:

1. **"To partially replicate the Hungarian study in three key Asian countries: Japan, China and Iran".**
2. **"To explore whether there is a relationship between the Ideal L2 Self and integrativeness".**
3. **"To test whether or not there are indeed two distinct types of instrumentality and if so, how they are related to each other as well as to the ideal and ought-to selves".**
4. **"Determine the causal relationship among the attitudinal and motivational factors making up the construct. In particular our objective is to examine the relationship between the Ideal L2 Self, attitudes toward learning English, and the criterion measures".**

(Taguchi, Magid and Papi 2009 in Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009, p. 66-68).

Therefore, the objectives of my survey were to test whether the results of Taguchi et al (2009) could be replicated in the responses of foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan.

7.1 Participants

While Dörnyei et al (2006) and Taguchi et al (2009) were able to recruit large samples of 13,391 and 4,935 participants respectively, the potential for my sample was lower because I did not have access to closed groups of school and university students. In addition, the English teaching industry in Japan is extremely fragmented with teachers working for commercial language schools, in the Japanese education system at all levels and for private companies which meant it was difficult to access such larger groups of participants. This is because, like the qualitative data sets provided by the newly arrived teachers and long-term teachers, foreign English teachers in Japan are not the kind of concentrated communities that have been investigated in previous research but are dispersed individuals who share economic and social backgrounds.

My original intention was to try to recruit participants through the large English teaching institutions such as the JET Programme and private commercial language schools which bring many teachers to Japan, as well as through teacher organisations such as the Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT). Since almost all of these organisations declined to distribute my calls for participants, I had to recruit participants in the same manner I had recruited participants for the other data sets. I did this through my own personal networks as well as the Facebook groups and communities that exist for foreigners and English teachers in Japan. I had to contact each JALT regional chapter and Special Interest Group individually to distribute my call for participants via email and Facebook message. I also utilised Facebook communities that exist for JET Programme Assistant Language teachers called AJET, which are based around the prefectures each JET Programme teacher is assigned to. These groups provided a wide sample of teachers from different sectors of the industry.

The survey was first distributed in July 2018 and closed in April 2019 via the online survey portal Online Surveys (https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/). **265** participants completed the survey but 38 were ruled out as they did not meet the recruitment criteria, leaving the total number of participants was **227**. **Tables 7.1-7.10** provide a breakdown of the demographic backgrounds of the participants. Some participants neglected to include some details, but this information did not invalidate their responses as the missing data was demographic. I left the employment details section of the survey as an open-ended question because of the varied teaching roles that many teachers occupy in Japan. Later, I had to standardise each response to this question as I received a wide

variety of responses because of how each participant viewed their employment position. Some teachers simply described themselves as English teachers while others outlined that they were employed in two different teaching roles. I categorised them to exclude any ineligible participants and so that I could analyse the various sub-groups of English teachers in Japan. I based the categories on the different groups of English teachers I outlined in Chapter 2. The categories were the following 5 groups:

1. **Commercial Language School**
2. **English Teacher (including any combination that involved this description but did not mention a specific sector)**
3. **Other (including those with multiple teaching jobs, English school owners and those who teach business English)**
4. **School Sector (including Assistant Language Teachers)**
5. **University Sector**

In the two other data sets, I look at two specific groups of teachers, newly arrived teachers and teachers who had been in Japan for extended periods. For the L2 Motivational Survey, I wanted to focus on foreign English teachers broadly. I did not exclude any teachers based on their length of time in Japan.

The demographic data in **Tables 7.1-7.5** does provide some interesting insights into the population I was able to recruit. While most research has found that the majority foreign English teachers in Japan are male, Table 7.2 shows that the gender ratio (**Male 124, Female 100)** of participants in this survey, was more evenly balanced. The mean age (**38 years old**), marital status (**51% married**) and mean time spent in Japan, (**10.7 years**), all suggest that many of the participants who took part in this study were more long-term teachers in Japan as opposed to newly arrived teachers. The majority of participants were drawn from the inner circle of English-speaking countries, USA, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Ireland and New Zealand (See table 7.4). Table 7.5, showing the breakdown of teachers' initial job in Japan and their current job in Japan, also mirrors some of the currents seen in previous research as well as the other chapters. These figures show that many teachers came to Japan to work in commercial language schools (28%) or in the school system (38%) but at the time of data collection only 5% worked in commercial language schools and 29% worked in the university section.

Table 7.1: Age and time spent in Japan

Total	Age	Years spent in Japan
Mean	38	10.7
Median	36	10
Max	65	37
Min	22	0

Table 7.2: Gender Breakdown

Gender		
Male	124	55%
Female	100	44%
Other	2	1%

Table 7.3: Marital Status

Marital Status		
Single	60	27%
Married	116	51%
Divorced	9	4%
In a relationship	35	15%
Prefer not to answer	5	2%
Separated	1	0%

Table 7.4: Nationality Breakdown

Nationality		
American	97	43%
British	71	31%
Canadian	20	9%
Australian	19	8%
Irish	7	3%
New Zealander	5	2%
European	2	1%
Filipino	2	1%
Jamaican	1	1%
Singaporean	1	1%
South African	1	1%
Zimbabwean	1	1%

Table 7.5: Employment Status

Sector	Initial Job		Current Job	
Commercial Language School	63	28%	12	5%
English Teacher	66	29%	60	26%
Other including multiple teaching jobs, school owners and business English	4	2%	21	9%
School Sector including ALTS	87	38%	65	29%
University Sector	7	3%	69	30%

Tables 7.6-7.10 provides details of each teacher's Japanese learning background and their education and English teaching qualifications. As outlined in Table 7.6 in terms of the Japanese study engagement, 7% of the teachers have passed the highest level of the JLPT test while 22% self-report their Japanese proficiency as being Upper Intermediate or above. Interestingly the vast majority, 88%, responded that they had taken Japanese classes but only 57% are currently studying Japanese. In terms of educational background and English teaching qualifications, 99% of participants were university graduates with 46% having completed a master's degree and 5% having completed a PhD, reflecting some of the discourses about investment in professional identity that I outline in Chapter 6, which looked at long-term teachers in Japan. The number of teachers without any professional EFL qualifications, 27%, reflects that the English teaching industry in Japanese focuses on academic qualification rather than professional qualifications.

Table 7.6: JLPT Level

Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) level		
None	106	47%
N5 (Old N4)	15	7%
N4 (Old N3)	31	14%
N3	28	12%
N2 (Old N2)	31	14%
N1 (Old N1)	16	7%

Table 7.7: Self-reported Japanese proficiency level

Self-reported Japanese proficiency level		
Beginner level	24	11%
Post-Beginner level	33	15%
Lower Intermediate level	52	23%
Intermediate level	69	30%
Upper Intermediate level and above	49	22%

Table 7.8: Japanese Study Background

Previous Japanese Study		
Yes	97	43%
No	130	57%
Attended Japanese classes		
Yes	199	88%
No	27	12%
Currently studying Japanese?		
Yes	129	57%
No	98	43%

Table 7.9: Teaching English as a Foreign Language Qualifications

TEFL/TESOL Qualification		
CELTA/Trinity	51	22%
DELTA/Diploma	18	8%
Other	97	43%
None	61	27%

Table 7.10: Educational Background

Education Level		
Graduated High School	3	1%
Undergraduate Degree	107	47%
Master's Degree	105	46%
PhD	12	5%

7.2 Instruments

A full outline of the adaptation of Taguchi et al's survey can be found in Chapter 4. The following 10 factors were used in the survey following Taguchi et al's (2009) approach. One factor, ***Family influence*****,** was replaced by ***Encouragement from people around me*** following the rationale outlined in Chapter 4. The ***Attitudes to learning English factor*** was amended to ***Attitudes to learning Japanese*** to make it relevant for English teachers. Individual questions were amended to make them appropriate for English teachers. **Table 7.11** outlines the Cronbach Alpha internal consistency reliability co-efficient of each collected variable. The Cronbach Alpha co-efficients reflect the internal consistency between the questions that make up each factor. Two factors, Ethnocentrism (0.127) and Integrativeness (0.423) did not reach the level of over 0.6 that is suggested as ideal by Dörnyei and Csizér (2012, p. 84). I was not able to increase the internal consistency of these factors by excluding questionnaire items because of the small number of questionnaire items that made up each of these factors. These results suggest that the items that make up these factors need to be revised in the future, particularly the ethnocentrism factor.

The following 10 factors were used in the study (The specific items that make up each factor and their Cronbach Alpha coefficients can be found in **Table 7.11**).

1. ***Criterion measures*** assessing the learner's intended efforts toward learning English.
2. ***Ideal L2 Self***, which according to Dörnyei (2005: 106), refers to the 'L2-specfic facet of one's ideal self'.
3. ***Ought-to L2 Self***, which measures 'the attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. various duties, obligations, or responsibilities) in order to avoid possible negative outcomes' (Dörnyei, 2005: 106)
4. ***Encouragement from people around me*** examines the roles of people around the learner in Japan (replacing Family influence).
5. ***Instrumentality-promotion*** measuring the regulation of personal goals to become successful such as attaining a high proficiency of Japanese to obtain a higher salary or find a better job.
6. ***Instrumentality-prevention*** measuring the regulation of duties and obligations such as studying Japanese to pass an examination
7. ***Attitudes to learning Japanese*** measuring situation-specific motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience.

8. ***Attitudes to L2 community*** investigating the learner's attitudes toward the community of the target language.
9. ***Cultural interest*** measuring the learner's interest in the cultural products of the L2 culture, such as TV, magazines, music and movies.
10. ***Integrativeness***, which is assessed with items from Dörnyei et al.'s (2006) Integrativeness factor, which entails having a positive attitude toward the second language, its culture and the native speakers of the language.

Adapted from Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009, p. 74-75)

Table 7.11 Composites of attitudinal/motivational variables with Cronbach Alpha Coefficients

Factor Name	Item No.	Cronbach Alpha Coefficient
Criteria measures	21, 28, 33, 39.	0.661
Ideal L2 Self	9, 13, 15, 32, 46.	0.844
Ought to L2 Self	8, 27, 35, 37, 42, 57.	0.716
Encouragement from people around me	7, 18, 25, 53, 56.	0.670
Instrumentality-Promotion	23, 31, 12, 24, 36, 54.	0.778
Instrumentality-Prevention	11, 16, 29, 45, 51.	0.675
Linguistic Self-Confidence	37, 40, 43, 47.	0.781
Attitudes towards learning Japanese	4, 17, 48, 55, 63.	0.753
Lifestyle Orientation	3, 20, 26.	0.741
Fear of assimilation	22, 41, 49, 50.	0.689
Ethnocentrism	5, 14, 30, 44.	0.127
Interest in the Japanese Language	2, 6, 19, 58.	0.706
Japanese Anxiety	10, 34, 52, 67, 71.	0.886
Cultural Interest	62, 64, 69, 72.	0.723
Attitudes toward L2 community	62, 65, 68, 70.	0.850
Integrativeness	59, 60, 66.	0.423

7.3 Data Analysis

The responses to the questionnaire were downloaded from www.onlinesurvey.com then imported into Microsoft Excel, where after viewing the questionnaire responses in detail, ineligible participants were removed from the dataset before analysing the data using SPSS 26 and SPSS AMOS SEM. As SPSS AMOS SEM does not tolerate missing cases, to prepare the data for analysis, missing cases within the data were dealt within SPSS by using full information maximum likelihood estimation method, as this is seen as the best method for dealing with missing cases when doing SEM analysis (Byrne, 2010, p.358-9). Maximum likelihood estimation method involves SPSS computing values for the missing values based on predictions that are modelled on the original data set.

7.3.1 SPSS Correlational Analysis

The first step in the data process was to examine the relationship between the various constructs that make up Dörnyei's L2 Motivational system, following the approach of Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009). Correlation coefficients were calculated for the relationship between various factors. Dörnyei (2007, p.223) outlines how correlations between 0.3 and 0.5 are meaningful and correlations above 0.6 show that two variables measure the same construct. **Table 7.12** details the correlation coefficient between the *Ideal L2 Self* and *Integrativeness* constructs. For Taguchi et al's data sets (2009, p.77), the average correlation between the *Ideal L2 Self* and *Integrativeness* was over 0.50 which they took to show that the two variables can be equated and measure the same area. The correlation co-efficient between the *Ideal L2 Self* and *Integrativeness* for foreign English teachers in Japan was 0.41 which means there is a meaningful correlation between the two constructs. This shows that in the context of foreign English teachers, the *Ideal L2 Self* component of Dörnyei's L2 motivational self-system measures similar areas to the concept of *Integrativeness*, albeit with less strength than Taguchi et al's (2007) data.

Table 7.12: The Correlation coefficient between the Ideal L2 Self and Integrativeness

English Teachers in Japan (N=227)	Ideal L2 Self
Integrativeness	0.41

Table 7.13 shows the relationship between the *Criterion Measures* with the *Ideal L2 Self* and *Integrativeness* variables respectively. The Criterion Measures construct is a variable that measures a learner's intended efforts towards learning a language. Taguchi et al (2009) found that there was a higher correlation between the *Ideal L2 Self* and the creation measures than with *Integrativeness,* which they conclude means the *Ideal L2 Self* can replace *Integrativeness.* Similarly, the data from the foreign English teachers in Japan shows a similar higher correlation between the *Ideal L2 Self* and the *Criterion Measures,* 0.42, as opposed to 0.37 for *Integrativeness* and the *Criterion Measures*. While these levels are less than Taguchi et al's, the strong correlation between the *Ideal L2 Self* and the *Criterion Measures* shows that for foreign English teachers in Japan, the *Ideal L2 Self* can be equated with *Integrativeness* because of the similar influence *the Ideal L2 Self* has on the *Criterion Measures or* intended learning efforts.

Table 7.13: The correlation coefficients for relationship between the Criterion Measures and the Ideal L2 Self and Integrativeness variables

English Teachers in Japan (N=227)	Criterion Measures
Ideal L2 Self	**0.42**
Integrativeness	**0.37**

In **Table 7.14**, the correlation coefficients for the relationship between *Instrumentality-promotion* and *Instrumentality-prevention* are shown. Taguchi, Papi and Magid (2009, p. 78) tested whether Higgins' 1998 distinctions between Promotional and Preventional forms of Instrumentality would apply to their data. Instrumentality-promotion measures how a learner regulates personal goals to become successful, such as gaining higher Japanese proficiency in order obtain a higher salary or get a better job. Instrumentality-prevention measures the regulation of obligations and commitments, such as studying Japanese to avoid the negative connotations of how not being able to speak Japanese impacts on how they are perceived or their ability to get better jobs. Taguchi et al (2009) combined the *Ought-to L2 Self* with the variable *Family Influence*, which examines the active and passive parental influence on motivation. As outlined in Chapter 4, I replaced the *Family Influence* variable with the *Encouragement from people around me* variable to make it more appropriate for the lives of English teachers in Japan.

Table 7.14: The relationship between Instrumentality (promotion) and Instrumentality (prevention)

English Teachers in Japan (N=227)	Ideal L2 Self	Ought-to L2 Self	Instrumentality (Promotion)
Ought-to L2 Self	**0.338**	*	*
Instrumentality (Promotion)	**0.689**	**0.500**	*
Instrumentality (Prevention)	**0.493**	**0.747**	**0.689**

Taguchi et al (2009) found there was a stronger relationship between *Instrumentality-promotion* and *the Ideal L2 Self* than between *Instrumentality-prevention* with *the Ideal L2 Self.* They also found that *Instrumentality-prevention* correlates more highly with *the Ought-to L2 Self* than *Instrumentality-promotion*. Taguchi et al (2009, p.78) took these findings to show that the two types of instrumentality show low correlation so they are "distinctly separate". However, they did find substantial correlations between the *Instrumentality-promotion* and the *Ought-to L2 Self* in the Chinese and Iran data sets. They ascribe this to the cultural context in China and Iran, where learning English is linked to the obligations one has to one's family in China and the role that learning English plays in socio-economic status in Iran.

The data for foreign English teachers in Japan shows similar correlations to the Japanese, Chinese and Iranian data sets as there is a stronger relationship between *Instrumentality-promotion* and the *Ideal L2 Self* (**0.689**) than between *Instrumentality-prevention* with the *Ideal L2 Self (***0.493***).* For foreign English teachers in Japan, there is a higher correlation, (**0.493**), between the *Ideal L2 Self* and *Instrumentality-prevention* than the Japanese, Chinese and Iranian data sets. What causes the high correlations between the *Ideal L2 Self* and *Instrumentality-prevention* constructs for foreign English teachers in Japan? Looking at the questionnaire items for Instrumentality-prevention, two of the questions are regarding future career in Japan (**Q11, Q29**), one is based on communicating with Japanese people (**Q16**) and two are focused on the connections between learning Japanese and being considered educated and a good learner (**Q45 and Q51**). This high correlation suggests that for foreign English teachers in Japan, their ideal selves are at times driven by the negative impact that not being able to learn and use Japanese has on the way they are viewed by others in Japan and on their careers in Japan.

7.3.2 Structural Equation Modelling

As noted earlier in in the chapter, SEM combines two types of modelling: a measurement model and a full structure model (Dörnyei et al, 2006, p. 74-75). The measurement model allows the relationship between theoretical constructs (latent variables) and the questionnaire items (measured variables) that assess them to be explored. The full structural model allows researchers to "posit causal links between the latent (theoretical) variables" (Dörnyei et al, 2006, p. 74-75). The strength of these relationships is then tested by "goodness-of-fit" indices. Winke (2014) conducted a meta-analysis of studies in SLA that utilise a SEM approach and found that between 2008 and 2014, only 8 studies into motivation in SLA utilised a SEM approach and these studies focused primarily on English as a foreign language. However since this meta-analysis, a number of studies have utilised a SEM based approach, particularly research examining motivation. Winke (2014) provides important guidelines for conducting SLA research using SEM concerning sample size, model presentation, reliability and Likert-style scales. I have tried to take account of these in presenting my results.

For the first stage of my analysis I explored the measurement model of three groups of latent variables. Part of the process of exploring the relationships of variables in SEM is the model fitting process in which the connections between variables are investigated. In model fitting, researchers explore the relationship between concepts and the questionnaire items that measure these concepts (Winke, 2014). Model fitting allows questionnaire items to be added or removed from the relationships between the variables explored (Byrne, 2010). Taguchi et al (2009) conducted a model fitting process when conducting the SEM analysis of their data, so I followed their approach. The first model I tested contained factors related to the Ideal L2 Self, so I included the following latent variables: the *Ideal L2 Self, Instrumentality-promotion, Attitudes to L2 Community and Cultural Interest.* The second model was related to the relationship between the *Ought-to L2 Self, Encouragement from people around me* and *Instrumentality-prevention.* The final model measured the relationship between the *Criterion Measures* and *Attitudes towards Learning Japanese* latent variables.

Similar to Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009), the data from the foreign English teachers required significant model fitting. The first of these problems was that *the Ought-to L2 Self* model returned a covariance that was positive definite and there were also issues

with parameter estimates for all three models. In addition, a number of correlations showed multicollinearity as there the correlations were >1.00. Correlations that are >1.00, according to Byrne (2010, p.67), “signal a clear indication that either the model is wrong or the index matrix lacks sufficient information”. Therefore, using modification indices, I followed the process of model fitting as outlined by Byrne (2010) to explore and ascertain if I could find a better model fit for the data.

