

Standing in the *genkan*: Adjunct foreign English language teachers in the Japanese higher education internationalisation context

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Declaration of authorship

I declare that this dissertation is my own account of my research and contains, as its main content, work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary institution.

This dissertation explores the experiences, knowledge and beliefs of adjunct foreign English language teachers (AFELT), and how they envisage their role and place in the Japanese university context. These experiences are important when considered against a backdrop of Japanese higher education reform and internationalisation. For example, this research asks, what are the experiences of AFELT? how do they conceptualise their expected role? and what do these suggest about internationalisation in the Japanese university context? This dissertation aims to: first, contribute to the understanding of how AFELT construe themselves as situated in the Japanese university context; second, investigate how AFELT contribute to, or not, internationalisation by illuminating phenomena that afford or constrain AFELT practices; third, examine the conceptual usefulness of applying a multi-theoretical perspective to elicit a richer, more nuanced understanding of stakeholders' social interaction and 'place' at both macro and micro levels of internationalisation. It is these phenomena, including notions of inclusion and exclusion, that situate the research in the broader context of internationalisation.

The empirical study presented in this dissertation initiated out of a desire to better understand AFELT experience, role and 'place' from an emic perspective. Previous research on Japanese higher education internationalisation is generally quantitative or limited in depth, thus has remained silent on AFELT experience, place, and value. By privileging participant voice, this study makes an original contribution to this field of research. A key feature of this dissertation is its theoretical grounding in interpretive epistemology and constructionist traditions. The epistemological assumption upon which the research is grounded assumes social interaction and socio-cultural/political phenomena such as internationalisation to be complex, multilayered, multidimensional, and dynamic. Qualitative data were therefore generated from successive focus groups and in-depth interviews conducted over a year involving 43 participants working across 66 universities (public and private) in Japan.

The findings revealed a complex, multilayered, matrix of intersecting and diverging themes and discursive discourses. At the macro level, a major finding is the significant discontinuity

between internationalization and communicative English language education policy and practice in Japan, and how these are enacted at the institutional level. AFELT role and ‘place’ was perceived by participants to be mobilised in essentialist, utilitarian and symbolic terms, with AFELT value indexed to the realisation of internationalisation and marketing strategies rather than to educational outputs. Thus, a significant degree of incongruence concerning the nature, purpose and function of AFELT classes was exposed. According to participants, higher education, broadly speaking, constitutes a social rather than educational experience for many Japanese undergraduate domestic students. From AFELT’s perspective, English language classes are considered as peripheral to the function of the universities in which they work, and not essential to the internationalisation process advocated in the broad internationalisation discourse. As such, AFELT construed their role as being commodified and instrumentalised. They asserted that AFELT were not supported in, or encouraged to facilitate, the development of interculturality in the domestic student population. Yet nevertheless, the majority of participants still felt a responsibility to implement intercultural education and encourage the development of students’ ability to value diversity.

At the micro level, the research identified contextual and individual affordances and constraints that impacted upon AFELT communicative English teaching. Participants’ ‘subject positioning’ was identified as a salient factor affording or constraining AFELT professional identity and practice. The research concluded by casting AFELT as aggressively asserting their agency through ‘reflexive positioning’.

Through its in-depth examination of AFELT ‘place’ and ‘experience’, this dissertation makes a unique contribution to Japanese internationalisation discourse. The multiple theoretical perspectives appropriated from situative social/psychological person-in-context perspectives, Japanese culture and communication studies, cognitive linguistics, dramaturgy, and Positioning theory to explore AFELT ‘place’ and ‘experience’ provided powerful conceptual lenses to interrogate stakeholder positioning within the internationalisation space.

The dissertation highlights the need for further research into: the influence of AFELT as vehicles of, and facilitators for reciprocal intercultural understanding; local cultural affordances and constraints; and, processes to evaluate and support ‘global citizenry’ as

graduate outcomes in the Japanese context. Metaphorically, the experience of the Japanese university for adjunct foreign English teachers may be likened to ‘standing in the *genkan*’, that is, they are invited into the house but are not invited up and into the home, or beyond the confines of the *genkan*. As such, AFELT are socially positioned between states - neither fully ‘in’ nor ‘out’, ‘visible’ nor ‘invisible’.

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List of Publications

Paper 1

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Paper 3

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Paper 4

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The following lists key Japanese terms used throughout the dissertation. Definitions are sourced from the JEDict (4.7.1) by Sergy Kurkin (2011)¹. Each term is defined according to its lexical function; however, the full range of meanings these terms connote within the Japanese context is not elaborated, as such a full treatment is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Therefore, the following is intended to indicate the range and flexibility these terms have as a metaphoric lexicon in this study.

<i>Daigaku</i>	大学	University (literally, ‘big’ ‘school’)
<i>Gaijin</i>	外人 (がいじん)	Foreigner
<i>Genkan</i>	玄関 (げんかん)	Entranceway, entry hall, vestibule, foyer
<i>Hon-ne</i>	本音 (ほんね)	Real intention, motive
<i>Kami</i>	上 (かみ)	Upper reaches (of a river), upper stream, top, upper part, upper half (of the body), long ago, beginning, first, (hon) person of high rank (e.g. the emperor), government, imperial court, imperial capital (i.e. Kyoto), capital region (i.e. Kansai), region (or direction of) the imperial palace, head (of a table), (hon) wife, mistress (of a restaurant)
<i>Kokusaika</i>	国際化 (こくさいか)	Internationalisation
<i>Nureen</i>	濡縁 (ぬれえん)	Verandah, open verandah
<i>Oku</i>	奥 (おく)	Interior, inner part, inside
<i>Omote</i>	表 (おもて)	Surface, face (i.e. the visible side of an object), front (of a building, etc.), obverse side (i.e. "head") of a coin, outside, exterior, appearance, public, first half (of an inning), top (of an inning), cover (for

¹ <http://www.jedict.com/>

		tatami mats, etc.), (comp) foreground
<i>Shimo</i>	下 (しも)	Lower reaches (of a river), bottom, lower part, lower half (of the body, esp. the privates), feces (faeces), urine, menses, end, far from the imperial palace (i.e. far from Kyoto, esp. of western Japan), (adj-no) dirty (e.g. dirty jokes, etc.)
<i>Soto</i>	外 (そと, ほか, そと, がい, よそ)	Outside, exterior, open air, other place, other (esp. places and things), exterior, open air, other place outside of, not covered by, somewhere else, strange parts, outside (one's family or group), those people, unrelated matter
<i>Tatemaie</i>	建前 たてまえ:	Face, official stance, public position or attitude (as opposed to private thoughts), ceremony for the erection of the framework of a house
<i>Uchi</i>	内 (うち)	Inside, within, while, among, amongst, between, we (referring to one's in-group, i.e. company, etc.), our, my spouse, (arch) imperial palace grounds, (arch) emperor, I (primarily used by women and children), me
<i>Ura</i>	裏 (うら)	Bottom (or another side that is hidden from view), undersurface, opposite side, reverse side, rear, back, behind (the house), lining, inside, out of sight, behind the scenes, proof, opposite (of a prediction, common sense, etc.), inverse (of a hypothesis, etc.), bottom (of an inning), last half (of an inning)

The outside inside: The genkan space as frame

Space in Japanese architecture is made up of transitory units. Each unit serves, in essence, as a bridge between the foreground and the deeper interior, and space contains a series of such units, like the links of a chain. It is endlessly fluid, especially where the interplay between the interior and exterior is concerned, with a fluidity that depends on design stratagems and in the atmosphere of a place. (Nakagawa, 2005, p. 1)

The concept of space, while common to all cultures, is a culture-bound concept (Makino, 2005). Generally understood as a physical category, space can be subjected, along with, for example, orientational and positional constructs, to metaphorical interpretation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Makino, 2005).

In the following, *genkan* space is briefly introduced as a frame for this dissertation (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974). Space in Japanese architecture is made up of multiple and fluid transitory units that bridge and link foreground and a deeper interior, especially in relation to interior and external spaces (Nakagawa, 2005). As Nakagawa (2005) explains, Japanese architecture is interesting as there are ambiguous spaces that are neither fully interior nor exterior, but are combinations of both. This concept is similar to Turner's (1967) notion of liminality and the concept of betwixt and between. Two spaces with special significance in the Japanese psyche are briefly elaborated to illustrate the fluidity of space. The veranda and *genkan* are spaces within Japanese architecture where boundaries are blurred as they simultaneously contain elements of inside and outside.

The Veranda (nureen)

The veranda is a feature of more traditional rural Japanese domestic homes. According to Nakagawa (2005), a veranda simultaneously affords one 'elements of both an indoor and outdoor experience', as one is both inside and outside at the same time (2005, p. 40). It is this duality, according to Nakagawa (2005), that is the defining characteristic of the veranda

space. However, traditionally the veranda is a space reserved for family and close associates, and as such it is a 'closed' space to those outside of the family and its associates. It is, therefore, perceived as an interior space even though it is open to the outside. As such, the veranda is not psychologically associated with impurities that exist outside the home (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984), and in that light it affords the sanctity of the *uchi* (closed interior) space without a sense of impurity, violation or intrusion. Generally, the veranda is not used to enter, or exit, a home.

The genkan

Like the veranda, the second space where the boundaries of interior and exterior blur is the *genkan*. Regardless of size, the typical Japanese residence has a small hallway one steps into when entering a home. It is a space similar to that of a vestibule. According to Wetzel (2004), while the meaning of *genkan*, defined through space, is controversial, several observations can be made. For example, while the religious meanings associated with the *genkan* space have faded over time (Yagi & Hata, 1982), overtones of the sanctity of the space linger in the psychology of the populous. For example, in pragmatic terms, the *genkan* functions as a space where shoes are removed, but it is a space invested with psychological qualities. Psychologically, it functions as a partition, and marks a clear demarcation between an 'unclean' exterior space (*soto*) and a 'clean' interior space (*uchi*) (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). When entering the *genkan*, residents announce their return by calling '*todayima*' (loosely translated as, 'I'm home'). They then remove their shoes and step up into their slippers. Then they move into the interior (*uchi*) regions of the home. These acts may be understood as constituting 'a ritual symbolizing the passage from public to private space' (Davidson, 1994), or in other words, a psychological transition from outside to inside.

The importance of the *genkan* in the Japanese psyche can be demonstrated in that even the smallest of homes of between 33 - 50 sq. m. (10 -15 *tsubo*) provide no less than 10% of the entire floor area for it (Engel, 1964, p. 242). The Japanese custom of removing shoes before entering the home is one reason why the *genkan* has retained its place in the modern home. However, as noted, the importance of this space is more than the pragmatic functions it affords. *Genkan* space is ambiguous (Makino, 2005) and, in addition to its literal purpose, has a psychological function, as noted. This is now elaborated.

'*Genkan*', according to Engel (1964), literally means 'mysterious gate' (p. 241). Engel (1964) suggests, 'the sentiments of the people are still governed, if only unconsciously, by concepts of the past society in which this formal entrance space was a privilege held only by the upper classes and forbidden to the general public' (p. 242). Traditionally, the *genkan* was associated with rites of purification to remove the 'impurities of the world outside' (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). The *genkan* has come to represent a space where one leaves behind the outside world, and as such, the *genkan* 'symbolizes the first stage in removing the antithesis of man and his environment until both are finally within the house and receive from each other confirmation and meaning of their existence' (Engel, 1964, pp. 242, 243). Moreover, meta-physically and metaphorically, the *genkan* represents the escape from the hostile chaotic cosmos that exists outside of *uchi* space. Thus, once one enters the *genkan* one has figuratively passed through the hostile space of *soto*. Therefore, as Wetzell (2004) observes *genkan* space constitutes more than a static location through which bodies move; rather, *genkan* space is dynamic and substantive. It is in *genkan* space where 'outside' and 'inside' intersect and overlap (Katoh, 2005). *Genkan* space, it has been observed, is situated between the 'in' and 'outside', and as such, functions as a 'boundary marker' (Makino, 2005). The territory encompassed in the *genkan* also marks the boundaries between *omote* (the façade, the exterior, for public consumption) and *ura* space (hidden from view and public scrutiny) (Lebra 1967; 112).

The *genkan* is also the space where social interactions between hosts and guests are initiated, conducted, and concluded (Black & Murata, 2005). Social interactions and transactions that occur within the *genkan* also mark and reinforce social stratification. The homeowner is always, by virtue of the architectural design of the *genkan*, positioned physically higher than visitors as the floor of the *genkan* is generally lower than that of the interior. This psychologically functions to reinforce and delineate status.

Genkan space is marked by the ritualized ceremonies of entrance and exit that are performed within that space which symbolically express transition and the distinction between in and out (Tobin, 1992). Hence they echo the three phases; separation, transition, and reincorporation which van Gennep (1960) described as defining rites of passage. The *genkan* experience

aligns with the transitional stage van Gennep (1960) labelled 'liminal'. Turner's (1967) concept of liminality is useful when considering how *genkan* space functions at the psychological level. When in *genkan* space, for example, one may be conceptualized as positioned as neither 'in' nor 'out' and therefore 'betwixt and between' states (Turner, 1967). By extension, Turner's 'liminal personae' construct is useful when framing individuals or groups, positioned between states, or in '*nonesmannesland*' (OED, 2011) commonly referred to as 'no man's land'. Therefore, it is worth noting again, while the *genkan* is literally part of the home, it is generally not considered part of the house figuratively.

Throughout this dissertation, *genkan* serves as a useful metaphor for understanding the Japanese university, and as a semantic device to better understand the interactions that occur in that space. In this dissertation, following Tsuda (1993), the Japanese university maybe likened metaphorically to a liminal space. In other words, a *genkan* affords the possibility of 'standing aside not only from one's own social position but from all social positions and of formulating a potentially unlimited series of alternative social arrangements' (Turner, 1974, pp. 13, 14). Critiquing the Japanese university system, Tsuda (1993) cautions that any analysis that only considers measurable outputs, such as standards and what is taught and learned, or not, without due consideration of the psychosocial functions of the university experience, would be incomplete. Tsuda (1993, p. 310) argues, for example, '[t]he Japanese university, unlike other social institutions, can function as such a special and effective psychological outlet because it is equivalent to a Turnerian *liminality* where normal social requirements, cultural norms, social rules, and relationships are temporarily suspended'.

Metaphor, Turner observes,

at its simplest, is a way of proceeding from the known to the unknown... It is a way of cognition in which the identifying qualities of one thing are transferred in an instantaneous, almost unconscious, flash of insight to some other thing that is, by remoteness or complexity, unknown to us (1974, p. 25).

Metaphorically, the experience of the Japanese university for adjunct foreign English teachers may be likened to 'standing in the *genkan*'. They are invited into the house but are not invited up into the home or beyond the confines of the *genkan*; as such, they are socially positioned

between states - neither fully 'in' nor 'out', 'visible' nor 'invisible'. As 'liminal personas', their condition is ambiguous and paradoxical (Turner, 1967). Moreover, as Turner observes, 'liminal personas' for the 'non-inoculated', almost universally are perceived as 'polluting'. They are, therefore, not afforded the rights of full participation within the cultural context. In other words, '[t]hey have physical but not 'social' reality, hence they are hidden' and are very often either partially or completely excluded 'from the realm of culturally defined and ordered states and statuses' (Turner, 1967, p. 97). Similar phenomena were experienced by Asian Americans who, as Bow (2010) argues, drawing on Turner's (1967) concepts, were likewise '*liminal personae*'. As such, and in a similar fashion to AFELT, Asian Americans in the segregated South had to, 'struggle with the destabilization of established social categories' (Bow, 2010, p. 12).

Throughout the interviews that produced the data for this dissertation, the Japanese university sector was generally conceived of as not performing an educational function in the sense of a formal academic education typified in the western sense. Rather, universities in Japan were conceptualised by participants as institutions through which students transit before entering the adult world of work and responsibility. From this macro perspective the *genkan* as a metaphor works well. From a micro perspective the English language classroom may also be described metaphorically as a *genkan* within a *genkan*. It is a place where the students experience (ritualistically as in a rite of passage) and interact with foreigners (*gai/soto* 'outside', *jin* 'person') from outside their *uchi*. However, this interaction occurs within the confines of a safe liminal space where the students are invested with the power to participate, or not, in the lesson and with their foreign teacher.

Introduction

This dissertation aims to understand the experiences, knowledge and beliefs of adjunct foreign English language teachers (AFELT), and how they envisage their role and place in the Japanese university sector. This is set against a backdrop of Japanese higher education reform and internationalisation. The study, as elaborated in the main findings and discussion section, was not intended to be comparative and was not aimed at making comparisons across cultural, institutional, educational or national contexts. Therefore, it is important to first locate the present research in the context of higher education internationalisation generally, and then Japan specifically. Given the focus of the dissertation is an inquiry into the experiences of AFELT, English language education in the Japanese higher education context is elaborated to facilitate a better understanding of the environment in which these individuals work.

This research considers one small group of stakeholders in the Japanese higher education sector. Its aim is to, first, understand their experience, but then also, along the way, to tease out some of the inherent difficulties associated with incorporating an intercultural dimension into the internationalisation processes of a university in Japan. This research grew out of my experiences working as an adjunct English language teacher, and my need to better understand the phenomena that I perceived to be shaping my experiences.

In total, I spent close to a decade living and working in Japan. Over that period I strived to learn the language, appreciate the culture, make friends, establish and then raise a family. In 1984, the Japanese government commenced a series of reforms to the higher education sector that included internationalisation (Eades, Goodman & Hada, 2005). In light of the 'idealised' notions I had concerning internationalisation, namely that it implied an appreciation for diversity and valued inclusivity, I had trouble reconciling my experiences with these values. Therefore, I determined to investigate the experience, role, and place of others like myself against the backdrop of Japanese higher education internationalisation.

Since those days, and a move out of Japan and into the higher education sector in Australia, plus with the passage of time, I have been afforded ‘time’, ‘space’, and ‘distance’ to better consider my experiences and the perceptions and experiences of my former colleagues. Through the course of this journey, and like internationalisation, I have matured. Furthermore, I have arrived at a point where I am able to address my aim. I now better understand the experiences, role, and place of AFELT and the nexus between them and internationalisation in the Japanese context. Moreover, I have addressed this through empirical research and added a unique contribution through this dissertation to understanding how AFELT are placed in Japanese universities. I have also given voice to AFELT who have been, and largely continue to be, ignored in that context and in research and literature exploring Japanese higher education and internationalisation.

In this introduction, I first discuss the global higher education environment. In particular, the commercialisation of higher education and inherent tensions that pursue as a consequence of this are highlighted. Second, higher education internationalisation is discussed from the Anglo, European and Japanese perspectives with a focus on the intercultural dimensions. Third, historical and contemporary Japanese higher education English language education and learning policy and practice is briefly outlined and discussed. Finally, employment practices, conditions, and attitudes in Japanese universities relating to AFELT are noted.

The global higher education environment: Academic commercialism, globalisation and the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation

Academic commercialism and globalisation

In this era of unparallel movement of capital, technologies, knowledge, and peoples globally, the higher education sector is being challenged in ways it has never been challenged before. One of the many challenges for universities in this era of mobility is the commercialisation of higher education. The financial imperatives for the success of higher education, in many instances, are indexed to internationalisation, which is equally challenging in many OECD countries. As higher education budgets are increasingly cut or eroded, internationalisation is

considered a necessary financial lifeline in many chancelleries and by governments. For example, Australia's higher education sector would implode, such is its reliance on revenue generated out of its third largest export market 'post-secondary education' should it cease (Marginson, Nyland, Sawir, & Forbes-Mewett, 2010). Thus, world-wide, globalisation and other internal economic pressures are challenging universities to reconsider how to expand their traditional roles to include internationalisation as a way to stay competitive and viable (Knight, 2008).

As borders become increasingly fluid, so too has the flow of students and, more recently, academics across them. In an increasingly competitive environment, governments and universities are implementing initiatives aimed at increasing the inward flow of full-fee paying international students. Consequently, this influx of international students has increased revenue growth. Yet, while the increasing flow of students has been viewed as a financial boon in many countries and universities, the increasing numbers of international students has generated significant tensions and issues for both host countries and institutions, and international and local students (c.f., Marginson, et al., 2010; Ninomiya, Knight, & Watanabe, 2009).

Recent events in Australia involving Indian students (2009/10) highlight this problem and revealed many challenges (Marginson, et al., 2010). Marginson et al. (2010), commenting on these events, and international students in Australia more broadly, document a range of issues around international student security (broadly defined), and highlight the danger of over exposure in the international student market for institutions. Furthermore, the vulnerability of the sector, ever more reliant on the income generated from the international student market, was exposed, and so were the many missed opportunities for cross-cultural exchange and interaction at the institutional and community levels. Marginson et al's (2010) account of the international student experience exposes systemic failings at the national, institutional and community level in both the public and private sector. These failings include neglecting to address issues of transition, integration and inclusion. Similar failings are evident in the Anglo and Asian contexts (e.g., Australia, the United Kingdom and Japan). In this environment, which Kim (2009) defines as a neoliberal higher education market, one significant issue confronting the internationalisation of higher education is the challenge of

foregrounding the inter-cultural dimensions as a central facet of the internationalisation agenda across all levels from national to individual.

For over three decades, higher education has come to be viewed in real, economic, and metaphoric terms as a form of 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). According to Knight (2008, p. 13) for example, with the formalisation of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) 'higher education has become a tradable commodity, or more precisely in GATS terms, an internationally tradable service'. The commodification of higher education has emerged as a significant theme throughout the Anglo higher education discourse. It encompasses the commercialisation and commodification of higher education with students as consumers and customers, institutions as marketers and retailers, and academics as service providers. In this context, for example, student and academic staff identity may be conceptualised as being 'defined and redefined by institutional market behaviours' (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 2).

The internationalisation of higher education is likewise inextricably linked to 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) and the marketization of higher education discourses (De Vita & Case, 2003). De Vita and Case (2003, p. 384), draw on Foucaultian (1972, 1977) concepts to argue that discourse and the words that populate it are not neutral. Moreover, citing Foucault, they that argue discourses 'systematically form the object of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972, p. 49 cited in De Vita & Case, 2003, p. 384). Given the power of discourse, as constituted in language, to shape and form reality, De Vita and Case (2003, p. 384) argue that, the discourse of marketisation will 'inevitably bring in its train a complex set of implied attitudes, purposes, dispositions and actions; in short a set of power effects'. Consequently, they argue the marketisation discourse, further to 'assigning values and meanings to the education system', constrains the facilitation of internationalism (encompassing the intercultural) at an institutional level. In other words, the marketisation discourse,

promotes effects that militate against a type of internationalization that would make university culture more multicultural, more open to the other and more

conducive to the development of a critical stance vis-à-vis our own cultural conditioning and national prejudices. (De Vita & Case, 2003, p. 384)

Across the Anglo and Asian spheres, the higher education sector can be viewed in terms of capitalistic and neoliberal market-driven analogies and discourses and stakeholders as ‘human capital stock’ (Kim, 2009). When, as Kim (2009) observes, ‘market values’ and ‘value for money’ are the defining features of the higher education landscape, how then are stakeholders, such as mobile academics and international students, to be considered? Furthermore, as Kim (2009, p. 399) observes, ‘[t]he social capital and cultural values of foreign experience are strategically welcome, in general; but not always appreciated in the various national and local contexts’. Thus, the instrumentality and commodification of stakeholders is brought into question. The financial imperatives are very real, but so too are stakeholders. How the discourse/s of ‘marketisation’, ‘commodification’, and ‘human capital/resource stock’ are defined and given form (*Foucault, 1972*), and stakeholders, such as academic staff, are situated merits attention. The Japanese government and higher education sector is responding to political, economic, and demographic pressures through reform, and in universities through internal restructuring and entrepreneurialism (Goodman, 2010). As such, the Japanese higher education discourse, like the Anglo discourse, is largely framed in terms of ‘marketisation’ and ‘commodification’ (Goodman, 2010; Rivers, 2010). Historically, the Japanese university sector was viewed as constituting a closed space to non-Japanese academics (Hall, 1994, 1998; McVeigh, 2002). However, in response to increasing pressure, both internal and external, Japanese universities are increasingly looking to recruit more mobile non-Japanese academics. Understanding, therefore, how such discourses shape and form stakeholder experience in higher education, and what this may mean, is important.

In the following section, internationalisation in the Anglo, European and Japanese contexts is outlined to contextualise the present research and the discussion that follows. While the focus of the dissertation is explicating the experience, role, and place of AFELT in the Japanese university context, a review of internationalisation is necessary for two reasons. First, internationalisation constitutes the backdrop against which the present study is set. Second, the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation figure prominently in the dissertation and therefore require some elaboration.

Therefore, the following section first reviews literature pertaining to internationalisation in the Anglo and European contexts. ‘Internationalisation at home’, ‘internationalisation of the curriculum’, and ‘comprehensive internationalisation’ are discussed, in turn, with a focus on the development of the intercultural dimensions as central tenets in each perspective, and the importance of academic staff in realising the goals of each. The intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are then discussed, and followed by a review of some common misconceptions concerning internationalisation. Internationalisation in the Japanese context is then discussed.

Internationalisation: Anglo and European Perspectives

Internationalization is changing the world of higher education, and globalization is changing the world of internationalization. (Knight, 2008, 1)

A review of the higher education internationalisation literature highlights links between internationalisation and globalisation, and reveals a considerable volume of debate contrasting the two. Indeed, it has been observed that these terms are frequently used interchangeably (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009). Knight (2008, p. 4) maintains that globalisation ‘dominates the minds of policymakers, academics, and professionals/practioners no matter what their sector or discipline’. Globalisation, like internationalisation, is a contested term, and attributed a broad range of definitions. It is the fluidity of meaning and multiple perspectives brought to it that causes it to be opaque. However, Knight (2008, p. x) stresses globalisation, like internationalisation, is a process. She defines globalisation as,

the process that is increasing the flow of people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology, and economy across borders, resulting in a more interconnected and interdependent world. (Knight, 2008, p. x)

Importantly, Knight (2008) observes that globalisation affects countries differently and can produce positive or negative outcomes, or a mixture of both, ‘ according to a nation’s specific history, traditions, cultures, priorities, and resources’ (p. x). Higher education, as Knight (2008) notes, is a sector impacted by globalisation.

In general terms, internationalisation is represented as a phenomenon that responds to globalisation and is conceptualised in terms of processes. For example, internationalisation has been construed as; specific *policy initiatives* (Altbach, 2002), systematic efforts (Van der Wende, 1996), institutional level structural adjustments (Harman, 2005) aimed at responding to the ‘requirements and challenges related to globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets’ (Van der Wende, 1996, p. 18). Altbach et al. (2009, p. 25) conceptualise internationalisation as being ‘pushed and pulled along by the forces of globalisation’. Altbach et al. (2009, p. 25), therefore define globalisation and internationalisation in the following terms:

Globalization typically makes reference to ‘the broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education and are largely inevitable in the contemporary world’. Internationalization, on the other hand, has more to do with the specific policies and programs undertaken by governments, academic systems and institutions, and even individual departments to deal with globalization. (Altbach, 2009, p. 123)

According to Altbach et al. (2009), what distinguishes the two constructs is the ‘notion of control’. Unlike globalisation, internationalisation, because it is conceptualised in terms of ‘process’, may be viewed more reductionistically as a phenomenon lacking inherent agency.

Since the 1990s, the intercultural dimensions of higher education internationalisation have increasingly been stressed across much of the Anglo and European literature. Knight (2008, p. xi) defines internationalisation as follows;

Internationalization of higher education is the process of integrating an international, intercultural, and global dimension into the purpose, functions (teaching, research, and service), and delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels.

While this definition has been widely embraced across Anglo and European higher education contexts, in particular the United States, Canada and Australia (Harman, 2005), it is not without its critics. Indeed, Sanderson (2008) argues that the value of Knight’s definition for guiding important intra-institutional internationalisation initiatives is not explicit. In

particular, Sanderson (2008) questions its value in relation to supporting the development of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation at the level of the individual. For example, Sanderson (2008) argues, Knight's definition is limited in addressing both the depth dimensions of internationalisation (encompassing national, sector, and institutional levels), and the breadth dimensions (encapsulated in the international, intercultural, and 'global flows of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values, and ideas dimensions') (Sanderson, 2008, p. 278). According to Sanderson (2008, p. 279), Knight's definition fails to account for how other levels at the 'local-global continuum can affect internationalisation processes overall'. Sanderson (2008, p. 279) maintains,

It can be argued that at least four levels are absent. Two of them are supranational. They are the regional and global levels. The remaining two lie within the institution itself. They are the levels of the faculty or department and individual teachers... Although Knight (2004) did not include the within-institution or supranational levels in the depth dimension of the new definition and concept, the forces associated with these levels nevertheless work in a top-down and bottom-up fashion on the three levels that comprise Knight's (2004) depth dimension of internationalization. If this depth dimension is all about reciprocally acting forces that reflect, reinforce, express, and create internationalization outcomes in a dynamic fashion, then the four additional levels also need to be included in the depth dimension to truly express these internationalization outcomes in their entirety.