I first fixed the loading of the factor-loading parameter not randomly but to a specific factor with each group of observed variables, as this helped the model fitting process. I then deleted the following 7 observed variables from the following latent variables: 2 from *Ought-to L2 Self* (**Q35 and Q42**), 3 from *Instrumentality-prevention* (**Q11, Q16, Q29**) and *Encouragement from people around me* (**Q7, Q18, Q25**). These changes provided a better fit for several variables.

For the *Ought-to L2 Self* measurement model, I had to delete 3 observed variables from both the *Instrumentality-prevention* and *Encouragement from people around me* latent variables because they could not be fitted even with the use of cross loadings. I also had to delete 3 observed variables from *the Ought-to L2 Self* latent variable because of similar model fit issues. For the latent variable concerned with the relationship between the *Criterion Measures* and *Attitudes to learning Japanese*, there was little modification needed with only the use of a cross loading between **Q21** and **Q39** being drawn. I used the cross loading because the topic of these questions was similar in topic:

- **Question 21. I would like to concentrate on studying Japanese**
- **Question 39. I would like to spend lots of time studying Japanese.**

For the Ideal L2 Self, I made several modifications. The first difference from Taguchi et al’s (2009) data was that I did not combine the *Attitude to L2 Community* and *Cultural Interest* factors as the model fitting process found these two factors worked better separately. One observed variable was dropped from the Ideal L2 Self, because co-variance was over the accepted level of >1.0 (Byrne, 2010). In addition, the Modification indices showed that drawing cross-loadings between two questions would add to the model fit. The first was between **Q9** and **Q13**, both of which dealt with future selves speaking Japanese while the cross loading between **Q13** and **Q32** was related to future selves being able to use Japanese in discussions. One observed variable, **Q46**, was deleted as the covariance with the latent variable was over 1.0.

- **Question 9. I can imagine myself as someone who is able to speak Japanese.**
- **Question 13. I can imagine myself working in Japanese and having a discussion in Japanese.**
- **Question 32. I imagine myself speaking Japanese with Japanese friends and colleagues.**

After an initial round of model fitting, I was able to construct a structural model in which the data from the foreign English teachers fits Dörnyei's L2 motivational system. This model can be seen in **Figure 7.1**, while the model's goodness of fit statistics are included in **Table 7.15**. Before presenting any of the findings of the structural model of the data from foreign English teachers in Japan, I must outline several issues that exist with this structural model. Byrne (2010, p.77-80) outlines the levels of Goodness of Fit statistics that are required for models to be accepted for analysis. The chi-square goodness of fit (**CMIN**) was **1247.112**, which shows that the model was over-identified. This means, according to Byrne (2010, p.34), over identification allows "positive degrees of freedom, that allow for the rejection of the model, thereby rendering it of scientific use". This means the model meets the goal of SEM analysis, which is to outline a model and make sure that it reaches the criterion of over-identification (Byrne, 2010, p.34).

Once a model has reached the criteria of over-identification, various Goodness of Fit Indices need to be examined to ascertain whether the model tested is stable enough over a number of different statistical indices. Byrne (2010) outlines a large number of these indices, but for this study I focused on the indices that Taguchi et al (2009) used for their study as I was seeking to replicate their study in a different context. In terms of Goodness of Fit (**GFI**) index, the figure for foreign English teachers in Japan was **0.749**, while the (**AGFI**) Adjusted Goodness of Fit was **0.707**. Byrne, (2010, p. 77) outlines these appropriate statistics for these indices are 0.90-1.00. The Comparative Fit Index (**CFI**) for the model was **.803**, which again did not reach the optimal level of 0.90 to 1.00 (Byrne, p.78). The final significant Goodness of Fit statistic is the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (**RMSEA**), where levels between 0.05 and 0.08 have been suggested as appropriate by Browne and Cudeck (in Byrne, 2010, p. 80) while others such as MacCullum et al (in Byrne, 2010, p. 80) suggest that over 0.08 suggested "mediocre fit". The figure for foreign English teachers in Japan was **0.078**, which suggested on this index, the data fits the model. I attempted to reach further levels of Goodness of Fit

statistics through further model fitting, but I could not increase the levels. This suggests that the L2 Motivational Self Model did not fit the Motivational Selves of foreign English teachers in Japan to the same level as Taguchi et al (2009) were able to fit the Japanese, Chinese and Iranian data sets.

Table 7.15 Goodness of Fitness statistics for Foreign English teachers in Japan. N=227

Indices	
CMIN (X2)	**1247.112**
GFI	**0.749**
AGFI	**0.707**
PGFI	**0.642**
NFI	**0.702**
CFI	**0.803**
RMSEA	**0.076**

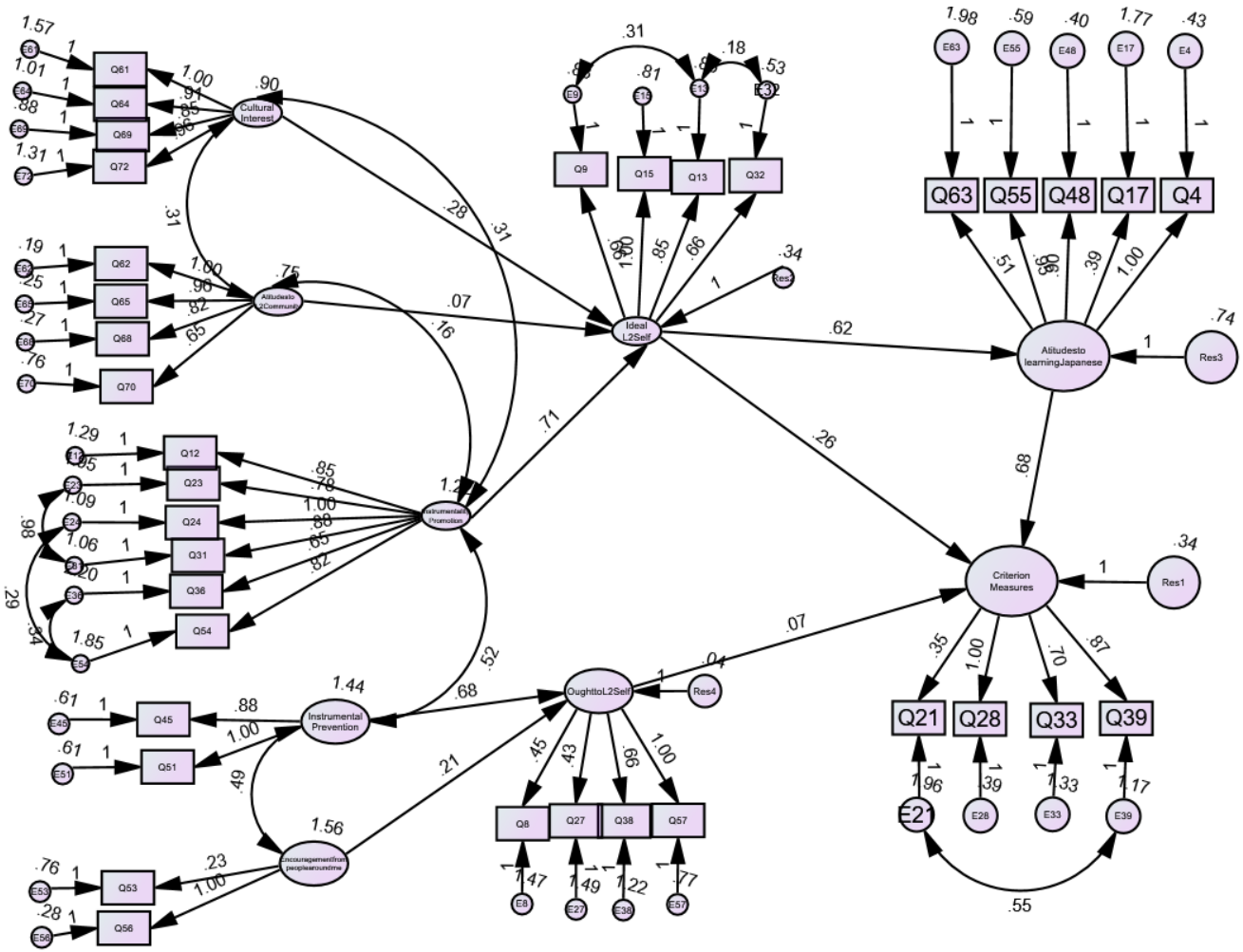

Figure 7.1: Full structural model with standardised estimates for foreign English teachers in Japan.
Note: N= 227. All path coefficients are significant at p <0.001.

One of the primary research questions that was outlined in the literature review was to discover whether Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self-system accounts for the language learning motivations of foreign English teachers in Japan. One major conclusion from the SEM analysis was that there were issues with the model fit that meant the data collected from foreign English teachers in Japan learning Japanese did not have the same level of fit as Taguchi et al (2009) found in their data sets. Despite these model fit issues, I believe that the Structural Model that is derived from the data collected from foreign English teachers can give us some important indications of whether the L2 Motivational Self-system accounts for the motivation of the foreign English teachers in Japan.

Looking at the coefficients from the data of foreign English teachers in Japan, there are some differences in the strengths of various components of the L2 Motivational self-system for this group. The findings of interest were the relationships between the *Ought-to L2 Self* and the *Instrumentality-prevention* and *Encouragement around me* factors. Also, the interrelationship between the *Ideal L2 Self*, *Instrumentality-promotion*, *Cultural Interest* and *Attitudes to L2 community* provided some important insights. Finally, the interrelationship of the *Ideal L2 Self*, *Attitude to learning Japanese* and the *Criterion Measures* components shows the power of the learning experience component of the L2 Motivational Self system in the context of foreign English teachers in Japan.

7.3.3 Interrelationship of the Ideal L2 Self, Instrumentality-Promotion, Cultural Interest and Attitudes to L2 Community variables

Taguchi et al (2009, p. 84) found that within the data collected in the Japanese context, the impact of *Attitudes to L2 Culture and Community* (0.53) on the *Ideal L2 Self* was twice as strong as the impact of *Instrumentality-promotion* (0.28). However, in the Chinese and Iranian contexts, the impacts of these two constructs were almost equal (China: 0.37 and 0.45 and Iran: 0.46 and 0.47). They signify that in Chinese and Iranian contexts, the *Ideal L2 Self* was "fully fledged and rounded in terms of being both personally agreeable and professional successful" (Taguchi, Magid and Papi, 2009, p. 85). They see this reflected in the higher mean scores on the *Criterion Measures* for Chinese and Iranian data sets (China: 4.38 and Iran: 4.69) as well as having as more "salient Ideal L2 Self" compared to Japan (4.78 and 4.74 in contrast to 3.62). Taguchi et al (2009, p.86) see the data from the Japanese as reflected in the contradictions between the Motivational selves of Japanese learners of English: "the Japanese think that they

need to study English in order to obtain a job, but their idealised English self is not strongly linked with a professionally successful self".

For the structural model of the foreign English teachers in Japan, I divided the *Attitudes to L2 Culture and Community* into its original constituted factors of *Attitudes to L2 community* and *Cultural Interest*. For foreign English teachers, there was a stronger influence on the *Ideal L2 Self* from the *Instrumentality-promotion* than from the *Cultural interest* and *Attitudes to L2 community* (0.71 as opposed to .28 and .07). The mean scores of criterion measures showed that the English teachers were motivated learners (Mean 3.89) while they had salient Ideal L2 selves (4.48) and enjoyed learning Japanese, according to the mean score of the attitudes to learning Japanese factor (4.11).

Looking at the questions related to the *Instrumentality-promotion* in more detail, they are attached to concepts such as living long term in Japan **(Q23, Q31)**, gaining a new job or promotion in the workplace **(Q24, Q54, Q36)** or social respect **(Q12)**. In contrast to the learners surveyed by Taguchi et al (2009), as foreign English teachers are migrants in Japan these learners are more likely to be motivated by factors that directly influence their lives as migrants in Japan, hence the strength of Instrumentality-promotion on the *Ideal L2 Self*. This has some important implications for the Ideal L2 Selves of foreign English teachers in Japan because English teachers are migrants learning the language in L2 dominant settings. The factors *Attitudes to L2 Community* and *Cultural Interest* play less of a role in the Ideal L2 Selves of English teachers in Japan, as they are concerned more with social aspects of the lives of teachers in Japan, so there is an imbalance in the Ideal L2 Selves of English teachers in Japan. So, for foreign English teachers in Japan, learning Japanese is part of building a life in Japan and being successful in the professional sphere in Japan. Indeed, as outlined in the next section, the instrumentality-prevention also has a powerful impact on the *Ought-to L2 Self*.

7.3.4 Interrelationship between the Ought-to L2 Self and the Instrumentality (prevention) and Encouragement around me factors

For English teachers in Japan, the *Instrumentality-prevention* factor had a greater impact on the *Ought-to L2 Self* than the *Encouragement from people around me* factor. In their correlational analysis, Taguchi et al (2009), combined the *Ought-to L2 Self* and the *Family Influence* factors but I chose not to follow this as I believe English teachers are migrants without the same type of family influences around them. For the Japanese,

Chinese and Iranian data sets, only in the Japan data was there a stronger influence of instrumentality-prevention than the family influence factor on the Ought-to L2 Self, this difference was only small (0.54 and 0.50). However, for foreign English teachers in Japan, the relationship between the *Ought-to L2 Self* and *Instrumentality-prevention* was stronger (0.68), than the relationship between the *Ought-to L2 Self* and *Encouragement from people around me* (0.21). Interestingly the mean scores for the *Encouragement around me* factor were weak at 2.96, with **Q53** regarding employer pressure being particularly low at 1.96, showing that there was less influence from employers and the people around English teachers to learn and use Japanese.

The mean for the questionnaire items dealing with the *Instrumentality-prevention factor* was higher at 3.81 than those of the *Encouragement from people around me factor,* 2.91. This perhaps indicates that the Ought-to L2 Selves of foreign English teachers are not driven by encouragement of communities around them and their employers but by the social respect that being seen as someone who is learning and using Japanese affords as well as the impact learning Japanese could have on their access to better employment. These findings combined with the position of English teachers in Japan, with little pressure to learn or communicate in Japanese, demonstrate that the motivational selves of these teachers differ from the samples explored in Taguchi et al (2009).

7.3.5 Interrelationship of the Ideal L2 Self, Attitudes to learning Japanese and the Criterion Measures.

Taguchi et al (2009) found that the *Ideal L2 Self* influences the criterion measures directly and indirectly through the *Attitudes to learning English* factor. For their data sets, for Japan and Iran the indirect route was stronger than the direct route while the Chinese data showed these two aspects to be balanced. Taguchi et al (2009, p87) took this to suggest that in China “enjoyment does not play a decisive role in learning English” so the “classroom experience is far less important for them than for the Japanese and Iranian students”. For foreign English teachers in Japan, there is a stronger influence from the indirect route through the *Attitudes to learning Japanese* factor (0.68) than through the direct influence of the *Ideal L2 Self* on the criterion measures (0.26). Similar to the Iranian and Japanese data groups in Taguchi et al (2009), this suggests enjoyment plays an important role in learning Japanese for these teachers, suggesting that the L2 Learning Experience plays a significant role in the Japanese language learning of foreign English teachers.

7.4 Conclusion

The goal of the *L2 Motivational Self* survey was to help determine whether Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System can account for the motivations of foreign English teachers in Japan. Examining the responses of the 227 participants using SPSS statistical analysis and Structural Equational Modelling leads to several conclusions about whether the L2 Motivational Self System can account for the motivations of foreign English teachers in Japan and about how these teachers motivate themselves to learn Japanese.

There were two issues with the statistical analysis of the foreign English teachers' responses. Two factors, *Ethnocentrism* and *Integrativeness*, did not reach the levels required of Cronbach Alpha Coefficients according to Dörnyei and Csizér (2012). This suggests that these factors, especially Ethnocentrism, need to be revised in future L2 Motivational Self Surveys to make sure these factors are more internally consistent and relevant to migrant language learners or they need to be removed from future surveys. Turning to the Structural Equation Modelling analysis, while I was able to fit the data provided by foreign English teachers to Dörnyei's L2 Motivation Self System, there were issues with the Goodness of Fit (GFI) statistics. This meant that during the model fitting process, I was not able to reliably fit the questionnaire data from foreign English teachers to the L2 Motivational Self system. Examining the Goodness of Fit statistics, we can see that the GFI (07.49) and AGFI (0.707) did not reach the levels outlined by Byrne (2010). Despite these issues, I have outlined below tentative conclusions from both the correlational and SEM analysis.

The survey responses from foreign English teachers show that there were similar findings regarding the motivations of foreign English teachers in Japan to the data collected by Taguchi et al (2009). For foreign English teachers, the *Ideal L2 Self* can be equated with *Integrativeness* similar to the Japanese, Chinese and Iranian data sets of Taguchi et al (2009). More significantly, for foreign English teachers in Japan there was a strong influence from *Instrumentality-prevention* on the *Ideal L2 Self.* Looking at the question items that make up the *Instrumentality-prevention* factor, these questions relate to avoiding negative associations of not being able to communicate in Japanese, as a potential impact that not speaking Japanese would have on a learner's career in Japan. This suggests that the Ideal L2 selves of foreign English teachers were linked with

building a successful life in Japan through building a career, gaining social respect and avoiding the negative associations of not being able to speak Japanese.

For foreign English teachers who took part in this survey, there was a stronger influence from *Instrumentality-promotion* on *Ideal L2 Self* than the *Attitudes to L2 community* and *Cultural interest* factors. This is perhaps because for these learners, the motivation to build lives in Japan is stronger than their cultural interest in learning Japanese. *Instrumentality-prevention* has a stronger influence on the *Ought-to L2 Self* than the *Encouragement from people around me* factor. This shows that these learners are not influenced by those around them to learn Japanese but are more influenced by the social respect that learning Japanese affords through being able to communicate and being seen as someone who is willing to communicate in Japanese. The third conclusion from the SEM Structural model is that for foreign English teachers in Japan, *Attitudes to Learning Japanese* played a strong role in the motivation of foreign English teachers learning Japanese. This shows that for foreign English teachers who took part in this study, the L2 Learning Experience has played a significant role in their Japanese learning.

Reflecting critically on the process of collecting data for the L2 Motivational Self survey, feedback from survey respondents shows some of the shortcomings of these types of questionnaires. I received a large amount of feedback with much of the feedback being developmental, pointing out small errors I had made in the construction of the survey while others praised the survey. However, the strongest feedback I received was negative in tone, including Facebook comments and emails sent directly to my institutional email address. One comment perhaps best reflects this:

> ***"For example, asking questions about attitudes towards studying Japanese is a reasonable thing to do, but asking new learners the same questions that you ask those who have spent many years learning is not a sensible strategy. The question may be the same, but the responses will be addressing completely different constructs. For instance for the former to say, 'I feel nervous speaking to Japanese speakers' might be quite unremarkable (for any language learner), but for someone who has lived in Japan for 20 years, as I have, to say the same would be almost pathological."***

Reflecting on comments like these and the stability issues I had with the SEM structural model when replicating Taguchi et al's (2009) study raises important issues about the

ability of attitudinal surveys to fully encapsulate the motivations of English teachers in Japan. I examined the L2 Motivational Self System in both a context and with a group of learners that are vastly different to the usual type of learners and languages previously explored in L2 Motivational research. As Duff (2017, p. 599) notes "(The) post-structural, situational, and performative notions of identities, selves, and motivations in interaction with, and very much a product of their social world (e.g., Kramsch, 2009)", provided a much more detailed and nuanced portrait of learners than the snapshots provided by the type of attitudinal survey that I carried out in this survey, as noted by the participant's feedback above. Given the detailed and nuanced portraits of English teacher learning Japanese I outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, I believe the results of this survey show that the Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System does not give a full account of the motivations of foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan.