Sanderson's (2008) observations concerning Knight's definition of internationalisation are important in the context of this dissertation, given its focus. The focus of Knight's definition is upon organisational approaches to internationalisation. As such, it offers little guidance for departments and individuals at the intra-institutional level to facilitate the cultivation of values and dispositions consistent with the ethos of internationalisation (Sanderson, 2008), and the facilitation of the intercultural dimensions.

According to Altbach et al. (2009, p. 24) internationalisation is,

notable for the multiple ways in which it has manifested itself around the world. Although each local, national, and regional context presents unique characteristics, several broad trends can be identified globally.

Similarly, Knight (2008, p. 1) observes, internationalisation is understood in a diverse range of ways and, as such, appears in a variety of ways in the literature and in practice. Several different approaches to the conceptualisation of internationalisation have emerged in the last decade. The first focuses on the transnational, crossborder, or international education abroad dimensions of education provision in the context of the marketisation of higher education. The second centers on infusing an ‘international’ experience and perspective into a home institution’s curriculum to provide domestic students with opportunities for intercultural learning. As Teekens (2003, p, 108) observed, ‘local conditions that could potentially promote interaction between students from different cultural backgrounds are not automatically leading to intercultural learning’, thus throwing into question the contribution that the presence of international students makes towards the realisation of that outcome. Continuing into the present, a significant body of research has grown that validates this concern (c.f., Schweisfurth & Gu, 2009; Summers & Volet, 2008). In response to such concerns, a number of approaches to internationalisation that stress the importance of facilitating the development of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the context of the home institution, and focused on the domestic student population, have emerged.

Three recent perspectives on internationalisation in higher education are: ‘internationalisation at home’ (in the European context), ‘internationalisation of the curriculum’ (in the Australian context), and most recently ‘comprehensive internationalisation’ (in the American context). According to Knight (2008, pp. 22, 23), these approaches largely developed to draw attention to the aspects of internationalisation that happen on ‘home campuses’ and include,

the intercultural and international dimensions in the teaching-learning process and research, extracurricular activities, and relationships with local and ethnic groups, as well as the integration of foreign students and scholars into campus life and activities.

The following section now elaborates on the notion of ‘internationalisation at home’, ‘internationalisation of the curriculum’ and ‘comprehensive internationalisation. Particular attention is given to the nexus of the intercultural dimensions of these approaches and the role, place, and engagement of academic staff as playing a critical role in the facilitation of learning environments that encourage intercultural communication competencies and global citizenry. This is then followed by an overview of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context. Finally, the place of English foreign language teaching and non-Japanese academics in the Japanese university sector is examined.

Internationalisation at home

In 2003, the *Journal of Studies in International Education* (Vol 7:1) released a special edition to address the emerging perspective, ‘Internationalisation at home’ (IaH), attributed to Bengt Nilsson. This edition canvassed IaH from a range of perspectives including: its beginnings (Wächter, 2003); the intercultural learning, diversity and higher education nexus (Otten, 2003); non-native faculty in ‘home’ institutions (Hoffman, 2003); skills for teaching in intercultural settings (Teekens, 2003); and case studies focused on IaH in Switzerland (Nilsson, 2003), and the Netherlands (de Jong & Teekens, 2003). IaH was, in part, a reaction to the perceived failure by Nilsson of the ‘initial Erasmus Programme’ and the need for a reconsideration of how to internationalise education for the vast majority of students who were not mobile, or likely to be (Wächter, 2003, p. 5). Until this time, Wächter (2003) notes, internationalisation in Europe had largely focused on student and academic mobility. Therefore, according to Wächter (2003, p. 6), the two key concepts upon which IaH is founded upon are: ‘an understanding of internationalisation that went beyond mobility, and a strong emphasis on the teaching and learning in a culturally diverse setting’. Unlike, internationalisation in the Anglo contexts (e.g., Australia and the UK), economic imperatives were not the principal drivers of IaH. As such, IaH sits outside the neo-liberal market discourse. This does not suggest that economic considerations are not present; they are however deemphasised. de Jong and Teekens’ (2003) account of the development of internationalisation policy at the University of *Twente* in the Netherlands underscores this point.

More recently, edited publications, such as the European University Association and the Academic Cooperation Association sponsored *Internationalisation of European higher education* (Gaebel, 2008), and work by Teichler (c.f., *Internationalisation of higher education: European experiences* (2009), trace the development of IaH and highlight tensions and challenges. For example, Teichler (2009, p. 105) makes the following observations:

Student mobility appears to be growing, but no longer can be expected to be viewed entirely in a positive light. Vertical mobility from outside Europe to Europe is criticised as calling for adaptation rather than learning from contrast, for benefiting the financial elites of poor countries, and for contributing to brain drain. As regards intra-European mobility, a recent survey has shown that the professional value of studying in another European country is declining to some extent, because such international experiences are losing their exclusiveness and distinctiveness (Teichler & Janson, 2007).

Indeed, IaH continues to evoke interest, contrast, and debate. For example, at the European Association for Internationalisation (EAIE) 2011 Copenhagen conference IaH will be debated and discussed by panellists representing European, Australian and African perspectives. IaH forms the basis of an EAIE special interest group (<http://www.eaie.org/IAH/>) where members have access to news, past conference papers, and networking opportunities.

In terms of the curriculum, Leask and Beelen (2009, p. 2) observe that IaH requires 'curricular' to include 'international elements for all students'. Furthermore, IaH aims to encourage the development of students' intercultural skills and to equip them with the competencies required to interact, and work in increasingly culturally diverse local and international contexts (Leask & Beelen, 2009). In the IaH framework academic staff are pivotal to the realisation of such goals. As Leask (2009, p. 2) stresses, 'the lecturer is the one who is the initiator of internationalisation of the curriculum responsible for making the classroom a site of intense and intercultural learning experiences for all home students'.

Internationalisation of the curriculum

Almost synonymous with IaH, 'internationalisation of the curriculum' (IoC) has emerged in the Australian context, in part, to address the issue of the large non-mobile student population, and, in part, as a reaction to the commercialisation and commodification of higher education and stakeholders. Tracing the development of IoC Leask and Beelen (2009, p. 3) note;

Since the late 1990s in Australia there has been increasing emphasis placed on the need to pay attention to what internationalisation means for academic work associated with teaching and research and with issues related to recognizing and utilising the culturally diverse perspective brought to the classroom by international students rather than maintaining a singular focus on international student recruitment as the primary focus of internationalisation as an end in itself.

According to Leask and Beelen (2009), while both IaH and IoC converge and evolved out of a similar desire to foreground the knowledge dimension of internationalisation there are subtle differences between the two conceptualisations. IaH is defined by Leask and Beelen (2009, p. 3) as, 'any international activity *with the exception of* outbound student and staff mobility'. Where as IoC is defined as the 'incorporation of an international and intercultural dimension into the content of the curriculum as well as the teaching and learning processes and support services of a program of study'. From both perspectives, for this form of internationalisation to be successful, academic staff play a critical role. Leask and Beelen (2009, p. 4) argue,

Academic staff are the principal actors on the new internationalisation stage. They have a critical role to play in the knowledge economy, they understand the academic value inherent in gathering information from all over the world and generating innovation on a world scale, only they can design curricula to develop interculturally competent graduates for life as global citizens and professionals.

In a similar vein, Jones and Killick (2007), from a British perspective, define internationalisation in broad terms. They acknowledge the value of the formal program of study in fostering the educational outcomes linked to internationalised curricula. However, they stress the importance of institution wide initiatives such as student exchanges, volunteering, and interactions with students beyond one's culture or clubs. Significantly, they

maintain that at the institutional level, ‘symbols and messages which convey the institutional ethos in which students study and which demonstrate a commitment to global perspectives and diversity, of which internationalisation is an element’ (Jones & Killick, 2007, p. 9) are just as important.

According to Jones and Killick (2007), the features of internationalised curricula are determined by the rationales underpinning them. For example, more mature and complex models of an internationalised curriculum will, ‘encompass references to knowledge and skills, sometimes to behaviours and, where the rationale is values-based, to attitudes (Jones & Killick, 2007, p. 112). Drawing on a range of authors including Rizvi (2000), McTaggart (2003), Leask (2005) and Whalley et al (1997), Jones and Killick (2007) list learning outcomes encompassed by internationalised curricular. These include:

- understanding the global nature of economic, political and cultural exchange;
- demonstrating culturally inclusive behaviour;
- viewing change as positive;
- engaging critically with the global plurality of knowledge;
- appreciating that knowledge is constructed differently in diverse cultures;
- being aware of one’s own cultures and perspectives;
- being able to identify ethical issues that may arise in their personal and professional lives in international and/or intercultural contexts;
- valuing cultural and linguistic diversity;
- applying critical thinking skills to problems with an international or intercultural dimension;
- reflecting critically on their own cultural identity and its social construction;
- recognising and appreciating different cultural perspectives on the same issues; and,
- developing a global imagination (adapted from Jones & Killick, 2007, p. 112).

In contrast to Leask and Beelen (2009), Jones and Killick (2007, p. 113) highlight the potential a diverse student body has to extend the ‘range of tools, techniques and resources available to help pursue effective learning and teaching within an internationalised curriculum’. Finally, citing Webb (2005) Jones and Killick (2007) argue, for internationalisation of the curriculum to be ‘normalised’ there need to be ‘organisation-wide systems’ established and functioning. Culture change of the type required to sustainably and organically nurture, grow and support an internationalised curriculum aimed at realising such aspirations and goals, they note, ‘cannot be effected by university edict alone, but through the creative utilisation of the imagination and agency of those who comprise the university’ (Jones & Killick, 2007, p. 114).

Comprehensive internationalisation

In his review of internationalisation in the American context, and the challenges and opportunities for educating ‘global citizens’, Stearns (2009, xi) writes,

Turning American colleges and universities into global institutions, or at least making global education one of their priorities, will surely be one of the leading demands of the 21st century in the nation’s higher education... Yet despite some important traditional commitments to international study, American institutions are not always well equipped to handle the global challenge – or even recognize it. They operate in a measurably parochial cultural context... American faculties are, collectively, less interested in global education than their counterparts in other regions, because some elements share a disdain for the non-American and often a dubious sense of national educational separateness and superiority.

Stearns (2009) identifies a raft of external and internal challenges that highlight the complexities associated with internationalisation in the American context. Externally, ‘change’ as it relates to the major shifts occurring in geopolitical power relations has unsettled many in the United States. With the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War, the events of September 11, 2001 and subsequent hostilities, and the ascendancy of China and India, ‘change’ is indeed challenging many Americans. Internally, and inextricably related to these and other external challenges, Stearns (2009) views parochialism as, perhaps, the most serious challenge in the domestic context. For example, Stearns (2009, p. 6) writes,

Arguably the biggest challenge – and here we step deliberately into risk territory – involves the tension between global education needs and goals, and a strongly parochial American society. This challenge to be sure is not new. The United States has long manifested inclinations toward isolation along with a (less unusual) mixture of apprehension and superiority concerning things foreign.

Yet despite, these and other challenges, tertiary institutions in the United States have had a long history of involvement with internationalisation (Paige, 2003). Mestenhauser (1998a, 1998b) and Paige (2003) represent two voices that have stressed the intercultural dimensions of higher education internationalisation in the American context. Drawing on Ellingboe's (1998) six dimensions conceptual model of internationalisation, Paige (2003) documents the initiatives undertaken at Minnesota University to internationalise. Ellingboe's model included;

- the integration of international students and scholars into university life,
- internationalised curriculum,
- faculty participation in international activities,
- internationalised co-curricular units/infrastructure for international education,
- leadership supportive of international education, and
- the availability of study-abroad programs. (Paige, 2003, p. 53)

Citing Mestenhauser (1976), Paige (2003) notes that in the context of IaH 'international students could serve as learning resources for U.S. students on a wide variety of topics, ranging from area studies to intercultural communication'. Mestenhauser (1976) argued that structured interactions and pedagogy drawing on international students would potentially help U.S. students to better understand how they were viewed outside the States, and to provide opportunities for them to develop their cultural learning and intercultural communication skills. Paige (2003) also recognised the centrality of academic staff in fostering and sustaining environments that would support such learning outcomes. Paige (2003, p. 56) argues that 'the curriculum is at the center of the student learning experience and represents for universities the major arena for developing international and intercultural knowledge, skills, and worldviews'. As such, academic staff 'have an important role to play in internationalisation',

and equally importantly, so does academic staff development and capability building (Paige, 2003, p. 58).

Similarly, Stearns (2009), though applying the term ‘global education’, argues,

global education must not only involve a sensitive study of different cultural traditions and institutional frameworks, with the analytical skills attached, but also an appreciation of the kinds of forces that bear on societies around the world... and how these forces have emerged.

Additionally, Stearns (2009) stresses that academic staff engagement with the intercultural facets of the curriculum represents a considerable challenge consistent with observations outside the American context (c.f., Leask & Beelen, 2009; Turner & Robson 2008; Jones & Brown, 2007). Furthermore, Stearns (2009, p. 61) argues that a crucial and compounding challenge involves academic staff in disciplines not generally associated with global issues such as in the physical sciences. Stearns (2009, p. 61) also notes the irony of where in certain disciplines there are likely to be staff with foreign origins and yet they are not valued for what they could legitimately contribute ‘without distortion or condescension, in a globalization effort’, or in other words, for what they could add to the internationalisation of the curriculum.

More recently in the American internationalisation discourse, under the banner of ‘comprehensive internationalisation’, Hudzik (2011) likewise stresses the importance of ensuring that the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are being recognised and promoted in the curriculum. Hudzik (2011, p. 6) defines, ‘comprehensive internationalisation’ in the following terms;

Comprehensive internationalization is a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility.

Comprehensive internationalization not only impacts all of campus life but the institution's external frames of reference, partnerships, and relations. The global reconfiguration of economies, systems of trade, research, and communication, and the impact of global forces on local life, dramatically expand the need for comprehensive internationalization and the motivations and purposes driving it.

Like Stearns (2009), though in far more economical terms, Hudzik (2011) outlines the scope, challenges, rationales, drivers, goals and measures of internationalisation in the American context for what he labels 'comprehensive internationalisation'. In a similar vein to Leask and Beelen (2009), Hudzik argues, 'the most important variable in comprehensive internationalization is the faculty' (p. 29). Given their position and status within most universities, Hudzik (2011, p. 29) argues, if they are not brought into the 'process effectively, they may see this variously as an inconvenience, as interference in academic freedom, a challenge, and something distasteful'. Moreover, Hudzik (2011) maintains without faculty support and participation 'comprehensive internationalisation', in other words, the internationalisation of the curriculum, will not be realised. For such aspirations to be realised, as noted earlier, academic staff engagement is critical (Leask & Beelen, 2009). The intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are a complex construct. Supporting academic staff in developing an understanding and appreciation of the intercultural/international nexus is likewise challenging.

Having reviewed the three approaches, IaH, IoC, and 'comprehensive internationalisation', the following section, drawing principally on the work of Crichton et al. (2004), is intended to highlight the complex nature of the construct 'intercultural' in the context of higher education internationalisation. The complexity of this concept is also demonstrated in the vast array of terms that have come to be associated with it. These include; intercultural education, intercultural teaching and learning, intercultural communication, and international education. In many cases these terms are used synonymously, however there are both subtle and obvious differences between them. For the purpose of the discussion in the following section these terms are used synonymously and intended only to highlight the emphasis being placed on fostering the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation alluded to above.

The intercultural dimensions of internationalisation

In this complex modern environment, Barnett (2011) observes, there are many different ideas as to what it is to be a university. Before proceeding with the discussion on what constitutes the 'intercultural' as a construct in the internationalisation discourse the question, 'what is it to *be* a university?' merits attention. In addressing this question, Barnett (2011) offers insight into what is implicit in each of the IaH, IoC, and 'comprehensive internationalisation' perspectives and approaches.

In addressing the question 'what is it to be a university?' Barnett (2011) first identifies and then evaluates, several different forms of 'being' that are used to characterise universities in the 21st Century. These include, 'the scientific', 'the entrepreneurial', 'the corporate', 'the bureaucratic', 'the liquid' and what he terms 'the ecological' university. Then applying pairs of concepts that 'speak to each other and even contend *with* each other: *being* and *becoming*, *space* and *time*, *culture* and *anarchy*, and *authenticity* and *responsibility*', Barnett explores the meaning of 'being a university'. Barnett (2011, p. 62) argues focusing on the construct '*being*',

Being is always active. Being a university, therefore, is not a passive existence. In being a university, a university is not simply in the world. It is *active* in the world, and that includes being active *with* its own self. In being a university, the university has a concern for itself in the world. It reflects on itself as it acts in the world...

Barnett (2011, p. 4) contends,

Despite the exigencies of markets, entrepreneurialism, bureaucracy and globalisation and shifting knowledge structures and identity structures that characterise universities, they still have options before them. There are still spaces into which they can move. So there is an ethical space in which universities have their being, whether they acknowledge this or not. Each university is responsible in part for its own form and character. Universities have, therefore, *responsibilities*. Those responsibilities derive from a sense as to what it means to be a university in the modern era.

One can argue that it is the sense of '*responsibility*' that lies at the heart of the shifting focus in the internationalisation discourse to draw attention to the importance of developing the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. The importance of recognising the 'intercultural' in the internationalisation discourse is, therefore, seen as integral to the aims and goals of internationalisation. As the preceding highlighted, there exist multiple rationales associated with this shift. The spectrum of rationales include recognising the need for an education that will better prepare students to live and work in the world, as 'global citizens', and as a redress to the neo-liberal discourse and the commodification and instrumentalisation of higher education and stakeholders.

However, as Leask and Beelen (2009) argue, embedding intercultural dimensions into curricula is not without its challenges. Indeed, they maintain, given 'intercultural engagement requires an understanding of how languages and cultures influence thoughts, values, actions and feelings' (Leask & Beelen, p. 5) then;

[a]n internationalised curriculum must encompass a broad range of knowledge, experiences and processes but it needs to do more than this. It should be the result of, and encourage, critical evaluation of the cultural foundations of that knowledge itself. It must also explore and evaluate the effectiveness of many ways of teaching and assessing student learning. This will require continuous effort focussed on the nature of knowledge, pedagogy, learning processes, content and the achievement of outcomes. (Leask & Beelen, p. 6)

For this to occur, a systematic and thoughtful approach to curriculum innovation is required (Leask, 2008). This is underscored by Liddicoat (2003, p. 19) who observes the internationalisation of course content, because it fails to address issues of identity and engagement, typically fails to develop the intercultural dimensions.

Paige (2003) observes that, in the context of teaching and learning, for both educators and learners intercultural education is challenging. This is also highlighted through the range of terms employed in relation to the concept as the following quote demonstrates. Crichton et al. (2004, p. 42) argue that for the intercultural dimension of internationalisation to be realised it is dependent upon 'making explicit both the theoretical principles which underlie

intercultural teaching and learning, and how these are intended to guide curriculum design that promote effective *intercultural communication* within the contexts of *international education*'. Crichton et al. (2004, p. 44) remarks, 'whether one perceives oneself as an educator or learner, or both, 'intercultural education involves epistemological explorations', and as a consequence, active engagement with some of the thinking which informs an interdisciplinary notion of 'intercultural' is necessary (for further elaboration this see, Crichton, Paige, Papademetre, Scarino, & Wood, 2004).

A critical facet in the construction of curricula intended to facilitate the development of the intercultural in the internationalisation context, according to Crichton et al (2004, p. 5), is;

Understanding one's own linguistic, socio-cultural, political, ethical and educational constructs, values and beliefs, and their formation due to one's own enculturation based on the interrelation of language, culture, and learning [which] has continuous relevancy in the ongoing project of intercultural teaching and learning across curriculum that aspires to 'internationalisation'.

Leask and Beelen (2009) draw on Barnett and Coate (2005) to highlight a further challenge associated with the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation of the curriculum, namely 'the invisibility of the curricula'. Barnett and Coate (2005) observe that, while projects in higher education focusing on aspects of teaching and learning are proliferating, scant attention is being paid to curriculum. A number of reasons for this silence are offered, including tensions around sensitivities 'associated with values and interests of different stakeholders' (Barnett & Coate (2005, p. 151). Another reason they propose is the existence of 'an invisibility about the curriculum itself'. Barnett and Coate (2005) sketch the features of curricula and highlight the elusive nature of the construct. For example, they write, '[c]urriculum... has a will-o-the-wisp quality. It is a bit like gravity or a set of sub-atomic particles' (Barnett & Coate, 2005, p. 152). In other words, like gravity one can only feel its effects, or comprehend it in tangible terms, unless of course one is Newton, or Hawkins.

Academic staff development is, obviously, critical in internationalising education (Leask & Beelen, 2009), given the challenges associated with facilitating environments that support and foster the intercultural dimensions and ethereality inherent in the curriculum. Therefore, to

presuppose that academics will be willing to, or able to, engage with this facet of higher education internationalisation without appropriate structures of support is erroneous. As Leask and Beelen (2009, p. 4) contend, 'Many [academics] lack the skills to add a meaningful international dimension to their courses. This is not surprising, since it is not an easy task to implement deep level international learning'. However, despite these difficulties and those arising out of the epistemological and philosophical facets of intercultural teaching, learning and assessment (Crichton et al, 2004), the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the Anglo-European context are increasingly being advanced.

Misconceptions concerning internationalisation

The potential benefits of internationalisation for stakeholders, in particular, local and international students, have been widely advocated throughout the internationalisation literature. There exist, however, a number of misconceptions and problems with the conceptualisation of internationalisation. To illustrate, as noted above, Marginson et al. (2010) observe a number of systemic and persistent issues in the Australian context. Many of these issues arise, they contend, from the commercial character of international education. In this context, because 'international education is a revenue-raising business and its students are seen as customers with needs and rights understood in terms of a bargain struck in the market place' (Marginson et al, 2010, p. 10), issues relating to engagement, quality and security become pronounced.

Further to this, De Wit (2011) observes that even though internationalisation has been a feature of education for over two decades many misconceptions remain concerning it. In a recent lecture, De Wit (2011) noted instances of where internationalisation for some has become 'synonymous with a specific programmatic or organisational strategy to promote internationalisation: in other words where the means appear to have become the goal'. Arguably, as the following sections demonstrate, this issue is particularly pronounced in the Japanese context.

De Wit (2011) argues,

Despite the fact that international concerns occupy an increasingly central role in the policy documents of higher education institutes, in national and European position papers and in the reports of organizations such as, the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank, they are still predominantly focused on specific activities. This leads to major misconceptions about what internationalisation actually means.

According to De Witt (2011), common misconceptions that he debunks include:

- Internationalisation is about teaching in English.

Noting a trend in both European and Asian countries toward teaching in only English, De Wit (2011) comments on two problems with this. First, it has the potential to deemphasise the value of learning foreign languages in English speaking countries. Equally important, in the context of this study, it can 'lead to preferred treatment for native speakers. Other 'unintended' negative effects of this assumption include, the belief that the 'English language is regarded as internationalisation'. In addition to this, it has the potential to result in a decreasing focus on other foreign languages. This in turn may result in a decline in the overall quality of the education experience and outputs; particularly if the quality of the students and teachers, for whom English is not their native language, is not at the appropriate level. Critiquing the social construction of English as a 'world language', Phillipson (1992, 2009) and Canagarajah (2006) discuss at length the implications of globalising English. For example, Phillipson (2006, p. 353) typifies these concerns when he argues that many continental Europeans appreciate that, if the shift to English and Anglo-American norms is allowed to continue unchecked, cultural vitality and diversity will suffer, as a result of contemporary linguistic imperialism'. In non-English speaking countries where foreign languages other than English are taught, a shift to teaching English in place of other foreign languages has also been considered potentially problematic for similar reasons (Larsen-Freeman & Freeman, 2008).

- Internationalisation is studying or staying abroad.

In addressing this assumption, De Wit (2011) observes that, 'study or internship abroad is often regarded as the equivalent of internationalisation'. He cautions, however, that the two

concepts cannot be conflated. Indeed IaH can be seen as a reaction to this perspective. According to De Wit (2011), there are numerous misconceptions concerning the value of mobility including: personal development; employability; diversity; intercultural communication; multilingualism; and the like, but there are no guarantees mobility will result in these. Teichler (2009, p. 97) underscores this concern when he argues, ‘Many empirical research projects... provide evidence that students neither become more internationally minded or friendlier to their host country during a short period of study abroad’. Leask (2010, p. 3) observes, despite the considerable energy focused on student mobility ‘in the belief that bringing people from different backgrounds and cultures together on campus will result in the development of transformative cross-cultural understandings and friendships’, there is little evidence of meaningful interaction occurring.

- Internationalisation is synonymous with providing training with international content or connotation.

Citing the example of ‘international business programmes’, De Wit (2011) notes that to equate regional studies with internationalisation is overly ‘simplistic and instrumental’, particularly in the absence of clearly defined definitions, objectives, and methods of assessment. De Vita (2007) likewise criticises this misconception, arguing it is pervasive. The ‘infused curricula’ as De Vita (2007, p. 163) labels it, has led to a ‘flourishing of courses in which traditional subject areas are broadened through international comparative methodologies’. With few exceptions however, De Vita maintains the ‘infusion approach’ confines the experience of internationalisation to the mere acquisition of knowledge. Furthermore, pedagogy that supports the development of intercultural communication and capability are largely ignored. Therefore, De Vita (2007, p. 166) proposes, internationalisation of the curriculum ought to adopt a ‘culturally inclusive curriculum approach’ wherein ‘real tasks, emotional, and intellectual participation, the goal of genuine internationalism’, is supported.

- Internationalisation equals having many international students.

De Wit (2011) notes that, while there are many potential benefits associated with mixing local and international students in learning environments, the mere presence of international students alone does not advance cross cultural interaction or intercultural understanding. Similar observations are widely cited across the literature (c.f., Jones, 2010: Kimmel & Volet, 2010). Jones and Caruana (Jones 2010, p. *xxii*) writes, for example,

A continuing challenge for those concerned with internationalisation of the curriculum is *inspiring* and capturing the *imagination* and *curiosity* of the seemingly ethnocentric student, encouraging them to seize the opportunity of international experiences, campus engagement, or innovative pedagogy for the development of cross-cultural capability.

Increasing the number of international students without first fostering an environment of inclusion and acceptance, or preparing an environment where all students and academic staff are ‘in it together’ (Volet, 2004), will not produce positive outcomes.

Internationalisation in the Anglo and European contexts: A summary

To this point, internationalisation, and specifically internationalisation of the curriculum in its various guises, has been discussed in the context of the Anglo and European discourses. Internationalisation in the Anglo and European higher education discourses is understood to be a broad, multifaceted, multilayered and dynamic construct. In the current climate, as Crichton (2010, p. 4) maintains, the commercialisation of education and the potential conflict between commercial and educational priorities has become pronounced. These tensions in the internationalisation discourse have emerged as academics and educators have begun to question the tacit implications of marketisation as it relates to internationalisation in the higher education sector. Thus, the educational aspirations, goals, and opportunities inherent in international education are not entirely lost. Indeed, it appears that as internationalisation is maturing it is finding a new voice.

In summary, internationalisation is understood to be linked to and influenced by globalisation, but not synonymous with it. Internationalisation is not a new concept, and its shape, aims, and goals are, as Knight (2004) and de Wit (1998) observe, determined by the

rationales that underpin it. As internationalisation matures, its educational and intercultural dimensions are being increasingly foregrounded. The intercultural dimensions of internationalisation have been outlined. It was noted that embedding the intercultural dimensions into curricula is challenging, and largely dependent upon the active participation and engagement of academic staff, and their employment of a considered and innovative approach to curriculum development. Furthermore, it was observed that IaH, IoC and ‘comprehensive internationalisation’ were aimed at supporting the development of the host institution’s non-mobile domestic students. Finally, several significant misconceptions concerning internationalisation in the higher education context were scrutinised.

The following section now considers internationalisation in the Japanese context. Its focus is to situate the present study.

Internationalisation: Japanese Perspectives

The aim of this section is to highlight how internationalisation in the Japanese context is constructed from both Anglo and Japanese perspectives. A further aim is to catalogue some of the key initiatives being advanced and undertaken at the national and institutional level, and to critique these. Before entering into a discussion on internationalisation in the Japanese context, it is first helpful to put this into a historical perspective. Therefore, the following firstly situates internationalisation from a historical perspective, noting an ideology of isolationism prevalent in Japan. Second, the Japanese university context is elaborated on to highlight significant differences between universities in Japan and those in western countries. This is then followed by a review of internationalisation initiatives undertaken in Japan since 1983 and the then Government’s plan to increase international student numbers to 100,000 by 2000.

An historical overview

History and historical interpretation is a contested space in academia in the postmodern era (Ankersmit, 1994). Therefore, as a precursor to the following, it needs to be observed that in the postmodern era there exists considerable epistemological and methodological debate over

the nature and rendering of history. This view is encapsulated in the following by Ankersmit (1994, pp. 44-45) who argues that the Anglo-Saxon view of history is confronted with a dilemma of choice in terms of historical representation.