Chapter 8: Discussion

In this chapter, I bring the three data sets together to discuss more broadly how foreign English teachers learn Japanese in Japan. Despite at times struggling to find participants for each data set due to the lack of institutional access, by the time I finished my study I had exceeded my goal for the number of participants for each data set. As demonstrated by Table 8.1, my research design allowed me to look at the language of foreign English teachers both in detail, using the qualitative data sets provided by the Diary Study and Linguistic Biographies, and more broadly in the qualitative L2 Motivational Self Survey.

In generating a large volume of qualitative data and using an exploratory approach to analysing this data, there were significant challenges during the data analysis. However, I believe that the themes I outline in this chapter provide a rich and full picture of how foreign English teachers learn Japanese in Japan which contributes to our understanding of both how migrants learn the language of the country they migrate to and the role motivation plays in this learning. In this chapter, I compare the three data sets across 3 themes: Japanese learning and use, the influence of communities and the motivational selves of foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan.

Table 8.1: A breakdown of the Data Collection Methods and Participant Details

Data Set	Type of participants	Data Collection Device	Participants
Diary Study	**Foreign English teachers who had been in Japan for less than 12 months.**	**Weekly Learning Diaries and Monthly Semi-structured Interviews.**	**9**
Linguistic Biographies	**Foreign English teachers who had been in Japan for more than 5 years.**	**2 Semi-structured Interviews.**	**13**
L2 Motivational Self Survey	**Foreign English teachers who came to Japan to work as English teachers and still work as English teachers.**	**Attitudinal Online Survey.**	**227**

8.1 Learning Japanese in Japan as a foreign English teacher

In recent years, there have been renewed calls for SLA research to account for the influence of contextual and ecological influences on language learning in greater detail. Ushioda (2016) has proposed examining language learning through “a small lens” to provide more contextual details about language learning to give a full account of language learning motivation, while the Douglas Fir Group (2016) also identified that SLA research needs to focus more on ecological and contextual influences. In applying this small lens to these teachers’ Japanese learning, I found that the influences on language learning were not limited to each learner’s own motivation, the learning choices they made and learning behaviours they adopted. Being a foreign English teacher in Japan meant these learners had to manage their Japanese learning amid broader ideologies about foreigners in general and English teachers in Japan in particular. In the following section I describe how this context influenced three areas of foreign English teachers in Japan’s Japanese learning and use: their Japanese learning and use, communities in which they invested in Japan and their L2 motivational selves.

8.1.1 Japanese learning and use: weathering the ecological storm

The broader ideology in Japan that saw foreign English teachers as temporary visitors to Japan influenced how these teachers in both qualitative data sets learned Japanese as soon as they arrived in Japan. Only nine out of twenty-two teachers were offered Japanese learning supported by their employers in this study - the six JET Programme teachers and Wendy from the Diary Study and Lucy and Charlie in the Linguistic Biographies. This meant each English teacher was immediately faced with choices about how to study Japanese and find opportunities to use Japanese. In practical terms this meant each one had to develop self-study approaches and seek out Japanese lessons. While some teachers attended Japanese lessons and self-studied Japanese for extended periods, other teachers struggled to manage and self-regulate their Japanese study. For all teachers in the study, managing Japanese learning alongside living and working in Japan as an English teacher was challenging because of the ecological influence of their lives as foreign English teachers in Japan.

The primary main ecological influence on both groups of teachers’ Japanese learning and use was the lived experienced of being an English teacher in Japan. Casanave (2012, p.647), in the same context as these teachers, describes the ecological influences

on her Japanese learning as “the psychological, biochemical, and emotional influence on my own efforts because these interacted with my immediate environment”. The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p.40) define ecology of a learner as “fair and credible representations of the possibilities and constraints faced by L2 learners in their social world on all levels of activity and across time spans”. By combining data from both newly arrived and long-term teachers, I found that the ecological influences began almost immediately when these teachers arrived in Japan and became more complex and powerful as these teachers built lives in Japan.

In the Diary Study, I tracked how nine newly arrived teachers learned and used Japanese over a six-month period. Apart from Alice and Scott, all the Diary Study teachers had fixed Japanese goals that were often related to reaching a conversation level of Japanese. As these teachers had to self-direct their Japanese learning, many of these newly arrived teachers tried to recreate the classroom environment by combining a wide variety of methods including classes, resources and learning approaches. However, all the teachers struggled to maintain consistent Japanese study and experienced periods of disengagement from Japanese study. Norton and Kanno (2003) have outlined how imagined communities can influence language learning in the Digital Era and for these teachers the internet functioned as an ‘imagined classroom’ where they searched for the best approach for studying Japanese. In this search for the best approach to studying Japanese, these teachers often switched from class to class, approach to approach and application to application as they sought ‘fixes’ for their Japanese learning. This meant many of the teachers constantly questioned their approach to learning Japanese and disengaged from Japanese study as they struggled to manage these language learning resources.

For the newly arrived teachers, the ecological influences on their Japanese engagement sprang from the process of each teacher becoming accustomed to living and working in Japan. These included fatigue from working full-time, their other interests and commitments in their lives and dealing with living on their own in a foreign country for the first time. In addition, the teachers who actively invested in communities in Japan such as Dalia, Patricia and Wendy found attending community events was a tiring experience that impinged on their time for Japanese study while Nick experienced anxiety when trying to push himself to go to bars where he could speak Japanese. The combination of self-directing Japanese learning and ecological pressures led to the majority of these

teachers suffering from periods of demotivated learning as they struggled to manage language learning. Two teachers, Nick and Sarah, specifically experienced mental health issues from managing their Japanese learning and Patricia most clearly outlines the choices these newly arrived teachers had to make about their Japanese study: “At this point, I feel like I’m having to choose between taking care of myself or working on my Japanese”.

For the Linguistic Biographies section of this study, I interviewed thirteen long-term teachers to investigate how they learned and used Japanese over their time in Japan. Similar to the newly arrived teachers, these long-term teachers learned Japanese through a combination of Japanese lessons, self-study materials and by engaging with individuals and communities they encountered. I identified two types of learners amongst the long-term teachers, Stable Learners and Fluctuating Learners. The Stable Learners were Harry, Sophia, Ed, Bonnie, John and Charlie. These teachers all started learning Japanese early on in their time in Japan and continued to engage with Japanese throughout their time in Japan. The Stable learners often took both private and group Japanese classes with teachers for sustained periods alongside proactively engaging with learning outside of the classroom. This group made specific choices about the groups and individuals they socialised with, which they identify as helping their Japanese engagement. The Fluctuating Learners were Pam, Nigel, Lucy, Gary, Paul, Adrian and Mark. This group of learners were either slow to take formal Japanese classes or could not sustain Japanese learning over longer periods. In addition, these learners did not develop the same level of self-directed learning behaviours outside of any classes and did not engage with broader communities. Their Japanese engagement was characterised by periods of engaged study interspersed with disengagement from Japanese study.

For the long-term teachers, ecological influences increased as they built lives in Japan. Commitments to professional development, marriage and raising children all impinged on the time they had for Japanese study and decreased the opportunities they had to use Japanese. Being a partner or parent significantly influenced how much time and financial resources these teachers could devote to Japanese learning while the female teachers who were married, like Sarah and Pam, felt there was an expectation on them to take care of the household. For Lucy, financial constraints, time pressures and raising her daughter bilingually meant Lucy could never attend organised Japanese classes or

find the time to study Japanese. For the male teachers, apart from Harry, there was an onus on them to raise their children bilingually which meant they used English in the home which both put pressure on their relationships with their children and denied them the opportunity to use Japanese in the safe environment of the home.

While Casanave (2012) detailed the ecological pressures she felt as a long-term English teacher in Japan, examining these long-term teachers in Japan allowed me to identify that as these teachers built lives in Japan they invested in professional selves instead of learning Japanese. Appleby (2013, 2015, 2016) identified that in reaction to the image of English teaching as a transitory position in Japan with a dubious reputation, English teachers in Japan often develop professional selves to combat this. For the long-term teachers in this study, developing their professional selves was prompted by the economic commitments that came from becoming a long-term migrant in Japan. To secure more stable and well-paid employment, teachers from both groups of learners often switched from working in commercial language schools to working in the secondary and higher education sectors. To do this, these teachers had to invest in professional academic and teaching qualifications, reducing the time, energy and finances they had for Japanese learning. Significantly for the Stable Learners, they were often more resilient to these ecological influences on their Japanese learning because of the stronger bond they built with Japanese. As long-term residents of Japan, each teacher's experience reflects that their engagement with Japanese was in a constant state of construction throughout their time in Japan. While the Stable Learners developed consistent learning behaviours and often reached high levels of Japanese proficiency, they describe their learning as never being finished and they experienced periods of disengagement from Japanese study. For the Fluctuating Learners, their relationship with Japanese was also not fixed as they still had ambitions to improve their Japanese but struggled to find ways to do this.

Looking at these two different groups of learners shows how the lived reality of these learners' lives impacted on their Japanese engagement. While newly arrived teachers such as Georgina and long-term teachers such as Pam had Ideal L2 Selves based around specific Japanese learning goals, it was a struggle for them to develop the learning behaviours and find classes that would enable them to develop constant approaches to studying Japanese. By applying Ushioda's small lens to these teachers' experience, we can see how self-directed learning can be difficult for learners to manage

both on a short-term and long-term basis and that the Japanese engagement of these teachers was not fixed. The experiences of both groups of teachers show how important it was for these teachers to exercise agency about their own learning, so they could recalibrate their approach to learning and using Japanese like Alice in Kinginger (2004).

Both the newly arrived teachers and the long-term teachers shaped their own learning by the decisions they made about their Japanese. Mori et al (2021, p.107) have identified that L2 Japanese research needs to identify how to create "a virtuous circle of self-confidence and successful learning in L2 Instruction". For both the newly arrived teachers and the long-term teachers, this circle was created by those teachers who were able to match Japanese learning with opportunities to use Japanese, enabling to them to sustain Japanese learning in the short and long-term. Those teachers who did not have access to Japanese communities or had issues with developing and sustaining Japanese learning behaviours, struggled to stay engaged with Japanese on a short-term and long-term basis.

8.1.2 Communities: investing in and invested in

The relationships and friendships that both sets of teachers forged in Japan played a vital role in the Japanese learning and use of these foreign English teachers. Mirroring how Simon-Maeda (2011) identified interactions in three broad spheres as being influential on her Japanese engagement, for the teachers in this study, romantic relationships, individual friendships, work colleagues and social groups provided communities of practice for Japanese use and influenced each teacher's ability to sustain Japanese study throughout their time in Japan. Building these communities of practice was influenced by the environment in which each teacher was placed, the attitude of individuals and communities towards using Japanese with each teacher, the strength of communities of other English speakers and the broader way in which English speakers were viewed in Japan. Similar to the fluctuations they experienced with Japanese learning, involvement with these groups and individuals fluctuated throughout each teacher's time in Japan depending on the ecological realities of their lives in Japan as well their relationships and friendships at the time.

For the newly arrived teachers, there was a major link between the community each teacher lived in and their ability to sustain Japanese engagement. Within the Diary Study, there were two groups of teachers: Rural Teachers and Urban and Suburban Teachers.

Alice, Dalia and Patricia were all placed by the JET Programme in small rural towns where they had prominent and visible positions in their communities. Despite McConnell (2000, p.103-104) finding that JET Programme teachers are seen as “temporary outsiders” in the communities they are placed in, the Rural Teachers were able to build links with individuals and communities around them, who in turn encouraged them to use Japanese. The Rural Teachers actively invested in their local communities by attending community events, joining local clubs, and pushing themselves to use Japanese.

The Urban and Suburban Teachers (Georgina, Mike, Nick, Sarah, Scott and Wendy) lived in cities or suburbs, which meant they had less visible roles in their communities and consequently less access to communities of practice. In addition, there were strong English-speaking communities in their areas, meaning these teachers often socialised in English because of the cultural connections and shared experience they felt with other English speakers. This mirrors the experience of Carlos in Block’s 2012 study and the Korean students learning English in Shin (2014), who both found that in experiencing marginalisation as migrants, they sought bonds with communities of people with similar backgrounds to them. These communities of other English speakers allowed the newly arrived teachers to share their experiences of learning Japanese and see examples of possible selves in teachers in these communities who had achieved high levels of Japanese. One unexpected effect of this was that the newly arrived teachers often compared their Japanese progress and their personal behaviours to other teachers they encountered. This caused anxiety if they were not making the same level of progress or not replicating the behaviours of these successful learners. As a result of the absence of the facilitative communities of Japanese speakers for the Urban and Suburban Teachers, these teachers often describe struggling to retain the language they were learning.

Similar to the newly arrived teachers, communities played a major role in the Japanese engagement of the long-term teachers. Each teacher had to build their own communities in Japan and these efforts were influenced by the areas where the teacher was placed, introductions by their friends and employers and the choices they made about their romantic and social lives. When Harry, Bonnie and John arrived in Japan, communities of Japanese speakers were available to them through previous personal connections or introductions by employers or friends. The Stable Learners actively pursued contact with Japanese speakers by joining musical events (Bonnie), living in a shared house (Charlie) going to bars (Ed) and being involved in a wide variety of communities (Harry). In addition,

Harry, Ed and Sophia had relationships where they communicated with their partners in Japanese. In contrast, the Fluctuating Learners did not build the same levels of connections as they tended to use Japanese with individuals and they did not build links with broader communities of Japanese speakers.

Communities of other English teachers functioned as a social community and a network for professional opportunities, but several teachers explicitly avoided these communities to maximise their opportunities to use Japanese. Romantic relationships and raising children were also influenced by the linguistic capital that English had in Japan. Apart from Ed, Harry and Sarah, the long-term teachers in this study had relationships with Japanese partners in English because of issues with partners acting as facilitative Japanese language partners and the value of English. Aside from Harry, the teachers with children (Ed, Lucy, Mark, Adrian, John) all spoke English with their children to transfer their linguistic capital as English speakers to their children. This, combined with a professional life where they taught English, meant the lives of many of these long-term teachers were dominated by English outside of the workplace.

Both McConnell (2000) and Hawley Nagatomo (2016) have outlined how the ambiguous position of English teachers in Japan influences how these teachers are viewed in the workplace. This ambiguity existed in the broader lives of foreign English teachers in this study and influenced how each teacher engaged with Japanese communities of practice. Building communities of practice in Japanese was not a simple task as it was influenced by each teacher's own agency, the strength of communities of other English teachers in Japan and even luck in being placed in an area with easy access or being introduced to local community groups. For the newly arrived teachers in rural areas, being placed in a small town with a visible position in the community, gave them access to opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation. Similarly, the long-term teachers Bonnie and John had connections with groups of Japanese speakers before they arrived in Japan while Harry lived in a small northern Japanese town where his employers introduced him to a bar where he could practice Japanese.

For the teachers without an "in" to community, there was an onus on them to actively seek out communities of practice because they were employed as English teachers. For the newly arrived teachers working in the Japanese education system as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs), there were individual colleagues in the workplace who

engaged with these teachers by modifying their Japanese and encouraging them to use Japanese. For the long-term teachers, opportunities to use Japanese came by being involved in local communities, groups related to a shared interest as well as actively visiting bars or pubs where they could meet people and use Japanese. However, the strength of communities of other English teachers and the use of English in romantic relationships meant it was difficult for these teachers to devote themselves to actively building relationships with Japanese speakers.

Both the newly arrived and long-term teachers exercised agency about their Japanese engagement by actively seeking out communities of practice. Charlie and Wendy choose to live in shared houses to bring them into contact with Japanese people while Mark and Ed both went to bars to use Japanese. The Rural Teachers as well as Wendy, Harry, Bonnie and Ed became actively involved in local community groups while Ed, Harry and Sarah used Japanese in relationships. Involvement in these communities fluctuated over time because of the emotional effort it required, interest in English-speaking communities and changes in their personal circumstances. One newly arrived teacher, Nick, even describes how he failed on numerous occasions to visit a bar where he could speak Japanese because he lacked the confidence and self-esteem required. Building connections with communities and individuals allowed these teachers to actually use the Japanese they were studying as well as build emotional connections with Japanese people, which pushed them to study and use Japanese more. Those teachers who did not push themselves to build these connections found it difficult to sustain Japanese use on both a short-term and a long-term basis.

While the agency and investment made by these teachers was instrumental in creating opportunities for them to use Japanese, I believe that the individuals and communities that these teachers found to use Japanese with were crucial in the Japanese engagement of many of these teachers. Norton (2000) originally envisaged learners investing in their language learning to obtain symbolic capital but the experiences of both groups of teachers show the importance of how individuals and communities invested in the teachers in this study. Darvin and Norton (2015) as well as the Douglas Fir Group (2016) have both outlined how pervasive broader ideologies can be for language learners as they often determine who is included and excluded as a speaker alongside determining broader language learning policies in society. Indeed, Muramatsu (2013) in her work on a Japanese immersion programme in an American university highlighted

that this setting freed students from having to negotiate access to communities of practice and broader ideologies about foreigners in Japan. By stepping outside of these powerful broader ideologies in Japan that see non-native speakers as deficient Japanese speakers (Mori et al, 2021) and foreign teachers as temporary visitors to Japan, to directly engage with these teachers, these individuals and groups in Japan "invested" in these teachers as Japanese speakers. Therefore, for the foreign English teachers in this study, their efforts to study Japanese and actively seek out opportunities to use Japanese needed to be matched by individuals and groups who were willing to see them as legitimate Japanese speakers, modify their Japanese and encourage them to use Japanese.

To build consistent approaches to learning and using Japanese, the newly arrived teachers needed to either access to a facilitative community that gave them opportunities to use Japanese or exercise agency to change the way they engaged with Japanese. For the newly arrived teachers Dalia and Patricia, using Japanese with the groups and individuals in their towns allowed them to continue to make progress with their Japanese learning even when they disengaged with Japanese study. Alice, despite having no fixed Japanese goals and disengaging from Japanese learning by the end of the Diary Study, continued to use Japanese because the emotional connection she felt with the groups and individuals she met in her town. Two Urban and Suburban Teachers, Nick and Wendy, both exercised agency to proactively deal with the issues of finding opportunities to use Japanese. Nick decided to take private Japanese classes, while Wendy decided to move to the large city of Nagoya to live with a Japanese housemate. Nick and Wendy's choices about their learning approach and living situation respectively show how exercising agency can positively recalibrate how a learner approaches learning and using Japanese when they struggle to find opportunities to use Japanese. Similarly, for the long-term teachers, encountering facilitative communities which invested in them as Japanese speakers was significant. For the Stable Learners, this meant they were able to match their learning behaviours with opportunities to use the Japanese they were learning which meant they developed an emotional bond with Japanese. For the Fluctuating Learners, the absence of these connections meant they felt less valued as Japanese speakers, which in turn influenced how they prioritised their Japanese learning, the emotional connection they felt with Japanese and the decisions they made about their learning.

8.1.3 Competing selves: the L2 Motivational Selves of foreign English teachers in Japan

As a result of three distinct data sets that examined learning over different timeframes, I captured how the foreign English teachers in my study motivated themselves to learn Japanese. The qualitative data provided by the Diary Study and Linguistic Biographies found that each teacher did develop the type of L2 Motivational Selves that are outlined by Dörnyei (2009) but as the previous two sections show these selves were strongly influenced by the L2 Learning Experience. For the newly arrived teachers who had strongly defined Ideal L2 Selves, it was difficult for them to maintain the learning behaviours that these selves required throughout the 6 months of the Diary study. Disruptive influences on their learning included managing self-directed learning, commitments in their local communities and the commitments that came with living and working in Japan as an English teacher. Those teachers who were able to create a virtuous circle between their Ideal L2 Selves and learning behaviours did so either by being exposed to Japanese use in their communities or exercising agency to seek out opportunities for Japanese classes and opportunities to use Japanese. Dalia and Scott struggled to develop Ideal L2 Selves because of their lack of fixed Japanese goals, their decisions to leave Japan after a year and the linguistic capital English had for Scott in particular.

For the long-term teachers, their L2 Motivational selves also shifted and fluctuated, but over longer periods than the newly arrived teachers. The Stable Learners were able to match their Ideal L2 Selves with learning behaviours and pushed themselves to use Japanese with individuals and communities. For the Fluctuating Learners, some teachers were able to match developed Ideal L2 Selves with learning behaviours over short periods while others built motivation selves more on their Ought-to L2 Selves, adopting learning behaviours in reaction to negative experiences using Japanese. However, for the Fluctuating Learners, adopting the learning behaviours required by their L2 Motivational Selves for extended periods was more problematic. For both groups, building lives in Japan meant any periods of Japanese engagement were influenced by ecological influences and commitments that came with becoming a long-term resident of Japan. Becoming a long-term English teacher in Japan meant many of these teachers had to re-evaluate the value of Japanese learning for them. Broader Ideologies in Japan about the English language and a lack of access to employment where these teachers

could use Japanese, meant symbolic capital that derived from gaining further teaching qualifications resulted in many of these teachers investing in their Professional Selves instead of Japanese learning over time.

The findings from the L2 Motivational Self Survey further emphasise the impact of contextual and ecological influences on the L2 Motivational Selves of foreign English teachers in Japan. I conducted a L2 Motivational Self Survey of 227 foreign English teachers to investigate the motivational selves of foreign English teachers. To do this I adapted the L2 Motivational Self Survey developed by Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009), that was originally carried out to confirm the theoretical validity of the L2 Motivational Self System. First, it is important to note two issues that I encountered during the data analysis process. The first was that the Cronbach Alpha Co-efficients for two of the factors, Ethnocentrism and Integrativeness, did not have the levels of internal consistency as recommended by Dörnyei and Csizér (2012). This suggests that these factors, particularly Ethnocentrism, need to be revised or removed to make them more appropriate for migrant language learners. The second issue was with the Structural Equational Modelling, where I could not fit the data to the L2 Motivational Self Model because it did not reach the recommended Goodness of Fit levels as outlined by Byrne (2010). This suggests that L2 Motivational Self Surveys need to be revised in future for use with learners like those in this study.

Despite these issues, there are several interesting conclusions from the analysis of the L2 Motivational Self Survey. The initial SPSS data analysis of the L2 Motivational Self Survey showed that like Taguchi et al (2009), for foreign English teachers, the Ideal L2 Self can be equated with *Integrativeness*. This indicates that for foreign English teachers in Japan, the Ideal L2 Self is a powerful motivator. In addition, there was a stronger influence from *Instrumentality-prevention* on the Ideal L2 Self than in Taguchi et al (2009). This suggests that for foreign English teachers in Japan, the Ideal L2 Self is related to building a successful life in Japan, gaining social respect and avoiding the negative associations of not being able to speak Japanese.

The Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) analysis of the L2 Motivational Self Survey data provided three important conclusions about the L2 Motivational Selves of foreign English teachers. Firstly, for foreign English teachers there is a stronger influence from the *Instrumentality-promotion* factor on Ideal L2 Self than from the *Attitudes to L2*

community and *Cultural interest factors*. This implies that for English teachers in Japan, learning Japanese gave them linguistic capital in Japan, as it allows them to potentially access better employment opportunities as they build lives in Japan, rather than studying in L1 settings as participants in Taguchi et al (2009). The SEM model found that *instrumentality-prevention* has a stronger influence on the Ought-to L2 Self than the *encouragement from people around me* factor, suggesting that foreign English teachers feel less external pressure to learn Japanese from people around them but are motivated by the social respect that using Japanese gives them and the pressure to be seen as someone who is willing to communicate in Japan. Interestingly the third finding was that Attitudes to learning Japanese played a strong role in the motivation of foreign English teachers learning Japanese indicating the L2 Learning Experience has played a significant role in their Japanese learning.

Looking at three data sets collectively raises important questions about whether L2 Motivational Self Surveys are versatile enough to investigate the motivational selves of learners outside higher education contexts. The feedback I received about the survey not being suitable for long-term Japanese learners from respondents, the instability of SEM model, and the detailed and varied experiences of learners in the qualitative data sets led me to believe that further evaluation of the way we capture L2 Motivation is needed. This echoes the concerns of Duff (2017, p. 599) of whether the L2 Motivational Surveys can really capture the motivations of learning that takes place in each learner's "social world" and shows that these three data sets as a whole give a much richer and deeper picture of language learning motivation than if I had just utilised one data collection device.

The importance of communities in the Japanese learning of the newly arrived and long-term teachers, as well as the lack of influence of the 'encouragement from people around me' factor on the L2 Motivational Self, suggest strongly that the connections formed between teachers and individuals and communities in Japan played an influential role in the Japanese engagement of these teachers. This mirrors the findings of Macintyre et al (2017, p. 501), who found that how for heritage Gaelic learners in Canada, their L2 selves were influenced by what they term the rooted L2 self, in which their Motivational Selves were "defined by connections to place and speakers of the language". Similarly, for the teachers in my study who formed emotional connections with the individuals and communities where Japanese was used, it created a powerful motivational self that

drove each learner to keep studying or using Japanese. In contrast, the absence of these connections for both the newly arrived and long-term teachers contributed to the inability to sustain Japanese learning or their disengagement from Japanese. The links between motivational selves and communities when learning Japanese is an area that both Kurata (2015) and Mori et al (2021) identified as being insufficiently explored in a Japanese context.

By combining a L2 Motivational survey with two qualitative data collection devices to examine a previously under-researched group and context, this study has provided a more complete picture of language learning motivation than previous studies as well as examining how the context of Japan influences motivational change that Mori et al (2021) called for in L2 Japanese Research. Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System can indeed be applied to the motivations of the participants in all three data sets while the Ideal L2 Self captured the motivations of the teachers who engaged with Japanese study. However, I believe that the experiences of these teachers and the survey data demonstrate that Dörnyei's L2 Motional Self System does not account for the importance of the L2 Learning Experience and particularly the myriad of contextual influences that impacted on the foreign English teachers in this study. The influence of ecological factors, Japan as a context for learning Japanese and being a foreign English teacher in Japan meant each teacher had to make proactive choices not just about how they learned Japanese, but also about how they socialised, dated and even raised children if they were to develop into a proficient Japanese speaker.

8.2 This researcher's Journey.

As I outlined in Chapter 4, I came to this study as a member of the group I was researching and by interacting with English teachers in my research, I was forced to examine my own relationship with Japanese. I found that my estimation of my Japanese proficiency was overly generous and to build a working relationship with Japanese similar to the Stable Learners group of long-term teachers, I needed to adjust my approach to learning and using Japanese. The first adjustment I made was to adopt some of the learning behaviours of my participants into my own Japanese study approach. As I neared the end of the data collection, I decided to make a financial and time investment in formal Japanese classes, like the more successful teachers in my study and have been taking Japanese lessons since July 2018. I have now emulated

many of the learning behaviours that the engaged, long-term Japanese learners adopted. In addition, while completing this research project, I returned to work in Japan in the Japanese higher education sector in 2020. In looking for an academic position in Japan, I had to negotiate similar issues to the participants in my study. Managing a full-time PhD, teaching, and studying Japanese exposed me to the same contextual and ecological influences that my participants felt. I found that the self-regulation techniques and knowledge I gained from my research were vital in helping me complete this study. Interestingly, several of the participants in the Diary Study and Linguistic Biographies outlined how taking part in this research project also helped them track their language learning and reflect critically on their Japanese learning and use.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This study has investigated how foreign English teachers in Japan learn Japanese while they live and work in Japan. I collected data from three distinct sources, a Diary Study with newly arrived teachers, a set of Linguistic Biographies compiled from the experiences of long-term English teachers and an L2 Motivational Self Survey with the participants drawn from across the different sectors of English teachers in Japan. Using an exploratory framework to analyse the qualitative data, this study found links between fluctuations in learner's motivations and events and changes in each learner's lives. It examined whether Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self system can account for the motivations of foreign English teachers in Japan. For English teachers in Japan, three important factors influenced their language learning: the learning experience itself, each learner's own agency and their access to facilitative communities where they could use Japanese. In this final chapter, I outline the broader conclusions of my study, looking specifically at my original research questions as well as how my research fits more broadly in the wider field of Second Language Acquisition research.

9.1 Research Question 1: How do English teachers learn Japanese in Japan?

To answer the first of my research questions, I draw on the experiences of the newly arrived and long-term teachers in Japan. I tracked the Japanese learning of nine English teachers who had been in Japan for less than one year using a Diary Study, which consisted of the participants writing weekly language learning diaries and taking part in monthly interviews about their language learning over six months. To examine the language learning of long-term Japanese learners, teachers who had been in Japan for over 5 years, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 13 teachers. I then examined both data sets separately using an exploratory thematic data analysis approach. When these teachers arrived in Japan to teach English, there was little institutional support for their Japanese learning from their employers, so their Japanese learning and use took place against a broader context in Japan that saw foreign English teachers as temporary visitors to Japan who were primarily valued for their English-speaking ability. This meant the onus was on both groups of teachers to seek out opportunities to learn and use Japanese.

While all the teachers in this study engaged with Japanese during their time in Japan, there were wide variations in the way each participant approached and prioritised Japanese learning. A number of the newly arrived and long-term teachers proactively learned Japanese by combining Japanese classes and self-study resources while seeking out opportunities to use Japanese. A wide variety of different classes were taken by these teachers in this study: primarily free community classes, private lessons and group lessons. Outside of the classroom, teachers engaged with Japanese learning by reading authentic materials, using Kanji practice books for Japanese school children, using online resources and computer/smartphone-based learning applications. Other teachers' Japanese learning, both newly arrived and long-term, was less proactive and often either in reaction to negative communicative experiences or for specific instrumental purposes such as travelling or childbirth.

The experiences of these teachers illustrate how being an employment migrant can impact on their language learning. Having to proactively engage with Japanese meant each teacher's Japanese engagement fluctuated depending on how they valued learning Japanese at that time, their commitments as English teachers in Japan and the impact of self-directing their Japanese learning. For the newly arrived teachers, it was difficult to sustain Japanese learning as they constantly shifted their approach to Japanese learning in the search for the best method to study Japanese alongside managing other aspects of their lives in Japan. For the long-term teachers, there were two distinct approaches to Japanese engagement. The Stable Learners were proactive in their approach to Japanese learning and use as they took Japanese classes, sought out contact with Japanese speakers and studied Japanese outside of the classroom. The second group, the Fluctuating Learners, often took Japanese classes for short periods but could not sustain learning outside of the classroom and did not proactively seek out opportunities for Japanese use. As both these groups of long-term teachers spent more time in Japan, competing professional selves as well as other commitments in their lives increasingly impinged on their Japanese learning. Ultimately each teacher's agency about their Japanese learning and use as well as the connections they formed with individuals and communities determined how resilient each teacher was to fluctuations in Japanese engagement.

9.2 Research Question 2: Can fluctuations in teachers' motivation for studying Japanese be linked to specific events or changes in their lives?

There is a clear link between fluctuations in teachers' motivation for studying Japanese and events and changes in each teacher's lives in Japan, as these were related to contextual and ecological influences. By illustrating these links, I have been able to apply the "small lens" that Ushioda (2016 and 2017) called for to broaden our understanding of language learning motivation. In combining the data of the two groups of learners learning the same language over different time-spans, I detailed how the ecological and contextual factors caused fluctuations in Japanese engagement.

For the newly arrived teachers, their diaries and interviews show that fluctuations in Japanese learning were caused by them having to develop and maintain a stable approach to studying Japanese, alongside taking part in community activities, taking care of themselves in Japan when living alone for the first time, managing other commitments, and building an identity as an English teacher in Japan. The impact of this was that even motivated learners had periods of disengagement from Japanese learning and some teachers experienced mental health issues. For the long-term teachers, there was a similar link between changes and events in each teacher's life and fluctuations in motivation. Both the Stable Learner and Fluctuating Learners groups of long-term teachers experienced fluctuations in Japanese engagement and there is a sense that the Japanese learning of the long-term teachers was in a constant state of flux. Issues with classes and materials as well as reaching certain levels of Japanese often led to periods of disengagement from Japanese study, as it was hard to self-direct learning past these points. However, the biggest influence on these long-term teachers' Japanese engagement was becoming a long-term resident of Japan. As these teachers spent more time in Japan, many got married and had families who they had to support, which meant they had less time, money, and energy to devote to Japanese study and use. In particular, developing a Professional Self through taking academic and teaching qualifications in English teaching to gain access to better employment impacted on their Japanese engagement.

By examining the links between motivation and changes and events in these teachers' lives, this study found that their Japanese engagement was profoundly influenced by being an English teacher in Japan. For these teachers, learning Japanese was not just a case of simply marrying learning behaviours with developed L2 Selves. Being a migrant

in Japan, albeit with more linguistic and social capital than most other migrants, meant they had to manage their Japanese learning and use alongside a myriad of other influences. The strength of these ecological influences meant teachers could easily disengage from Japanese study or in some extreme cases never engage with Japanese study and use.

9.3 Research Question 3: Does Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System account for the motivations of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan?

By examining the Japanese learning of foreign English teachers living and working in Japan, this study took Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System and applied it to a group of learners and a language that are under-represented in L2 Motivational research, which has tended to focus on students primarily studying English at university level in L1 settings (Boo et al, 2015). By examining three distinct data sources, I found that Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System could not fully account for the motivations of English teachers in Japan. Each of the three data sets showed elements of Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System in the motivations of these teachers. Teachers in both the Diary Study and Linguistic Biographies data sets developed Ideal L2 Selves as these teachers' Japanese learning was linked to many of these learners wanting to become someone who speaks Japanese. The L2 Motivational Self Survey found that similar to Taguchi et al (2009), the Ideal L2 Self can be equated with integrativeness and was a powerful motivator for these teachers. Both the newly arrived and long-term teachers demonstrated elements of the Ought-to L2 Self, particularly the fluctuating learner group of long-term teachers, who engaged in motivated periods of Japanese learning in response to negative communication experiences. The L2 Learning Experience was visible in the influence that Japanese classes and learning materials had on the teachers in this study.

However, Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System did not capture the influence that Japan as a context for learning, connections with communities of practice and ecological factors all had on the Japanese engagement of the teachers in my study. Being a foreign English teacher in Japan meant it was not as simple as having an Ideal L2 Self and matching it with the necessary learning behaviours that would allow these teachers to reach their Ideal L2 Selves. As employment migrants who had to self-direct their own learning and proactively seek out opportunities to use Japanese, the lived experience of learning and

using Japanese alongside living and working in Japan impacted on their ability to build and sustain Japanese learning behaviours.

As Norton and Darvin (2015), the Douglas Fir Group (2016) and Ushioda (2017) have all outlined, the ideologies in a context influence how second language learners. The Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in a Multilingual World put forward by the Douglas Fir Group (2016, p.20) outlines how contexts for language learning are impacted by the presence of broader ideologies that act as “forces beyond the individual learners”. Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 43-44) define ideologies as “the dominant ways of thinking that organise and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion, and privilege and marginalisation of ideas, people and relations”. Ushioda (2017, p.471) defines how these ideologies influence the everyday lives of these learners: “we might say that macro-level socio-political ideological structures and meso-level institutional structures are exerting significant downward pressures on the micro level of social activity where language learning and interaction take place”.

For the teachers in my study, ideologies in Japan about foreigners in Japan and the value of English impacted on teachers’ motivational selves in two major ways: how they could access opportunities to use Japanese and how Japanese learning was valued. For both newly arrived and long-term teachers, the connections that each teacher made with individuals and communities gave them opportunities to use Japanese by allowing them to speak Japanese and encouraging them to use Japanese. The pivotal nature of these connections is seen in the absence of these bonds for some teachers, which meant they were not encouraged to use Japanese or did not have opportunities to use Japanese. Macintyre et al (2017, p. 501) found similar links for the Gaelic heritage language learners in Canada as their L2 Motivational Selves were a “rooted L2 Self” for these learners in which they saw themselves as part of a community of learners. The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p.28) also notes language learning is “an emotionally driven process, one that requires minimally that they be motivated to participate with others in particular contexts of action, in classrooms and society at large.” For my learners, the community and emotional connections each learner felt were crucial in how each engaged with Japanese. If a teacher found facilitative and easily accessible communities, it was easier for the teachers to maintain the language learning behaviours that were required to realise their L2 selves and sustain Japanese learning. If they did not have access to

these communities, they struggled to develop and maintain the learning behaviours that were necessary to sustain Japanese learning.

Another powerful factor that influenced the motivations of the English teachers in this study was the ideologies that exist in Japan about foreigners, Japanese learning and the English teaching industry. These teachers were seen as temporary visitors in Japan, which meant that they had to struggle against this image throughout their time in Japan. These ideologies were felt at all levels of these teachers' lives from how they were seen in the workplace to the relationships and families they built in Japan. Particularly for the long-term teachers, the value of English in Japan influenced how they valued Japanese learning and how they were valued as Japanese speakers. Despite a number of the Stable Learners group of long-term teachers reaching their Japanese goals, they found it difficult to find employment where they could use Japanese. In addition, as they became long-term residents in Japan, in order to access employment positions with more security and better conditions they had to develop their professional selves through completing professional teaching and academic qualifications. Ushioda (2017, p.471) identified that by focusing on internal (the Ideal L2 Self) and socially driven (Ought-to L2 Self) goals, the L2 Motivational Self System neglects motivations that are formulated in the context for learning. For these teachers, Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self does not account for the way their position as foreign English teachers in Japan impacted on their Japanese engagement and disrupted their motivations to study Japanese.