The two sides to the dilemma can be described in a number of different ways. One could speak simply of new philosophy of history versus traditional philosophy of history, of interpretative versus descriptivist philosophy of history, of synthetic versus analytic philosophy of history, of linguistic versus critical philosophy of history, or, as does Hans Kellner,^[1] of postmodernist versus modernist philosophy of history. All these labels have their advantages and disadvantages and they all capture part of the truth. Nevertheless... I prefer the terms *narrativist philosophy of history* versus *epistemological philosophy of history*.

Epistemological philosophy of history has always been concerned with the criteria for the truth and validity of historical descriptions and explanations; it has attempted to answer the epistemological question as to the conditions under which we are justified in believing the historian's statements about the past (either singular or general) to be true. Narrativist philosophy of history, on the other hand, concentrates upon the nature of the linguistic instruments historians develop for furthering our understanding of the past. Epistemological philosophy of history is concerned with the *relation* between historical statements and what they are about; narrativist philosophy of history tends to remain in the domain of historical language. This state of affairs should not be interpreted as though epistemological philosophy of history is "realist" and narrative philosophy of history "idealist"; one of the main objectives of narrativist philosophy of history is, in fact, to determine the distinction between the historian's language and what it is about, which is presupposed by the antithesis of realism versus idealism. (Ankersmit 1994, pp. 44-45)

Clapson (2009) traces the development of this debate, highlighting the tensions between the positivists and postmodernists. Postmodernist academics, according to Clapson (2009), argued 'that historians could never produce accurate narrative accounts of history or developments because they could not really know the past' (p. 161). Postmodernists, according to Clapson (2009, p. 161) argue this is because of,

the shifting nature of language, developments in knowledge or epistemology, and of changing interpretations over time. In this sense, another assumed meta-narrative – that of ‘common sense’ based upon an understanding of ‘human nature’ – was also deeply flawed and useless because it rested upon contemporaneous and culture-bound viewpoints that praised objectivity and realism when there was no longer anything ‘real’ or any earlier intended ‘meaning’ that could not be contested.

The postmodern perspective on historical interpretation, as Clapson (2009) observes, is not, however, without its flaws and critics either. That aside, in light of the contested nature of historical interpretation and the choices open to one (Ankersmit, 1994), Clapson (2009) suggests that given the concerns raised by both positivists and postmodernists, good practice for historians ought to involve recognising and acknowledging ‘certain biases and tendencies in interpretation’. (p. 163). There are practical steps one can utilise, such as being aware of the work of others, past and present, being empathetic and ‘a scepticism about projecting our own assumption and values uncritically into the past (Clapson, 2009).

Histories are discursively constructed discourses and Miyoshi’s narrative is one interpretation. While it is offered here to situate internationalisation in the Japanese context, it is acknowledged that there are other narratives that offer very different interpretations (c.f., Befu, 2001). It is also acknowledged that in selecting this particular interpretation and rendition, one’s own assumptions and biases are revealed.

Tokyo born literary scholar, Miyoshi (2010) in an essay reflecting on the state of Japan, made a number of key observations that help understand internationalisation in that context. Miyoshi (2010) argued, in Japan the discourse of ‘national identity’ preceded the project of constructing the national state. ‘Nativism’ was a function of the Tokugawa closure and two centuries of isolation ‘created a climate of ideology of Japan as an autonomous and self-sufficient place’ (p. 196). Such ideals were further reinforced with the successes of the Meiji modernisation agenda, and its success in ‘countering the encroachment of Western imperialism’ (p. 197). Japan, through this phase of transformation was both a ‘potential and partial victim’ and ‘active agent of imperialism’. Both served to further reinforce the importance of this idea in the Japanese psyche and were later leveraged in government wartime rhetoric. The occupation likewise reinforced notions of ‘Japan as the frame of

reference for the Japanese' (p. 197). Miyoshi (2010) concludes that, by the 1970s and leading into the 1980s 'the theological dogma of Japan as undifferentiated' was well established. Miyoshi (2010, p. 197) argues this is reflected in,

a habit of regarding Japan as the epistemological horizon like a Kuhnian paradigm – a grammatical addiction to preface all sentences with “we Japanese” and end them with “in Japan,” and to prefix nearly all nouns with either “Japan” or “foreign.” Manufactured earlier as a public policy by the state apparatus such as the Ministries of Education, Finance, Foreign Affairs, International Trade, and Industry and cooperative media, this idea of Japan has now turned into an automatic reflection among most of the population.

A consequence of patronage to this ideology, Miyoshi (2010) contends, is the absence of any critical engagement in deference to consensus and uniformity, or at least the appearance of it. This is evident not only in the public discourse and in how citizens, in particular minorities, are positioned within society. For example, Miyoshi (2010, p. 99) observes,

... Japanese society is far from homogeneous. Despite the oft-repeated official proclamations, it has minorities (the burakumin, Koreans, Chinese, other Asians, and Iranians); it discriminates against women; it is biased against gays and lesbians; there are regional gaps in wealth; and there are visible, though subtle, strata of wealth, privilege, and power.

Miyoshi (2010) argues that the 'ideology of homogeneity' not only victimises minorities it ultimately challenges notions of democracy by not affording all the right of 'free curiosity and open knowledge' (p. 199). Another 'victim of the ideology of homogeneity', Miyoshi contends, is the form politics takes. 'Japanese politics', according to Miyoshi, constitutes 'a form of culturalism' which becomes important later in the framing of internationalisation. 'Japanese culture is of utmost importance politically, Miyoshi (2010, p. 200) argues. He is not alone in this view (c.f., Donahue, 1998; McVeigh, 2000, 2004; Rivers, 2010; Sugimoto, 2003). Under the banner of 'unity', Miyoshi maintains, even though the Emperor has no political legitimacy to influence the course of public policy, his symbolic status is, transformed into the politics of 'representation'. Furthermore, positioned thus, Miyoshi argues, '[t]he emperor is thus the most effective institution for converting politics into

ceremony, into culture and aesthetics, and by extension reducing social classes into a hierarchic order' (2010, p. 200). What this means, and its relevance to this study, is '[f]rom corporations to universities, from family to community, people assume an unwritten structure of ranking' (2010, p. 200).

These structures, according to Miyoshi, are not only eroding Japan's capacity to engage critically with itself, but also to engage with those outside its borders. Speaking to internationalisation, Miyoshi (2010) observes Japan's incapacity to engage critically likewise has consequences in the international arena. For example,

Japan's "internationalization" is being revealed as a sham – ceremonial exchange of niceties and pleasantries without critical engagement – played by both Japanese and visiting foreign scholars and journalists for the purpose of trade. There is hardly any real encounter. When most Japanese scholars go abroad, they carry along a bit of Japan in the form of well planned group protection. And the foreign writers have also failed to agitate their Japanese colleagues – by remaining aloof, polite and uninterested. What is vitally problematic about Japan at the end of the twentieth century is its inability to understand the nature of its isolation from the rest of Asia, the Pacific, the Americas, Europe, and the world. Its internal coherence, water-tight adhesiveness, has inevitably resulted in severing itself from all that is "non-Japanese". (Miyoshi, 2010, p. 201)

Given the site for the research presented in this dissertation is located in the Japanese university context set against the back drop of internationalisation in that sector, to further contextualise the study and better situate AFELT the following briefly considers what constitutes 大学 (*daigaku*/university). While there are, obviously, many similarities between western and Japanese universities there are, however, significant differences that need noting.

The Japanese university: Points of difference

According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, nd) as of 2008 there were 86 national, 75 public and 591 private universities in Japan. In his critique of the effects of demographic related challenges on universities, particularly in the

private sector, and their subsequent shift from 'selection to seduction' as a means of addressing this issue, Kinmonth (2005, p. 107) offers the following description of the modern Japanese university;

The term 'university' carries connotations of a breadth and level of research and education that are inapplicable in the Japanese context. Many four-year institutions are quite small with only a few thousand, or occasionally as little as a few hundred, students and offer only a single course such as business, literature or information studies. A much smaller number of institutions cover virtually all fields, including medicine, and have tens of thousands of students.

Kinmonth (2005) also observes, in many instances private universities are conglomerates and family run businesses. Notably, unlike American private colleges and universities, private Japanese universities 'essentially live a hand-to-mouth existence covering current operating expenses and capital expenditures from students fees' (Kinmonth, 2005, p. 108). In addition to differences concerning the financial operations of the private university sector, another significant difference relates to the hierarchical organisation of universities in the Japanese psyche and as demonstrated through employment practices (see, Ogawa, 2002 for an in-depth overview of the traditional organisation of Japanese universities).

Universities in Japan are ranked vertically and in relation to their status (Goodman, 2007), and as such are closely aligned with certain corporations or government agencies and bureaucracies. For example, many of the country's leading bureaucrats are Tokyo University alumni. What this means is, employment and social opportunities are either afforded or constrained by the status of the university a student enters. Thus, as Kinmonth (2005) observes, potential students, in order to maximise their employment and social opportunities, aspire to enter higher, rather than lower, ranked universities. Given the shift in the demographic pattern, lower and middle level status private universities are competing for increasingly fewer students. Thus, they are 'lowering their costs, cultivating new markets' and trying new 'recruitment strategies' (Kinmonth, 2005, p. 113). Goodman, (2007) provides a useful overview of how these initiatives are being played out in lower and higher status universities. For example, Goodman (2007) observes, at the undergraduate level, generally it is only the low-level private universities that are interested in taking international students.

Goodman (2007, p. 82) illustrates this, noting, for example,

Some institutions are prepared to take virtually any students who will pay their fees and indeed many have been caught in processing applications from students who have no intention of studying but simply want a visa so that they can come and work in Japan.

Another effect of the demographic situation, as it impacts on the private university sector in particular, has been the perceived drop in the quality of higher education. This has been addressed in policy and is widely debated (Aoki, 2005; Eades, et al., 2005; Yonezawa, 2002, 2008). It is also linked to academic staff who are likewise impacted by the structural changes related to the changing demographic situation in Japan. For example, Arudou (nd) summarises the situation in the following terms;

The Japanese educational job market is becoming increasingly insecure for all educators. Japanese academics are losing their job security through the slow but planned elimination of tenure by central government policy. More important, however, are the deteriorating conditions for non-Japanese in Japan. Foreign educators' employment status (never very secure due to government targeting) is becoming even more ambiguous and abusable in terms of legal rights.

Having provided some contextual background to internationalisation and Japanese universities, the following now considers internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context.

Internationalisation in the Japanese context: A lifeline

As noted in the preceding section, the aim of this dissertation was to investigate how AFELT understand their role and place in the Japanese university sector, set against the backdrop of internationalisation. It has been observed that internationalisation in the Anglo and European discourse is influenced by a range of factors including globalisation and the commercialisation of higher education that has occurred, in part, as a result of globalisation. From the Japanese perspective, globalisation, increased interconnectedness, technological advances, plus economic interdependency and competition, have challenged the Japanese

government to reconsider how it can maintain Japan's place in the global economy. The move to a 'knowledge economy' and a declining birth rate coupled with an ageing population has also created challenges. In response to these challenges the Government initiated a series of nation-wide institutional reforms in response to these 'pushers and drivers'. In the higher education sector the reforms included; the incorporation of the national universities, dismantling the tenure system, encouraging financial investment in the private sector, the establishment of a University Council to advise the Prime Minister and internationalisation (Okada, 2005).

Kokusaika (国際化 *internationalisation*), as in the Anglo and European contexts, is not a new concept, nor any less debated. According to Goodman, the concept of *kokusaika* is 'used instrumentally' by a large number of stakeholders in a variety of ways (Goodman, 2007). While arriving at a specific definition of *kokusaika* is challenging because of the range of meanings attached to it, this is not the case with the policies and practices that have evolved in response to it. The following, therefore, briefly traces the Japanese trajectory into the internationalisation space, and key initiatives directed towards internationalising the Japanese higher education sector.

'Open' suggests possibilities. According to the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Pearsall, 1998), 'open' may be defined in the following terms: as allowing access, passage, or a view through an open space; not closed or blocked up, exposed to view and or not covered up, officially admitting customers or visitors, open for business, frank and communicative; not given to deception or concealment, not finally settled, still open for debate. Whether Japan has, indeed, 'opened' through the process of internationalisation in its higher education sector is debatable and contested.

The following traces, albeit briefly, the development of internationalisation in Japan from the 1980s when Japan was said to have commenced, rather ironically, on its 'third opening' (Reischauer & Jansen, 1977). Discussing globalisation and English in Japan, Seargeant (2005, p. 309) observes,

Historically Japan has had a problematic relationship with the rest of the world which is characterized by a process of regulating contact with the West that has perpetuated an insular self-image and led to an internationalization programme which has had more to do with absorbing foreign influence than interacting with the international community.

This characterisation also extends to the university system in Japan. It too may be viewed as ‘controlling’ contact with the outside world and exploiting that contact for a specific utilitarian function.

In the early 1980s, when talk concerning the restructuring of the Japanese education sector and the internationalisation of Japanese higher education commenced, many commentators regarded this as signalling what was then termed the “third opening” of Japanese education. Within this specific community of observers there seemed to be a high degree of optimism concerning the future direction that education in Japan was about to embark upon. The first reference to the opening of Japan is when Commodore Perry arrived with ‘black’ gun ships demanding Japan open to trade. Japan bullied by this gun boat diplomacy, opened not only her borders and trade, but also aggressively embarked upon an active policy of modernisation which was deemed necessary if Japan was to avoid a similar fate to that of China who was struggling with internal and external forces. It is important to note that this initial opening to the West was not an initiative of the Japanese, and subsequently while Japan was “open” in some senses for the vast majority of Japanese, Japan remained intellectually and physically closed to the outside world. At this time too, many of the seeds of mistrust concerning foreigners and the belief in the uniqueness of the Japanese were sown. But it is also at this time that Japan began to suffer an identity crisis that is still evident today according to some (Miyoshi, 2010).

The second ‘opening’ followed World War Two. Japan ‘suffered’ defeat by the allied forces under the leadership of the Americans. The economic base of the Japanese had been utterly destroyed, and as a country Japan needed to be rebuilt. The Americans, as occupiers, drafted a new constitution for the Japanese, and the Japanese education system was completely restructured. From its inception until that point in time, the Japanese education system had been an adaptation of the German model, but the Americans imposed their system of

education on the Japanese. The third ‘opening’, and the restructuring of higher education in Japan was not so much a Japanese initiative, but more a response to pressure exerted on it by the OECD. Japan was criticised for only having approximately 10,000 foreign students in Japanese universities, while other member states had as many as ten times that number. In response Prime Minister Nakasone announced that Japan’s strategy would be to internationalise its education sector via a number of proposals (Eades, et al., 2005; Horie, 2002).

A key facet of the internationalisation agenda, initiated in 1983, was the plan to increase international student numbers to 100,000 by the year 2000. Horie (2002, 2003) provides an extensive overview of the context that led to this initiative. One defining characteristic of internationalisation in Japan, it is important to note, is it has largely been led by the Government and is essentially a ‘top-down’ phenomenon. This has implications at the institutional level where initiatives such as the 100,000 international student plan were not necessarily welcomed. Horie (2002, p. 65) proposed that internationalisation at that time emphasised two facets; first, ‘improved quality and efficiency of university education including instruction and administration in global perspective’; second, openness to students from any background and country. However, in the intervening years both these foci have been brought into question, with critics arguing that little change can be identified relating to quality or ‘openness’ (Burgess, 2010; Fitzpatrick, 2008; Klaphake, 2010).

That aside, Huang (2006, p. 105) observed that in order to achieve that target, ‘various efforts’ at both the policy and institutional level were made. Huang (2006, p. 105) noted for example;

Since then, almost every aspect concerning internationalization of higher education, including internationalization of university curricula, has been largely affected by the plan. Actually, over time, it has become the major guiding principle in higher education reforms. However, the situation has also changed since the 1990s, as Japanese higher education has also been deeply influenced by a rapid development of globalization.

As a means of addressing these new challenges, as they were developing, the government placed an increased emphasis on foreign language (namely English) education and increasing programs that encouraged the outbound flow of Japanese students and short-term exchange programs (Huang, 2006). Thus the Government argued, ‘transnational or cross-border higher education should also be considered as an effective means to promote internationalization of Japanese higher education’ (Huang, 2006, p. 106). The national and private universities (with the exception of a few elite institutions) responded in significantly different ways. The national universities, Huang (2006) observes, concentrated on more research-orientated programs, while the private universities, as noted above, focused their attention on enrolling international students.

From the 1990s, in addition to the Japanese-language programs for international students, there has also been a proliferation of courses taught only in English for international students. According to Huang (2006, p. 108) these courses can be divided into: ‘degree-conferring courses or programs that are specifically designed for international universities’ largely provided at national universities to graduates; and ‘short-term exchange programs for international students at the undergraduate level’. Huang (2006) also observed an increase in the number of programs incorporating an ‘international perspective’ being offered to domestic students in addition to the international students. For example, according to Huang (2006, pp. 108, 109),

Within the 15 years from 1980 to the early 1990s, 6 private universities, 21 faculties, and 55 departments with international course offerings have been newly established. Furthermore, in the 4-year period from 1998 to 2002, faculties with international or cross-cultural communication course titles were established in 16 private universities. Among them, curricula with international subjects or with titles denoting cross-cultural communication or understanding (international communication or culture, etc.) constituted 27% of the total; curricula preparing students for defined international professions (international business, international management, etc.) accounted for 18%; and curricula in foreign languages or linguistics made up 12% of the total (Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture, 2003).

More recently, the Fukuda Government (January, 2008) announced a plan to increase the number of foreign students to 300,000 by 2020. The rationale for this, according to a recent MEXT (2009) publication, is to ‘make Japan more open-minded in order to maintain and develop [their] security’ (p. 15). The five-point plan includes:

- To invite international students to study in Japan;
- To improve entrances including entrance examination and admission to university and Japan;
- To promote globalisation of universities;
- To create an accepting environment; and,
- To promote the social acceptance of students after graduation/completion (Mext, 2009, p. 15).

Each point in the plan has a series of sub-goals. For example, in order to globalise universities, and to make them more attractive to potential international students, the Government aims;

- To predominantly develop universities as centers for Internationalization (the Global 30); and
- To increase the number of courses taught in English (Mext, 2009, p. 15).

Central to the realisation of the 300,000 student plan was the establishment of 30 universities comprised of high-level elite National and private universities as centres for internationalisation, and the creation of ‘a system where lessons etc can be conducted in English’ (MEXT, 2009). These goals have been challenged by the *Global Financial Crisis* and the more recent events associated with the 2011 tsunami. Therefore, it is unlikely in the foreseeable future that the program to select and fund 30 universities will go beyond the current 13 universities receiving Government funding. Recent critiques by Lim (2009) and Rivers (2010), and observations by Burgess (2010) and Fitzpatrick (2008), suggest the ambitious targets are not likely to be realised.

What is notably absent in the Japanese internationalisation discourse is an explicit acknowledgement of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. The interpretation of internationalisation as Kuwamura (2009) observes is closely tied to an institution's mission, policy, and culture, and how it is conceptualised will as a result vary accordingly. It is therefore important, according to Kuwamura (2009, p. 12), to understand that 'Japanese institutions [will] pursue their own approaches to internationalization at both institutional and individual levels according to their varying needs as organizations and their constituents'. As such, the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation may not be a priority.

According to Rivers (2010), Ninomiya, et al (2009), and Kuwamura (2009) increasing diversity, and the pursuant challenges associated with this, are likely to be significant obstacles to the further expansion of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education sector. Kuwamura (2009, p. 9) notes, for example;

While diversifying their student bodies and academic programs, Japanese universities are also in need of making efforts to expand their capacities to respond to such increasing diversity within their own contexts.

Kuwamura (2009) highlights this challenge. He argued that, as universities become increasingly diverse, it is important for Japanese universities, and their constituents to consider ways of developing the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. Kuwamura (2009) suggests that one way to address this is through increasing the number of international staff. But because there continue to exist reservations 'about accepting other cultures into the mainstream', he argues, '[t]o overcome this unwillingness to mingle with people of other cultures and start proactively and effectively increasing diversity, Japanese universities could start by having their constituents develop their intercultural competencies in some way' (Kuwamura, 2009, p. 12).

In concluding his critique of the 'Global 30 Project', Rivers (2010, p. 452), argues internationalisation represents the, 'continuation of the business-as-usual mentality of ethnolinguistic exclusion shrouded by nationalistic intent'. Furthermore Rivers contends, 'the Global 30 Project and the '300,000 international students plan 'bare[s] all of the classic

hallmarks of a nationalistic agenda being pursued under the banner of internationalisation' (Rivers, 2010, p. 451). Whether such an assertion can be validated, only time will tell. However, what a review of the Japanese higher education internationalisation policies and discourse reveals is the seeming absence of an emphasis on the internationalisation of the curriculum. This facet of internationalisation, as it relates to the development of the 'intercultural' or 'global perspectives' in students and the place of academics in that process, is not immediately apparent. This can be further demonstrated through an examination of the role of English. Likewise, a consideration of the experience, role, and place of AFELT in the Japanese university context may also be revealing.

Having now reviewed internationalisation in the Japanese context, and noting a silence in Government policy concerning the internationalisation of the curriculum, the next section explores the role and place of English as a foreign language, and English language education in the Japanese university context.

English language education policy in Japanese higher education: historical and contemporary perspectives.

Following Seargeant (2008), I would like to preambule this section by emphasising that the overview presented in the following 'constitutes one particular perspective' on the manner in which English language education is constructed within Japanese society. What follows is not focused on the 'participants', but rather the discourse of institutional regulators of the education system. Furthermore, while the observations in the following pertain specifically to Japan, and are therefore 'context-specific', they also exist 'as part of the wider international discourse of general applied linguistic theory, sharing a theoretical history and language with scholars working in very different contexts' (Seargeant, 2008, p. 123).

English language education has been a feature of Japanese higher education since its commencement in the Meiji era (1886) as a reaction and specific response to globalisation. Miyoshi (1993, p. 276) writes that:

Japan's mid-century encounter with the outside world was largely involuntary. To the extent that it could not be resisted, the rendezvous was one-sided; it was, in fact, nearly an invasion. The recognition of this helplessness led Japan to both adore and reject the West at the same time.

The Tokugawa government in 1895 officially recognised the need to establish programs for the instruction of English and the program was placed at the Institute for Research on the Barbarian Books (*Bansho Shirabe Dokoro*). This resulted in many protests from Western diplomats stationed in Japan at the time and seven years later the name was changed to the Institute for Open Development (*Kaiseishho*). From its conception, this was a government school and it later evolved into the University of Tokyo and under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Thus, English studies had, in essence, arisen in response to the needs of the state (Miyoshi, 1993). There are many similarities between the English language education rhetoric and policies in the Meiji era and those of contemporary times. English language education continues to be largely viewed in terms of national rather than individual interest (Hashimoto, 2000, 2007, 2009; Rivers, 2011). Miyoshi (1993) observed, for example, bureaucrats in the education ministry were determined to emulate Britain and eagerly sought to find or create parity and equivalence between the two nations. Hence, during this early period, the medium of instruction for all courses was English, and all students had to therefore learn English. During that period, teachers of English, given the demand, were not always employed on the basis of their professional qualification, and the Ministry did not prescribe the curriculum or dictated pedagogy, as the need to learn from the West was so urgent.

Thus, according to Miyoshi (1993), while the government was ever on guard against the dangers of 'alien teachings', the acceptance and importation of much of Western thought and customs was considered desirable and inevitable. However, this climate was not to last long. Following the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 the Ministry of Education gradually phased out the system of utilizing foreign teachers and began replacing them with Japanese faculty trained abroad in an attempt to gain tighter control over the faculty and curricula, and to reduce costs. It was from this time onward that foreign teachers became in the words of Miyoshi;

Supplementary luxuries, not fundamental players, in Japan's educational structure. This could be considered the first step in nationalizing education, the teaching of English literature in particular. Of course the disappearance of the English-speaking faculty meant the silencing of foreign sounds as well as alien opinions. "De-oralization of English in Japan could be said to have commenced at this point (p. 277).

English language education in contemporary Japan has spawned a massive amount of commentary and research from within and outside Japan. As the following suggests, academic analysis of Japan's relationship with English encompasses a broad spectrum of positions. For example, this literature considers English language instruction from policy (Gottlieb, 2008; Hashimoto, 2007, 2009; Koike, 1978), ideology (Kubota, 1998; Law, 1995; Seargeant, 2008), nationalism (McVeigh, 2004; Sullivan & Schatz, 2009), reform (Poole, 2005), attitudes and learning performance (Reesor, 2003) and pedagogy (Japan Association for Language Teaching, JALT Journal).

As Gottlieb (2008, p. 42) observes, the teaching of English has 'attracted both policy attention and large amounts of funding'. For example, all secondary students in Japan are required to formally study English for six years, and at most universities for a further two years (Gottlieb, 2008). However, arriving at a simple explanation of English language education in Japan and how it is situated is not easy to achieve. Mc Kenzie (2006, 2010) and Koike (1978), like many writing on the topic, commence with a historical overview and trace policy and other developments back to the contemporary era as a way of addressing this issue. Gottlieb (2008, p. 42) suggests as a starting point to understand the position of English in Japan,

It is important to understand how English functions in relation to other languages in Japan. Put simply, as reflected in the relevant policy documents on the current specifics of language teaching in Japanese schools and universities, 'English education' is virtually synonymous with the term 'foreign language education'.

While languages other than English are available to students, schools are encouraged to make English compulsory as the principal foreign language (Gottlieb, 2008). Indeed, English, as Gottlieb (2008, p. 43) observes, 'is understood to function pragmatically as a language of

international communication... as an international language (EIL) rather than as a second or merely a foreign language’, with an external focus. Citing a 2000 report by the Prime Minister’s Commission Gottlieb (2008, p. 43) highlights clauses such as: ‘Achieving world-class excellence demands that, in addition to mastering information technology, all Japanese acquire a working knowledge of English – not simply as a foreign language, but as the international lingua franca’, and ‘knowledge of English, as the international lingua franca’ equips one with a key skill for knowing and accessing the world. Addressing this facet of English language learning in Japan, Gottlieb (2008) writes;

If Japan today views the study of English as a survival skill, a competence to be acquired to assist in communication outside Japan rather than to play a substantial role within it (Torikai, 2005: 254), this is nothing new. English has always been seen in that light within this particular polarity: we are inside and self-sufficient with our own language, but in order to look outside we need English.

Similarly, Hashimoto (2009) through an exploration of two key English language documents entitled *Developing a Strategic Plan to Cultivate “Japanese with English Abilities”* (MEXT, 2002), and *Regarding the Establishment of an Action Plan to Cultivate “Japanese with English Abilities”* (APJE, MEXT, 2003), identifies a series of problems and contradictions, residing in the ‘compromise between the maintenance of Japan’s cultural independence and the promotion of English as an indispensable tool for international market competitiveness’ (Hashimoto, 2009, p. 21). Furthermore, Hashimoto (2009) argues that the agenda to maintain, in an era of globalisation, cultural independence is not only a ‘top-down project, but one that is embraced by both private and public sectors’ (pp. 21, 22). The treatment of English in these policies, Hashimoto (2009, p. 31) argues, is directed toward ‘cultivating’ Japanese people’s skills as ‘human resources’ (*jinzai*) and to enable ‘top-level talents’ to live in the international community. Moreover, Hashimoto (2009, p. 32) maintains, ‘expanding the domestic use of English does not mean everyone will use English in their daily lives’. Rather the intent is to ‘create an elite class who can use English to achieve the nation’s ultimate goal – to cope with the difficulties in an era of globalisation’. Hashimoto (2009), like Gottlieb (2008), also draws attention to the issues stemming from the obligatory requirement to formally study English in the school sector. Hashimoto (2009, p. 34) comments,

In reality, however, English is a de facto compulsory subject... As long as English is taught and learned as a compulsory subject at school, obtaining a certain level of proficiency in English is not a matter of choice for the individual student, but a task that must be undertaken. In other words, foreign language education in Japan is designed to protect and enhance Japanese national interests, rather than to provide wider opportunities for individual students to expand their knowledge and experience and to engage in the world.

A negative consequence of this approach to English language education is that it instrumentalises not only English as a language, but also its teachers (Hashimoto, 2009). Hashimoto (2009) concludes that the MEXT objective is to facilitate an environment that will ‘cultivate’ ‘Japanese who can **use** English’ (MEXT 2002, 2003). Thus this supports the view that,

English is applied by treating foreigners as resources, by categorising students as groups rather than as individual learners, and by presenting English proficiency as something to be “owned” like an asset that generates further wealth and profit.

Ultimately, Hashimoto (2009) contends, MEXT’s English language policies are aimed at the regulation and control of the processes that will produce ‘Japanese who can use English’. Therefore, she maintains, while this posture persists learners and teachers will be ‘forced to engage in practices that are far from effective in creating “Japanese who can use English”’ (Hashimoto, 2009, p. 37).

McVeigh (2002, 2004), a ‘renowned’ critic of Japanese higher education maintains that ‘Japan has a love-hate relationship with English’. McVeigh (2004, p. 214) argues, in Japan, English language education is defined by ‘nationalistic utilitarian purposes’. He goes so far as to equate English language education in Japan to ‘a nationalistic utilitarian attempt to strictly bifurcate Japan and the Japanese (however they may be defined) and the rest of the world (McVeigh, 2004, p. 223). For McVeigh the role of foreign language learning, in terms of the values one might expect of a ‘liberal education’, has been completely deemphasised in the Japanese context. McVeigh (2004), pp. 223, 224) writes;

The role of foreign language education, then, has been hurt by nationalism and economism; learning about the Other not only threatens one's identity, but it should also be undertaken for practical purposes, such as honing one's memorization or impressing prospective employers. Mastering the language of the Other for the sake of humanistic self-edification is lost during the frenetic climb up the education-examination ladder.

English language education is linked, by several authors, to *kokusaika* (internationalisation) and ethnocentrism. Seargeant (2008, p.132) observes, for example, '[t]he idea of Japanese ethnocentrism, and its possible consequences for English language education is closely connected to *kokusaika*'. While the official rhetoric emphasised the importance of international communication (through English) to the national agenda, citing Itoh (1998, p. 12) Seargeant observes,

the primary goal of Japan's internationalisation was to enhance its national economic interest, and thus the more Japan became international, the more nationalistic it became. Although the two notions were antithetical to each other, they were inseparable in the case of Japan.

Summarising Dougill's (1995) thesis concerning the persistent application of grammar-translation approaches to English language education in Japanese school, Seargeant (2008, p.133) writes, 'His thesis is that a history of insularity undermines the talk of internationalisation with the country, and that the promotion of English is thus, a specious and superficial act'. One outcome of relating the notion of Japanese ethnocentrism to foreign language learning is that it prioritises the place of culture in ELT practice', Seargeant (2008, p.134) argues from this perspective,

The language becomes not so much a tool for international communication, but a living artefact belonging to a foreign culture. Likewise, native speaker teachers become specimens of that foreign culture, their role as instructors of specialised knowledge overshadowed by their status as foreign nationals, so that it is the emblematic presence of foreign culture in the classroom that is the defining factor in their appointment in schools.

English language education in the Japanese context is a complex and multifaceted construct. The perspectives outlined in the preceding reveal as much about the author as they do about the participants of the research. Given the perspectives outlined, the question of how key stakeholders, such as AFELT, understand their role and place as teachers of English in the Japanese university context is brought into sharp relief. In order to further contextualise the research site, the following provides a brief overview of how AFELT are positioned in the university context through an examination of university employment practices and conditions.

Adjunct foreign English language teachers in the Japanese university context

With few career opportunities available to western foreigners inside Japan, aside from a small percentage of professional occupations, teaching English is generally the most populated profession. In the TEFL sector in Japan there are broadly five areas where foreign teachers are employed. First, there is the relatively small group of self-employed language teachers. Second, there are the English language conversation schools (*eikaiwa*) such as, the now defunct NOVA or GEOS. Third, there is the public and private, elementary and high school sector that includes the Japanese Exchange and Teaching program that commenced in 1987 (for more on this see McConnell, 2000, 2002). A fourth sector comprises companies that dispatch teachers to corporations where teachers instruct workers and professionals onsite, and usually in the evening. And fifth, is the university sector.

Among foreign English language teachers in Japan, employment in the university sector is generally regarded as the pinnacle of the profession. Generally, this is indexed to the perception that, as an adjunct or full-time (though these are relatively fewer in number) adjunct's salaries are higher, there are more holidays and more autonomy in relation to curriculum and pedagogy in the university sector than in the other sectors. Part-time teachers of English because they work across multiple universities, are able to observe similarities and differences between universities, unlike full-time staff who are generally restricted to working in fewer universities. Adjunct teaching staff, irrespective of discipline, have a considerably different status compared to the full-time teachers. While this may not be a significant factor for the students (Wadden, 1993), the nature of their experiences with administration and

Japanese full-time teachers is significantly affected by their status level. AFELT then use this knowledge to determine which universities they would like to gain employment in, or avoid.

Gaining employment as an adjunct foreign English language teacher in the university sector is not an easy process, and there are 'pitfalls' (c.f., Arudou, 2007). While some positions are advertised, those finding employment in the university sector do so through informal networks with other adjuncts or full-time foreign teachers. Therefore, this limits the chances of finding a position for anyone who has not been resident in Japan for several years or more. It also means that this community of teachers stays relatively small and stable. Chenworth and Pearson (1993) observed that the overall status of the institution and the quality of its English programs, and then by extension, the teaching experience, do not necessarily correlate. Teaching English in a highly prestigious university in certain departments may not offer as rewarding teaching experience as in a lower level university English language department (Chenworth & Pearson, 1993). Furthermore, within a given institution the ability of students and their receptiveness to English language instruction can be indexed to the department or faculty they belong to, or their major. This again greatly influences the teaching experience.

The requirements for employment also vary according to the status, location and need of the institution. However, generally, in addition to being a 'native' speaker of English, the minimum academic qualifications one requires is a Master of Arts degree. It is not necessary for the degree to be in a field related to teaching, or for TEFL/TESL qualifications (Chenworth & Pearson, 1993), and in some cases a Bachelors degree is sufficient. For employment in the university sector as a foreign English teacher it is also generally not necessary to be able to communicate at any sophisticated level in Japanese.

The school year, depending on the university, typically has between twenty six to thirty teaching weeks, which means that the part-time teacher is then free, for the remaining weeks of the year, to do what they want. The adjunct teacher is paid a fixed amount for each class taught. Classes generally run from mid-April to late July and then from mid- to late September to mid-January. Even though a teacher only teaches approximately 6 to 7 months they are usually paid for twelve months including periods when classes are not in session in

the private university sector. In the National and public sector one is only paid for the classes taught and, therefore, the remuneration per class (*koma*) is higher in order to be competitive. The part-time teacher works on a one-year renewable contract, and while employment is almost invariably renewed there are no guarantees that this will be the case (Wadden, 1993). Generally, an adjunct position entails minimal responsibilities, and mostly these involve preparing classes and submitting grades, with nothing expected beyond classroom duties. The adjunct teacher goes to the university only on the days he or she has classes, teaches (classes are usually ninety minutes in duration), and then leaves. In some cases, a full-time foreigner position has the responsibility of supervising AFELT, but in many cases, especially in smaller universities, a Japanese full-time 'professor' has this responsibility (Ishii, 2003).

Given that adjunct teachers are employed on a 'class-by-class' basis, and that most universities have policies that limit the number of classes taught by a teacher to three or, at most, four per week, it is possible for an AFELT to work in anything up to five different universities in a week depending on the schedule the teacher has arranged.

*Employment practices, conditions and attitudes in Japanese universities relating to
foreign academics*

There are significant differences in terms of status, benefits, remuneration, bonuses, administrative responsibilities, and teaching loads between full-time and adjunct teaching staff. Salaries vary between institutions and adjunct teachers are paid fixed hourly rate (*koma*) ranging from 20/25,000 yen per *koma* to, in a few rare cases, up to 40,000 yen per *koma*. In one large private university in Osaka, for example, the rate per *koma* is currently 34,000 yen. However, it is important to note that recently some universities have begun to lower these rates, particularly for newly employed adjunct teachers. It is not uncommon for lower level private institutions to offer higher rates than more elite institutions as an incentive to adjunct teachers. Depending on the university, particularly in the private sector, one may receive an annual token bonus of money or gifts. Contentiously, it is not unusual for foreign adjunct teachers of English to be paid more per *koma*, and to be permitted to teach more *koma* a day, or a week than their Japanese counterparts. This practice does lead to tensions and

resentment, and at times constrains social and professional interactions between the two groups.

The English language curriculum, class size, and composition vary depending on the institution, faculty, department and year level. In some institutions adjunct English teachers are expected to follow a prescribed textbook, while in others the choice of text and curriculum materials is not predetermined, and is left to the teacher's discretion. Japanese and Western teachers of English are, generally, perceived as being at methodological and pedagogical diametrically opposite ends of a spectrum (Poole, 2005). Foreign teachers tend to think that their Japanese colleagues almost exclusively employ grammar-translation approaches in their classes while Japanese teachers tend to conceive foreign teachers of English as less than serious because of the emphasis on 'communicative English' in their teaching. Professional exchange is therefore constrained (Poole, 2005).

Little empirical research, or literature in the wider domain, has explored the conditions and experiences of AFELT. However, on the Internet there are a number of sites that discuss these. For example, Arudou at Debito.org (<http://www.debito.org/>) hosts the *University Green* and *Black Lists* where he documents accounts of universities that do not violate, or do violate, these conditions. In the preface to the *Black List of Japanese Universities* Arudou writes,

The reader of this list is hereby advised that the academic institutions below give their non-Japanese faculty unstable jobs. Many of these places have overtly discriminatory hiring practices towards their full-time (*joukin*) educators/staff on the basis of extranationality, or for other reasons unrelated to professionalism. This has been going on for more than a century in Japanese academia, and applicants from overseas are advised to research Japanese institutions of higher learning very carefully before committing years of their academic careers to jobs in Japan which may not in fact have a future.

Places listed below offer contracted work for foreign faculty, often capped with age and renewal limits, so that these staff are merely here on "revolving door" employment, having to spend the last year or so finding a new job (instead of doing something to further their academic careers, such as researching). Japanese full-time faculty, for the most part, do not have to face this problem--they have

historically (and currently) almost always gotten "tenure" (in the US sense of "permanent lifetime employment") from day one of employment.

In other words, said employer does not look at a foreign applicant in terms of qualification, but instead of citizenship, and has refused to change or update their employment practices as per developments now a decade old.

Adjunct university teachers are also represented by unions. For example, in the *Kansai* region (the research site) there is the *University Part-time Lecturer's Union Kansai* (<http://www.hijokin.org/>) who host a website documenting their interactions with universities on behalf of Adjunct teachers. In a 2007 survey on the conditions of "part-time university lecturers" in the *Kansai* region of 1011 adjunct lecturers it was reported that 21% (n=209) of the respondents indicated that they were not Japanese. When asked if they had experienced what they considered to be race related discrimination 74% said yes. The average length of employment as adjunct lecturers for those surveyed was 11 years with 33% of respondents indicating that they had been employed between 4-9 years and 33% between 10 and 21 years as adjuncts. The average age of the participants was reported to be 45 years old. Ninety percent of the respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied with working and teaching conditions. Principal areas of dissatisfaction were levels of remuneration, job security, lack of social insurance, lack of status and facilities, lack of control over teaching and class size.

At this point it is important to note that, with increasing pressure being exerted on universities globally to increase their student intakes, research outputs, and reduce expenditure, many institutions have come to increasingly rely on casualisation as an employment strategy. The casualisation of the higher education workforce in the United Kingdom has been critiqued for several years now (Husbands, 1998; Husbands & Davies, 2000). More recently, in the Australian university context, writing for the *Advocate* a National Tertiary Education Union newsletter, Knight (2010) catalogue several significant issues pertaining to adjunct employment conditions. Knight (2010) targeted payment and fixed-term contracts as areas of concern. Therefore, one can argue that as casual/adjunct teachers, AFELT are not being treated significantly differently in many facets of their employment.

While non-Japanese teachers occupy an important place in the Japanese higher education system, international faculty believe that the Japanese higher education system is ill-prepared to accept them (Umakoshi, 1997). McNeil (2007) reports that in 2007 of the 158,770 academics employed in Japanese universities, 5,652 of that number are foreigners. Of that number the vast majority are adjunct English-language teachers. McNeill (2007) referring to Hall (1997) to substantiate his claim, maintains that MEXT knows that Japan's institutions of higher education discriminate against foreigners and want to keep foreigners 'disenfranchised and disposable'. McNeill (2007) argues that there is a significant gap between the government rhetoric on internationalisation and the reality in these institutions.

Summary

The commercialisation of higher education and internationalisation as an expression of this shift as it relates to globalisation has been noted. Internationalisation in the Anglo and European contexts has been discussed, with a focus on the move towards further incorporating intercultural and global perspectives into the curriculum. IaH, IoC and 'comprehensive internationalisation' approaches were described and the emphasis in each on facilitating and supporting learning environments that aim to promote intercultural learning was also discussed. Common misconceptions about internationalisation were then noted.

Next, internationalisation in the Japanese context was introduced and discussed. In order to arrive at a better understanding of this construct in the Japanese context a historical overview was provided. Observations were made concerning points of difference between universities in Japan and those in the Anglo context. The major initiatives undertaken towards internationalisation commencing in 1983 through to the present were noted and discussed. This was followed by an overview of English language education aims, rationales, and policy, and the inherent tensions between maintaining 'cultural independence' and educating the populace for wider participation in an increasingly interdependent and connected world were highlighted. Finally, AFELT in the Japanese university context were discussed in terms of their conditions of employment, how and what they are expected to teach, and employment practices and conditions.

However, understanding how AFELT experience and understand their role and place in Japanese universities is limited, since empirical research on this topic is almost nonexistent. This dissertation aims to address this gap by trying to gain insight not only into AFELT experiences, but also their knowledge, role and place in Japanese higher education. The specific aim of the empirical study conducted as part of this dissertation was to reveal new understandings of how internationalisation and stakeholders, such as AFELT, are constructed in the Japanese higher education system. The following section details the aims of the research, the epistemological stance, and the research process underpinning it.

Higher education policy and institutional practices in the Anglo, European, and Japanese contexts have been ‘shaped and given meaning by the globalization’ of the ‘higher education market’ to varying degrees (Kim, 2009, p. 402). Speaking specifically to the British sector, though generalisable to the Japanese, Australian, US and other contexts, Kim (2009, p. 402) argues, the ‘major driving force of internationalisation policy is economic – ‘neoliberal competition for global market share indirectly of the student and research markets, and directly for economic position within a world wide knowledge economy’. In the context and discourse of higher education as an ‘academic market place’ (Kim, 2009), the question of how academics (local and international), internationalisation and interculturality intersect merits investigation in terms of what this means for stakeholders. Kim (2009, p. 403) argues that,

[if a], rebalancing of the three motifs of academic mobility and internationalisation and interculturality were ever to be sought within a fresh discourse, it might be useful to explore the present moment very thoroughly... It would be worth looking closer at the official discourses about the internationalisation of universities and the current ‘gaps’ between the official policy for internationalisation, actual practice and the experience of transnational mobile academes – both students and staff – in universities. It would be useful to explore the opportunities and the barriers of ethnicity, nationality, race, gender, religion and culture and the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion manifest in the real-life experiences of transnational mobile academe as well as international students.

A review of the research and literature focusing on international academics in the Japanese university context highlights a significant silence concerning their engagement in that space: how they are being integrated; the type, degree and influence that they assert and are afforded; and their potential contribution to the internationalisation of the curriculum.

Given the imperative in the Japanese context to further internationalise the Japanese higher education system through the injection of larger numbers of international students and mobile international staff, this is surprising. Moreover, given both the internal and external drivers, ensuring the successful integration of international academics into the Japanese university context, this ought to be a priority. However, in the absence of empirical research, how Japanese universities are experienced by non-Japanese academics is little understood and valued. This suggests that strategic planning and policy development at the national and institutional levels may on the one hand, not be fully informed. Or, on the other hand, it may constitute merely rhetoric intended to present Japan and internationalisation in the higher education sector in a particular light. As a consequence, opportunities to address and support the transition and full integration of key stakeholders such as teachers of English may be missed.

Therefore, this research addresses not only the gap in the literature pertaining to international academics in general, but also AFELT specifically. It may also inform strategic initiatives and policy development such that Japanese universities are recognised globally as welcoming and inclusive institutions, particularly for non-Japanese academics whether, fully tenured or adjunct.

As such, the present research aimed at exploring AFELT experiences, knowledge and beliefs and how they envisage their role and place in the Japanese university context, constituted in a complex and dynamic juxtaposition of multiple spaces and trajectories. This research therefore aimed to:

- Contribute to the understanding of how AFELT construe themselves as situated in the Japanese university context;
- Investigate how AFELT contribute to internationalisation by illuminating phenomena that afford or constrain AFELT inclusion, engagement, pedagogy, and professional practice;

- Understand the degree and nature of AFELT contribution to internationalisation as stakeholders; and,
- Evaluate the conceptual usefulness of a multi-theoretical framework, as a heuristic device to enable a more fine grain, nuanced understanding of stakeholder' experience, social interaction, role, place, and identity negotiation across the micro and macro levels of internationalisation.

The following section provides an overview of the research project. It first outlines the epistemological and methodological positioning that underpinned the present research. Second, it outlines the theoretical framework that informed that data analysis and the research process including; participant selection, data gathering, and analysis. It also situates the researcher within the research frame and discusses, albeit briefly, how the reliability of the present research was approached.

Introduction

The aim of the present research was to understand AFELT experiences, knowledge, and beliefs and how they construe their role and place in the Japanese university context set against the backdrop of internationalisation. To achieve this aim an interpretive framework and qualitative methods were employed. According to Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002, p. 9), to ensure ‘a solid product’ at every step of an inquiry, from conceptualisation through to completion, consideration has to be given to strategies and processes that will add rigor to the research endeavour. Morse et al (2002) foreground ‘verification’ and strategies that if followed throughout the entirety of a research project, ensure its reliability and validity. Klenke (2008, p. 43), drawing on Morse et al. (2002), defines verification as,

the process of checking, confirming, and making sure that the data collection procedures, analysis, and interpretation are monitored, reflected upon, and constantly subjected to confirmation or disconfirmation. It refers to the mechanisms employed during the process of research to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and thereby the rigor and quality of the study (Creswell, 1998; Kvale, 1989).

According to Morse et al. (2002), strategies to ensure both reliability and validity include ensuring methodological coherence, sampling satisfactoriness, developing a dynamic relationship between sampling, data collection and analysis, and thinking theoretically in order to develop theory. Further, Morse et al. (2002, p. 10) argue that qualitative research is not a linear process, rather it is iterative and as such ‘a good qualitative researcher moves back and forth between design and implementation to ensure congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data collection strategies, and analysis’. Moreover, reliability and validity is ultimately dependent upon the researchers’ responsiveness; that is, their ability to act in a creative, sensitive, and flexible manner throughout the evolution of a

research project. It is the lack of responsiveness, Morse et al. (2002) argue, that represents the greatest threat to validity.

The next section details the epistemological, methodological, theoretical perspectives, and data collection procedures employed in this research. The aim of this section is to reveal the conceptualisation, strategies and processes utilized in the present research and to thereby demonstrate that this is indeed a 'solid product'. Therefore, the following first establishes the research paradigm and methodology. The theoretical perspectives used in the research, both in the conceptualisation and analysis, are then elaborated. The data generation strategies and processes are detailed and the approach employed in the data analysis is outlined and discussed.

The research paradigm

Beliefs about ontology, epistemology, and methodology inform and influence any research process (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) because they shape and speak to how researchers view and operate in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 19). In other words, these beliefs determine how one considers the world should be understood and studied (Schram, 2003). These are also important because, not only do they define 'how one sees the world', but they also 'provide a basis for deciding which of the things you see are legitimate and important to document' (Schram, 2003, p.29). According to Cater and Little (2007, p. 1325), for example,

Decisions about epistemology matter because they will influence choice of methodology, as some epistemologies and methodologies are incommensurable, and different variants of individual methodologies are linked to specific epistemic positions, mostly via those methodologies' theoretical and disciplinary roots. Epistemology will also constrain research practice (method), determining the researcher-participant relationship, appropriate measures of research quality, and the nature of the reporting.

To elaborate, collectively ontological and epistemological beliefs or 'paradigms' (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999) are human constructions (Guba & Lincoln, 2004). As such, Patton (2002) argues, paradigms are a way of thinking about and making sense of the world, and are used to evaluate importance, legitimacy and reasonableness. Therefore, paradigms are, as Patton

(2002) observes, ‘important theoretical constructs for illuminating fundamental assumptions about the nature of reality’ (p. 72), and may therefore be considered normative. As normative, according to Guba and Lincoln (2004, p. 21), paradigms ‘define for *inquirers* [sic] what it is they are about, and what falls within and outside the limits of legitimate inquiry’. Moreover, Patton (2000, p. 71) argues, the normative aspects of paradigms can create a situation where adherence to a particular paradigm, if unquestioned, can constrain ‘methodological choices, flexibility and creativity’. Furthermore, Patton (2002) contends that therefore researchers ought to apply a pragmatic approach over a one-paradigm approach when considering a research project. Equally, researchers need to explicate their epistemological positioning.

Given that this research seeks to understand lived experience this study is deliberately and pragmatically grounded in an interpretive epistemology that foregrounds constructionist and phenomenological traditions. In particular, this research is eclectic in that it draws on socio-cultural and situative (Vygotsky, 1978; Greeno, 1998; Wenger, 1998), and social-psychological perspectives with specific reference to symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1962; Blumer, 1969; Goffman, 1959), and Positioning theory, all of which are nested within the interpretive paradigm. This is discussed, in the following, as it relates to the present research.

Epistemological stance: Constructionism

According to Carter and Little (2007, p. 1326), ‘decisions about methodology matter because they influence (and may be influenced by) the objectives, research questions, and study design and provide the research strategy and thus have a profound effect on the implementation of method’. Given the epistemological frame in which this dissertation is set, a constructivist methodology informed the research process. In conducting this research no one tradition of inquiry has been appropriated; rather, a number of ‘discipline-based traditions of inquiry’ with their various ‘conceptual components’ have been employed as ways of ‘seeing’ and ‘looking’ (Wolcott, 1999). The methodology in the present research is grounded in a sociocultural framework orientated towards components of symbolic interaction and phenomenology. While there are many subtle differences between these perspectives, they share many attributes (Crotty, 1998; Patton, 2002). Central to each is a constructivist perspective.

The basic tenet of constructivism asserts that ‘human knowledge – whether it be the bodies of public knowledge known as the various disciplines, or cognitive structures of individual knowers or learners is constructed’ (Phillips, 1995, p. 5). In this dissertation, Guba and Lincoln’s (2004, p. 26) definition of constructivism is understood to be relativist in that,

Realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature... and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions.

Summarising the major tenets of socio-cultural constructivism, Loyens (2007, p. 20) observes;

... socio-cultural constructivism or constructionism, is also concerned with the contextualised individual, but the context according to this view is a large sociological and historical context, not only the individual’s environment (Phillips, 1997). ... knowledge is not an individual’s possession, but all knowledge is socially constructed and is therefore the object of discussion and questioning. Power is an important concept in sociological constructivism because socio-political and cultural forces are determinative for the way in which things are constructed in society (Gergen, 1997).

Harré and Langenhove (1999, p. 2) summarise the basic tenets of social constructionism in the following terms;

- i. What people do, publically and privately, is intentional, that is, directed towards something beyond itself, and normatively constrained, that is, subject to such assessments as correct/incorrect, proper/improper and so on
- ii. What people are, to themselves and others, is a product of a lifetime of interpersonal interactions superimposed over a very general ethnological endowment

Epistemologically, constructivism or socio-cultural constructivism is also considered transactional and subjectivist in the researcher, and the phenomena being investigated are 'assumed to be interactively linked so that the 'findings' are literally created as the investigation proceeds' (Guba & Lincoln, 2004, p. 26). Methodologically, constructivism is hermeneutical and dialectical. From this perspective, it is only possible to elicit and refine individual constructs through a process of interaction 'between and among' researchers and respondents (Guba & Lincoln, 2004, p. 26). The aim of constructivistic inquiry, such as in the present research, is to understand and reconstruct the constructions that people (including the inquirer) initially hold, aiming toward consensus and ultimately 'to distil a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions' (Guba & Lincoln, 2004, p. 27).

Ethics is also considered 'intrinsic' to this paradigm. In part, this is due to the inclusion of the researcher in the inquiry process, and the nature of the interaction that is required by the methodology. Finally, the inquirer's voice in constructivism is, according to Guba and Lincoln (2004, p. 34), that of the 'passionate participant actively engaged in facilitating the 'multivoiced' reconstruction of his or her own construction as well as those of all other participants'.

What this means for this research is that the methodological perspective offered by constructivism is ideal for the present research project. For example, according to Schwandt (1998, p. 221),

Proponents of these [constructionist] persuasions share the goal of understanding the complex world of the lived world from the point of view of those who live it... from the emic point of view, for understanding meaning, for grasping the actor's definition of a situation, for *Verstehen*'.

Moreover, as Ely (1991, p. 2) observes, interpretivist researchers operate 'from a set of axioms that hold realities to be multiple and shifting, that take for granted a simultaneous mutual shaping of knower and known, and that see all inquiry, including the empirical, as being inevitably value-bound'.

As stated, this research aims to understand a complex and constructed, subjective reality from the point of view of those who live in it, namely AFELT in the Japanese university context. Or in other words, to examine through the eyes of the participants their situation, understanding and experience as ‘adjunct’, ‘foreign’, ‘teachers’ of English as a ‘foreign language’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). Situating the participant’s ‘meanings and constructions within and amid their specific, social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and other contextual influences’ (Schram, 2003, p. 33) is consistent with the interpretive epistemology. Furthermore, because this research has been conceptualised and framed within the interpretive epistemology it is premised on the assumption that cultural beliefs and meanings are:

- Negotiated;
- Multi-voiced;
- Participatory (adapted from Lecompte & Schensul, 1999, p. 50); and,
- All constructs are equally important and valid (Schram, 2003, p. 33)

In addition, it is therefore acknowledged that, in interpreting, reconstructing and representing participants’ ‘life-worlds’ (Schwandt, 1997, p. 74), the researcher is a factor in the research process. This is elaborated in the following.

Having situated the research in the constructivist paradigm, and briefly sketched the basic tenets of constructivism, the following provides a brief overview of symbolic interaction and phenomenology as these relate to the present research. These methodological traditions have been influential in the theoretical perspectives outlined and discussed in the following chapter.

Theoretical perspective: Symbolic interaction and phenomenology

Symbolic interaction

Symbolic interactionism is a social-psychological approach to social research that emphasises the importance of meaning and interpretation as essential human resources (Patton, 2002). As

a 'social-psychological perspective' it focuses on 'the individual "with a self"' and on the interaction between a person's internal thoughts and emotions and his or her social behaviour (Wallace & Wolf, 1999, p. 191). Within this perspective, '[i]ndividuals are viewed as active constructors of their own conduct who interpret, evaluate, define and map out their own actions' (Wallace & Wolf, 1999, p. 191). Blumer (1969) enunciates the three basic assumptions of symbolic interactionism:

1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
2. The meanings of things arise out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.
3. The meanings of things are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters (Blumer, 1969).

Mead (1934) attributed 'personhood' to social forces. Mead (1934, p.162) wrote, 'A person is a personality because he belongs to a community, because he takes over the institutions of that community into his own conduct'. From this perspective Crotty (1998, p. 74) explains,

To 'enter the attitudes of the community' and 'take over the institutions of the community', as Mead argues we inevitably do in our emergence into personhood, we must be able to *take the role of others*. We have to see ourselves as social objects and we can only do that through adopting the standpoint of others.

'Interaction' is defined as the putting of oneself in the place of the other, or role taking, and lies at the heart of symbolic interaction (Crotty, 1998). Furthermore, according to Crotty (1998), as a theoretical perspective informing methodologies of social research it is the actor's view, the actor's meanings, the standpoint of the actor, that must be brought into focus. Erving Goffman's (1959) exploration of everyday social interaction and notions of 'impression management' and 'dramaturgy' were employed in the present research as a conceptual lens through which to better understand the dynamics and nature of the social environment in which participants act, interact, and perform. Impression management and

dramaturgy, as they relate to the present study, are elaborated further in the ensuing sections. The following section first discusses, albeit briefly, the phenomenological perspective.

Phenomenology

Proponents of phenomenology (attributed to Edmund Husserl 1859-1938) seek to understand the lived experience of people 'from the standpoint of a concept or phenomenon' (Schram, 2003, p. 70). Wallace and Wolf (1999) observe, 'the basic proposition states that everyday reality is a socially constructed system of ideas that has accumulated over time and is taken for granted by group members' (p. 253). Phenomenology, according to Crotty (1998, p. 78),

suggests that if we lay aside, as best we can, the prevailing understandings of those phenomena and revisit our immediate understanding of them, possibilities for new meanings emerge for us or we witness at least an authentication and enhancement of former meaning.

Phenomenology, Crotty (1998, p. 83) proposes, can be defined by two characteristics: first, its objective with a focus on the search for 'objects of experience' and second, 'it calls into question what is taken for granted' and is therefore 'a critique'. Furthermore, Crotty (1998) observed, phenomenology has come to be generally regarded, as it is in the present inquiry as a study of peoples' understanding of subjective and everyday experiences and is geared towards collecting and analysing data to preserve the subjectiveness of the experiences and subsequent data. As Crotty (1998, p. 83) observes,

What has emerged under the rubric of 'phenomenology' is a quite single-minded effort to identify, understand, describe and maintain the subjective experiences of respondents. It is self-professedly subjectivist in approach (in the sense of being in search of peoples' subjective experience) and uncritical... Even so, the emphasis typically practices, so that phenomenological research of this kind emerges as an exploration, via personal experiences, of prevailing cultural understandings.