Dörnyei (2009) highlighted how Ideal L2 Selves only become relevant for learners when they become part of the learner's self but this study has shown how difficult this is because matching learning behaviours and Ideal L2 Selves was often disrupted by the lived experience of learning Japanese. Many of these teachers in this study experienced conflicts and ambivalence about Japanese learning and study despite having developed Ideal L2 Selves. Matching these selves with learning behaviours was disrupted by having to self-regulate their learning, while building their lives as English teachers in Japan. Echoing reservations expressed by Duff (2017, p. 599), it is difficult for Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System to capture the interplay of these teacher's learning, their motivation and the interaction with their lives and Japan as a context for learning both on a short and long-term basis.

9.4 Limitations

While this study has examined both a previously under-researched group of learners and context using a novel combination of data collection methods, there are a number of limitations to this study that are important to highlight. The limitations are related to three areas: participant selection, the data analysis and theoretical framework. Despite the long-term teachers working in the wide range of different sectors that make up the English teaching industry in Japan, the majority were based in the Tokyo area at the time of initial interview and all initially came to Japan to work for commercial language schools. This means this study lacks the perspective of long-term teachers who live in rural and urban areas outside of Tokyo as well as teachers who came to Japan to work in sectors other than commercial language schools. Due to the wide variety of sectors that these long-term teachers ended up working in, this group of teachers does represent the life trajectories of long-term English teachers in Japan as identified previously by Appleby (2013, 2015, 2016) and Hawley Nagatomo (2016). Conversely, in the Diary Study, all of the teachers worked in the Japanese school sector or in smaller commercial language schools, which meant that none of the newly arrived teachers worked for any of the larger commercial language schools that bring many foreign English teachers to Japan.

These imbalances in my participant selection reflect how disparate the foreign teacher population of Japan is. Having received only limited help from the large organisations and companies that employ teachers in Japan, I had to seek out participants. To do this, I utilised my own networks of teachers I met while teaching in Japan alongside communities of teachers that existed on Twitter and Facebook. This indicates that communities of newly arrived teachers teaching in the state sector and long-term teachers are stronger and more cohesive than communities of commercial language school teachers. By examining the Japanese learning of two groups of learners over different time periods, the narratives of Japanese language learning in this study represent the wide variety of experiences of foreign English teachers in Japan.

The second limitation to this study was my analysis of the L2 Motivational Self Survey. As a novice researcher with little experience using this instrument, I made several initial errors in formulating questions and setting up the survey, while analysing results using SPSS and AMOS SEM was also challenging. However, by using Byrne's (2010) introduction to SEM analysis, I was able to quickly build the skill set required to analyse

this data successfully which helped identify the issues that my data had when analysed in AMOS SEM. By replicating the L2 Motivational Self Survey used by Taguchi et all (2009), it was difficult for this study to go beyond the insights of their study because their survey questions are limited in their ability to measure the language learning attitudes over longer periods, which is reflected in the instability of the SEM measurement model. However, by supplementing this survey with the qualitative data from the Linguistic Biographies and Diary Study, I was able to compensate for these issues effectively and thoroughly investigate the motivational selves of foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan.

The third limitation to this study is the theoretical framework I used. By using an exploratory approach to analyse the qualitative language learning narratives of the teachers in this study, it was a struggle to manage the sheer level of data. While using NVivo to organise the initial analysis allowed me to identify salient themes in both sets of data, there are areas that I have been unable to include because of space considerations. While as Block (2007) and Ushioda (2016) note, studies of migrant language learning often neglect to include learner's actual language use in action, it was practically and ethically difficult for these teachers in this study to record their actual conversations using Japanese. However, I believe the use of the Linguistic Biographies and the Diary Study were effective in capturing the influence that conversations, relationships and events had on the Japanese learning of these teachers.

Related to this issue was whether the wider field of Second Language Acquisition had moved beyond the questions I sought to answer when I began this study. Data collection for this study began in January 2016 and concluded in early 2019 while the analysis was carried out between 2019 and 2021. In these 5 years, the field has moved forward considerably with researchers like the Douglas Fir Group (2016) calling for SLA to adopt a more trans-disciplinary approach while others like Hiver and Al-Hoorie (2016) have advocated for the Complex Dynamic Systems Theory approach to researching language learning motivation. By employing an exploratory approach to my data analysis, my research was not wedded to one theoretical construct, which meant new theoretical developments could be addressed in my data analysis. Despite these sampling, analytical and theoretical issues, by adopting an exploratory theoretical approach, employing a robust methodological design and examining different groups of learners, I

have provided a comprehensive investigation of the Japanese language learning of foreign English teachers in Japan.

9.5 What does the Japanese learning of foreign English Teachers tell us about Second Language Acquisition?

This study has examined both a previously under-researched group, educated employment migrants, and a previously underexplored context, informal Japanese learning in Japan. The findings of the research support the views of the Douglas Fir Group (2016) that SLA research needs to include a greater focus on how contextual and ecological factors influence learners. By investigating how individual teachers learn Japanese while at the same time examining more broadly the L2 Motivational Selves of foreign English teachers, this study has outlined rich and vivid accounts of language learning across time, both short-term and long-term.

The teachers in my study, as “Middling Transmigrants” (Block, 2010) drew privileged mobility from being young, English speaking and university educated which gave them access to gain employment positions in Japan with relative ease and little training. This inserted these teachers into broader ideologies in Japan about foreigners learning Japanese as well as the position of English and English teachers in Japan. Recent theoretical developments in SLA argue that ideologies influence learners in a number of ways (Douglas Fir Group (2016), Ushioda (2016, 2017) and Duff (2019)). Specifically, the Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 24) identify that the communities and institutions in a learning context reflect broader macro level ideologies which “affect the possibilities and nature of people creating social identities in terms of investment, agency and power”. Mori et al (2021) in their review of research of Japanese as a second language research, found that studies that track individual learners and focus on the influence of the context on learning and motivation were lacking. Muramatsu (2013) outlined that broader social beliefs about foreigners in Japan have the potential to influence the second language learners in Japan, particularly how they are viewed as Japanese speakers and access to communities of practice. My research not only supports the view that ideologies influence language learners, but extensively documents over different timespans the way in which these ideologies influence language learning.

Ideologies with Japan influenced the teachers in my study in three significant ways: they mediated access to communities of practice in which to use Japanese, they dictated the

support English teachers had for their Japanese learning and how Japanese learning was valued by English teachers and wider Japanese society. Finding opportunities to use Japanese was a struggle for many of these learners as building connections with Japanese was dependent either on introductions from employers, previous connections each teacher had before they arrived in Japan or the areas they were placed in. As English teachers in Japan were seen as temporary visitors by their employers, they were provided with little Japanese learning support and they had to seek out classes themselves, while the quality of Japanese classes varied. Local community classes initially offered throughout Japan, outside of further or higher education settings, were often taught by volunteers (Hatasa and Watanabe, 2017). The symbolic capital these teachers drew from being English teachers not only gave them access to employment in Japan, it also influenced friendships, romantic relationships and bringing up children. This meant the manner in each teacher valued and prioritised learning and using Japanese had to be weighed against using English in the home, using English in friendships as well as investing in professional development related to their English teaching careers. As the long-term teachers spent more time in Japan, the linguistic capital each teacher drew from being an English teacher trumped the capital they drew from Japanese learning, leading to many teachers investing in their professional selves by taking academic and teaching qualifications to give access to employment positions with better conditions and more security.

Both the newly arrived teachers and the long-term teachers felt the impact of these factors in three ways. For the newly arrived teachers, there was a constant struggle between having to manage self-directed Japanese learning and finding opportunities to use Japanese alongside the pressures of building a life in Japan and working full-time as an English teacher. The long-term teachers experienced similar conflicts managing learning and building communities in Japan, but their competing commitments grew as they built deeper roots in Japan. This supports the view that dominant ideologies in a context play a major role in language learning as identified by Darvin and Norton (2015) and the Douglas Fir Group (2016). My research shows how these ideologies have a very real, lived impact on the second language learning of employment migrants. Three areas directly influenced whether these teachers were able to develop and maintain engagement with Japanese learning and use: the ecological influences in their lives, their relationship with individuals and communities and each teacher's agency about their learning.

9.5.1 Ecological Influence

While Casanave (2012) has previously identified the ecological influences of living and working in Japan as a foreign English teacher as significantly influencing her Japanese language learning, this study has demonstrated the range and depth of the ecological influences on foreign English teachers learning Japanese in Japan over different time spans. In the Douglas Fir Group's call (2016 p. 40) for a greater focus on the ecological influences on language learning, they define ecological influences being as "fair and credible representations of the possibilities and constraints faced by L2 Learners in their social world on all levels of activity and across time spans". As working employment migrants, the teachers in this study did not just have to identify learning goals and find resources, classes and communities to help them reach these goals. They had to weather a metaphorical storm of ecological influences that came with living and working in Japan while living and working in a country for the first time or building a life as a long-term migrant. In the Diary Study, this meant these teachers often shifted learning approaches and resources to construct an effective approach to Japanese study as they self-regulated their learning. The pressure of this led these newly arrived teachers disengaging from Japanese study and some even experiencing mental health problems. The Stable Learners in the Linguistic Biographies were able to self-regulate their learning, while the Fluctuating Learners struggled to stay engaged with Japanese learning over long periods. However, as these teachers built lives in Japan, the number of ecological factors that could disrupt their learning increased, causing both groups of long-term teachers to disengage from Japanese study and use at times.

9.5.2 Communities

Communities of Practice were seen by Norton (2000) as playing a pivotal role in language learning while more recently the Douglas Fir Group (2016., p. 29) explicitly links opportunities to use language with language learning development:

> **"The more extensive, complex and multilingual the contexts of interaction become over time, and the more enduring the learner's participation in them is, the more complex and enduring their multilingual repertories will be".**

While Norton's original work (2000) on identity investment focused on how learners invest in their learning to gain symbolic and material resources, my study found building relationships with Japanese speakers was not just a case of these learners investing in these communities but these individuals and communities investing in them as Japanese speakers. These individuals and communities had to step outside of broader ideologies that saw English teachers in Japan as short-term visitors to Japan and make an investment in these learners by facilitating the teachers through encouraging them to use Japanese and adjusting their Japanese. While the Rural Teachers and Wendy in the Diary Study and the engaged long-term teachers actively pushed themselves to be involved in communities of Japanese speakers, these efforts were matched by individuals and communities investing in them as Japanese speakers. These individuals and groups were crucial for these teachers as they allowed teachers to use the Japanese they were learning and helped build their emotional connection with Japanese.

The impact of the absence of these communities and individuals can be seen in the narratives of the fluctuating long-term teachers and Urban and Suburban Teachers in the Diary Study. These teachers struggled to use the Japanese they were learning and felt less of an emotional connection with Japanese which impacted on their ability to sustain Japanese study. Like the learners in Block (2012) and Shin (2014), because of their background as educated who were often from middle class backgrounds, many teachers in this study often felt deeper connections with other English speakers because of shared linguistic and cultural connections. Communities of other English teachers also provided friendship and emotional support in Japan, communities of other Japanese learners and networks for career development. A lack of connections with Japanese speakers led both newly arrived and long-term to disengage with Japanese at various points during their time in Japan. Consequently, for foreign English teachers in Japan, the depth and sustainability of a learner's Japanese engagement was strongly impacted by whether a learner had access to individuals and groups who were willing to invest in them as Japanese speakers.

9.5.3 Exercising agency

The agency that each of these teachers exercised about how they learned and used Japanese was crucial to whether the foreign English teachers in this study were able to sustain Japanese learning. Larsen-Freeman (2019, p. 62) defines agency as "optimizing

conditions for one's own learning (or not—Duff & Doherty, 2015) and choosing to deploy one's semiotic resources to position oneself as one would wish in a multilingual world (Byrnes, 2014)". To engage with Japanese, the teachers had to exercise agency not just about their language learning but also where they lived, who they socialised with and how they lived their lives in Japan. For the teachers in the Diary Study, exercising agency was a way for these teachers to deal with periods of Japanese engagement caused by their struggles to self-direct their learning. Wendy and Nick both exercised agency by moving to a new house and starting paid Japanese classes respectively, which allowed them to continue their Japanese learning and use after struggling with their Japanese engagement. The Stable Learners group of long-term teachers exercised agency by combining Japanese lessons with independent Japanese learning outside of the classroom and actively pursuing communities of practice for Japanese use. Agency combined with investment by communities of practice in them as learners allowed these teachers to weather the ecological influences that came with being a foreign English teacher in Japan.

9.5.4 Second Language Motivation

The findings regarding the influence of communities, agency and ecological influences suggest that Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System cannot account for how motivation interacted with the complex social world of the teachers in this study. This echoes Duff's (2017, p. 599) assertion that the way in which people learn second languages in social worlds cannot be accounted for by the L2 Motivation Self System, as the selves they outline are "more firmly structural, categorical, quantifiable ones based on self-reported orientations as 'selves' at a particular point in time when a questionnaire is completed". My research has shown that for migrant language-learners, motivation is not just about the internal constructions of each learner's possible selves, it is an internal play between competing possible selves and the context in which each learner is learning.

The L2 Learning Experience had the biggest influence on how each teacher in this study motivated themselves to learn Japanese. Dörnyei (2009, p.29) defines the L2 Learning Experience as a learner's "immediate learning environment and experience" including factors such as the "impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, and the experience of success". As informal self-directed language learners, for the teachers in this study, the L2 Learning Experience included the social environment each learner was

learning in as well as broader ideologies about foreigners in Japan and the value of English in Japan. Being an employment migrant language-learner in Japan meant language learning was influenced by the ecological realities of their lives, be it as a newly arrived teacher in Japan or a teacher who had built a life in Japan. In particular, the experiences of the long-term teachers show that becoming a long-term resident of a country meant increased commitments to building careers, getting married and having children, all of which impacted on each teacher's Japanese engagement. These disruptions of motivational selves by ecological influences while learning a language are not accounted for in Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System.

Evidence from my research suggests that encountering individuals and groups with whom they could use Japanese impacted on these teachers' motivation to use and learn Japanese. Similar to Macintyre et al.'s Rooted L2 Self, (2017), connections with individuals and communities often pushed these teachers to learn and use Japanese, which in turn helped them develop and sustain the learning behaviours that their motivational selves required. An absence of these connections for both the newly arrived and long-term teachers meant that these teachers struggled to sustain the Japanese learning and use that their Japanese motivation selves required. For the teachers in my study, their motivational selves were not just influenced by matching motivational selves with learning behaviours. It was their interactions or lack thereof with communities that drove their Japanese engagement. This research project has shown that for employment migrants with a valued first language, learning Japanese was not just about their decisions about how they learned or used Japanese, it was a dynamic, complex interplay of their own choices about their Japanese learning and use, how communities and individuals valued them as Japanese speakers alongside the broader influence of Japan as a context for learning.

These conclusions suggest potential areas in which to explore the field further in the future. Considering the findings about the L2 Motivational Self System, I believe that I use the knowledge that I gained from my study to develop a methodological approach that can better capture the influence of a context and the ideologies in a context have on learners than previous studies. While the Complex Dynamics System Theory approach seeks to capture more the influence of context, I still believe that more research needs to be done to accurately represent the lived experiences of language learners like the ones in my study.

Given the success of the approach used in this study, there is the potential to explore learners in different contexts to further our understanding of migrant language learners. In a Japanese context particularly, I could investigate how professional sports players who come to Japan to study at high school and university use and learn Japanese to show learners with high levels of symbolic capital, rather than linguistic capital, learn Japanese in Japan. Similarly looking at migrants who come to work in Japan on the Technical Trainee Programme would allow me to explore how Japan as a context influences learners with less symbolic and linguistic capital. As English assumed a large role in the relationships of many of these teachers in this study, looking at the families and the impact that the linguistic capital of English has on bringing up children bilingually and on these teachers and their partners' relationships would expand our understanding of migrant language learning. I believe that the conclusions of this study provide a good grounding on which to build future research into migrant language learners.

References

Al-Hoorie, A., 2018. The L2 motivational self system: A meta-analysis. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, *8*(4), pp.721-754. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 08 October 2019].

Anderson, B., (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Appleby, R., 2013. Desire in Translation: White Masculinity and TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly,* 47(1), pp.122-147. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Appleby, R., 2015. *Men and Masculinities in Global English Language Teaching.* London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Appleby, R. 2016. Researching Privilege in Language Teacher Identity. *TESOL Quarterly*, 50(3), pp.755-768. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 07 September 2017].

Bailey, K., 2006. Marketing the Eikaiwa Wonderland: Ideology, Akogare, and Gender Alterity in English Conversation School Advertising in Japan. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24(1), pp.105-130. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 12 August 2016].

Barkhuizen, G., Benson, P., and Chik, A., 2014. *Narrative inquiry in language teaching and learning research*. London: Routledge.

Block, D., 2007. The Rise of Identity in SLA Research, Post Firth and Wagner (1997) *Modern Language Journal*, [e-journal] 91(Focus Issue), pp. 863-876. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 8 May 2015].

Block, D., 2007. *Second Language Identities.* London: Continuum.

Block, D., 2010. Problems portraying Migrants in Applied Linguistics research. *Language Teaching*, [e-journal] 43(04), pp. 480-493. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 21 June 2015].

Block, D., 2012. Class and SLA: Making Connections. *Language Teaching Research*, [e-journal] 16(2), pp. 188-205. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 21 June 2015].

Block, D., 2014. *Social class in applied linguistics*. London: Routledge.

Boo, Z., Dörnyei, Z., & Ryan, S. 2015. L2 motivation research 2005-2014: Understanding a publication surge and a changing landscape. *System*, 55, pp. 145-157. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 February 2016].

Bourdieu, P., 1986. The Forms of Capital. in Richardson, J.G, ed. *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York: Greenwood Press. Pp. 241–58.

Brotherstone, C., 2015. *Lifer: How to be a bald middle-aged English conversation teacher in Japan* [Kindle version] Varty Books. Available at: Amazon.co.uk http://www.amazon.co.uk [Accessed April 2016].

Byrne, B., 2010. *Structural Equation Modeling with Amos: Basic Concepts, Applications, and Programming*. New York: Taylor and Francis Group.

Casanave, C., 2012. Diary of a Dabbler: Ecological Influences on an EFL Teacher's Efforts to Study Japanese Informally. *TESOL Quarterly*, [e-journal] 46(4), p.642-670. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 1 May 2015].

Creswell, J., and Plano Clark, V., 2011. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Csizér, K. and Dörnyei, Z., 2005. Language Learners' Motivational Profiles and Their Motivated Learning Behaviour. *Language Learning*, 55(4), pp.613-659. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Croucher, S., 2012. Privileged Mobility in an Age of Globality. *Societies*, 2012(2). Pp.1-13. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Curtis, A. and Bailey, K., 2009. Diary Studies. *OnCue Journal*, 3(1), p. 67-85. Available at: http://jaltcue.org/journal_3.1 [Accessed 19 July 19, 2016].

De Bot, K., 2014. Rates of Change: Timescales in Second Language Development. In: Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P. and Henry, A. 2015. *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp.29-37.

De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. and Bamberg, M. eds., 2006. *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., 1994. Motivation and Motivating in the Foreign Language Classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 78(3), pp.273-284.