In the context of the present inquiry, phenomenology can be understood to imply an attempt to enter the subjective world of the participants and to understand their perceptions of the experience of being an adjunct teacher of English in a Japanese university.

To this point, symbolic interactionism and phenomenology have been briefly discussed as they relate to the present research. The following section outlines the conceptual frame of the dissertation.

The interpretive theoretical framework

‘It is impossible’, Anafara and Mertz (2006, p. 195) argue, ‘to observe and describe what happens in natural settings without some theory that guides the researcher in what is relevant to observe and what name to attach to what is happening’. However, it is important to recognise the degree to which a theoretical perspective influences the research process. For example, Anafara and Mertz (2006) highlight the pervasiveness of theory in qualitative research. They argue that theory is a lens ‘framing and shaping what the researcher looks at and includes, how the researcher thinks about the study and its conduct, and, in the end, how the researcher conducts the study (Anafara & Mertz, 2006, p. 189).

Several metaphors have evolved to help better conceptualise the place and role of theory in qualitative research, these include; ‘a sieve’, ‘a roadmap’, and ‘reconstructing a broken mirror’ (Anafara & Mertz, 2006, p. 190). What these metaphors do is demonstrate the ‘relationship of theory and research’ and provide ‘insightful “ways of thinking” and “ways of seeing”’ (Anafara & Mertz, 2006, pp. 190-191).

Moreover, theoretical frameworks also have the ability to first, focus a study. This is achieved by, as in the case of the present research, providing a ‘sieve’ and ‘lens’ through which to sort through the data generated in this project. Second, they provide a ‘frame’ to formulate the research process, from the questions asked through to the analysis. Third, to focus a study by providing a means of controlling subjectivity. Fourth, for coding and the analysis of data, a theoretical framework provides not only concepts but a lexicon (Anafara & Mertz, 2006, pp. 192-193).

Furthermore, according to Anafara & Mertz (2006, p.193) a theoretical framework is also used to ‘reveal and conceal meaning and understanding’. As such, while a particular

theoretical lens can afford one novel and new way to ‘see familiar phenomena, they can also blind us to aspects of that phenomena that are not part of that theory’ (Anafara & Mertz, 2006, p. 193). Therefore, the present research as a means of addressing the delimiting nature of a single theoretical framework as a way of ‘seeing’ and ‘understanding’ has employed a multi-theoretical perspective in the interpretation and analysis of the data. Further, a theoretical framework situates the research within a given ‘scholarly conversation and provides a vernacular’ (Anafara & Mertz, 2006, p. 194). Elaborating on this particular aspect Anafara & Mertz (2006, p. 194) contend, ‘It allows us to talk across disciplines using the known and accepted language of the theory. It is the established language that assists in making meanings of the phenomena being studied’. Additionally, a theoretical framework has the capacity to reveal not only the strengths of a study, but also its weaknesses. No theoretical perspective can adequately describe or explain phenomena, and as Anafara and Mertz (2006) highlight, the question of ‘fit’ needs to be addressed.

The present research utilises a theoretical framework that employs perspectives drawn from a situative social/psychological person-in-context perspective (Volet, 2001; Greeno, 1994); Japanese culture and communication studies (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994; Lebra, 1976, 2004); liminality (Turner, 1967, 1974); cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980); dramaturgy and impression management (Goffman, 1959); and, Positioning theory (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999), to explore AFELT ‘experience’, ‘role’ and ‘place’. Given the complexities of ‘being’ and social interaction, each perspective provided a conceptual lens through which to better construct meaning, and each is elaborated in turn.

Situative social/psychological person-in-context perspective

The situative social/psychological perspective has, in recent times, been widely used in education research, particularly in relation to the study of learning and motivation. Drawing on the work of Vygotsky (1978) this perspective views knowledge as a cultural entity that is distributed across social and physical contexts and, as such, an individual’s knowledge of a particular domain is considered to be ‘situated’. For Hickey and McCaslin (2001), knowledge is also considered to originate in the ‘interaction of social and material worlds’ and as they understand it knowledge is conceptualised as being represented in, ‘the regularities of

successful participation – rituals, rather than associations or concepts that individuals acquire’ (Hickey & McCaslin, 2001, p. 37). Within this perspective, ‘regularities’ are presumed to be possible because the ‘knowledgeable’ individual is attuned to the affordances and constraints that ‘simultaneously bound and scaffold successful participation’ within a given context (Hickey & McCaslin, 2001, p. 37). As such, engagement in meaningful participation involves the ‘maintenance of interpersonal relations and identities, as well as satisfying interactions with the environments in which the individual has a significant personal involvement’ (Hickey & McCaslin, 2001, p. 38).

One theoretical perspective that has influenced the present research from its beginning through each phase to completion is Volet’s (2001) ‘multi-dimensional cognitive-situative’ person-in-context perspective. This perspective has been applied to a variety of research contexts including; the study of high-achieving athletes’ and musicians’ motivation (Beltman, 2005), motivation, language identity and the L2 self (Dörnye & Ushioda, 2009), and university students’ intercultural interactions and attitudes (Kimmel, 2010; Kimmel & Volet, 2010). This perspective is situated in the situative/sociocultural tradition, and has been widely critiqued (c.f., Nolen & Ward, 2006). Critiquing person-in-context studies, Nolen and Ward (2006) observe, they bring integrate cognitive and phenomenological perspectives with situative aspects. A significant facet of this approach is its appropriation of ecological concepts of multiple and embedded levels of context (Nolen & Ward, 2006). For example, Volet (2001) appropriates Bronfenbrenner’s (1972, 1979) ecological systems theory and stressed the significance of a multilayered approach when considering social interaction in a given context. Volet (2001, p. 78) writes;

Classroom activities (micro-level) take place within educational institutions which prioritise certain policies, institutional approaches and assessment practices (meso level). Yet, their activities and practices may not always be congruent, which creates confusion in learners. At another level, schools and universities operate within broader communities with close links to the world of work. The value place within educational institutions on critical thinking, and intellectual rigour may clash with vocational and instrumental views of schooling and higher education in society (macro level).

Moreover, from this perspective, according to Nolen and Ward (2006, p. 33), ‘individuals’ cognitions are understood to be a result of participation in social contexts over time, with individuals’ interpretation of those contexts, including constraints and affordances for participation, seen as an important determination of motivation’. Furthermore, the importance of considering ‘the broader social, cultural and historical context’ as a ‘fundamental frame within which social activities are embedded and from which mental processes emerge’ (Kimmel, 2010, p. 6) is stressed within the perspective. For example, Kimmel (2010, p. 6) writes, within this perspective, ‘it is vital to consider the complex and interdependent interplay of individuals-in-context and to acknowledge the significant role of contextual characteristics of the immediate social environment (e.g. course, class, small group) for students’ perceptions and experiences of intercultural interactions’.

Volet (2001) also draws on Gibson’s (1979, 1986; Greeno, 1998) theory of affordance, constraint, and attunement, and facets of Wenger’s (1998) community of practice. Volet (2001, p. 57) argues these appropriations facilitate a means of;

Conceptualising contexts at different levels of specificity [which] is critical for understanding the complex configuration of relatively stable motivational belief systems influencing behaviours, intra-individual variability across classroom activities, and individual continuous attuning to the affordances of specific tasks and activities in situations.

According to Volet (2001) the construction of meaning is grounded in an individual’s ‘prior knowledge, situational interpretations and immediate emotions’ (p. 61). Volet (2001, pp. 62-63) writes;

The norms and expectations that are prevailing in a particular context are often tacit rather than explicit. Their significance becomes more salient when newcomers join a community of practice and attempt to apply the knowledge and skills – which were valued in their previous learning environment – within the new setting.

From this perspective, Volet (2001, p. 61) argues, it is the ability, or lack of ability of an individual to attune to the affordances within a given context, irrespective of whether these

are ‘perceived, observed or inferred’, that is significant in determining the nature of the social interaction. Therefore, Volet (2001, p. 77) stressed the importance of considering the interplay between an individual’s cognitions, influence over time through participation in various cultural and social contexts, and the manner in which these ‘interact with subjective appraisals of the affordances and constraints perceived in the immediate’ situation. Volet (2001, p. 77) contends, ‘These subjective appraisals mediate the direct impact of activated beliefs and orientations, and lead to goals, engagement and forms of participation which reflect context-sensitivity’.

In the context of this dissertation, this perspective has influenced and shaped the research project almost from conception to completion. It helped to focus this research in three areas. First, it provided a useful framework for understanding the individual/context nexus. Second, it acted as a ‘sieve’ and afforded a useful set of concepts such as ‘affordance’, ‘constraint, and ‘congruence’ for data analysis. Third, it provided a vernacular with which to give voice to the findings as they emerged.

Given the emphasis in this perspective on the multiple and embedded levels of context, it became clear that, in order to better understand the research site, or in other words, the context in which the participants lived, worked, and interacted this perspective alone would not suffice. The site for the present study, and the context in which the participants teach, is located in the Kansai region of Japan. As indicated above, I was, and continue to be (though somewhat at a distance now), a participant observer in this research. This is elaborated further in the following sections. However, as a participant and as a researcher, arriving at an understanding of the dynamics of social interaction in the Japanese context was considered critical. With limited access to the culture, other than through my friends, family and personal experience, an understanding to the dynamics of social interaction in Japan was provided through the growing body of literature dedicated to this endeavour.

This body of literature is broad and takes several forms. For example, Befu (2001; 1990) traces the development of a vast body of Japanese writing dedicated to the study of the Japanese. Much of the focus in this discourse is on arguing for and against, the cultural uniqueness of the Japanese. Indeed, Befu (2001) argues that *nihonjinron*, as this discourse is

known, is so entrenched in the Japanese psyche, in reality it constitutes a 'civil religion'. Then there exists the work of anthropologists and Japanologists, such as Ruth Benedict (first published in 1946, 1967) and later works by writers, such as the Japanese psychoanalyst Doi (1985). These works and others like them were influential in shaping how the Japanese were perceived to structure their society and interact socially. They were also heavily criticised for orientalising and/or essentialising the Japanese. However, two writers employing similar perspectives have come to prominence in Japanese cultural studies, namely Takie Lebra (1976; 1992) and Jane Bachnik (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994). Shea (1995), while critiquing Bachnik and Quinn's (1994) 'linguistic and ethnographic analysis of Japanese culture and communicative practice', observed that they shifted;

the analysis of Japanese social organisation and interaction from rigid notions of a vertical structure abstracted from the shifting, negotiated dynamics of context (and contextualization) toward a more indexical understanding of social order delineated along the axial coordinates of inside/outside orientations. (Shea, 1995, p. 551)

Given the need to avoid perspectives that are essentialist and orientalist, Bachnik (1994) and Lebra (2004) highlight phenomena salient in Japanese culture and social structure and interaction, though observable in numerous other cultural contexts. However, it needs to be pointed out that methodological approaches employed by these authors are not without their critics, who question the notion of oppositional logic as it is used in this area of anthropology (Cangià, 2010). The following section outlines observations on the situated nature of self, society, language, and cultural logic advanced by Bachnik (Bachnik & Quin, 1994) and Lebra (2004).

Japanese social structure and interaction

A key concept used in the interpretive framework of this dissertation is the use of the socio-psychological metaphors *uchi/soto*, *omote/ura* and *tatemaehonne*. In Japanese studies, a growing body of literature is devoted to exploring the situational nature of social interaction in Japan. These terms have been widely discussed and observed in Japanese studies, for example Nakane (1970), elaborating on the use of 'ba' (frame), regarded *uchi* as being central

in the organization of Japanese society; Lebra (1976) critiqued *uchi/soto* and *omotelura* pairings to consider ‘situationalism’ in Japanese society and behaviour; Ishi (1984) applies the terms *uchi/soto* to political hierarchy; Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) to health and illness; Hardacer (1986) to religion in Japan; Rosenberger (1988) to gender; Edwards (1989) to marriage; Kondo (1990) in the context of small enterprise organisation; Hamabata, (1990) uses the terms when critiquing the organisation of large enterprises; Bachnik (1992) applies them to the organisation of households; Lebra (2004) to the Japanese self.

While not unique to Japan, ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ (*uchi/soto*) distinctions are salient, and critically important in arriving at an understanding of ‘self’, ‘social order’, and the Japanese language in Japan. For example, Bachnik (1994, p. 3) writes;

[I]nside/outside distinctions are not limited to Japanese; they are used by people in every society to situate meaning, as illustrated in the ... examples of “looking,” “zooming,” “reaching.” These directional movements are part of a broad system of basic orientations through which all of us – in every known language and society – constantly locate ourselves in relation to the world. Through them we define not only our physical orientations in space but our social and psychic orientations as well. Inside and outside, like a drop in a pool, move in ever-widening circles to encompass a broad series of issues both inside and outside Japan.

According to Bachnik (1994, p. 5), *uchi/soto* provide a means to uncover the ‘process of indexing that is crucial to the delineation of a “situated” social order – and a relational self-both highly embedded in social context’. *Uchi/soto* orientations are a major organisational focus for Japanese self, social life, and language. In that, *they* are also specifically linked with another set of meanings, denoting self and society. Thus, the organising of both self and society, as Bachnik and Quinn (1994) observe, ‘can be viewed as situating meaning, through the indexing of inside and outside orientations’ (p. 3). Quinn notes,

The expressions in which we find the word *uchi*, the word *soto*, or both, are *orientational*. With these expressions, people get a fix on the world: themselves, other people, reports; in space, in time, in relation to other people; in the waking world and in their dreams, ad infinitum... Like other words, the words *uchi* and *soto* are at once the historical products of a patterned way of living and tools for

life anew. The striking fact about them is the breadth of domains of human experience in which each is used, from the spatial and physical to the social and the psychological. (p.40)

Quinn (1994, p. 39) maintains that ‘social behaviour understood by the Japanese to be patterned in an *uchi/soto* kind of way is abundantly evident in the vocabulary of their language’. Deferring to Bourdieu (1990) Quinn (1994) construes the *uchi/soto* as a type of *habitus* or ‘lifeway’ that is flexible and fluid. Quoting Bourdieu (1990), Quinn (1994) defines the *uchi/soto* ‘lifeway’ as ‘a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action’ (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 13). According to Bachnik (1992, p. 7), ‘for the Japanese, appropriate personal and social behaviour is identified, not as a general set of behaviours that transcend situations but, rather, as a series of particular situations that generate a kaleidoscope of different behaviours *that are nonetheless ordered and agreed upon*’.

What is equally important in relation to the *uchi/soto* concept is not only how it relates to the Japanese self, but how that is then applied to the other. In Japanese society, the non-Japanese or the ‘other’/‘them’ (Lebra, 2004, p. 38) are located in *soto* space. While *uchi* is identified with feelings of intimacy and a sense of self-other closeness, *soto* is the antitheses of *uchi*. According to Lebra (2004, p. 145), in the *soto* zone, in contrast to the regulatory influence of *omote* in the *uchi* zone where behaviour is expected to conform to ‘rules of courtesy’, *soto* behaviour ignores these rules of conduct. *Soto* behaviour, according to Lebra (2004, p. 145), may be characterised ‘as being deliberately or ostensibly apathetic, discourteous, disdainful, hateful, and combative’. Lebra (2004, p. 146) states;

Generally, this zone involves the vast category of “otherness,” in which a Japanese self perceives another person, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, as markedly different, ethnically, racially, physically, behaviourally, or culturally. Novel phenomena that fill media screens and do not fit in with familiar patterns are likely to register in this zone. In the *soto* zone, self’s action is determined by the perception of other not merely as a stranger, but as a nobody, misfit, or enemy...

Like the *omote* world, the *soto* world forms multiple concentric circles around the self or self's *uchi* world. The most distant circle may be an alien zone, populated by racial or cultural foreigners; the nearest one may involve an outsider within self's own domestic realm.

Uchi and *soto* are used to differentiate between insiders and outsiders, or between members of 'in' or 'out' groups, or as Sugimoto (1997, p. 27) puts it, 'to draw a line between "them" and "us"'. According to Makino (2002, p. 29), *uchi* and *soto* have 'metaphorical extensions like in no other major language', and have 'cultural, social and cognitive implications that underlie key concepts of the culture'. These spaces are not understood in physical terms only, but are social (Hendry, 1988; Makino, 2002; Sugimoto, 1997). 'The fundamental semantic property of *uchi* is one of involvement', and Makino (2002, p. 30) argues, if *uchi* is so defined, it can provide a powerful tool for developing an explanation of not only linguistic, but cultural matters.

For example, in Western psychology, as Yuki (2003) explains, social identity theory, which now provides, arguably, one of the most widely accepted psychological theories of group behaviour. Tajfel & Turner, (1979, p. 167), suggest that 'in-groups cannot be defined in isolation from out-groups; they gain their definition from comparisons with and contrasts to out-groups'. Befu (2001) clearly illustrates the Japanese tendency to do this in his analysis of *nihonjinron* where Japanese writers often make such contrasts in their attempts to explain what it means to be Japanese.

In Japan foreigners are viewed as outsiders (*soto*), and as such, for many Japanese, foreigners cannot become integrated into Japanese society (Befu, 2001; Donahue, 2002). Donahue writes on the Japanese attitude to foreigners, as he understands it;

Japanese social relations display high degrees of homogeneity, hierarchy, collectivity, and conservatism. These social aspects, conditioned by the country's island status, high population density, and centuries of self-imposed isolation from the world, cause the Japanese to be overly sensitive to ethnic and physical differences. Because of this sensitivity to difference, it is virtually impossible for *gaijin* or "foreigners" ("best translated as 'outsiders'") to enter into full

membership in Japanese society...In effect, the foreigner in Japan is kept at “arm’s length,” and this distancing from the outsider, in turn, reinforces Japanese insularity (Donahue, 1998, p. 235).

This phenomenon has also been observed in the Japanese university sector. According to foreign academics, they are not being encouraged to, or allowed to integrated into the Japanese universities in which they work (Bueno & Caesar, 2004; Hall, 1994, 1998; McVeigh, 2002; Shinshin, 2002) which is argued to be because of their status as outsiders (*soto*). However, it is important to note that the degree to which this claim can be validated needs to be supported through empirical research, and as yet little research has been undertaken that explores this area.

In addition to the *uchi/soto* dichotomies, Sugimoto (1997, p. 26) explains other concept pairs which also function to distinguish between ‘sanitized official appearance and hidden reality’. Furthermore, through these concepts, ‘the distinction is frequently invoked between the façade, which is normatively proper and correct, and the actuality, which may be publicly unacceptable, but adopted privately or among insiders’ (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 26). In analysing Japanese society, one should caution against confusing these two concepts. One set is *tatemae/hon-ne*. *Tatemae* corresponds to that which is politically correct, while *hon-ne* points to ‘hidden, camouflaged and authentic sentiment’, and designates true feelings and desires that cannot be openly expressed (Sugimoto, 1997, p. 26). Sugimoto (1997, p. 28) argues, ‘Studies of Japanese society are incomplete if researchers examine only its *tatemae*, *omote*, and *soto* aspects. Only when they scrutinize the *hon-ne*, *ura* and *uchi* sides of Japanese society can they grasp its full picture’.

The theoretical perspective encompassed by Lebra (2004) and Bachnik (1994) contribute to this study by revealing meanings and understandings that might not otherwise have been apparent through the application of Volet’s (2001) person-in-context alone. As a window, this theoretical perspective provides a means to consider the patterns and structures that are observable in the Japanese context, and why, and how, they make psychological sense. Importantly, given my own situatedness and culturally bound world view, these perspectives challenged me to consider how inside/outside orientations and indexicality intersect with

internationalisation as it relates to the development of interculturality, social inclusion, and interaction in that space. Significantly, it challenged me to examine how such concepts function in the construction of meaning. While the theoretical perspectives offered by Bachnik (1994) and Lebra (2004) also provided useful concepts for coding and analysing contextually bound and nested phenomena, they were limited in terms of providing insights into the psychology behind their use in the participants' discourse.

One notable feature of AFELT discourse is the wide dispersal of Japanese words and phrases. For example, as a self-referent it is not uncommon to hear AFELT and other non-Japanese people use the term *gaijin* to label themselves, rather than 'expatriate'. Likewise, words such as *uchi/soto*, and *tatemaehon-ne et cetera* are also widely used instead of their English equivalents by AFELT, thus suggesting these terms represent, or have a different range of meanings from, their English equivalents for AFELT. In other words, these terms have no direct translation.

In preparing Paper One (Whitsed and Volet, 2011), which draws heavily on these concepts and themes, a well respected and published colleague and specialist in Japanese history and studies was invited to read the manuscript. Her comments were particularly valuable and insightful. She wrote,

Thanks for showing me this paper. It has some very interesting points to make. To me, the most compelling is the observation that '*kokusaika*' in higher education has not been considered to apply to foreign teachers. It's a thought-provoking point, and one that is certainly worth making, especially in view of the increasing numbers of such teachers, and the government's plans to increase the number of foreign students. ... I'm... uncomfortable with the emphasis on *uchi/soto*, *tatemaehonne*, etc. as explanations. This is a difficult area. It must be significant that the Japanese language has such clear and commonly-used terms for these things: it indicates at the least that such ideas are well recognised. But it doesn't indicate that they explain any particular behaviour or policies (and the 'uchi' is not always 'Japan', either, as you point out). To link the language issue with actual behaviour would be a very complex undertaking. Probably, all cultures have the features you emphasise. After all, saying one thing (*tatemaehonne*) and

thinking another (*honne*) is a universal phenomenon. Government rhetoric everywhere disguises the true motivation of politicians. It is a universal phenomenon for governments and universities to produce rhetoric that is intended for public consumption, and then to ignore the sentiments behind it in practice: see the 'mission statement' of any contemporary university... Most mainstream scholars are now much more circumspect in regarding any of these things as 'unique'.

Through her feedback several assumptions were challenged, and the need emerged to better reconsider how these concepts were framing the interpretation and analysis and being presented. The feedback also suggested that further consideration need to be given to the universality of inside/outside concepts. This meant employing another theoretical framework. Thus, to better understand this phenomenon, and to move beyond a reductionist and essentialising perspective, the notion of the 'conceptual metaphor' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) provided a useful 'roadmap' (Anfara & Mertz, 2006). The notion of the 'conceptual metaphor' will now be discussed as it relates to this study.

Cognitive linguistics: The conceptual metaphor

The conceptual metaphor is comprised of two domains. These are, according to (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4);

The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain which is called the **source domain**, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the **target domain**. Thus, LIFE, ARGUMENTS, LOVE, THEORY, IDEAS, SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS, and others are target domains, while JOURNEYS, WAR, BUILDINGS, FOOD, PLANTS, are the source domains. The target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain.

Lakoff and Johnson (1982) propose that metaphor can be conceived of as much more than mere poetical devices. They suggest metaphors are pervasive in all aspects of life. Moreover, they maintain, metaphor is not only limited to the intellectual cognition that regulates everyday functioning. Rather, metaphor defines reality. According to Lakoff and Johnson

(1982), metaphors are ubiquitous and ‘structure’ what is perceived, and therefore how one interacts with and within a given environment, and with others. They contend that one’s ‘ordinary conceptual system’ is, therefore, ‘fundamentally metaphorical in nature’. Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 3) support their supposition by arguing that language/communication is based on the same conceptual system that is used in thinking and acting and, therefore, provides an excellent ‘source of evidence for what the system is like’. It is on the basis of linguistic evidence, they argue that the conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. Therefore, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 4), metaphors ‘structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do’. Furthermore, metaphors are central in the construction of social and political reality (p. 159). In illustrating this notion, they use the concept ‘*argument*’, and the conceptual metaphor ‘*argument is war*’, which is, as they demonstrate, widely reflected in everyday language in a broad range of expressions such as; *I demolished his argument, he shot down all of my arguments*. They go on to demonstrate how in this context ‘our’ (Euro/Western) metaphors actually function to structure the actions performed while arguing. Lakoff and Johnson (1982) then contrast this with a hypothetical encounter with a culture, where *argument* is not conceptualised within the metaphorical framing of war, but rather one of dance. In this situation, they propose, ‘we’ would most likely not view them as arguing at all. Rather, they suggest, we would see this as a completely different discourse form. The point they make is that a metaphorical concept, such as ‘*argument is war*’, in part defines what one does, how one understands, and what one is doing when they engage in something like arguing. For Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 5), ‘the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’. However, they also note that while metaphors provide a means by which to comprehend ‘one aspect of a concept in terms of another’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1982, p. 10), it is important to understand that metaphors also hide other aspects of the concept in question. They write,

It is important to see that the metaphorical structuring involved here is partial, not total. If it were total, one concept would actually *be* the other, not merely be understood in terms of it...Thus, part of a metaphorical concept does not and cannot fit (Lakoff & Johnson, 1982, p. 13)

Metaphors, moreover, are considered to be more than language, they are not bound to the words that name them, Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 60) argue and ‘human *thought*

processes [sic] are largely metaphorical'. Two types of metaphor are identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1982), structural and orientational. Structural metaphors are those where a concept (e.g., time) is metaphorically structured in terms of another concept (e.g., time *is money*). An orientation metaphor, rather than structureing one concept through another concept, 'organises a whole system of concepts in terms of another' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1982, p. 14). These concepts are now elaborated in turn.

How a particular phenomenon is conceptualised will influence its form. For example, drawing on argument as a phenomenon, they note that an argument therefore, generally follows a particular pattern. They maintain that this is, in part, due to the conceptualisation of an argument in terms of a battle. It is because the 'metaphorical concept is systematic' that the language used to represent that aspect of the concept is systematic. An important facet of 'metaphorical systematicity' is comprehending one concept through another, for example 'love is war'. However, in this process, Lakoff and Johnson (1982) note, it is inevitable that other aspects of the first concept will be obscured by the second. To illustrate how metaphorical concepts can hide other aspects that are inconsistent with the metaphor, they once more use the 'an argument is a battle' metaphor. For example, in a heated argument one may be so focused on attacking an opponent's position that one may not recognise the cooperative aspects of arguing. As such, structural metaphors can inhibit alternative perspectives.

'Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation', for example, 'Happy is up'. (Lakoff and Johnson, p. 14). Orientational metaphors are not arbitrarily assigned, rather their basis is located in one's physical and cultural experience. Spatial orientations include; up-down, in-out, front-back, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 14) argue that metaphorical orientations are not random; rather, they have a basis in 'our physical and cultural experience'. Significantly, they argue, many of the most fundamental concepts one holds are organised through spatialisation metaphors. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 17) contend, 'there is an internal systematicity to each spatialization metaphor. For example, HAPPY IS UP defines a coherent system rather than a number of isolated and random cases', and 'an overall external systematicity among the various spatialization metaphors, which defines coherence among them'. Finally, Lakoff and Johnson (1982, p. 18)

stress that because ‘spatialisation metaphors are rooted in physical and cultural experience; they are not randomly assigned. A metaphor can serve as a vehicle for understanding a concept only by virtue of its experiential basis’.

What is significant, from the point of view of the present study, is Lakoff and Johnson’s (1982, p. 7) contention that, because ‘metaphorical expressions in one’s language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, one can then use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of one’s activities’. Therefore, Lakoff and Johnsons (1982) theoretical framework provided a conceptual tool for the analysis, and for integrating the discourse of participants. As such, it functioned like a ‘sieve’ (Anfara & Mertz, 2006) for coding and theming, and another way of ‘thinking’ and ‘seeing’. In the context of the neo-liberal marketisation discourse, in which ‘stakeholders are commodities’ and ‘education is a product’, this perspective afforded a powerful lens through which to consider the discourse of internationalisation and participants’ cognitive systems. However, this perspective as with Volet’s, Bachnik’s and Lebra’s, only offered a partial framework for understanding how and why participants experienced and construed their role and place in the Japanese context. In order to arrive at a more complete understanding of the meaning making processes, as constructed in the complex and dynamic research site, Goffman’s (1959) dramaturgy metaphor and notion of ‘impression management’ were appropriated, elaborated below.

Dramaturgy

In his seminal work, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman (1959) takes the sociological concept of ‘role’, and through the metaphor of theatre he explores the ways in which individuals, in their everyday life, present themselves and their activities to others. Goffman (1959, p. 15) wrote, for example, ‘when an individual appears before others he will have many motives for trying to control the impression they receive of the situation’. Dramaturgy and impression management are widely discussed, debated, and employed across a range of fields and disciplines (c.f., Burns, 1992; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004; Wallace & Wolf, 1999). For Goffman, the self was not perceived as the ‘possession of the actor, but rather the product of the dramatic interaction between actor and audience’ (Ritzer &

Goodman, 2004, p. 358). Goffman also observed that in this interaction between actor and audience, actors are conscious of the potential for an audience to disturb their performance. Goffman introduced concepts such as 'front', 'back', and 'setting' to label the various context of interaction. 'Front', according to Goffman (1959, p. 22), 'is that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance'. The 'back' is 'defined as a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course' (Goffman, 1959, p. 112). Goffman, throughout his work, stressed the 'sociocultural factors that create and maintain structures of human interaction' such as inequality (Wallace & Wolf, 1999).