Dörnyei, Z., 2001. *Motivational strategies in the language classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., Csizér, K., & Németh, N., 2006. *Motivation, language attitudes and globalisation: A Hungarian perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Dörnyei, Z., and Ushioda, E., eds., 2009. *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Dörnyei, Z., 2009. The L2 Motivation Self System. In: Dörnyei, Z., and Ushioda, E., eds., 2009. *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. Chapter 2, pp.9-42.

Dörnyei, Z., and Taguchi, T., 2010. *Questionnaires in second language research: construction, administration, and processing: Second Language Acquisition Research Series*. New York: Routledge.

Dörnyei, Z., & Chan, L., 2013. Motivation and Vision: An Analysis of Future L2 Self Images, Sensory Styles, and Imagery Capacity across Two Target languages. Language

Learning, 63(3), pp.437–462. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P. and Henry, A. 2014. *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dörnyei, Z., Ibrahim, Z. and Muir, C., 2014. 'Directed Motivational Currents': Regulating Complex Dynamic Systems through Motivational Surges. In: Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P. and Henry, A. 2014. *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp.95-105.

Dörnyei, Z. and AL-Hoorie, A., 2017. The Motivational Foundation of Learning Languages Other Than Global English: Theoretical Issues and Research Directions. The Modern Language Journal, 101(3). pp.455 -468. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 15 October 2017].

Duff, P., 82017. Commentary: Motivation for Learning Languages Other Than English in an English-Dominant World. *The Modern Language Journal*, 101(3), pp.597-607. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 15 October 2017].

Duff, P. 2019. Social Dimensions and Processes in Second Language Acquisition: Multilingual Socialization in Transnational Contexts. *Modern Language Journal*, 103 (supplement 2019). Pp. 6-22. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 15 January 2020].

Ellis, R., 2008*. The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Elliott, B., 2005. *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*. London: Sage.

Educational Testing Service, 2017. *2017 Report on Test Takers Worldwide*. [online] Available at: https://www.ets.org/s/toeic/pdf/2017-report-on-test-takers-worldwide.pdf. [Accessed 17 June 2017.]

ELT News, 2009. *Guide to Japan and Teaching English in Japan.* [online] Available at: <http://www.eltnews.com/country-guide/japan/2009/01/getting_a_visa.htm> [Accessed 8 May 2015]

Firth, A. and Wagner, J., 1997. On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental concepts In SLA Research. The *Modern Language Journal*, [e-journal] 81(3), pp. 285-300. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 2 January 2015].

Firth, A. and Wagner, J., 2007. Second/Foreign Language Learning as a Social Accomplishment: Elaborations on a Reconceptualized SLA. *Modern Language Journal*, [e-journal] 91(Focus Issue), pp. 800-819. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 2 January 2015]

Haneda, M., 2005. Investing in Foreign-Language Writing: A study of Two Multicultural Learners. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 4(4), pp.269-290. <Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249025736_Investing_in_Foreign-Language_Writing_A_Study_of_Two_Multicultural_Learners> [Accessed 10 May 2016].

Hatasa, Y. and Watanabe, T. (2017). Japanese as a Second Language Assessment in Japan: Current Issues and Future Directions. Language Assessment Quarterly, 14(3), pp.192-212. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2017].

Hawley Nagatomo, D., 2016. *Identity, Gender and Teaching English in Japan*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Heinrich, P., 2012. *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Henry, A. 2014. The Dynamics of Possible Selves. In: Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P. and Henry, A. 2015. *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp.83-94.

Henry, A. and Thorsen, C., 2017. The ideal multilingual self: validity, influences on motivation, and role in a multilingual education. International Journal of Multilingualism, pp.1-16.

Higgins, E., 1987. Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review, 94*(3), pp.319–340. Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 23 October 2016].

Hiver, P. 2014. Attractor States. In: Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P. and Henry, A. 2015. *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp.20-28

Hiver, P. and Al-Hoorie, A. 2016. A Dynamic Ensemble for Second Language Research: Putting Complexity Theory Into Practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, 100(4), pp.741-756. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 October 2017].

Immigration Services Agency of Japan, 2017. *Immigration Services Agency of Japan.* [online] Available at: <https://www.isa.go.jp/en/policies/statistics/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html> [Accessed 17 March 2018].

Iwasaki, S. 2013. *Japanese.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Japan Educational Exchanges and Services, 2018. *Past Test Data.* [online] Available at: < https://www.jlpt.jp/e/statistics/archive.html> [Accessed 17 March 2018].

JET Programme, 2017. *Number of Participants by Country 2016-2017.* [online] Available at: < http://jetprogramme.org/wp-content/themes/biz-vektor/pdf/countries/2016_jet_stats_e.pdf> [Accessed 27 June 2018].

Kanno, K., 1999. SLA Research and Japanese. In: K. Kanno, ed. 1999. *The Acquisition of Japanese as a Second Language.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 1-7.

Kelsky, K., 2001. Who Sleeps With Whom, or How (Not) to Want the West in Japan. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 7(4): pp.418-435. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 13 August 2017].

Kinginger, C., 2004. Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Foreign Language Learning and Identity Construction. In: A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge. *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp. 219-242.

Kobayashi, Y., 2007. Japanese working women and English study abroad. World Englishes, 26, pp.62-71. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 11 May 2017].

Kurata, N., 2015. Motivational Selves of Japanese Hertiage Speakers in Australia. *Heritage Language Journal*, [ejournal] 12(2), pp.110-131. Available at: <http://www.heritagelanguages.org/> [Accessed 15 December 2015].

Larsen-Freeman, D., and Cameron, L., 2008. *Complex Systems and Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press.

Markus, H., and Nurius, P., 1986. Possible selves. *American Psychologist, 41*(9), pp. 954–969. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 17 April 2016].

Matsumoto, M., and Obana, Y., 2001. Motivational factors and persistence in learning Japanese as a foreign language. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 3(1), pp. 59-86. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 11 April 2016].

Macintyre, P. and Legatto, J. 2010. A Dynamic System Approach to Willingness to Communicate: Developing an Idiodynamic Method to Capture Rapidly Changing Affect. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(2), pp.149-171. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2017].

Macintyre, P., Baker, S., and Sparing, H. 2017. Heritage Passions, Heritage Convictions, and the Rooted L2 Self: Music and Gaelic Language Learning in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. The Modern Language Journal, 101(3)., pp. 501-516. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 09 October 2017].

McConnell, D. (2000). *Importing diversity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McKay, S. and Wong, S., 1996. Multiple Discourses, Multiple Identities: Investment and Agency in Second Language Learning among Chinese Adolescent Immigrant Students. *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(3), pp. 577-608. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 May 2015].

Mercer, S., 2014. Dynamics of a Nested Systems Approach. In: Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P., and Henry, A. 2014. *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. pp.139-163.

METI (Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry), 2005*. Survey of Selected Services Industries*. [online] Available at: <http://www.meti.go.jp/english/statistics/tyo/tokusabizi/result/pdf/2005k-e/h17-gai-20.pdf > [Accessed 16 February 2015]

Mori, Y. and Mori, J. 2011. Review of recent research (2000–2010) on learning and instruction with specific reference to L2 Japanese. *Language Teaching*, 44(4), pp.447-484. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 12 September 2016].

Mori, Y., Hasegawa, A., and Mori, J. 2021. The trends and developments of L2 Japanese research in the 2010s, *Language Teaching*, 54 (1), pp. 90-127. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 15 January 2021].

Muramatsu, C., 2013. *Portraits of second language learners: agency, identities, and second language learning.* PhD. University of Iowa. [online] <Available at: http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4926&context=etd> [Accessed 27 April 2015]

Muir, C., and Dörnyei, Z., 2013. Directed Motivational Currents: Using vision to create effective motivational pathways. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, 3(3), pp.357-375. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Nekvapil, J., 2003. Language biographies and the analysis of language situations: on the life of the German community in the Czech Republic. *International Journal of the*

Sociology of Language. 2003(162), pp.1-15. Available at: <http://ulug.ff.cuni.cz/projekty/mensiny/language_sit.htm > [Accessed 27 April 2015]

Noels, K., 2009. The Internalisation of Language Learning into the Self and Social Identity. In: Dörnyei, Z., and Ushioda, E., eds., 2009. *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. pp.295-313.

Norton Peirce, B., 1995. Social Identity, Investment and Language Learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, [e-journal] 29(1), pp. 9-31. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 31 December 2014].

Norton, B., 1997. Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, [e-journal] 31(3), pp. 9-31. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 31 December 2014].

Norton, B., 2000*. Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change.* Harlow: Pearson Educational Limited.

Ogulnick, K., 1998. *Onna rashiku (Like a woman): the diary of a language learner in Japan*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Ohara, Y., 2011. Finding one's voice in Japanese: A study of Pitch Levels of L2 users. In: Pavlenko, A., Blackledge, A.< I. Piller, I., and Teutsch-Dwyer,m., eds., 2001. *Multilingualism, Second Language Learning, and Gender*. Berlin: De Gruyter. pp.232-254.

Okamoto, S. and Shibamoto-Smith, J. (2004). *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Okamoto, S. and Shibamoto-Smith, J. (2016). *The Social Life of the Japanese language: Cultural Discourses and Situated Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ortega, L. 2019. SLA and the Study of Equitable Multilingualism. *Modern Language Journal*, 103 (supplement 2019). Pp. 23-38. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 15 January 2020].

Oxford, R. and Shearin, J., 1994. Language Learning Motivation: Expanding the Theoretical Framework. *The Modern Language Journal*, 78(1), pp.12-28. Available

through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Papi, M., 2010. The L2 Motivational Self System, L2 anxiety, and motivated behavior: A structural equation modeling approach. *System*, 38, 3, pp.467-479. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Papi, M. and Hiver, P., 2020. Language Learning Motivation as a Complex Dynamic System: A Global Perspective of Truth, Control, and Value. *The Modern Language Journal*, 104(1) pp. 209-232. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 20 October 2020].

Pavlenko, A., 2007. Autobiographic Narratives as Data in Applied Linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, [e-journal] 28(2), pp.163-188. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 20 April 2015].

Pavlenko, A., 2007. Narrative analysis. In: L. Wei & M. Moyer, eds., 2007. *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. pp.311-325.

Piller, I., & Takahashi, K., 2006. A passion for English: Desire and the language market. In A. Pavlenko (ed.), *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression and Representation*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, pp. 59 – 83.

Polkinghorne, D., 2007. 'Validity Issues in Narrative Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(4), pp. 471–486. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 27 May 2017].

Preece, S., 2016. *The Routledge Handbook of language and identity*.

Rose, H., 2017.*The Japanese Writing System: Challenges, Strategies, and Self-regulation for Learning Kanji*. Multilingual Matters

Salkind, N. (2011). *Statistics for people who (think they) hate statistics*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc.

Siegal, M., 1995. Individual differences and study abroad: Women learning Japanese in Japan. In: B. Freed, ed. 1995. *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Content*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 225-244.

Siegal, M., 1996. The Role of Learner Subjectivity In Second Language Competency; Western Women Learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(3), pp.356-382. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 21 February 2015].

Simon-Maeda, A., 2004. The Complex Construction of Professional Identities: Female EFL Educators in Japan Speak Out. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38(3), pp.405-436. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 4 May 2015].

Simon-Maeda, A., 2009. Working the Hybridization: A Case of Bi/multilingual Speakers in Japan. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, [e-journal] 3(2), pp.90-109. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 4 May 2015].

Simon-Maeda, A., 2011. *Being and Becoming a Speaker of Japanese: An Autoethnographic Account*. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Taguchi, T., Magid, M., and Papi, M., 2009. The L2 Motivational Self System among Japanese, Chinese and Iranian Learners of English: a Comparative Study. In: Dörnyei, Z., and Ushioda, E., eds., 2009. *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. Chapter 4, pp. 66-97.

Takahashi, K., 2013. Language Learning, Gender and Desire: Japanese Women on the Move. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Teutsch-Dwyer, M., 2011. (Re)constructing masculinity in a new linguistic reality. In: Pavlenko, A., Blackledge, A., Piller, I., and Teutsch-Dwyer, M., eds., 2001. *Multilingualism, Second Language Learning, and Gender*. Berlin: De Gruyter. pp.175-198.

The Douglas Fir Group., 2016. A Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in a Multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal 100* (Supplement). pp. 19-47. Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 08 September 2016].

Tokyo Immigration Service, 2017. *I want permanent residency in Japan*. [Online] Available at: https://www.tokyoimmigration.jp/?p=167 [Accessed 27 March 2017].

Ushioda, E., 2009. A Person-in-Context Relational View of Emergent Motivation, Self and Identity. In: In: Dörnyei, Z., and Ushioda, E., eds., 2009. *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications. Chapter 4, pp. 215-228.

Ushioda, E., 2016. Language learning motivation through a small lens: A research agenda. *Language Teaching, 49*(4), 564-577. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 21 March 2017].

Ushioda, E. and Dornyei, Z. 2017. Beyond Global English: Motivation to Learn Languages in a Multicultural World: Introduction to the Special Issue. *The Modern Language Journal*, 101(3), pp.451-454. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 09 October 2017].

Ushioda, E., 2017. The Impact of Global English on Motivation to Learn Other Languages: Toward an Ideal Multilingual Self. *The Modern Language Journal*, 101(3), pp.469-482. Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 09 October 2017].

Waninge, F., Dörnyei, Z., & de Bot, K. (2014). Motivational Dynamics in Language Learning: Change, Stability and Context. *Modern Language Journal*, 98(3), pp. 704-723. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015]

Wenger, E. (1998). Communities of practice. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Wei, L., and Moyer, M., 2007. Project Ideas. In: L. Wei & M. Moyer, eds., 2007. *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. pp.345-353.

Winke, P., 2014. Testing Hypotheses about Language Learning Using Structural Equation Modeling. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Vol.34, pp.102-122. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2020]

You, C. and Dörnyei, Z., 2014. Language Learning Motivation in China: Results of a Large-Scale Stratified Survey. Applied Linguistics, 37(4), pp.495-519. Available through: Anglia Ruskin University Library website <http://libweb.anglia.ac.uk> [Accessed 01 April 2015].

Appendices

Appendix 1: Dörnyei's Original L2 Motivational Self Questionnaire Item Pool

Appendix A: Combined List of the Items Included in the Questionnaires Discussed in Chapter 5

Scales for statement-type items:

1 (Strongly disagree) **2** (Disagree) **3** (Slightly disagree)

4 (Slightly agree) **5** (Agree) **6** (Strongly agree)

Scales for question-type items:

1 (not at all) **2** (not so much) **3** (so-so)

4 (a little) **5** (quite a lot) **6** (very much)

Note: The tick in the following table indicates the item used in the instrument (**J** = Japanese version, **C** = Chinese version, **I** = Iranian version). (R) indicates a reversed item score (Section 4.3.2).

Criterion Measures

Item	J	C	I
• If an English course was offered at university or somewhere else in the future, I would like to take it.	☑		
• If an English course was offered in the future, I would like to take it.		☑	☑
• If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.			☑

• I would like to study English even if I were not required.			☑
• I would like to spend lots of time studying English.		☑	☑
• I would like to concentrate on studying English more than any other topic.		☑	☑
• I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning English.	☑	☑	☑
• I am working hard at learning English.	☑		
• I think that I am doing my best to learn English.	☑	☑	
• Compared to my classmates, I think I study English relatively hard.		☑	

Ideal L2 Self

Item	J	C	I
• I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.	☑	☑	
• I can imagine myself studying in a university where all my courses are taught in English.			☑
• Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	☑	☑	☑
• I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.	☑		
• I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues.		☑	☑
• I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.			☑
• I can imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English.		☑	☑
• I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.	☑	☑	
• I can imagine myself writing English e-mails/letters fluently.			☑
• The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	☑		

Ought-To L2 Self

Item	J	C	I
• I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	☑	☑	☑
• Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	☑	☑	☑
• I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.		☑	☑
• If I fail to learn English I'll be letting other people down.			☑
• Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my peers/teachers/family/boss.		☑	☑
• I have to study English, because, if I do not study it, I think my parents will be disappointed with me.	☑		
• My parents believe that I must study English to be an educated person.	☑		
• Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.		☑	
• Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English.		☑	☑
• It will have a negative impact on my life if I don't learn English.		☑	

Parental Encouragement/Family Influence

Item	J	C	I
• My parents encourage me to study English.	☑		
• My parents encourage me to study English in my free time.	☑		
• My parents encourage me to take every opportunity to use my English (e.g., speaking and reading).	☑		
• My parents encourage me to practise my English as much as possible.			☑
• My parents encourage me to attend extra English classes after class (e.g., at English conversation schools).	☑		
• My family put a lot of pressure on me to study English.		☑	☑
• My parents/family believe(s) that I must study English to be an educated person.		☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me in order to bring honour to my family.		☑	☑

• Being successful in English is important to me so that I can please my parents/relatives.		☑	☑
• I must study English to avoid being punished by my parents/relatives.		☑	
• I have to study English, because, if I don't do it, my parents will be disappointed with me.			☑

Instrumentality – Promotion

Item	J	C	I
• Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.	☑	☑	
• Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future.	☑	☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me because with English I can work globally.	☑		
• Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job and/or making money.			☑
• Studying English is important because with a high level of English proficiency I will be able to make a lot of money.		☑	
• Studying English can be important for me because I think I'll need it for further studies on my major.	☑		
• Studying English can be important to me because I think I'll need it for further studies.		☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me because I would like to spend a longer period living abroad (e.g., studying and working).	☑		
• Studying English is important to me because I am planning to study abroad.			☑
• I study English in order to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world.			☑
• Studying English is important to me in order to achieve a special goal (e.g., to get a degree or scholarship).		☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me in order to attain a higher social respect.		☑	
• Studying English is important to me because it offers a new challenge in my life.		☑	
• The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.		☑	

Instrumentality – Prevention

Item	J	C	I
• I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot graduate.	☑		
• I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot get my degree.			☑
• I have to learn English because I don't want to fail the English course.		☑	☑
• I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it at university.	☑		
• I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it.		☑	☑
• Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests.	☑	☑	
• Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests (TOEFL, IELTS, . . .).			☑
• I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.	☑		☑
• Studying English is important to me, because I would feel ashamed if I got bad grades in English.		☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of English, I'll be considered a weak learner.	☑	☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me because I don't like to be considered poorly educated person.			☑

Linguistic Self-confidence

Item	J	C	I
• If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to master English.	☑		
• I believe that I will be capable of reading and understanding most texts in English if I keep studying it.	☑		
• I am sure I will be able to write in English comfortably if I continue studying.	☑		
• I am sure I have a good ability to learn English.	☑		

Attitudes Toward Learning English

Item	J	C	I
• I like the atmosphere of my English classes.	☑		
• Do you like the atmosphere of your English classes?		☑	☑
• I always look forward to English classes.	☑		
• Do you always look forward to English classes?		☑	☑
• I find learning English really interesting.	☑		
• Do you find learning English really interesting?		☑	☑
• I really enjoy learning English.	☑		
• Do you really enjoy learning English?		☑	☑
• Do you think time passes faster while studying English?			☑
• Would you like to have more English lessons at school?			☑

Travel Orientation

Item	J	C	I
• Learning English is important to me because I would like to travel internationally.	☑	☑	☑
• Studying English is important to me because without English I won't be able to travel a lot.	☑	☑	☑
• I study English because with English I can enjoy travelling abroad.	☑	☑	☑

Fear of Assimilation

Item	J	C	I
• I think that there is a danger that Japanese people may forget the importance of Japanese culture, as a result of internationalisation.	☑		
• I think that there is a danger that Chinese people may forget the importance of Chinese culture, as a result of internationalisation.		☑	
• I think that there is a danger that Iranian people may forget the importance of Iranian culture, as a result of internationalisation.			☑

• Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Japanese language is corrupt.	☑		
• Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Chinese language is becoming corrupt.		☑	
• Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Persian language is corrupt.			☑
• Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the morals of Japanese people are becoming worse.	☑		
• Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the morals of Chinese people are becoming worse.		☑	
• Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the morals of Iranian people are becoming worse.			☑
• I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Japanese values.	☑		
• I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Chinese values.		☑	
• I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Iranian values.			☑
• I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Japanese identity.	☑		
• I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Chinese identity.		☑	
• I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Iranian identity.			☑

Ethnocentrism

Item	J	C	I
• I am very interested in the values and customs of other cultures. (R)	☑		
• I respect the values and customs of other cultures. (R)	☑		
• I find it difficult to work together with people who have different customs and values.		☑	
• It is hard to bear the behaviour of people from other cultures.			☑
• I think I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Japanese.	☑		

• I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Chinese.		☑	
• I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Iranian.			☑
• It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Japanese.	☑		
• It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Chinese.		☑	
• It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Iranian.			☑
• Other cultures should learn more from my culture.		☑	
• Most other cultures are backward compared to my Chinese culture.		☑	
• Most other cultures are backward compared to my Iranian culture.			☑
• I am proud to be Japanese.	☑		
• I hope that people from other religions would accept Islam as their best way to salvation.			☑
• I think that when people from other cultures are in Iran, they should follow our Islamic rules (e.g., in dressing style and their relationship with opposite sex).			☑
• I think, compared to what is said in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other religions, Islam is more concerned about human rights.			☑

Interest in the English Language

Item	J	C	I
• I feel excited when hearing English spoken.	☑		
• I am interested in the way English is used in conversation.	☑		
• I find the difference between Japanese vocabulary and English vocabulary interesting.	☑		
• I like the rhythm of English.	☑		

English Anxiety

Item	J	C	I
• I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my English class.	☑		
• How nervous and confused do you get when you are speaking in your English class?		☑	☑
• How afraid are you that other students will laugh at you when you speak English?			☑
• I would feel uneasy speaking English with a native speaker.	☑		
• How uneasy would you feel speaking English with a native speaker?		☑	☑
• If I met an English native speaker, I would feel nervous.	☑		
• I would get tense if a foreigner asked me for directions in English.	☑		
• How tense would you get if a foreigner asked you for directions in English?		☑	☑
• How afraid are you of sounding stupid in English because of the mistakes you make?		☑	☑
• How worried are you that other speakers of English would find your English strange?			☑

Integrativeness

Item	J	C	I
• How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?	☑	☑	☑
• How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?	☑	☑	☑
• How much do you like English?	☑	☑	☑

Cultural Interest

Item	J	C	I
• Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g., pop music)?	☑	☑	☑
• Do you like English films?	☑	☑	☑
• Do you like English magazines, newspapers, or books?	☑		☑
• Do you like TV programmes made in English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑

Attitudes Toward L2 Community

Item	J	C	I
• Do you like to travel to English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑
• Do you like the people who live in English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑
• Do you like meeting people from English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑
• Would you like to know more about people from English-speaking countries?	☑	☑	☑

Appendix 2: Dörnyei's Original L2 Motivational Self Survey used in the Taguchi, Magrid and Papi's study

Appendix B: The Final Versions of the Three Questionnaires Described in Chapter 5 with their English Translations

Principal on-site researchers: Tatsuya Taguchi (Japan), Michael Magid (China), and Mostafa Papi (Iran)

English Learner Questionnaire

This survey is conducted by the School of English Studies of the University of Nottingham, UK, to better understand the thoughts and beliefs of learners of English. This questionnaire consists of four sections. Please read each instruction and write your answers. This is not a test so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers and you do not even have to write your name on it. The results of this survey will be used only for research purpose so please give your answers sincerely. Thank you very much for your help!

Part I

In this part, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply circling a number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave out any of items.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

(Ex.) If you strongly agree with the following statement, write this:

I like skiing very much.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)

1.	Learning English is important to me because I would like to travel internationally.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	My parents encourage me to study English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	I feel excited when hearing English spoken.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	I am very interested in the values and customs of other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	If an English course was offered at university or somewhere else in the future, I would like to take it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to master English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	I think that there is a danger that Japanese people may forget the importance of Japanese culture, as a result of internationalisation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot graduate.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	I would feel uneasy speaking English with a native speaker.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	I like the atmosphere of my English classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	My parents encourage me to take every opportunity to use my English (e.g., speaking and reading).	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	I am interested in the way English is used in conversation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	I think I would be happy if other cultures were more similar to Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	I am working hard at learning English.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

18.	Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
19.	I believe that I will be capable of reading and understanding most texts in English if I keep studying it.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
20.	I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
21.	Because of the influence of the English language, I think the Japanese language is corrupt.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
22.	I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my English class.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
23.	I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it at university.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
24.	I find learning English really interesting.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
25.	I have to study English, because, if I do not study it, I think my parents will be disappointed with me.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
26.	Studying English is important to me because without English I won't be able to travel a lot.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
27.	I find the difference between Japanese vocabulary and English vocabulary interesting.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
28.	I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
29.	My parents encourage me to study English in my free time.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
30.	I respect the values and customs of other cultures.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
31.	Studying English is important to me because I would like to spend a longer period living abroad (e.g., studying and working).	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
32.	I am sure I will be able to write in English comfortably if I continue studying.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
33.	I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
34.	Because of the influence of the English-speaking countries, I think the moral of Japanese people are becoming worse.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
35.	If I met an English native speaker, I would feel nervous.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
36.	I have to study English, otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
37.	I always look forward to English classes.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
38.	Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
39.	I study English because with English I can enjoy travelling abroad.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
40.	My parents encourage me to attend extra English classes after class (e.g., at English conversation schools).	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
41.	I think that I am doing my best to learn English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
42.	I like the rhythm of English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

Part II

These are new questions but please answer them the same way as you did before.

Not at all	not so much	so-so	a little	quite a lot	very much
1	2	3	4	5	6

(Ex.) If you like "curry" very much, write this:

Do you like curry?	1	2	3	4	5	6

43.	Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g., pop music)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
44.	Do you like to travel to English-speaking countries?	1	2	3	4	5	6
45.	How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?	1	2	3	4	5	6
46.	Do you like English films?	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	Do you like the people who live in English-speaking countries?	1	2	3	4	5	6
48.	How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?	1	2	3	4	5	6
49.	Do you like English magazines, newspapers, or books?	1	2	3	4	5	6
50.	Do you like meeting people from English-speaking countries?	1	2	3	4	5	6
51.	How much do you like English?	1	2	3	4	5	6
52.	Do you like TV programmes made in English-speaking countries?	1	2	3	4	5	6
53.	Would you like to know more about people from English-speaking countries?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Part III

The following items are similar to the ones in Part 1.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

54.	It would be a better world if everybody lived like the Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
55.	Studying English can be important for me because I think I'll need it for further studies on my major.	1	2	3	4	5	6
56.	I think the cultural and artistic values of English are going at the expense of Japanese values.	1	2	3	4	5	6
57.	I am sure I have a good ability to learn English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
58.	Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
59.	I would get tense if a foreigner asked me for directions in English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
60.	Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

61.	I really enjoy learning English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
62.	My parents believe that I must study English to be an educated person.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
63.	I think that, as internationalisation advances, there is a danger of losing the Japanese identity.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
64.	Studying English is important to me because with English I can work globally.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
65.	I am proud to be Japanese.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
66.	The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
67.	Studying English is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of English, I'll be considered a weak student.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

Part IV

Please provide the following information by ticking (✓) in the box or writing your response in the space.

Gender: ❑ Male ❑ Female

Nationality: ❑ Japanese ❑ Non-Japanese

Age: ❑ 18 ❑ 19 ❑ 20 ❑ 21 ❑ 22 ❑ 23 ❑ 24 ❑ other: _____

Year of study: ❑ 1st ❑ 2nd ❑ 3rd ❑ 4th ❑ 5th ❑ other: _____

Major: _____

English teacher *Have you ever had or do you have a native English-speaking teacher?*

❑ Yes ❑ No

Overseas experiences: *Have you spent a longer period (at least a total of three months) in English-speaking countries (e.g., travelling, studying)?*

❑ Yes ❑ No

English ability: *Please rate your current overall proficiency in English by ticking one.*

❑ **Upper Intermediate level and over**— Able to converse about general matters of daily life and topics of one's specialty and grasp the gist of lectures and broadcasts. Able to read high-level materials such as newspapers and write about personal ideas.

❑ **Intermediate level** — Able to converse about general matters of daily life. Able to read general materials related to daily life and write simple passages.

❑ **Lower Intermediate level** — Able to converse about familiar daily topics. Able to read materials about familiar everyday topics and write simple letters.

❑ **Post-Beginner level** — Able to hold a simple conversation such as greeting and introducing someone. Able to read simple materials and write a simple passage in elementary English.

❑ **Beginner level** — Able to give simple greetings using set words and phrases. Able to read simple sentences, grasp the gist of short passages, and to write a simple sentence in basic English.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Appendix 3: L2 Motivational Self Survey used in pilot study

Japanese Learner Questionnaire

This survey is conducted by Owen Minns, Doctoral student at Anglia Ruskin University, to better understand the thoughts and beliefs of English teachers in Japan about learning Japanese. This questionnaire consists of four sections. Please read each instruction and write your answers. This is not a test so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers and you do not even have to write your name on it. I am interested in what you think about learning and using Japanese. The results of this survey will be used only for research purposes so please give your answers sincerely. Thank you very much for your help!

Part 1

In this part, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply circling the number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave out any of the items.

(Ex.) If you strongly agree with the following statement, write this:

I like skiing very much.	1 2 3 4 5 (6)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

1.	I like the rhythm of Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
2.	Learning Japanese is important to me because I would like to be able to live in Japan easily.	1 2 3 4 5 6
3.	I do not respect the values and customs of other cultures.	1 2 3 4 5 6
4.	I really enjoy learning Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
5.	I do not feel excited when hearing Japanese spoken.	1 2 3 4 5 6
6.	My employer and the people around me encourage me to attend extra Japanese classes after work (e.g. at local language schools or city offices).	1 2 3 4 5 6
7.	I study Japanese because close friends of mine think it is important.	1 2 3 4 5 6
8.	I can imagine myself as someone who is able to speak Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
9.	I do not feel uneasy speaking Japanese with a native speaker.	1 2 3 4 5 6
10.	Studying Japanese is important to me in order to achieve a special goal (e.g. pass a level of JLPT or get a promotion at work).	1 2 3 4 5 6
11.	I am sure I will be able to use Japanese comfortably if I continue studying.	1 2 3 4 5 6
12.	The people around me believe that I must study Japanese to be able to understand Japanese society.	1 2 3 4 5 6
13.	Other cultures should learn more from my culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6
14.	I find the difference between Japanese vocabulary and English vocabulary interesting.	1 2 3 4 5 6
15.	Studying Japanese is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
16.	I have liked the atmosphere of any Japanese classes I have attended.	1 2 3 4 5 6
17.	Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

18.	I find it difficult to work together with people who have different customs and values.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	I am sure I have a good ability to learn Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Studying Japanese is important to me because I would feel bad if I could not communicate with people in Japan.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	I cannot imagine myself working in Japanese and having a discussion in Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	The people around me in Japan encourage me to study Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	I am interested in the way Japanese is used in conversation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	Studying Japanese is important to me because without Japanese I won't be able to enjoy my life in Japan.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	I would not like to concentrate on studying Japanese more than my current employment situation allows me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	Because of the influence of spending time in Japan, I think the morals of foreign people living in Japan become similar to Japanese people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27.	Studying Japanese is important to me because I am planning to spend the rest of my life in Japan.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	I study Japanese so I can enjoy my life in Japan.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	Studying Japanese is important to me because with Japanese I can work outside the English education sector.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	I have to study Japanese, because if I do not study it, I think people around me will be disappointed.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	I get nervous when I speak Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	The people around me encourage me to take every opportunity to use my Japanese (e.g., speaking and reading).	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	I have to learn Japanese because without reaching a certain level of Japanese I will not be able to get a new job.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	Studying Japanese is important to me because I would like to continue living in Japan for a long period.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	Studying Japanese is important to me in order to attain a higher social respect.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	I imagine myself speaking Japanese with Japanese friends and colleagues.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	I do not think I am doing my best to learn Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39.	Studying Japanese is important for me because Japanese proficiency might be necessary for me to get a promotion or a new job in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40.	I believe that I will be capable of reading and understanding most texts in Japanese if I keep studying Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	Studying Japanese is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to learn the language of the country they are living in.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	I would like to spend lots of time studying Japanese	1	2	3	4	5	6

Part II

Not at all	Not so much	So-so	A little	Quite a lot	Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6

(Ex.) If you like "curry" very much, write this:

Do you like curry?	1 2 3 4 5 6

43.	Do you like Japanese music (e.g., J-Pop)?	1 2 3 4 5 6
44.	Do you enjoy spending time with Japanese people?	1 2 3 4 5 6
45.	Would you like to have more Japanese lessons?	1 2 3 4 5 6
46.	Do you like Japanese movies?	1 2 3 4 5 6
47.	Do you like meeting Japanese People?	1 2 3 4 5 6
48.	How afraid are you of sounding stupid in Japanese because of the mistakes you make?	1 2 3 4 5 6
49.	Do you like Japanese people?	1 2 3 4 5 6
50.	Do you like Japanese magazines, newspapers, or books?	1 2 3 4 5 6
51.	Would you like to know more about Japanese People?	1 2 3 4 5 6
52.	How worried are you that other speakers of Japanese would find your Japanese strange?	1 2 3 4 5 6
53.	Do you watch Japanese TV?	1 2 3 4 5 6

Part III

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

54.	I think as foreigners spend more time in Japan, there is a danger of them losing their identity as citizens of their home country.	1 2 3 4 5 6
55.	Learning Japanese is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	1 2 3 4 5 6
56.	If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to greatly improve my Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
57.	It would be better world if everybody lived like people from my culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6
58.	Studying Japanese is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of Japanese, I'll be considered a weak learner.	1 2 3 4 5 6
59.	It will have a negative impact on my life if I do not learn Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
60.	The things I want to do in the future require me to use Japanese.	1 2 3 4 5 6
61.	I think the cultural and artistic values of Japanese are going at the expense of the values of my own country.	1 2 3 4 5 6

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

62.	I find learning Japanese really interesting.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
63.	I think that there is a danger that foreign people living in Japan may forget the importance of their own culture, as a result of spending time in Japan.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
64.	If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to greatly improve my Japanese.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
65.	Studying Japanese is important to me, as I don't want to be considered a poorly educated person.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
66.	I would get tense if a Japanese person asked me for directions in Japanese.	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

Part IV

Please provide the following information by ticking the appropriate box or writing your response in the space.

Gender:	☐Female			☐Male		
What nationality are you?						
How old are you?						
How many years have you spent in Japan?						
Marital Status:						
What is your current job?						
When you came to Japan, what sector of the English teaching industry did you teach in?						
What level have you passed of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT)?	☐None	☐N5	☐N4	☐N3	☐N2	☐N1
Have you ever attended Japanese classes?	☐Yes			☐No		
Are you currently studying Japanese?	☐Yes			☐No		

Japanese ability: *Please rate your current overall proficiency in Japanese by ticking one.*

Upper Intermediate level and over— Able to converse about general matters of daily life and topics of one's specialty and grasp the gist of lectures and broadcasts. Able to read high-level materials such as newspapers and write about personal ideas. ☐

Intermediate level — Able to converse about general matters of daily life. Able to read general materials related to daily life and write simple passages. ☐

Lower Intermediate level — Able to converse about familiar daily topics. Able to read materials about familiar everyday topics and write simple letters. ☐

Post-Beginner level — Able to hold a simple conversation such as greeting and introducing someone. Able to read simple materials and write a simple passage in elementary Japan. ☐

Beginner level — Able to give simple greetings using set words and phrases. Able to read simple sentences, grasp the gist of short passages, and to write a simple sentence in basic Japanese. ☐

Thank you for your cooperation!

If you would like to get more involved in this project please email:

owen.minns@pgr.anglia.ac.uk

Appendix 4: Final version of L2 Motivational Self Survey

Japanese Language Learning Survey

Page 1: Japanese Learner Questionnaire

This survey is conducted by Owen Minns, PhD student at Anglia Ruskin University, to better understand the thoughts and beliefs of foreign English teachers in Japan about learning and using Japanese.

It should take about 30 minutes to complete.

Before proceeding with this survey please check if you meet the following criteria:

- **You originally came to Japan to teach English.**
- **You still teach English in some form in Japan.**
- **You did not study Japanese in Japan before you came to teach English in Japan**
  (If you studied Japanese in your home country, that does not exclude you from this study).

Please read the instructions and check your answers in the appropriate box. This is not a test so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers and you do not even have to include your name at any point. I am interested in what you think about learning and using Japanese.

The results of this survey will be used only for research purposes so please answer honestly. Thank you for helping with this survey.

Page 2: Consent Statement

Participant Information Sheet

Section A: The Research Project

1. Title of project:
The teacher as a learner: A study of English teachers learning Japanese in Japan

2. Brief summary of research:
This projects seeks to examine how foreign residents of Japan, who originally came to Japan to teach English, learnt Japanese. The data will be collected using a questionnaire.

3. Purpose of the study:
Thesis of a PhD in English Language and Linguistics.

4. Name of your Supervisor: Bettina Beinhoff.

5. Why have I been asked to participate?
You have been asked to participate in the study because you are an English teacher in Japan, the group that this study will investigate.

6. How many people will be asked to participate?
Up to 500.

7. What are the likely benefits of taking part?
There are no specific benefits to the participants of taking part in the study. Your participation will help us learn more about how educated economic migrants learn the language of the country they work in. The benefits for the researcher will be that they will be able to complete their research for their doctoral thesis.

8. Can I refuse to take part?
At any time the participants are free to withdraw from the study, including after you have completed the questionnaire and while the data is being analysed. If you feel you have been pressurized or coerced into taking part in this study, please let the researcher, his supervisor or Anglia Ruskin University complaints department know.

9. Has the study got ethical approval?
This study has been approved by the Anglia Ruskin University Department of English and Media Departmental Research Ethics Panel on October 21st 2016.

10. What will happen to the results of the study?
The results of this study will be written up to form the basis of the thesis of the researcher's PhD in English Language and Linguistics. At a later date the data may be presented for publication as a journal article.

11. Contact for further information:
Owen Minns (owen.minns@pgr.anglia.ac.uk)

Section B: Your Participation in the Research Project

1. What will I be asked to do?
You will be asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire about your Japanese language learning, either in an electronic or paper format. The questionnaire will ask you to answer a number of questions about your Japanese learning. You will be asked to provide some biographical information regarding your marital status, whether you have any children, what sector you are employed in currently and how long you have been living in Japan.