One area to which this perspective has been applied is the study of organisational politics. Collins (1975) employed Goffman's framework, for example, to reveal the manner in which employees would present a united front to superiors, appear to comply with supervisors' demands, while in reality attending to their own goals, while in the 'back', away from the gaze of authority, the employees would engage in conversations about how they fooled their bosses.

As Wallace and Wolf (1999, p. 233) observe, dramaturgical ideas help in the analysis of instances when 'we have used all the equipment of our front and back regions to create the best possible impressions of ourselves'. For the present study Goffman's theoretical framework provided a useful conceptual tool with which to understand macro and micro level behaviour. It closely aligns with concepts located in the Japanese context, as discussed above, such as; *omot-te*, *tatamai*, *ura*, *soto* and *uchi*, *hon-ne*, *ura*. In Japanese social and political interaction, at the macro, meso, and micro levels, maintaining and managing impressions is critical. Therefore, Goffman's dramaturgical metaphor provides this study with another way to conceptualise, investigate and communicate the sociocultural structures that create and maintain structures of human interaction at the research site.

As the analysis and interpretation unfolded, the focus shifted from AFELT understanding to concentrate more intensely on notions of 'place'. Sommerville (2007, p. 149) defines place as 'both a specific local place and a metaphysical imaginary place'. It is therefore a productive

framework because of its potential to 'create a space between grounded physical reality and the metaphysical space of representation (Somerville, 2007, p. 150). Somerville (2007) locates 'place' in Aboriginal ontology and epistemology as a fundamental organising principle. 'Place' from this perspective, according to Somerville (2007), offers an alternative lens through which to construct knowledge of the world. Place, she writes, 'offers a way of entering an in-between space where it is possible to hold different, and sometimes contradictory, ideas in productive tension' (Somerville, 2007, p. 151). Importantly, because 'place' foregrounds 'a narrative of local and regional politics... attuned to the particularities of where people actually live', it has the ability to offer alternative storylines about 'who we are in the places where we live and work in an increasingly globalised world' (Somerville, 2007, p.151).

AFELT 'place' is understood to be situated in the space between in and out. As foreign teachers AFELT place is in the *soto zone*, yet as longer-term, permanent residents, many with families and commitments, they are in the *uchi zone* (Lebra, 2004). AFELT 'place' (echoing Somerville, 2007), is understood to be betwixt and between, neither fully 'in' or 'out', not fully 'one of us' nor 'one of them'. Thus, Victor Turner's notions of liminality resonate with the notion of 'place' (Somerville, 2007). While 'place' offers a useful conceptual construct for exploring the person/place nexus, liminality provided a powerful construct to build meaning and guide analysis in this study because of its capacity to transcend existing structures. The notion of liminal states also encompasses transformation, violation, and stigma. Additionally, liminality provides a means to conceptually explore phenomena in the interface where boundaries and partitions merge and/or overlap; in other words, the spaces between the states of 'being' and 'not being'. Liminality is now outlined and discussed as a theoretical framework that has been employed in the meaning making process of the present research.

Liminality

In the field of anthropology Victor Turner (1977) is recognised as having made significant contributions to the study of cultures. The purpose of the following section is to briefly relate Turner's notion of liminality as a concept in its own right, and as it has been applied in relation to AFELT. Turner appropriated the term liminal from Arnold van Gennep's *Rites de*

Passage wherein he describes how in some cultures the transition from childhood into the adult world is marked by a ritualised transition ‘rites of passage’ ceremony involving three phases (Turner, 1974). The first phase is marked by ‘symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individual from the group, from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, or from an established set of cultural conditions’(Turner, 1974, p. 232). In the second phase, the *liminal* phase, ‘the ritual subject (the ‘passenger’, or ‘liminar’) becomes ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed points of classification; he/she passes through a symbolic domain that has few or none of the attributes of his/her past or coming state’. In the final phase, the passage is completed with a liminar re-entering the social structure (Turner, 1974, p. 232).

Turner’s concept of liminality has been applied to studies in a wide range of disciplines, including education (Pierce, 2007; Tsuda, 1993), performance studies (McLaren 1993), and organisational studies (Garsten, 1999; Pierce, 2007). In the context of education, for example, McLaren (1993, p. 8) argued, many researchers find Turner’s theories ‘efficacious’ for researching and exploring contemporary social settings. McLaren (1993) applied Turner’s concepts to the study of schooling and conceptualised schooling as a ritualised performance. McLaren (1993) used a Portuguese community and a Catholic school in Toronto Canada as a setting and focus for his inquiry. The Portuguese in this study were immigrants. McLaren described the cultural field of the site as ‘an intricate ritual system consisting of various symbols, word views, ethos, root paradigms and forms of resistance’ (McLaren, 1993, p. 81). In analysing what McLaren terms ‘rituals of instruction’. McLaren (1993, p. 81) constructed a typology that examined; ‘micro ritual’, which he conceptualised as ‘consisting of the individual lessons that take place on a day-to-day basis in the classroom;’ and, the ‘macro ritual’, which consisted of ‘the aggregate of classroom lessons observed over a single school day’. McLaren (1993) likened the micro and macro rituals to Van Gennep’s (1960) rite of passage scheme arguing, it was a good fit with the overall passage of students through the school system. When considering the teachers and their instructional methods within the micro ritual McLaren (1993, p. 113) identified three ‘performance types’: teacher-as-liminal-servant, teacher-as-entertainer, and teacher-as-hegemonic-overlord.

Similarly, Mansaray (2006) studied the working practices and experiences of teaching assistants in British primary schools. In this explorative sociological study, Mansaray (2006, p. 171) deployed the concept of liminality as a way to understand and unravel the complexities of the assistant teachers' experience. Liminality implies 'a state of being neither here or there – neither completely inside nor outside a given situation, structure, or mindset, as noted, (Madison, 2005, p. 158). While in this state, one is relatively free of the norms, guidelines, and requirements that generally govern one's action outside of it (Madison, 2005), thus producing an ambiguous state. To illustrate further, Turner (1982, p. 46) observes,

Liminality is, of course, an ambiguous state, for social structure, while it inhibits full social satisfaction, gives a measure of finiteness and security; liminality may be for many the acme of insecurity...

AFELT constitute one relatively small sub-group of a larger group of adjunct academics widely employed across the higher education sector in Japan. As noted in the preceding, adjuncts are employed on a year-to-year basis to teach English in a given number of classes (*koma*) per day, or week, in a given university. Thus, they may be considered to be permanently placed in an 'ambiguous state', not only in terms of their performance, but within the organisational structures of the university system. In this sense they share many characteristics with temporary workers. For example, Tempest and Starkey (2004) observe;

Among temporary employees, liminality is experienced through working for an organization, but not being a permanent part of that organization. 'Liminality in the context of work may be seen as an alternative to work as organized and structured in bureaucratic, industrial organizations; an alternative to regular, full-time employment contracts' (Gasten 1999: 606). Liminality breeds ambiguity because it offers both risks and opportunities, for individuals and organizations alike.

Gasten (1999) employed the notion of liminal, in a metaphorical sense, to consider how temporary employment might look through this lens. She observed that 'lacking the structural bond created by a regular employment position, yet drawn into extended circles of loyalty, temporary workers share some of the interstructural and ambiguous characteristics of liminality' (Gasten, 1999, p. 603). Gasten argued that;

the position of temporary assignment employees as ‘betwixt and between’ offers an interesting entry-point from which to understand the dynamics and dilemmas of post-industrial organizations. The transformation in the field of work towards more flexible contracts and personal skill-sets (and, we may add, mind sets) has important implications for the way in which subjectivity and identity are constituted in the post-industrial subculture and, hence, for our understanding of the role and appearance of power under new structural conditions (Gasten, 1999, p. 604).

Furthermore, Gasten (1999, p. 606) observes that in the context of employment, liminality may be regarded by some as an alternative to ‘work as organized and structured in bureaucratic, industrial organisations’. Adjunct or temporary positions diverge from the normalised structures of employment and introduce ‘new elements’ and ‘new combinatory rules, i.e., new ways of organising and experiencing work’ (Gasten, 1999, p. 606). In the work environment for adjuncts and temps, ‘[t]he attributes of liminality or of a liminal *personae* (‘threshold people’) are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural contexts’ (Gasten, 1999, 604).

As a conceptual and metaphorical lens liminality offers this research a vehicle through which to arrive at a fuller and novel understanding of AFELT experience, knowledge, and ‘performance types’. The notion of liminal *personae* provides an alternative way of seeing, AFELT as ‘*adjunct*’ (neither fully in or out), their environment, and their role. It affords this research a means through which to identify the ‘ambiguities’ of place and performance in that state as AFELT perform the role of foreign English language teachers.

The final theoretical framework used in the present study was appropriated following the completion of the first three papers constituting the body of this dissertation. In feedback received from reviewers comments were made relating to the need to address the notion of teacher identity. As one reviewer wrote;

My reading of this paper suggests that I’d also add teacher identity in the key words, however, the consequence of this is to engage in some of the literature

dealing with teacher identity. The authors are writing about how Japanese policies and practices impact on and construct AFELT. This implies AFELT identity. However, there's little discussion of this in the paper. (ASR editor, Email received, 20/04/10)

Another reviewer wrote,

I believe that the data collected in this project is immensely interesting but that the discussion is misdirected. Rather than focusing on internationalization, the data may tell us a great deal about teacher identity in EFL contexts. This study raises some very important issues about teaching English as a foreign language, teacher identity, and linguistic imperialism that are not addressed in this manuscript. (IC Editor, Email received, 10/08/10)

While each of the theoretical frameworks outlined above offers powerful perspectives for interrogating the 'identity' construct and 'teacher identity', positioning theory offered another way of considering identity. Therefore, in order to respond to these observations, positioning theory was employed in preparing the fourth manuscript submitted for publication (Whitsed & Volet, in review). This manuscript focused specifically on AFELT identity construction through the lens of 'positioning'. Positioning theory is now elaborated.

Positioning Theory

Positioning theory originated in social psychology and developed within a framework of discursive psychology. The concept of positioning was first introduced within the social sciences by Holloway (1984), who in the context of her study spoke of 'positioning oneself' and 'taking up positions'. According to Harré, Moghaddam, Pilkerton, Rothbart, and Sabat (2009, p. 5), positioning theory aims to reveal 'the explicit and implicit patterns of reasoning that are realized in the ways that people act towards others'. Introducing position theory, van Langenhove and Harré (1999, p. 15), two key proponents of this perspective, observe 'positioning can be seen as a dynamic alternative to the more static concept of role'. According to van Langenhove and Harré (1999, p. 15);

It is within conversations that the social world is created... Within conversations, social acts and social icons are generated and reproduced. This is achieved by two

discursive processes, one of which is 'positioning' and the other 'rhetorical redescription'... The latter can be understood as the discursive construction of stories about institutions and macrosocial events that make them intelligible as societal icons.

van Langenhove and Harré (1999, pp. 16, 17) define a position within a conversation as 'a metaphorical concept through reference to which a person's 'moral' and personal attributes as a speaker are compendiously collected'. Davies and Harré (1990, p. 46) observe that once a particular position has been 'taken up' as one's own, 'a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned'.

According to Harré et al. (2009, pp. 7-8), positioning theory is concerned with the four 'fundamental interconnected aspects of interpersonal encounters'. These are;

1. Rights and duties are distributed among people in changing patterns as they emerge in performing particular kinds of actions.
2. These patterns are themselves the product of higher-order acts of positioning through which rights and duties to ascribe or resist positions are distributed.
3. Such actions are the meaningful components of storylines. Any encounter might develop along more than one storyline, and support more than one storyline evolving simultaneously.
4. The meanings of people's actions are social acts. The illocutionary force of any human action, if it has one as interpreted by the local community, determines its place in a storyline and is mutually thereby determined. Any action might carry one or more such meanings. (Harré, et al., 2009, pp. 7, 8)

Positioning also involves a 'tripolar relationship of position, storylines, and speech acts' (Dixon, 2006, p. 322). Dixon (2006, p. 322) cogently explains this in the following terms;

Within the conversation, we position others and ourselves, sometimes intentionally and often unintentionally. Conversations have storylines and the speech-acts create and reflect them. In speech-acts and storylines, authors establish, either intentionally or unintentionally, a position in relation to themselves and to others. The structure of positioning is thus tripolar. Positions are relative to one another, and self-positioning may force another's positioning. Storylines are realised in the conversation. Social episodes display storylines, as if the speakers were living out of narrative conventions. The speakers positioned by others or by themselves may draw on both the storylines made available within their context of the conversation and those that are embedded in a broader set of discursive actions. Storylines are multilayered, with the possibility of several unfolding simultaneously from the same pattern of speech-act.

Furthermore, positioning theory, where the primary medium of interaction is discursive, allows for a very natural expansion of scale. In addition to being a useful heuristic device for the analysis of the dynamics of person-to-person encounters, it can also be used to analyse unfolding interactions between nation states: 'The scale ranges from intimate conversations through to the discursive institutions by means of which even acts of war are given meaning in a framework of rights and duties by the public media' (Harré, et al., 2009, p. 6).

Positioning theory has been applied across a broad range of areas. It has been applied to, for example, conflict and conflict resolution (Harré et al., 2009; Moghaddam, Harré, & Lee, 2008), classroom interaction (Anderson, 2009; Barnes, 2004), learner and teacher identity (Dennen, 2010; Reeves, 2008; Yoon, 2008), intergroup relations (Tan & Moghaddam, 1999), organisational change (Zelle, 2009), and individual and organisational identity in a university context (Garcia & Hardy, 2007). More recently, positioning theory and, in particular, the notion of subject positions was employed by O'Doherty and Davidson (2010, p. 225) 'to understand the way in which participants in a public engagement on biobanking... drew on different aspects of their identity to warrant arguments during deliberation'. Osbeck and Nersessian (2010, p. 136) also utilised positioning theory to 'analyze identity formations and their relation to problem solving and innovation in two interdisciplinary research science contexts'.

In the context of teacher identity, positioning theory has also enjoyed wide utilisation. For example, Hall, Johnson, Juzwik, Wortham, and Mosley (2010) examined teacher identity in the context of secondary school literacy teaching. Sosa and Gomez (2011, p. 4) employed positioning theory to ‘focus on the accounts by teachers who are positioned and who position themselves as “effective,”’ and to ‘focus on the relational aspect of positioning theory with respect to a determination of how one’s position necessarily positions others’. McCluskey, Sim and Johnson (2011, p. 79) used positioning theory in conjunction with discourse analysis as a ‘methodological, “hearing aid,” to listen to the story of a beginning teacher, a global English speaker, as she tells of her personal experiences of being excluded by her colleagues as she begins teaching at her first school’.

In the present research, positioning theory assisted in the appreciation of how AFELT navigate through and negotiate an understanding of themselves, their role, and their place. In particular, it is utilised because it is a powerful conceptual heuristic that provides a social constructivist theoretical framework for the analysis of AFELT discourses and identity negotiation.

Theoretical framework summary

Each of the theoretical frameworks outlined have been applied across a vast range of fields, disciplines, and contexts. Each has its merits and weaknesses. In isolation, each offers only partial glimpses or understandings of the social and psychological phenomena that influence meaning making, and notions of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’. In aggregate they contribute to and illuminate phenomena, individual, social, internal, external, and the multilayered, multi-contextual environment in which this research is located.

Throughout this section several metaphors for understanding the place and function of theoretical frameworks have been presented. These included: the ‘theory is a sieve’, ‘theory is a roadmap’, and the ‘reconstructing a broken mirror’ metaphors. From the perspective of this research the metaphor that might best be applied is ‘theory is a *layer*’. According to Friedman (2008), working in layers allows one;

- To preserve the original image;

- Work on top of or copies of that image;
- Use blending modes to change the manner in which the layers interact;
- Change the opacity of any effects; and,
- To add layer masks so that one can work selectively on an image and make adjustments.

To use the example of *Photoshop*, at the commencement of the research project I had an image of AFELT in the research site. Each theoretical perspective as a *layer* superimposed upon the image and subsequent *layers* allowed a fuller, richer, more detailed and nuanced image to evolve whilst working with it. Working with theory, as one does with *layers*, one can ‘hide’ or ‘mask’, ‘zoom in’ or ‘zoom out’, and ‘highlight’ or ‘contrast’ part or all of an image. Through the addition and manipulation of *layers* complexity and depth can be added to the original image. This is represented graphically in Figure 1.

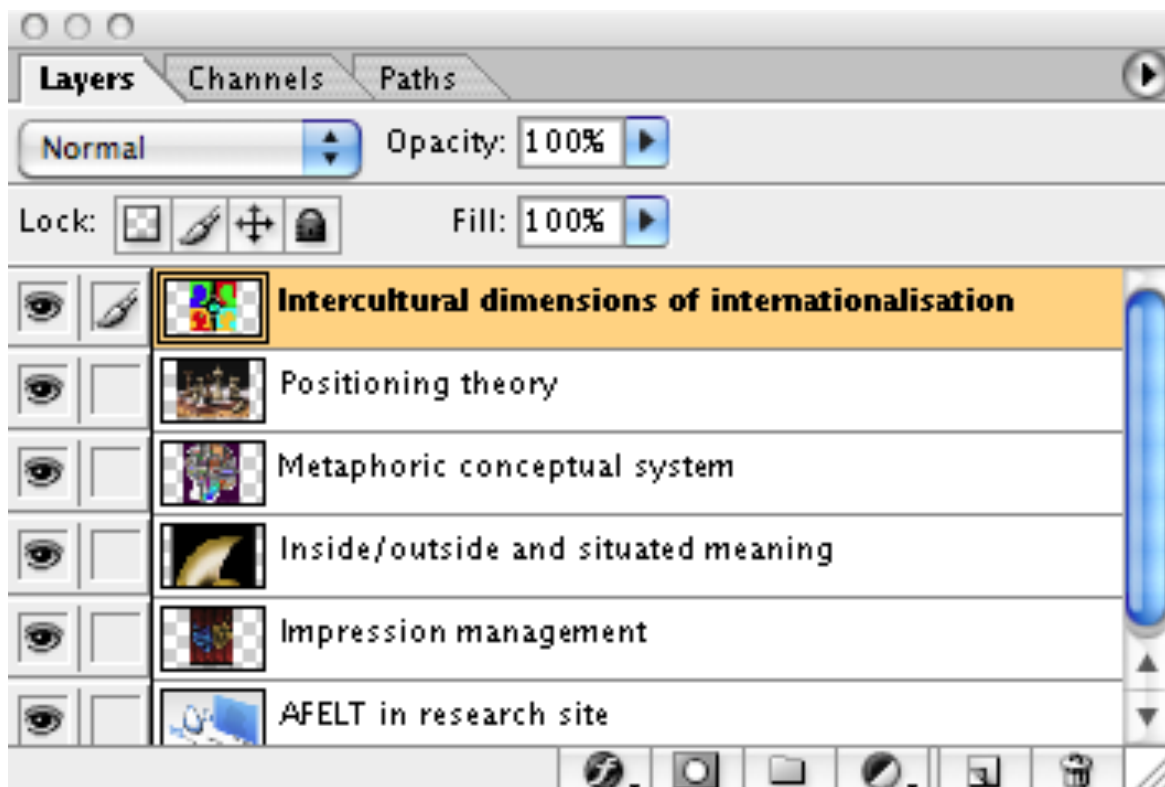


Figure 1. Layers of theoretical perspectives

Having now outlined the theoretical framework employed in the analysis and interpretation of the present research, in the following section I detail the methodological approach and the research process.

A Qualitative approach and methodology

A qualitative research approach was utilised in the present research to facilitate an in-depth exploration of AFELT experience, role and place. This is consistent with the epistemological and theoretical traditions outlined in the preceding Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 3) define qualitative research as, ‘a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible’. Qualitative methodology is also a holistic approach to research, where ‘the whole phenomenon under study is understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts’ (Sarantakos, 1993, p. 46). Furthermore, according to Maxwell (1998, p. 75), it is an appropriate method of research to use when the aim of the research is to understand how ‘events, actions, and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which these occur’. Similarly, Maxwell (1998, p. 75) argues qualitative research is the most suitable approach to understand ‘how events, actions and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which these occur’. Furthermore, Robson (2002) regards qualitative research as the most appropriate method of social research for exploring the social construction of reality. Patton (2002, p. 147) also supports this view and writes, ‘Understanding what people value and the meanings they attach to experiences, from their own perspectives, are major inquiry arenas for qualitative inquiry’.

Given the aim of this research is to make visible, understand, and interpret the participants’ experiences in the Japanese university context, adopting a qualitative methodology was deemed the most appropriate means of eliciting data. The rationale for this determination was grounded in the knowledge that qualitative methods have been applied to the study of individuals and groups in complex and dynamic social situations across disciplines and contexts. For example, and relevant to the present study, Maxwell (1998, p. 75) that qualitative research is the most suitable approach to understand, ‘how events, actions and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which these occur’.

Therefore, in this research by using qualitative methodology it is possible to explore more fully the perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and experiences of AFELT even though working with a relatively small sample. It is also possible to honour participants and their voices at all stages of the research process. Furthermore, it is also possible to accommodate and validate my own position, as a participant observer, in the research. Additionally, and rather pragmatically, qualitative methodology is flexible enough to accommodate unexpected obstacles while being sufficiently robust to meet the objectives of the present research project. Finally, qualitative research is iterative. As such, congruence between design, implementation, ‘the fit of data and the conceptual work of analysis and interpretation’ is maximised (Morse et al. 2002, p 10).

Using qualitative methodology has implications for the design and the methods used in the present research. Therefore, the methods employed in this research to create data (Patton, 2002) were chosen to facilitate the capture of the richness, depth and complexity of experience of the participants, and to also highlight the issues, views, and the nature of social interaction that arise out of the ‘lived experience’ of the individuals who participated in this research. To that end, the principal method employed in this thesis for the creation of data was the qualitative interview. In the following section the notion of ‘qualitative interview’ is now elaborated, as it relates to the present research in the form of focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Research Method: the qualitative interview

By using the ‘qualitative interview’ researchers, according to Kvale (1996), attempt ‘to understand the world from the subjects’ points of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples’ experience, [and] to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations’ (Kvale, 1996, p. 1). In other words, it is the purpose of the qualitative research interview to ‘obtain descriptions of the lived world of the interviewees’ (Kvale, 1996, p. 30). Qualitative interviews, therefore, afford researchers opportunities to understand and reconstruct experiences and events in which they did not participate (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

In this research the principal rationale behind the decision to use qualitative interviewing as the primary means of data generation was its unique ability to access and describe the lived

everyday world (Kvale, 1996). Other methods are less apt to discover what Silverman (2005) calls the 'lived experience' from the point of view of the participant. Therefore, the qualitative interview has been widely employed in interpretive research, as a primary method of data collection, as it is in the present research.

The flexibility and iterative features of qualitative interviews, such as in-depth semi-structured, open-ended interviews and focus groups, are good reasons for using qualitative interviewing in social research (Ruban & Ruban, 1995). Being flexible the qualitative interview affords the opportunity to make adjustments to the research design. Another advantage of a flexible design is being able to adjust questions to fit new and emerging ideas and themes, not only in an individual interview, but also over the entire course of interviews in a research project. It is the flexibility in qualitative interviewing, Ruban and Ruban (1995, p. 45) maintain, that encourages researchers to 'truly hear the meaning of what the interviewees say without discarding pieces that don't fit your initial conception of the research problem'.

The iterative nature of qualitative interviewing provides a means by which to narrow in and focus on emergent themes. As Ruban and Ruban (1995, p. 46) explain,

In the early stages of interviewing, design emphasises more the gathering of many themes and ideas; towards the middle of the research, you concentrate more on winnowing to limit the number of themes that you explore. In the final stages, you emphasize more the analysis and testing of your understanding as you put themes together, beginning to form theories, and run them by your interviewees.

This process was a feature of the present research, and constituted a powerful reason to use qualitative interviewing. Not only do qualitative interviews afford flexibility, but they also enable a process and means to analyse, 'winnow' and sound ideas and concepts emerging from interviews by 'those best able to provide the answers', the participants (Ruban & Ruban, 1995, p. 47).

Moreover, qualitative interviewing was considered most appropriate for this research because, as Turner and Meyer (2000, p. 77) observe;

Interviews not only check our understanding of the questions we are exploring, but they help us to see how our constructs have distinct meaning that cannot be separated from the situation in which they are experienced and studied.

In the present research qualitative interviewing was the preferred methodology. This is because this methodology provides informants with opportunities to describe their experiences and views, and to identify issues that are important to them. Participants are able to do this without restrictions being placed on them, given that the interview schedule is flexible enough, and allows for them to, in their own words and way, relate this information (Minichiello, 1990). The following section briefly addresses the data generation methods employed in the present study, namely, focus groups and in-depth interviewing.

The data generation methods

The two primary methods of data generation and creation, as noted, in this research project were focus groups and in-depth interviewing. Each method has been widely critiqued and has strengths and weaknesses. The following section does not review these methods in detail, as this work is readily available (c.f., *The Sage Qualitative Research Kit*, Flick, et al., 2007). Rather, it is intended to demonstrate that each method has been deliberately adopted on the basis of what it brings to the current research project, and not for the sake of expediency.

Focus Group Data

Morgan (2004) documented numerous uses of focus groups in qualitative studies across a wide range of fields. He concluded that one important theme associated with the popularity of focus groups is their ability to ‘give voice’ to marginalised groups. Indeed, as Morgan (2004) illustrates, focus groups can serve as either a basis for empowerment, or a tool, in action and participatory research. Furthermore, Morgan (2004, p. 266) notes, focus groups also appeal because of the manner in which they afford participants the opportunity, ‘to exercise a degree of control over their own interactions’. Given the marginalised status of the participants in the present research, this approach was therefore appealing for these reasons.

Moreover, another advantage of the focus group over other methods of data generation is its capacity to produce a very rich body of data, expressed in the participant's own words and context (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Because, 'participants can qualify their response or identify important contingencies associated with their answers', their responses have, according to Stewart and Shamdasani (1990, p. 12), 'a certain ecological validity not found in traditional survey research'.

Barbour (2007) notes one of the most common uses of focus groups in the exploratory phase of a research project, as is the case in the present research, is to use them to inform development of other data generation methods such as interview and survey questions. Barbour (2007, p. 16) argues that if the researcher is prepared to 'lick her or his wounds and reformulate their questions', if they are 'mauled' in a focus group then, 'this approach can pay huge dividends'. Another use of focus groups in the present research following the interviewing phase was to test emergent themes and categories; in other words, to corroborate, confirm, or reject results, through 'triangulation'. However, Barbour (2007, p. 46) argues triangulation is a problematic concept in focus group research. She writes:

The notion of 'triangulation' – borrowed from navigation and surveying – relies on the idea of fixed points of reference, involving a hierarchy of evidence, and assumes agreement between researchers as to which method is accorded most status in terms of producing the most 'authentic' or trustworthy findings.

A way forward which Barbour (2007) proposes, and the perspective taken in the present research, is to 'view focus groups and one-to-one interviews – or, indeed, any other forms of qualitative or quantitative data collection – as producing parallel datasets. Adopting this approach affords one the opportunity to, according to Barbour (2007, p. 46) 'capitalize on the comparative potential of various datasets, rather than being caught up in attempts to establish a hierarchy of evidence'. Social worlds produced through focus groups and interviews and interrogated differences, Barbour (2007, p. 47) maintains, 'afford alternative lenses through which to look at the issues in hand'. Furthermore, Barbour (2007, p. 47) argues;

As well as thinking about how to use complementary methods to advantage in ensuring that important voices are not muted in our research endeavours, giving careful thought to selecting our methods also gives us an opportunity to anticipate

analysis. If we see complementary methods as producing parallel datasets with potential for instructive comparison, then there is some merit in working backwards from this point to consider which methods might provide the most opportunity for comparison.

Therefore, in the present research, focus groups were used to not only inform the development of the question guide for the one-to-one interview phase of the research. In the third phase of the research they provided a complementary dataset and ‘added value’ by providing richer insights into the lived world of the participants.

In closing this section, it is important to note that focus groups do have important limitations of which researchers should be aware, though these limitations are not unique to focus group research. Indeed, all research tools in the social sciences have significant limitations (Morgan, 2004; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Concerning the limitations of focus groups, Morgan (2004, p. 272) observes;

The weakness of focus groups, like their strengths, are linked to the processes of producing focused interactions, raising issues about both the role of the moderator in generating the data and the impact of the group itself on the data.

Other challenges associated with focus group generated data include ethical issues and analysis. Barbour (2007) stresses ethical issues need to be considered in each phase of the focus group and every opportunity ought to be taken to protect participants. Focus group data is complex and, according to Barbour (2007, p. 142):

[the] Key to systematic analysis is the identification of patterning in the data (through employing some form of counting) and then seeking to formulate explanations for these patterns and, indeed, for lack of specific patterns in some cases. This frequently involves the researcher in interrogating the relationship between other codes and other coded excerpts, as the analysis is refined and, particularly, as exceptions are identified and the insights that they have provided are explored.

The focus group data, in the present research, was complemented by a series of in-depth, one-to-one interviews, as elaborated in the following section.

According to Patton (2002), the interview allows one to enter into the other person's perspective, as noted, and qualitative research interviewing begins with the assumption that the other's perspective is meaningful. Kvale, (2007, p. 7) writes:

The interview is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose determined by the one party – the interviewer. It is a professional interaction, which goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge. The qualitative interview is a construction site for knowledge.

According to Miller and Crabtree (2004, p. 186), the in-depth interview is a powerful research tool when;

- the focus of inquiry is narrow;
- The respondents represent a clearly defined and homogenous bound unit with an already known context;
- The respondents are familiar and comfortable with the interview as a means of communication; and,
- The goal is to generate themes and narratives.

Furthermore, the in-depth interview is not considered to be a 'holistic' approach in the ethnographic sense of the word as, 'it focuses on facilitating a co-construction of the interviewer's and an informant's understanding of the topic of interest and not necessarily on the context of that understanding' (Miller & Crabtree, 2004, p. 188). Miller and Crabtree (2004, p. 188) describe the in-depth interview as 'personal and intimate' and as emphasising 'depth, detail, vividness, and nuance'.

This data collection method was chosen for the present research because; (a) this research is exploratory; (b) the goal was to discover and co-create the participants' perceptions and

understandings about their experiences working in Japanese universities; (c) the depth interview is flexible, iterative, continuous and congruent with the aims of the interpretivist/constructivism paradigms.

While the in-depth interview affords the researcher a unique and privileged insight into the experiences of the participants it also has a number of limitations. One limitation associated with interviewing is the manner in which the interview can affect both the interviewee and the interviewer. Interviewing involves guiding a ‘conversational partner’ (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) through an extended discussion. The act of guiding therefore results in;

conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion. The researcher elicits depth and detail about the research topic by following up on answers given by the interviewee during the discussion (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 4).

‘Interviews’, Patton (2002, p. 405) bluntly comments, ‘are interventions’, and as such they ‘affect people’. Kvale (2007, p. 8) discusses this facet of interviewing at length in terms of the ethical issues that ‘permeate interview research’. As Kvale (2007, p. 7) observes;

The knowledge produced depends on the social relationship of interviewer and interviewee, which again rests on the interviewer’s ability to create a stage where the subject is free and safe to talk of private events for later public use. This again requires a delicate balance between the interviewer’s concern of pursuing interesting knowledge and ethical respect for the integrity of the interview subject

As with focus groups, interviewing in all its forms also has limitations and challenges. In particular, and as it related to the present study, a significant challenge was related to the tools and modes of analysis. Kvale (2007, p. 104) identifies three modes of analysis. The first focuses on meaning such as, meaning coding, meaning condensation, and meaning interpretation. The second analyses focusing on language including, linguistic, conversation, narrative, and discursive analysis, and deconstruction. The third mode, is bricolage and theoretical reading. Kvale (2007), whose work informed the present research in the analytical phases, writes;

No standard method exists, no *via regia*, to arrive at essential meanings and deeper implications of what is said in an interview... The present chapter describes a toolbox available to the interview craftsman for the analysis of interviews. These tools do not by themselves find the meaning... the researcher who applies the tools does. The quality of the analysis rests on his or her craftsmanship, knowledge of the research topic, sensitivity for the medium he or she is working with – language - and mastery of analytic tools available for analysing the meanings expressed in language.

In closing this section, according to Patton (2002, p. 405) a strong rationale for using in-depth one-to-one interviews, such as those in the present research, is that they lay open ‘thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experience’. Therefore, the in-depth interview in combination with focus groups afforded a means of creating complementary datasets of depth, breadth and richness.

Up to this point the focus has been on the researcher. In the following section the focus of attention is shifted to the participants. It is widely observed across the qualitative research literature that sampling is a crucial consideration to the ‘quality’ of a research project. For example, Barbour (2007, p. 58) argues that this is because it ‘holds the key to the comparisons you will be able to make using your data’. Reflecting diversity within the group or population under study Barbour (2007) maintains, is the issue. Therefore, to ensure depth and breadth and to represent as fully as possible the AFELT community, following Patton (2002, p. 236), ‘typical case sampling’ was employed when selecting participants. The following section focuses on the research participants and outlines key criteria used in the selection process.

Research Participants

Forty-three AFELT consented to participate in this research project as participants in focus groups and interviews. Appendix A lists each participant in order of participation in the data creation cycles. They are listed in terms of age, gender, nationality, marital status, Japanese proficiency, educational qualifications, years resident in Japan, years of employment in Japanese higher education, and the number of universities they have experience working in.

The section below addresses participant selection. In addition to presenting information concerning participant selection, the following also functions as an AFELT profile.

Participant Selection

Your interviews gain credibility when your conversational partners are experienced and have first-hand knowledge about the research problem...The credibility of your findings is enhanced if you make sure you have interviewed individuals who reflect a variety of perspectives...Key distinctions may be between old-timers and the new recruits (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 64).

In the quote above, Rubin and Rubin (2005) make two important points. First, the credibility of interview research is dependent upon the level of experience and first hand knowledge of the phenomena under investigation by the interviewees (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Secondly, the credibility of interview research is further enhanced by ensuring that there are a variety of perspectives between the interviewees (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

As noted earlier, 'Typical case sampling' (Patton, 2002) was employed to select the participants. This particular method enabled a wide range of experiences to be captured. Criteria for the sample included; years working in the university sector; types of universities employed in including those of higher and lower status, large and small in size, in terms of student population, faculties and finally public and private institutions. Therefore, the AFELT that informed this research were chosen to represent a broad spectrum of foreign part-time teachers employed in tertiary institutions across the Kansai area where the study was situated.

Participants

All of the participants selected to inform the research were American, Australian, Canadian, New Zealanders or from the United Kingdom, reflecting the bias for Anglos in the Japanese English language teaching sector. The average age of the participants, at the time of the study was 45 with the youngest participant being 29, and the eldest 62 years of age. All of the participants travelled to Japan as participants in the JET program, to work for one of the English language schools such as NOVA and GEOS, or as tourists.

As noted, 43 individuals ‘formally’ participated in this study. However, during the data gathering phases I had opportunity to engage in conversations with many other AFELT and their day-to-day interactions as AFELT. Indeed a few of these individuals became key informants and, through them, a level of member checking was afforded. There are approximately 161 universities in the Kansai region. The participants involved in this study reported working in a total of 63 different universities, almost a third of the total number in the region. All of the participants, as such, were employed on one-year employment contracts. On average, all participants, at the time of the data generation, worked for between two and four universities simultaneously. This meant that they were receiving different remuneration depending on the institutions that they were contracted with, and experiencing different conditions in terms of teaching and social interactions indexed to the status of the university, the department employed to teach in, and the students’ area of study.

Years of employment and residence

The AFELT population represents a fairly mature workforce. While the average age across the private language school and JET Program was in the mid-twenties with between one to three years resident in Japan, this is not the case in the university sector, and is reflected in the sample group. The average number of years employed as part-time teachers of English working in universities throughout the Kansai region was 11 years with more than half of the participants having been employed for as many as 15 years. Nine of the participants, at the time of the interviews, had been employed in the university sector for five or fewer years, with 19 participants having been employed for 10 or more years.

At the time of the focus groups and interviews, only six participants had been resident in Japan for fewer than eight years and six participants had been resident more than twenty years. The majority of the participants had been resident in Japan between 15 and 20 years. This suggests that AFELT as a group cannot be considered short-term sojourners, like many of the private language school teachers and those of the JET Program where, once they have completed the three year contract they return home. Arguably, this suggests AFELT

individually and collectively have a keen insight into the workings of the society and the university sector.

Educational Qualifications

When universities advertise positions the terms of employment stipulate that applicants must hold at the very minimum a Masters degree. For non-Japanese teachers of English as a foreign language it is not a requirement that the degree be related to the field of English, such as a TESOL, TEFL qualification *et cetera*. In terms of participants' educational qualifications, there is a high degree of diversity relating to discipline areas. Participants studied in areas ranging from applied linguistics, TESOL, to accounting. However, 29 of the participants had Masters degrees, with only 11 participants reporting that they had only attained the Bachelors level in their formal education. The Masters is overlooked at times depending on the urgency behind the recruitment. It is important to note that almost all recruitment is via word of mouth and informal contacts. While this facet of employment was not a focus of the analysis in the study, a majority of the participants indicated they got their 'start' in the sector through the informal network. Others also spoke of how, upon arriving, they studied for a Masters degree qualification to ensure they could gain employment in the sector. Only two participants held Doctorates.

Marital status

Although marital status was not a criterion for selection, given the average age of the participants, the probability that the majority would be married was high. Marital status was, however, considered important for two principal reasons. First, as noted, the Japanese university sector offers the highest paying employment for English language teachers, irrespective of experience or qualifications. Second, given the overwhelming majority of participants were, at this time married to Japanese spouses, they had, potentially, intimate and deep wellsprings of cultural knowledge not generally accessible to those outside the culture. Indeed, participants reported asking their spouses to explain culturally related phenomena they could not fully understand, being outside that perspective.

Of the 32 male participants, more than two-thirds were married with Japanese spouses and had dependents. Thus, a significant proportion had children that were, or had been in the Japanese educational system. This is a significant fact, as it not only attests to a level of cultural insight, and a commitment to living in Japan, but having children in the Japanese education system across all levels suggests a fairly developed understanding of what constitutes education in Japan and the social and organisational structures that support it. Of those who reported being single, a significant proportion were in relationships with Japanese girlfriends. Of the 10 female participants, four reported being married to Japanese spouses, and three of these couples had children in Japanese educational institutions. These figures are significant, because a considerable number of the participants reported that one of the major contributing factors underpinning their decisions to continue residing in Japan and continue in university employment was their marital status.

As speakers of Japanese

Another feature of English language teacher employment in the university sector is that one is not required or expected to be able to speak Japanese. Indeed, in many instances proficiency in Japanese is not deemed desirable. This was reflected in the sample by the number of participants who, in spite of their duration in Japan, were not fluent in Japanese. It should be noted, although obvious, that one's proficiency in the language, or lack thereof, has a marked bearing on one's experiences, both positive and negative.

Many long-term resident foreigners who have moved to Japan fail to master the language for a host of different reasons, and because of this they are unable to interact in any depth with the Japanese in social or work related situations. This then creates a situation where the foreigner has only very superficial interactions that would rarely go beyond civilities, unless the Japanese in question are able to communicate in English. The AFELT who participated in this study had different levels of Japanese proficiency. Also, their level of ability did not necessarily correlate with the number of years they have been resident in Japan. Osmosis can only result in limited and partial learning. Finally, one's proficiency with the Japanese language has a marked bearing on the capacity to communicate with a university's administrative and academic staff, and the students who attend that university. Three of the

participants rated themselves as fluent Japanese speakers, three at beginner's level, and the majority rated themselves as between low and upper intermediate levels of spoken proficiency in Japanese.

In closing this section, the participants who informed this research represented the 'typical' AFELT teacher in terms of their profile. However, each by virtue of their 'personhood' brought something unique and special to the research and that is acknowledged. The following section now outlines the research process through each round of the data generation.

The research process

Data was collected over three rounds as depicted in Figure 2. In this section, each round is outlined as it relates to the present research.

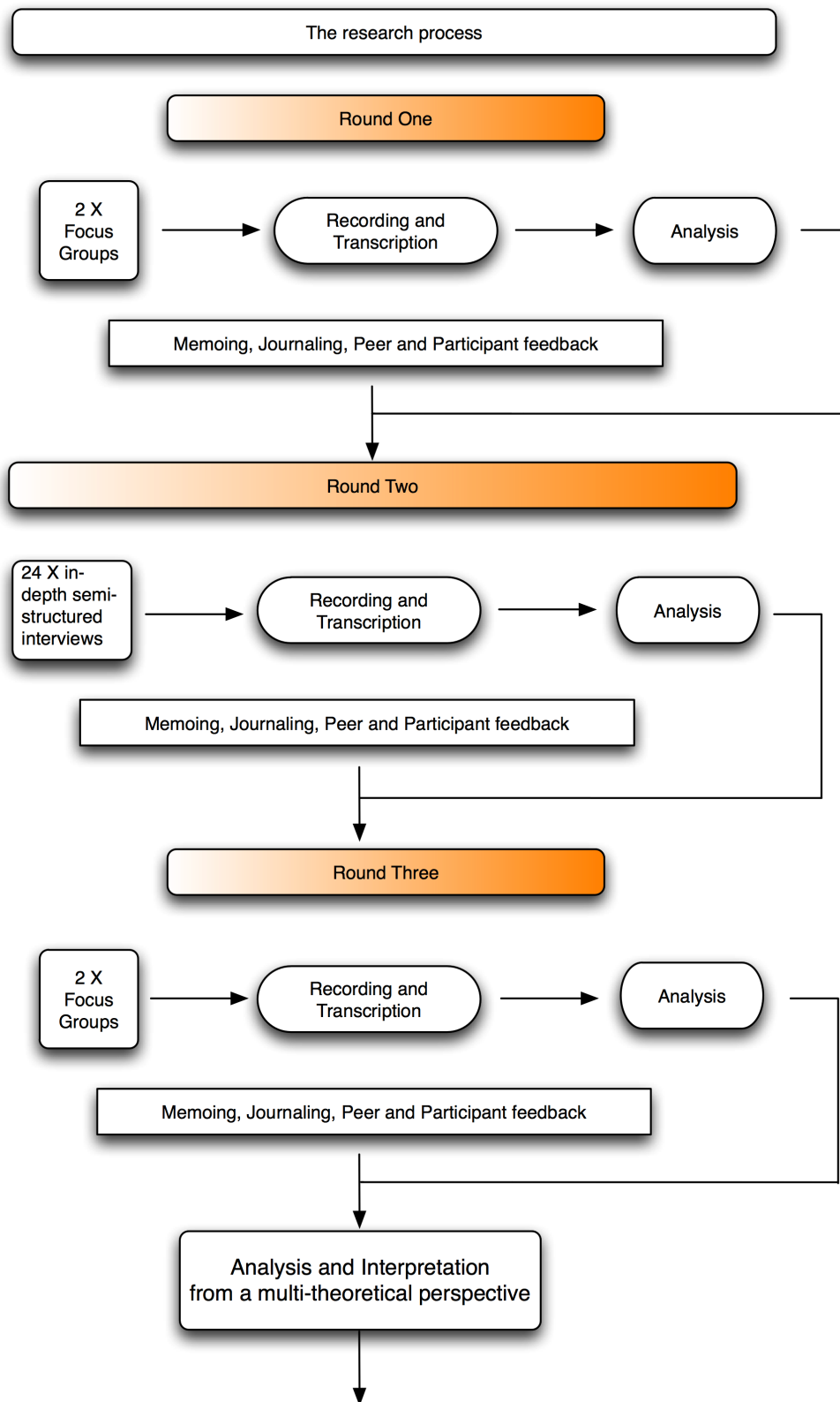


Figure 2. The research process

Round One

Round One utilised two focus groups with six participants in each group. Each focus group was approximately 90 minutes long. The focus groups were largely exploratory, and served to 'scope' and identify issues that had not been foreseen in relation to addressing the aims of the research and their perceived significance to the participants. The topics discussed were Japanese higher education, internationalisation, Japanese higher education and English language education in that context, AFELT status, role and day-to-day experiences in classes, and students.

The question schedule consisted of a standardised set of eight questions. There was a high degree of standardisation in order to maintain comparability across the two focus groups (Morgan, 2004) in this phase of the research. Each session was structured around the same topics and conducted in a similar fashion, however minor variation did occur given neither group was identical. The focus groups were conducted in a less structured (Morgan, 2004) manner, with the moderator, once the focus group commenced, principally introducing the topics and/or seeking clarification.

The focus groups were conducted in an informal setting and were recorded with the consent of participants. At the beginning of the focus group the participants were welcomed and invited to enjoy some refreshments. Following introductions, the nature and purpose of the focus group was briefly outlined. In addition, prior to commencing the focus group the 'ground rules' were explained and the role of the moderator was discussed. It was emphasised to the participants that the focus groups were constructed in such a manner as to give as much voice to the participants as possible, and they were generally free to discuss the topics without interruption, other than when clarification was sought or to introduce a new topic.

The participants in the first focus group were purposefully chosen to reflect a depth of experiencing teaching in Japanese higher education. They were also selected because others within the community generally regarded them to be extremely knowledgeable. The second focus group reflected greater diversity than the first group. The informants in the second focus group included two relative newcomers to university employment, two teachers who

had between five and ten years experience working in Japanese universities and two teachers who had approximately 15 years experience.

Once the focus groups had been completed they were transcribed and the transcripts were sent to each participant for comment and verification. Initial analysis was commenced, employing open coding to identify themes, which was then followed by axial and selective coding (Neuman, 2003).

Round Two

The second round consisted of a series of face-to-face, semi-structured, open-ended interviews. Each interview was approximately one hour in length with the focus being upon the experience of the interviewee working in the higher education sector in Japan. Twenty-four 60 to 90 minute in-depth interviews were conducted in total. The interview guide comprised questions relating to the following topics;

- Japanese higher education and universities;
- English language education in the Japanese higher education context;
- Internationalisation: What it means and how it is expressed and experienced;
- The Ministry of Education (MEXT): English language policies and AFELT;
- The role and status of AFELT in the Japanese university sector;
- Employment and teaching issues of concern;
- Working in a culturally different context;
- Students and classroom experiences; and,
- Pedagogy and aims and goals.

The interviews were iterative and data analysis was on going. During this phase of the research, following Kvale (2007), the analysis focused on meaning and the interview transcripts were coded, themed and categorised.

All of the interviews commenced with the informants being invited to discuss how they got their first jobs, and what they liked best about working as an English teacher. Following

Miller and Crabtree (2004), the purpose for commencing the interviews with these types of questions was to help the interviewer to; (a) establish the interview style; (b) build rapport; (c) jog the informant's memory; (d) build a bridge to intimacy; (e) assign competence to the interviewee; (f) provide context data for analysis; and, (g) weave a discourse context for the questions. Similar procedures to those in the focus groups were observed. The interviews, with consent, were digitally recorded, transcribed and returned to the participants for further comment and verification.

Round Three

In the third round of the data generation, two more focus groups were conducted with six participants in each group. This process served to close the data collection cycle. Sampling regimes and strategies were identical to those used in Round One. Likewise the data was treated in the same way. Following transcription the transcripts were distributed to participants for verification and comment.

Reflexivity

Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2004, p. 133) argue that 'reflexivity is the recognition on the part of the researcher that research is a process that contains a variety of power dimensions'. Therefore, they contend;

It is crucial for researchers to become aware of their positionality – that set of attributes and identities that they bring onto the research setting, including their gender, their race/ethnicity, and their class position. These factors entail a certain power dynamic and may impact the research process – from the questions researchers ask to how they interact with those they research and how they interpret and write up their research findings (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, pp. 133, 134).

Therefore, while qualitative interviews afford researchers a powerful means by which to discover the 'lived world of the interviewee', it is important to consider the contextual and negotiated nature of interviews (Charmaz, 2006), and how the 'power dynamic' (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004, p. 134) can influence the research process. As Charmaz (2006, p. 27) observes;

Whether participants recount their concerns without interruption or researchers request specific information, the result is a construction – or reconstruction – of reality. Interview stories do not reproduce priorities (Murphy & Dingwall, 2003; Silverman, 2000). Rather these stories provide accounts from particular points of view that serve specific purposes, including the assumptions that one should follow tacit conversational rules during the interview.

As such, it is important for interviewers to remain attuned to the manner in which they are perceived by those they interview (Charmaz, 2006). Research participants' appraisals of the nature of the power and status dynamics between them in relation to gender, race, age and profession and the interviewer, the purpose of the interview and how the findings might be used, can be played out in the interview (Charmaz, 2006; Goffman, 1959). By being attuned to the possibility that the interview process can be affected by factors such as 'status attributes' (Charmaz, 2006), the flexibility of qualitative interviews can be used to address some of these issues.

Throughout the data generation rounds 'status attributes' were not so much of a concern in the conduct of the present research as I shared the same status as the participants. However every attempt was made to make the participants feel at ease and comfortable. All the interviews were conducted in venues chosen by the participants, and were conducted in an informal manner. In this manner, and by utilising a semi-structured interview approach, the 'power differential' was narrowed.

Transcripts

Transcription is the process of translating oral discourse into written language, and as such, no transcript can truly capture and reflect reality (Miller & Crabtree, 2004). Indeed, Kvale (2007) outlines a range of implications for transcription associated with each approach to analysis cited above. Furthermore, Miller and Crabtree (2004) argue that when using transcripts it is important to recognise that transcripts are '*frozen* interpretive constructs' (p. 200), and it is important to be clear about the style of transcript.

In the present research, the transcripts are verbatim in that they record the conversations, however they have been 'cleaned up' (Miller & Crabtree, 2004, p. 200) to remove filled and

unfilled pauses. Furthermore, the transcripts do not include times between utterances and emotional expressions and intonations, as this was considered unnecessary in this particular research project.

Member checking

In this research project, participants were invited to participate beyond merely validating the accuracy of the transcripts. Several participants provided valuable input during the early interpretive phase and as late as in the write-up. As noted above, initial inductive analysis was performed at the completion of each interview, then any emergent theme would be presented to the following interviewee where they were invited to discuss it. In this way the present research was iterative.

Furthermore, outside the confines of the formal interview, I engaged in many discussions with other AFELT where I would share my preliminary findings and invite them to discuss these. This informal process continued throughout the entire second round of the data collection process and into the third round.

Peer checking

Peer checking is considered to be another way of adding rigour to a research project. In this research project peer checking, as noted in the theoretical framework section, took several forms. First, in preparing the papers for this dissertation, I worked collaboratively with both my supervisors who, because of their strengths, were able to contribute to the soundness of this phase of the work. In addition, they assisted in guarding against bias, provided new and other perspectives, and offered support and encouragement. Second, as noted, peer checking also took the form of inviting colleagues in specialist areas, such as Japanese studies, to provide feedback. This was particularly valuable in preparing the first paper. Moreover, two 'non-specialist' though published and respected colleagues read and commented on each manuscript as they moved from draft to submission. These individuals, in the spirit of collegiality, likewise provided useful ideas, questions that had to be addressed, and pointed out flaws in reasoning and gaps in various areas of the manuscripts that needed to be closed. Third, with each submission to the various journals came feedback. Each journal, through its editing and submission processes, first vetted the manuscripts and then sent them out for

double-blind peer review. In each instance, feedback was provided and an opportunity presented to resubmit once the reviewer's comments and observations had been addressed. This was highlighted in the theoretical framework section in relation to teacher identity and Paper Four. As such, this form of peer checking proved invaluable to the present research presented in this dissertation.

The researcher as a participant observer

Lincoln (1995) remarked that *positionality*, as it relates to quality transcends 'epistemologic concerns'. Lincoln (1995, p. 280) writes;

From the work of standpoint epistemologists (Haraway, 1989; Hooks, 1990, 1992, 1994), we can deduce that texts that claim whole and complete truth or claim to present universal, grand, metanarrative, or generalizable knowledge (or knowledge that applies to all similar individual or groups across time and across contexts) are themselves specious, inauthentic, and misleading.

Therefore, Lincoln (1995) stresses,

For standpoint epistemologists, a text that displays honesty or authenticity "comes clean" about its stance and about the position of the author. The "immaculate perception" of the realist tale (van Maanen, 1988) is pointedly denied; texts that are not open about their social and cultural positions in the larger intertextual conversation are specifically interrogated and deconstructed to determine their situatedness. Detachment and author objectivity are barriers to quality, not insurance of having achieved it.

Schram (2003) highlights issues such as the researcher's presence in the field, the selectivity of field-work, subjectivity, and ethical considerations as being significant influencing factors that can affect the credibility and trustworthiness of a research project. The following briefly addresses the positioning of the researcher in the present research.

As stated above, participant observation is a feature of the present inquiry. 'Participant observer' is an umbrella term used by some researchers to refer to all of the processes of data gathering in qualitative inquiry (Ely, 1991). 'Participant observation' is not limited to

observation in the field, but covers a broad range and continuum of research methods and degrees of participating (Ely, 1991). Ely (1991), for example, argues that looking, interacting, and attending cannot be divorced from interviewing. As such, therefore, interviewing constitutes a form of participant observation by virtue of the nature of the interaction that occurs throughout an interview between the participants and the interviewer.

Wolcott (1998) distinguishes between three types of participant observation these being the 'active', 'privileged', and 'limited' observer. The privileged observer is defined as, 'someone who is known and trusted and given easy access to information about the context' (Ely, 1991, p. 45). As I commenced the present research project as an AFELT I was, therefore, a 'privileged' observer. Developing rapport, trust, and the confidence of the participants was thus not a major issue (Charmaz, 2006).

While the epistemological and methodological positions underpinning the present research, the research processes used to generate the data, and modes of analysis and meaning making have been outlined, my involvement as a participant observer in the research merits further discussion as it relates to ethics and quality. 'Involvement' in the field raises ethical and practical questions (Schram, 2003). As stated, this inquiry was first conceived while I was working as an AFELT. This, therefore, meant I was both not only a participant in the setting, but fully immersed in it. Therefore, on the one hand the participants involved in this research considered my position first as a member of their community, and second as a researcher. This in turn created a situation where the participants felt comfortable relating their experiences, observations, and opinions throughout the data generation phases of this research. This also meant they invested their trust in me not to misrepresent them, thus presenting a potential for bias in reporting the findings.

LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 31) argue that 'the value of scientific research is partially dependent on the ability of the individual researchers to demonstrate the credibility of their findings', and that researchers may enhance the external reliability of their data by recognising and handling five major problems. The first of these issues concerns the researcher's status and position in the field. This requires addressing the question, 'to what extent are researchers members of the studied groups and what position do they hold?'

((LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 37). They conclude that, ‘ethnographic conclusions are qualified by the investigator’s social role within the research site’ but, ‘because ethnographic data depends on the social relationship of researcher with subjects, research reports must clearly identify the researcher’s role and status within the group investigated’ (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 38). This is an important consideration, because ‘people who are insiders to a setting’, according to Patton (2002, p. 267), ‘often have a view of the setting and any findings about it quite different from that of outside researchers who are conducting the study’.

Furthermore, Patton (2002, p. 566) argues, because the researcher is an instrument in qualitative research, a qualitative report should include information about the researcher. He contends that where a researcher fails to disclose information either of a personal and/or professional nature that has the potential to ‘affect data collection, analysis, and interpretation – either positively or negatively – in the minds of users of the findings’, such information must be made explicit in order to preserve the credibility of the research.

Therefore, the following is disclosed. As indicated, at the commencement of this dissertation I embarked upon this project to, in part, discover for myself, my ‘self’ as an AFELT, and to better understand what it was I was experiencing and why I was experiencing it. Through the data collection phase of the research, I was still resident in Japan and working as an AFELT. I was, therefore, quite close to the ‘subject matter at hand’. In many ways, as a voyage of self-discovery, this was an emotionally turbulent time as story after story seemingly confirmed my own personal observations and feelings about AFELT role and status. Not long after arriving in Japan, I married and commenced a family. In planning our life as a family my wife and I had decided that when our children reached school age we would settle in Australia, first, so they could grow up knowing their extended family, and second, for their education.

As it happened, I finished the data generation phase, and returned to Australia with my family, commenced looking for employment and started to immerse myself in the data analysis. It was not long after this that I was offered employment at Murdoch University. Work on the dissertation slowed, and almost stalled. Then in order to move forward it was suggested, rather than work on a monograph why not work on a thesis by publication? This had several advantages, such as the opportunity to be ‘apprenticed’ into the community of

researchers, and to have tangible milestones in the form of completed papers. By this time several years had passed, given that I commenced the first focus group in January 2005, I was quite removed from the research site, and I had begun to view myself not as an AFELT totally entrenched in that world, but as an emerging academic in the Murdoch University environment.

With the passage of time and the distancing this afforded, coupled with a richer and deeper understanding of the research site, and the sociological and psychological phenomena that shape and influence meaning making and construction, I am now better able to consider the research from an etic perspective. Wax (1971, p. 3) four decades ago expressed this as follows;

Obtaining something of the understanding of an insider is, for most researchers, only the first step. They expect, in time, to become capable of thinking and acting within the perspective of two quite different groups, the one in which they were reared and – to some degree - the one they are studying. They will also, at times, be able to assume a mental position peripheral to both, a position from which they will be able to perceive and, hopefully, describe those relationships, systems and patterns of which an inextricably involved insider is not likely to be consciously aware. For what the social scientist realizes is that while the outsider simply does not know the meanings or the patterns, the insider is so immersed that he maybe oblivious to the fact that patterns exist.

Therefore, relocation, time, distance, new knowledge, and perspectives combined with the writing process in preparing the papers that constitute the body of this dissertation have afforded me ways of seeing not hitherto possible. As noted above, all ethical issues permeate all research projects. The ethics dimension of the present research is now discussed.