2. Will my participation in the study be kept confidential?
The questionnaire will be anonymous. The researcher will be the only one with access to any data in a non-anonymised format. Any data shown to the researcher's supervisor will be anonymised.

3. Are there any possible disadvantages or risks to taking part?
There are some potential risks to this project. These include your identity being discovered by your peers or the general public although this is highly unlikely. To encourage you to complete the survey in full, you will be able to take a break and return to the questionnaire later. Your agreement to participate in the study does not affect your legal rights.

4. Whether I can withdraw at any time, and how.
Participants can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. If you do not feel comfortable telling the researcher directly that you would no longer like to take part in this research please contact them via the email. Participants have the option to either withdraw from the study and have their data removed totally or to withdraw but have any anonymised data collected up to that point used in the study.

5. What will happen to any information, data and samples that are collected from you?
The data will be held on the researcher's own computer and on their own Anglia Ruskin University Network account in password-protected folders. The data will be handled according to the eight principles of the UK Data Protection Act (1998) and General Data Protection Requirement from 25 May 2018. Please see

www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts1998/ukpga_19980029_en_1 for more information about the UK Data Protection Act (1998). It will only be used for the purposes of the study and will be kept for 12 months after submission of the research project, after that it will be destroyed. Personal identifiable information such as consent forms will be kept separate from data and each participate will be given a code number at the earliest opportunity to identify them.

6. Contact details for complaints.
If you have any complaints about this study, please contact the main researcher, Owen Minns or his supervisor, Bettina Beinhoff (bettina.beinhoff@anglia.ac.uk). If you feel your complaint has not been adequately dealt with please contact the Anglia Ruskin University's complaints department at the following addresses: Email address: complaints@anglia.ac.uk Postal address: Office of the Secretary and Clerk, Anglia Ruskin University, Bishop Hall Lane, Chelmsford, Essex, CM1 1SQ.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

1. I agree to take part in the above research. I have read the **Participant Information Sheet (Questionnaire)**-Version 1.5 02/05/2018 for the study. See above text box. I understand what my role will be in this research, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason.

3. I am free to ask any questions at any time before and during the study.

4. I understand what will happen to the data collected from me for the research.

5. I have been provided with a copy of this form and the Participant Information Sheet. Data Protection: I agree to the University[1]processing personal data which I have supplied. I agree to the processing of such data for any purposes connected with the Research Project as outlined to me.

[1]"The University" includes Anglia Ruskin University and its Associate Colleges.

1. I consent to participate in this survey. ✱ *Required*

○ Yes

4 / 39

No

Page 3: Part 1

In this part, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply checking a box from a number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave out any of the items.

2. I like the rhythm of Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

3. Learning Japanese is important to me because I would like to be able to live in Japan easily.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

4. I really enjoy learning Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree

- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

5. I respect the values and customs of other cultures.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

6. I feel excited when hearing Japanese spoken.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

7. My employer and the people around me encourage me to attend extra Japanese classes after work (e.g. at local language schools or city offices).

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

8. I study Japanese because close friends of mine think it is important.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

9. I can imagine myself as someone who is able to speak Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

10. I feel uneasy speaking Japanese with a native Japanese speaker.

Page 4: Part 2

This part is similar to the previous section, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply checking a box from a number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave out any of the items.

13. I can imagine myself working in the Japanese language and having a discussion in Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

14. I find it difficult to work together with people who have different customs and values.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

15. Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using Japanese.

18. The people around me in Japan encourage me to study Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

19. I am interested in the way Japanese is used in conversation.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

20. Studying Japanese is important to me because without Japanese I won't be able to enjoy my life in Japan.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

21. I would like to concentrate on studying Japanese more than my current employment situation allows me.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

22. Because of the influence of spending time in Japan, I think the morals of foreign people living in Japan become similar to Japanese people.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

23. Studying Japanese is important to me because I am planning to spend the rest of my life in Japan.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

24. Studying Japanese is important for me because Japanese proficiency might be necessary for me to get a promotion or a new job in the future.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

28. I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

29. I have to learn Japanese because without reaching a certain level of Japanese I will not be able to get a new job.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

30. Other cultures should learn more from my culture.

- 1: Strongly disagree

- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

31. Studying Japanese is important to me because I would like to continue living in Japan for a long period.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

32. I imagine myself speaking Japanese with Japanese friends and colleagues.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

33. I think I am doing my best to learn Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

34. I get nervous when I speak Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

35. I have to study Japanese because if I do not study it, I think people around me will be disappointed.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

36. Studying Japanese is important to me because with Japanese I can work outside the English education sector.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

Page 6: Part 4

37. I believe that I will be capable of reading and understanding most texts in Japanese if I keep studying Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

38. Studying Japanese is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to learn the language of the country they are living in.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

39. I would like to spend lots of time studying Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree

- 6: Strongly agree

40. I am sure I have a good ability to learn Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

41. I think as foreigners spend more time in Japan, there is a danger of them losing their identity as citizens of their home country.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

42. Learning Japanese is necessary because people around me expect me to do so.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree

- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

43. If I make an effort, I am sure I will be able to greatly improve my Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

44. It would be a better world if everybody lived like people from my culture.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

45. Studying Japanese is important for me because if I don't have knowledge of Japanese, I'll be considered a weak learner.

- 1: Strongly disagree

- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

46. The things I want to do in the future require me to use Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

47. I am sure I will be able to use Japanese comfortably if I continue studying.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

Page 7: Part 5

In this part, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply checking a box from a number from 1 to 6. Please do not leave out any of the items.

48. I find learning Japanese really interesting.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

49. I think the cultural and artistic values of Japanese go at the expense of the values of my own country.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

50. I think that foreign people in Japan may forget the importance of their own culture as a result of spending time in Japan.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

51. Studying Japanese is important to me as I don't want to be considered a poorly educated person.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

52. I would get tense if a Japanese person asked me for directions in Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

53. My employer puts a lot of presure on me to study Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

54. Studying Japanese is important to me to achieve a special goal (e.g. to pass a level of the JLPT or to get a promotion at work).

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

55. I always look forward to studying Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

56. The people around me believe that I must study Japanese to be able to understand Japanese society.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

57. Studying Japanese is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of Japanese.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

58. I find the differences between Japanese vocabulary and English vocabulary interesting.

- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Slightly disagree
- 4: Slightly agree
- 5: Agree
- 6: Strongly agree

Page 8: Part 6

In this part the scale is different but please answer in the same way.

59. How important do you think learning Japanese is in order to learn more about the culture and art of Japan?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

60. How much do you like Japanese?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

61. Do you like Japanese music (e.g., J-Pop)?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much

- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

62. Do you enjoy spending time with Japanese people?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

63. Would you like to have more Japanese lessons?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

64. Do you like Japanese movies?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much

- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

65. Do you like meeting Japanese people?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

66. How much would you like to become similar to people who speak Japanese?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

67. How afraid are you of sounding stupid in Japanese because of the mistakes you make?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

68. Do you like Japanese people?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

69. Do you like Japanese magazines, newspapers, or books?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

70. Would you like to know more about Japanese people?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

71. How worried are you that other speakers of Japanese would find your Japanese strange?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

72. Do you like Japanese TV?

- 1: Not at all
- 2: Not so much
- 3: So-so
- 3: A little
- 5: Quite a lot
- 6: Very much

Page 9: Part 7

Please provide the following information by ticking the appropriate box or writing your response in the space provided.

73. How old are you?

Please enter a whole number (integer).

74. Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female
- Other

75. What nationality are you?

76. How many years have you spent in Japan?

Please enter a whole number (integer).

77. What is your marital status?

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ In a relationship
- ☐ Prefer not to answer
- ☐ Separated
- ☐ Other

78. What is your current job in Japan?

79. What was your initial job when you arrived in Japan?

80. Do you have any TEFL/TESOL qualifications?

- ☐ CELTA/Trinity
- ☐ DELTA/Diploma
- ☐ Other
- ☐ No

81. What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

- Graduated High School
- Undergraduate Degree
- Masters Degree
- PhD

82. Before coming to Japan, had you studied Japanese?

- Yes
- No

83. Before coming to teach English in Japan, had you studied Japanese in Japan?

- Yes
- No

84. What level of the JLPT (Japanese Language Proficiency Test) have you passed?

- None
- N5 (Old N4)
- N4 (Old N3)
- N3
- N2 (Old N2)
- N1 (Old N1)

85. Have you ever attended Japanese classes?

- Yes
- No

86. Are you currently studying Japanese?

- Yes
- No

Page 10: Part 10: Japanese Ability

87. **Japanese ability:** *Please rate your current overall proficiency in Japanese.*

- Upper Intermediate level and over— Able to converse about general matters of daily life and topics of one's specialty and grasp the gist of lectures and broadcasts. Able to read high-level materials such as newspapers and write about personal ideas.
- Intermediate level — Able to converse about general matters of daily life. Able to read general materials related to daily life and write simple passages.
- Lower Intermediate level — Able to converse about familiar daily topics. Able to read materials about familiar everyday topics and write simple letters.
- Post-Beginner level — Able to hold a simple conversation such as greeting and introducing someone. Able to read simple materials and write a simple passage in elementary Japanese.
- Beginner level — Able to give simple greetings using set words and phrases. Able to read simple sentences, grasp the gist of short passages, and to write a simple sentence in basic Japanese.

Page 11: Final Page

Thank you for taking the time to help with my research!

If you would like to get more information about the project please email:

owen.minns@pgr.anglia.ac.uk

Appendix 5: Guidelines for Diary Study participants

Diary Instructions

We'd like you to write about your experiences learning and using Japanese.

Don't worry about your **grammar, spelling and punctuation**. We are just interested to hear about **your experiences**. Please try to write something **weekly if possible**.

Think about the following when you are writing:

1. **How are you learning Japanese? Do you go to classes, use a textbook or study with others?**
2. **How are you using Japanese? Who are you using Japanese with?**
3. **Have you had any particular positive or negative experiences that have influenced your Japanese learning and use?**

Date:	**Time:**

Appendix 6: Question bank for Linguistic Biography interviews.

Interview base questions

1. **How they originally came to Japan**

- How did you come to teach English in Japan?
- Before you went did you have any experience of teaching English?
- Did you have any experience of Japanese?
- During the training were you given any information about Japanese or Japanese culture?

2. **How they started to learn Japanese**

- When you got here were you offered any Japanese lessons by your company?
- Did you take Japanese Lessons?

3. **Employment in Japan**

- Did you continue to work as an English teacher in Japan?
- Have you tried to get a job outside of the English teaching industry in Japan?
- Did you stay with the company you initially went to Japan to work for or did you change companies?

4. **Their ongoing relationship with Japanese**

- How did you use Japanese socially when you first arrived?
- How did you engage with Japanese when you were working?

5. **Studying Japanese**

- Did you enjoy studying Japanese?
- Have you used any Japanese textbooks in your time in Japan?
- Have you attended any classes?
- Have you taken any Japanese proficiency tests such as the JLPT?

6. **Their use of Japanese throughout their time in Japan**

- Was your social scene in English or Japanese?
- Outside of work how have you socialised and spent your time in Japan?
- Who do you use Japanese on a daily basis with?

7. Any positive or negative experiences of learning or using Japanese

- Have you had any negative or positive experiences when using Japanese?
- How significant were these events for your relationship with Japanese?

8. Encouragement from people in Japan

- Were you encouraged by anyone to study Japanese?
- Have you encouraged others around you to study Japanese?

9. Their life in Japan outside of work

- What did you do in your free time initially when you arrived?
- Did the activities you took part in (in Japan) involve any use of Japanese?

10. Their position in Japan as an English teacher

- How do you view your position in Japanese society?
- How do people in Japanese society view you?
- Are you involved in any local community activities?

11. Retrospective Questions

- What advice would you give to a new teacher arriving in Japan about studying Japanese?

Appendix 7: Breakdown of L2 Motivational Self Factors with Mean and Standard Deviation

Scales for statement–type items:

1: Strongly disagree
2: Disagree
3: Slightly disagree
4: Slightly agree
5: Agree
6: Strongly agree

Scales for question-type items

1: Not at all
2: Not so much
3: So-so
3: A little
5: Quite a lot
6: Very much

The following tables provide the sequence number of each item as well as the item's mean and standard deviation.

Criterion measures

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
21. I would like to concentrate on studying Japanese more than my current employment situation allows me.	4.32	1.459
28. I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning Japanese.	3.99	1.288
33. I think I am doing my best to learn Japanese.	3.15	1.398
39. I would like to spend lots of time studying Japanese.	4.08	1.459
Cumulative mean	3.89	

Ideal L2 Self

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
9. I can imagine myself as someone who is able to speak Japanese.	4.80	1.165
13. I can imagine myself working in Japanese and having a discussion in Japanese.	4.66	1.335

15. Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using Japanese.	3.92	1.424
32. I imagine myself speaking Japanese with Japanese friends and colleagues.	4.88	1.030
46. The things I want to do in the future require me to use Japanese.	4.15	1.439
Cumulative mean	4.48	

Ought to L2 Self

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
8. I study Japanese because close friends of mine think it is important.	2.66	1.291
27. It will have a negative impact on my life if I do not learn Japanese.	4.33	1.299
35. I have to study Japanese because if I do not study it, I think people around me will be disappointed.	3.16	1.419
37. Studying Japanese is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to learn the language of the country they are living in.	4.52	1.284
42. Learning Japanese is necessary because people around me expect me to do so.	3.05	1.317
57. Studying Japanese is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of Japanese.	4.1	1.323
Cumulative mean	3.63	

Encouragement from people around me

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
7. My employer and the people around me encourage me to attend extra Japanese classes after work (e.g. at local language schools or city offices).	2.56	1.376

18. The people around me in Japan encourage me to study Japanese.	3.69	1.386
25. The people around me encourage me to take every opportunity to use my Japanese (e.g. speaking and reading).	3.30	1.339
53. My employers put a lot of pressure on me to study Japanese.	1.63	.918
56. The people around me believe that I must study Japanese to be able to understand Japanese society.	3.37	1.358
Cumulative mean	2.91	

Instrumentality-Promotion

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
12. Studying Japanese is important to me in order to attain a higher social respect.	4.07	1.481
23. Studying Japanese is important to me because I am planning to spend the rest of my life in Japan.	3.86	1.645
24. Studying Japanese is important for me because Japanese proficiency might be necessary for me to get a promotion or a new job in the future.	4.30	1.525
31. Studying Japanese is important to me because I would like to continue living in Japan for a long period.	4.57	1.426
36. Studying Japanese is important to me because with Japanese I can work outside the English education sector.	3.68	1.653
54. Studying Japanese is important to me to achieve a special goal (e.g. to pass a level of the JLPT or to get a promotion at work).	3.46	1.646
Cumulative mean	3.99	

Instrumentality-Prevention

Item	Mean	Standard deviation
11. I have to study Japanese; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career in Japan.	4.21	1.560
16. Studying Japanese is important to me because I would feel bad if I could not communicate with people in Japan.	5.03	1.134
29. I have to learn Japanese because without reaching a certain level of Japanese I will not be able to get a new job.	3.51	1.340
45. Studying Japanese is important for me because, if I don't have knowledge of Japanese, I'll be considered a weak learner.	2.96	1.340
51. Studying Japanese is important to me as I don't want to be considered a poorly educated person.	3.34	1.459
Cumulative mean	3.81	

Linguistic Self-Confidence

Item	Mean	Standard deviation
37. I believe that I will be capable of reading and understanding most texts in Japanese if I keep studying Japanese.	4.33	1.433
40. I am sure I have a good ability to learn Japanese.	4.37	1.236
43. If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to greatly improve my Japanese.	5.01	1.018
47. I am sure I will be able to use Japanese comfortably if I continue studying.	4.91	1.018
Cumulative mean	4.66	

Attitudes towards learning Japanese

Item	Mean	Standard deviation
4. I really enjoy learning Japanese.	4.30	1.282
17. I have liked the atmosphere of any Japanese classes I have attended.	3.73	1.408
48. I find learning Japanese really interesting.	4.56	1.177
55. I always look forward to studying Japanese.	3.41	1.305
63. Would you like to have more Japanese lessons?	4.56	1.520
Cumulative mean	4.11	

Lifestyle Orientation

Item	Mean	Standard deviation
3. Learning Japanese is important to me because I would like to be able to live in Japan easily.	5.27	.965
20. Studying Japanese is important to me because without Japanese I won't be able to enjoy my life in Japan.	4.50	1.400
26. I study Japanese so I can enjoy my life in Japan.	4.81	1.044
Cumulative mean	4.86	

Fear of assimilation

Item	Mean	Standard deviation
22. Because of the influence of spending time in Japan, I think the morals of foreign people living in Japan become similar to Japanese people.	3.67	1.157
41. I think as foreigners spend more time in Japan, there is a danger of them losing their identity as citizens of their home country.	2.63	1.254
49. I think the cultural and artistic values of Japanese go at the expense of the values of my own country.	2.35	1.105

50. I think that foreign people in Japan may forget the importance of their own culture as a result of spending time in Japan.	2.26	1.130
Cumulative mean	2.73	

Ethnocentrism

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
5. I respect the values and customs of other cultures.	5.29	0.799
30. Other cultures should learn more from my culture.	2.23	1.168
14. I find it difficult to work together with people who have different customs and values.	3.22	1.133
44. It would be a better world if everybody lived like people from my culture.	1.77	0.919
Cumulative mean	3.13	

Interest in the Japanese Language

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
2. I like the rhythm of Japanese.	4.52	1.023
6. I feel excited when hearing Japanese spoken.	3.72	1.144
19. I am interested in the way Japanese is used in conversation.	4.89	0.929
58. I find the differences between Japanese vocabulary and English vocabulary interesting.	4.79	1.129
Cumulative mean	4.48	

Japanese Anxiety

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
10. I feel uneasy speaking Japanese with a native Japanese speaker.	2.85	1.553
34. I get nervous when I speak Japanese.	3.47	1.564

52. I would get tense if a Japanese person asked me for directions in Japanese.	2.50	1.491
67. How afraid are you of sounding stupid in Japanese because of the mistakes you make?	3.15	1.593
71. How worried are you that other speakers of Japanese would find your Japanese strange?	2.88	1.502
Cumulative mean	2.97	

Cultural Interest

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
62. Do you like Japanese music (e.g., J-Pop)?	3.01	1.575
64. Do you like Japanese movies?	3.85	1.331
69. Do you like Japanese magazines, newspapers, or books?	3.47	1.238
72. Do you like Japanese TV?	2.74	1.465
Cumulative mean	3.27	

Attitudes toward L2 community

Item	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**
62. Do you enjoy spending time with Japanese people?	5.00	0.969
65. Do you like meeting Japanese people?	4.93	0.971
68. Do you like Japanese people?	5.10	0.879
70. Would you like to know more about Japanese people?	4.64	1.035
Cumulative mean	4.92	

Integrativeness

Item	Mean	Standard deviation
59. How important do you think learning Japanese is in order to learn more about the culture and art of Japan?	4.80	.973
60. How much do you like Japanese?	3.40	1.409
66. How much would you like to become similar to people who speak Japanese?	4.88	.909
Cumulative mean	4.36	