Ethical considerations

Neuman (2003, p. 396) writes, ‘the direct personal involvement of a field researcher in the social lives of other people raises many ethical dilemmas’. Patton (2002) argues that

researchers employing qualitative interviews need to have an ethical framework in place to deal with these and associated issues. As Patton (2002, p. 407) explains;

Because qualitative methods are highly personal and interpersonal, because naturalistic inquiry takes the researcher into the real world where people live and work, and because in-depth interviewing opens up what is inside of people – qualitative inquiry maybe more intrusive and involve greater reactivity than surveys, tests and other quantitative approaches.

Given this research involved individuals whose involvement in this research could have compromised their employment status, correct ethical conduct and issues relating to confidentiality were a major consideration.

Drawing on Patton's (2002) ethical issues checklist for interviewing, in this research the following strategies were employed. Before commencing interviewing the overall purpose of the research, and the interviews were explained to each participant. This commenced with an outline of the general aims of the research, and the rationale for inviting the particular participant to be part of the inquiry. This was followed by explaining to the participants their access to the recordings and transcripts of the interview, and how the data would be managed. Given the nature of their employment, they were then advised of the potential risks of participating in the interviews for this research. Following this both confidentiality and anonymity were discussed and procedures outlined and explained. It was also explained to the participants that, as their role in this research was voluntary, they were therefore free to withdraw from the research at any stage. This meant their interview would be taken out of the dataset and not used in the research. Data access and storage procedures were also explained to the participants who were then informed that as this research was for a PhD dissertation the researcher was under the supervision of a senior researcher and advised to contact that person should they have any concerns concerning any aspect of the research as it related to them. Finally the participants were invited to sign a written consent form that outlined the information covered above.

Consistent with the guidelines for conducting postgraduate research involving human participants at Murdoch University, approval to conduct the research had to be obtained from

the Murdoch University Human Research Ethics Committee. This entailed presenting the overall research design to the Murdoch University Ethics Committee, which entailed a presentation of the proposed research including the research aim, design and the data collection procedures. It included providing an outline of strategies for data management and participant confidentiality. Human Ethics Approval was obtained from the Murdoch University Ethics Committee on December 6, 2004. Upon receiving approval from the Ethics Committee the first phase of interviewing was commenced in January of 2005 with the final phase being completed in January 2006.

Data storage

All focus groups and interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. The management procedures for the storage and access of the data, as explained above, were discussed with the participants. Following the transcription of the focus groups and interviews, the mp3 files were transferred to an external hard drive and stored in a locked filing cabinet, where they remain.

Analysis and interpretation from a multi-theoretical perspective

As indicated, the aim of the research was to explore the perceptions, knowledge and experiences of AFELT and how they construe their role and place in the Japanese university context set against the backdrop of internationalisation. Kvale (2007) observes that many analyses of interviews, in their various forms, are conducted without following a specific method. Bricolage is a term applied to the approach where researchers 'freely choose between different techniques and approaches' (Kvale, 2007, p. 115). Moreover, according to Kvale (2007, p. 115), this 'eclectic form of generating meaning' is a common mode of analysis. As Kvale (2007, p. 115) writes;

In contrast to systematic analytic modes such as categorization and conversation analysis, bricolage implies a free interplay of techniques during the analysis. The researcher may here read the interviews through and get an overall impression, then go back to specific interesting passages, perhaps count statements indicating different attitudes to a phenomenon, cast parts of the interview into a narrative,

work out metaphors to capture key understandings, attempt to visualize findings in flow diagrams, and so on.

Each of the papers constituting the body of this dissertation utilised different theoretical perspectives, as noted earlier, in order to enable a broader and richer understanding of the participants' perceptions and experiences and thus the analysis employed a bricolage approach. Kvale (2007), drawing on Miles and Huberman (1984), presents some useful ad hoc tactics for generating meaning; these were employed in the present research and include;

- Noting patterns and themes;
- Seeing plausibility;
- Clustering;
- Making metaphors;
- Counting; and,
- Making contrast/comparisons and differentiation.

In addition to these techniques that help the researcher to 'see what goes with what', 'achieve more integration among the diverse pieces of data', and to 'see what is there', Kvale (2007, 116) adds, tactics for revealing phenomena and their relationships more abstractly are necessary, for example, by noting relations between variables or finding intervening variables. In this way, a 'logical chain' of evidence is created and achieving conceptual and theoretical coherence is possible (Kvale, 2007, p. 116).

The broad analytical framework for the data analysis, following Kvale (2007), was drawn from Miles and Huberman (1984). Following Glaser and Strauss (1967) framework for analysis, open and thematic coding and categorising were employed in the initial stages to identify patterns and enable the categorisation of themes as they emerged. In addition, a constant comparison method was applied to the data which was then compared with new data as it was generated (see Figure 3). Once the themes were catalogued the participants' voice was represented through thick description and quotes to illustrate their perspectives. The analysis framework for each paper is now presented.

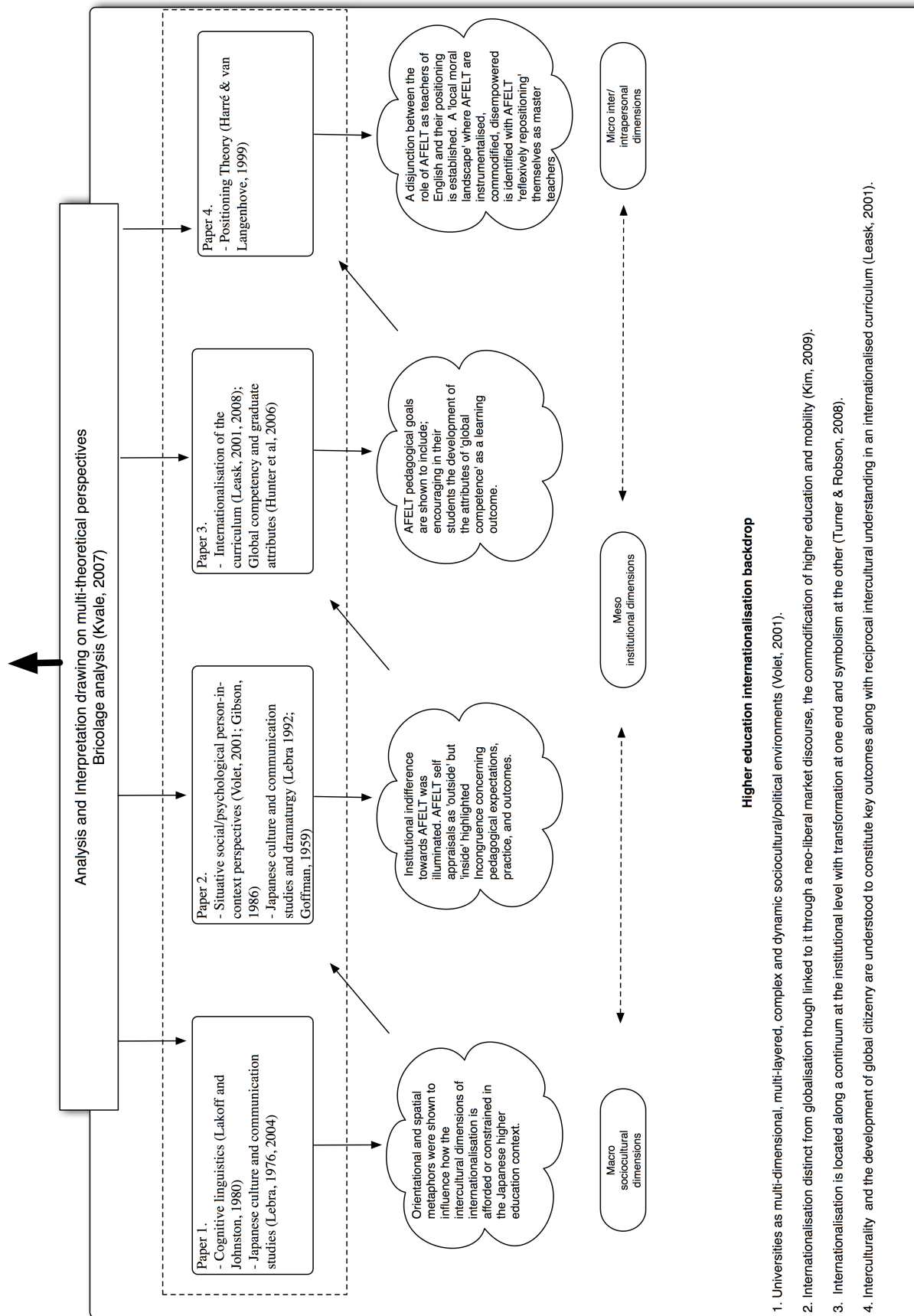


Figure 3. The analysis framework

Paper 1.

This conceptual paper utilised a broad, macro, socio-cultural perspective and drew inspiration from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, p. 3) cognitive linguistic framework to consider how reality is made, perceived, and structured based on the assumption that one's conceptual system is 'fundamentally metaphorical in nature'. Given the dispersal of Japanese words and concepts populating AFELT discourse, concepts sourced from Japanese culture and communications studies were utilised to facilitate an understanding of the dichotomous, binary spatial couplets frequently used in participants' discourse; such as, *uchi/soto*; *omote/ura*; and the concept of *gaijin* (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994; Lebra, 2004).

Paper 2.

This empirical paper focused on the meso level and explored phenomena within the organisational structures of the university broadly, and specifically in the classroom context. In approaching this perspective, the notions of affordance and constraint were particularly salient as organising concepts. The interviews were re-read, and the data was subsequently approached and coded following Kvale's (2007) and Miles and Huberman's (1984) framework in light of the theoretical frameworks noted in the preceding section. Informing and guiding the analysis, in addition to affordance and constraints, were the notions of impression management. Particular instances of 'performance' were noted and compared. Inside/outside and related themes were also identified and categorised, drawing on the conceptual framework of Lebra (2004) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) for inspiration.

Paper 3.

The focus in the second empirical paper was also directed at the meso level. In this instance it focused on the pedagogy of the participants. It was observed, in Paper Two that significant constraints, cultural, psychological and structural phenomena impeded AFELT pedagogy. Thus, the question arose what were AFELT trying to achieve in their teaching, if they were not able to teach communicative English? Drawing on the conceptual work of Hunter et al (2006) and Leask (2001), the analysis focused on identifying instances of AFELT pedagogy that were directed toward facilitating opportunities for students to develop intercultural

capabilities and to develop a broader global perspective. Thus, the data was re-read and coded, themed, and categorised in light of these perspectives.

Paper 4.

The third empirical paper utilised positioning theory to interrogate AFELT identity negotiation. From this perspective, it focused on micro-level interpersonal dimensions of meaning making. The focus groups and interviews were re-read and positioning acts were identified, categorised and coded. Salient examples were then isolated from the dataset and further analysed. The focus of this 'pass through' the data were the tacit, yet identifiable affordances and constraints and negotiations that govern or inhibit AFELT pedagogy and their associated rights, duties and obligations, therefore exploring how positions were occasioned across first, second, and self/other position acts, which were then identified and catalogued.

Summary

This section has traced the development of the research project, first by positioning the present research within the interpretive paradigm, and then elaborating its epistemological stance grounded in constructionism. Second, symbolic interactionism and phenomenology were briefly discussed in relation to the present research. It was noted that, while each tradition is uniquely different, given their shared epistemological foundation they do overlap at points in their effort to identify, understand and enter the constructed, and thus subjective, meaning making process. Third, the interpretive theoretical framework was then elaborated. The situative social/psychological person-in-context perspective (Volet, 2001; Greeno 1994), the organisation of self, social order and language through notions of in/out (*soto/uchi*) developed by Lebra (2004) and Bachnik (1994), the metaphorical nature of the conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), dramaturgy and impression management (Goffman, 1959), liminality (Turner, 1977), and positioning theory (1999) were each discussed in relation to the present study. Fourth, a rationale for the qualitative approach used in the present research was provided. Fifth, the research processes used to generate the data were outlined and discussed. This included participant selection and tactics employed to ensure the aims of the research process were achieved. Sixth, the place of the researcher in the research project was made explicit. Seventh, ethical considerations were related and data management processes

described. Finally, the modes and methods of data analysis employed in this research were outlined and discussed in relation to each of the four papers constituting the body of the dissertation.

The following sections provide an overview of the four papers, and are then followed by the overview of the major findings and discussion, limitations and implications for further research.

Overview of the papers

Introduction

Having outlined the premise and focus of each paper the following section provides an overview of each. The aims of the dissertation was to understand the experiences, knowledge and beliefs of AFELT, and how they construe their role in the Japanese university sector, set against the backdrop of higher education reform and internationalisation. Each paper highlights a different facet of AFELT understanding and knowledge and reveals AFELT place and role to be varied and negotiated. The findings and conclusions are discussed after the papers in the main findings and discussion section.

Paper 1

Whitsed, C., & Volet., S. (2011). Fostering the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in higher education: Metaphors and challenges in the Japanese context. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 15(2), 146-170.

This conceptual paper, examines how internationalisation is conceptualised by AFELT in the Japanese university context. The paper interrogates how metaphorical constructs appropriated from the Japanese language (e.g., '*uchi/soto*') are used in AFELT discourse as a means of understanding their experience in that context. It is premised on the understanding that, one's conceptual system is metaphorical and that, as such, one's cognition, perception and experience in and of the world is therefore a matter of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The paper argues that metaphors such as those appropriated by AFELT are indicative of attitudes and behaviours. Further, they are first, perceived by AFELT as impeding the adoption of inclusive practices; and second, as barriers to the development of reciprocal cultural understanding in the Japanese higher education context. The paper is prefaced on the

understanding that the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are integral to internationalisation in the university context. Further, the intercultural dimensions also pertain to policies and processes that are aimed at a reduction in cultural distance while enhancing intercultural communication competencies and mutual reciprocal understanding. Yet, as a significant body of research has demonstrated, achieving real reductions in attitudes and behaviours that reinforce cultural difference and stereotyping continues to be a significant challenge (e.g., Harrison & Peacock, 2010; Kimmel & Volet, 2010; Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010).

The paper contrasts the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation that are increasingly pronounced in the Anglo European internationalisation discourse with the Japanese internationalisation discourse. While pragmatic drivers and economic rationales are clearly present in Anglo European higher education internationalisation (Knight, 2004), there exists a growing undercurrent that advocates the inclusion of an intercultural dimension into all of the processes of the university (e.g., Hudzik, 2011). It is also observed that, although the economic aspects of internationalisation remain dominant the internationalisation discourse is maturing as it evolves. For example, increasingly universities are expected to be spaces where reciprocal intercultural understanding and the development of intercultural communication skills are embedded into the curriculum for the benefit of all students and stakeholders (De Vita & Case, 2003; Jones & Brown, 2007; Turner & Robson, 2008).

However, a review of the literature and policies on the internationalisation of Japanese higher education suggests that the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are not a high priority, and have been largely overlooked (Eades, et al., 2005; Goodman, 2007, 2010; Yonezawa, 2010). For example, no clear articulation of the aims, processes, and outcomes for the internationalisation of Japanese universities linked to the development of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation have emerged out of higher education policy in the Japanese context. Additionally, it is observed that, as in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australian contexts, a significant number of challenges have emerged in the Japanese context linked to the increasing numbers of international students and associated intercultural interactions.

Following the review of literature contrasting Japanese and Anglo European higher education internationalisation in light of the intercultural dimensions, the paper positions AFELT as teachers of ‘communicative English’. First, the status and deployment of non-Japanese academics is outlined and discussed with a focus on English language teachers. It is noted that institutional culture and practices constrain AFELT professional practice and integration. Nevertheless, because AFELT interact on a daily basis with students, it is argued, they are ideally positioned to be promoters and facilitators of intercultural understanding as a feature of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education policy and context, yet this facet of their potential contribution to the development of intercultural communication competencies in domestic students is neglected. It is then argued that though an investigation of AFELT role and place it becomes apparent that there is a lack of explicit emphasis in government policy, and at the institutional level, resulting in missed opportunities to promote the role of AFELT in enhancing the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation.

While ‘in/out’, ‘inside/outside’ ‘in-group/out-group’ orientational and spatial metaphors and dichotomies are not unique to the Japanese culture they are salient (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994). The paper concludes with an argument for the usefulness of orientational and spatial metaphors to better understand the dynamics, constraints and affordance of social interaction in Japan. Orientational and spatial metaphors such as ‘in/out’, ‘open/closed’, ‘interior/exterior’, and ‘hidden/revealed’ are elaborated in the Japanese context, drawing on the seminal work of Bachnik and Quinn (1994) and Lebra (1976, 2004). According to these authors, ‘us’ (*uchi*) and ‘them’ (*soto*) dichotomies function beyond the language to structure and regulate social interaction, and to differentiate between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ in the Japanese context. Orientational and spatial metaphors influence how the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are afforded or constrained in the realisation of this facet of internationalisation.

While this paper explored sociocultural impediments to the facilitation of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation, as it relates to AFELT in the Japanese higher education context, the manner in which they influence and structured participants’ reality required further interrogation and exploration. Therefore, the second paper employed a situative

sociocultural perspective with a particular focus on the person-in-context and the notion of affordance and constraints (Volet, 2001).

Paper 2

Whitsed, C., & Wright, P. (2011). Perspectives from within: Adjunct foreign English-language teachers in the internationalization of Japanese universities. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 10(1), 28-45.

This empirical paper reports on analysis of the focus group and interview data that explored environmental and contextual phenomena perceived by AFELT as affording or constraining their professional practice. The paper first defines internationalisation and contrasts this with globalisation. Japan is positioned as a country responding to external drivers such as globalisation through a series of reforms across the higher education sector that includes internationalisation. In this context, internationalisation is realised through a series of initiatives that include English language education. English language education has been a feature of Japanese higher education dating back to the Meiji era (1868) when Japan embarked on and realised an ambitious plan to modernise its government, education and industry. English, in this context, was not viewed as necessary for developing communication competencies and intercultural understandings; rather, it was to be utilised for the pragmatic purpose of knowledge acquisition. In the national interest, non-native English language teachers were thus essential, widely employed, and instrumentalised. However, they were, in many instances, viewed with suspicion because of their potential to pollute, dilute, or affect the Japanese culture and the Japanese sense of identity through the transmission of western values and traditions (Beauchamp, 1976; Jones, 1980).

Moving forward, the paper contextualises English in the Japanese university sector by positioning English language instruction (and by extension AFELT) as largely continuing to be exploited in pragmatic and utilitarian terms. Two theoretical perspectives were utilised to

frame the analysis of the data for this paper. First, the notion that globally, higher education internationalisation ought to prioritise processes and curriculum that encourages and fosters intercultural competencies and cross-cultural perspectives. Second, drawing inspiration from Goffman's (1959) notion of impression management and Lebra's (1992) spatial layout of hierarchy in Japanese social organisation, the analysis focused on identifying themes and categories related to structures or phenomena that afford or constrain AFELT English language teaching and interaction.

As outlined in the previous section, the analysis of the focus group and interview data for this paper highlighted a series of structural constraints and phenomena perceived by participants as impeding their pedagogy, inclusion, and interaction across all levels in the institutions in which they are employed. At the meta-level there exists a consensus of opinion concerning the prevalence of what is understood, metaphorically, as the importance of 'appearance over substance', or in other words, 'impression management' (Goffman, 1959). The effect of this, as participants experience it is a series of constraints that negatively affect their professional status, interaction, and positioning. At the professional end of the continuum the focus on 'appearance over substance' translated into Japanese higher education was perceived to be, orientated towards 'social' rather than 'educational' outputs. As such, AFELT perceived their value in the Japanese university sector as indexed to their capacity to function as resources in maintaining the façade of an international higher education institution and experience.

At the professional end of the continuum, given the organisational arrangement of spatial hierarchy in Japanese universities, participants reported perceiving themselves as ornamental, peripheral, and employed 'for show'. As such, participants reported high levels of indifference to their professional activities and being within university organisational structures. Such constraints contributed to negative feelings among AFELT, and reinforced the belief among many of them that, educationally, their classes are essentially irrelevant. Supporting this claim, participants cited a reluctance among Japanese full-time academic staff to acknowledge communicative English teaching as a bona fide professional practice and therefore an unwillingness to engage in professional and social interaction with AFELT.

At the classroom level, a high degree of incongruence between students' expectation of participation and engagement in communicative English language classes was reported. Participants linked the commodification of higher education in Japan and the phenomenon of the 'student as customer' to a shift in power away from themselves as teachers and an erosion in their authority. At the student level, significant constraints, such as 'incongruent expectations', 'commodification', 'othering', and 'students not buying-in', further reinforced the view that the primary role of AFELT is closely aligned with their capacity to perpetuate the illusion of an international system of education.

Paper 3

Whitsed, C., & Wright, P. Taking the inside outside: Teaching communicative English, and intercultural and global competencies in the Japanese university sector. *In Review*

This empirical paper extends the previous paper by focusing on the aims and goals of AFELT in the Japanese university context. Paper Two highlighted constraints that impede, not only the integration of foreign academics, such as AFELT in the Japanese university context, but also their pedagogy and professional practice. English language teaching in the Japanese context, it is argued, fails 'to give a serious consideration to multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multiethnic populations that currently exist in Japan, as well in global communities' (Kubota 2002, p. 23). This form of English language education has implications for AFELT, many of whom strive to develop students' intercultural and global competencies. This paper extends the analysis through an examination of AFELT self-reported aims and goals. Therefore, the role of AFELT in the development of domestic students' intercultural development and the internationalisation of the curriculum is explored. 'Intercultural competency' is defined, following Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002), as 'the ability to interact with people of other cultures' to 'understand and accept people as individuals...' and to value such interaction as rewarding.

The paper commences by noting the impact of globalisation and a changing demographic landscape on Japan. Increased migration is presented as one possible alternative to address these issues. Given the changing demographic profile, it is argued, there exists the need for a ‘socially inclusive education for a multi-cultural reality’ that increasingly defines Japan in real terms. However, the realisation of such aspirations is challenged. The Japanese higher education sector is ideally placed to act as an ‘incubator of (inter)cultural change’ (Otten, 2009). Yet there is little evidence to suggest that a systematic, holistic, or strategic approach has been taken in the development of domestic students’ intercultural and global competencies across the formal curriculum.

As noted previously, English language education at the policy level is articulated as an internationalisation priority. However, there appears to be no substantive correlation between English language learning (or other language learning) and the development of intercultural communication competence and global citizenry. Rather, it is argued, English language education in the Japanese context is understood to ‘reinforce cultural nationalism’ and ‘othering’. This is elaborated briefly and then followed by an outline of the role of AFELT as teachers of English in the Japanese university context. Drawing on Papers One and Two, AFELT are shown to be constrained professionally and pedagogically. In particular, the phenomenon identified in Paper Two, namely the ‘culture of indifference’ that envelops AFELT and their discipline, severely hampers the teaching of English.

Higher education and the internationalisation of the curriculum is outlined and discussed in relation to generic learning outcomes such as ‘global competence’ (Haigh, 2002; Hunter, White, & Godbey, 2006). Recent research that links graduate attributes such as global competence to internationalised curricula is outlined (Leask, 2001). It is noted that characteristics one might expect students to exhibit upon graduation, pertaining to the attribute of ‘global competence’, would include:

- Displaying an ability to think globally and consider issues from a variety of perspectives;

- Demonstrating an awareness of one's own culture and its perspectives and other cultures and their perspectives;
- Appreciating the importance of multicultural diversity to professional practice and citizenship;
- Valuing diversity of language and culture; and,
- Appreciating the relation between their field of study locally and professional traditions elsewhere. (Adapted from University of South Australia, 2008 as cited in Paper Three p. 10 of manuscript)

Given that AFELT feel constrained in their role as teachers of English and encounter significant resistance or apathy in their classes to English language instruction, what they aim to teach is then brought into question. The role and place of AFELT in encouraging the development of these attributes is then investigated in light of the above.

The focus of analysis in this paper was on identifying AFELT teaching and instructional aims and goals. Internationalisation was construed by participants as being mobilised for political expediency and economic gain, rather than to support the development of domestic students' intercultural competence and global citizenry. Further, internationalisation was perceived as being deployed as a mechanism that primarily functioned as a means of 'containing' and 'controlling the world'. In particular, internationalisation was typified, especially in the private sector, as focused on revenue creation and not on its intercultural dimensions. Furthermore, participants firmly saw their role and place as outside the formal functions of the university in a number of ways. First, hegemonic and dichotomous practices and 'power relations' that were understood as underpinning Japanese university culture were identified as contributing factors. Second, arbitrary rules, restrictions and regulations coupled with imposed and inappropriate textbooks, overly large classes and perceived institutional and student indifference to AFELT taught classes, reinforced such views.

Following the analysis of the data AFELT teaching practices can be understood as aiming to encourage:

- students to reduce their dislike of English and English language learning;

- a reduction in the tendency of students to justify their reluctance to engage in inter, and intra-cultural/social interaction with autostereotypical beliefs; and,
- students to see themselves and Japan in a broader global context.

Thus, while not formally trained as intercultural educators, AFELT nevertheless feel that encouraging this attribute is a significant part of their professional practice. In many instances, formal language learning aims and objectives are deemphasised, and a range of strategies to effect change in students' mindsets and attitudes are employed in AFELT teaching to realise their goals. The degree to which AFELT are successful, or not, requires further empirical research to be validated. Valuing diversity of language and culture; thinking globally and from varied perspectives; and thinking inclusively are three specific goals AFELT report trying to achieve through their classes and in their professional interactions with domestic students. Thus the question of AFELT identity construction and negotiation is raised.

Paper 4

Whitsed, C., & Volet., S. Positioning foreign English language teachers in the Japanese university context. *Submitted*.

This empirical paper contextualised higher education internationalisation in the neo-liberal marketisation and commodification in higher education discourses. The threefold aim of the paper was to: first, explore the 'discursive positioning' of AFELT; second, explore 'subject positioning' in the context of internationalisation and the 'Global 30' goals for international academic recruitment in the Japanese context; and, third, to explore the utility of positioning theory as a conceptual lens through which to consider the positioning of AFELT in the Japanese university context.

The paper first situates internationalisation in the Japanese university sector by reviewing a relatively recent initiative aimed at increasing the number of international students from 100,000 to 300,000 by 2020. As part of this initiative the Japanese government announced an ambitious project to select 30 universities to internationalise. This plan is known as the *'Global 30' Project for Establishing Core Universities for Internationalisation*. Part of this plan called for an increase in courses and programs to be taught only in English. Therefore, participating universities would be expected to, in some cases, dramatically increase the number of non-Japanese academics they employ. Since this announcement, and with recent events such as, the Global Financial Crises, and the Fukushima tsunami and nuclear power plants failure, promised funding to support this the Global 30 project has been reduced. It is observed in the paper, given the increase in international student mobility, and increased competition to Japan across the Asia Pacific area among countries striving to establish themselves as higher education hubs, differentiating one self as an attractive site for employment is a priority.

The role of international academics in Japanese university employment is outlined, data reporting the number of non-Japanese academics employed in the sector are noted. A particular note of interest raised in this section concerns the very limited research that examines the non-Anglo, non-Japanese academics' experience. Given the majority of non-Japanese academics come from the Asian region and their numbers, this silence is surprising.

The paper then presents an overview of positioning theory. As noted in the paper 'positioning' is an ontological paradigm located in the social sciences and situated in the cognitive psychology of social action (Harré, et al., 2009, p. 6). Positioning theory, as noted, is utilised in this research as it 'provides a powerful social constructivist theoretical framework for the analysis of conversations and discourses' (Harré, et al., 2009, p. 7). In positioning theory a 'position' is understood to be a 'cluster of rights and duties to perform certain actions with a certain significance as acts, but which may also include prohibitions and denials of access to some local repertoire of meaningful acts' (Harré & Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5). In this paper three modes of positioning are explored: first, 'intentional reflexive/first order positioning; second, 'performative positioning'; and third, interactive/other positioning.

The analysis of the focus group and interview data discussed in the previous section highlighted several aspects of AFELT positioning. The explicit instrumentalisation of international academics, as perceived by participants was a consistent theme throughout the analysis. The implications of this are elaborated as they relate to the positioning of AFELT across the sector. A dominant storyline developed centered on the Japanese university as a business. This storyline is elaborated in terms of AFELT positioning and their perceived rights, duties, and obligations as teachers of English, and as foreign teachers in the university context as a local moral order.

The 'Japanese university as a business' storyline likewise afforded and constrained AFELT professional practice, identity, and meaning making. Participants' positioning within this storyline clustered around four interrelated themes: commodification, disempowerment, and desiderative. Each positioning act is elaborated in turn in the paper.

Participants' 'subject positioning' reveals AFELT perceive themselves to be instrumentalised in the university context. First, participants' discourse corroborated earlier observations by critics such as Seargent (2008, p. 134), who argued that the role of instructors of specialised knowledge, such as English language is 'over shadowed by their status as foreign nationals' and that the defining characteristic of their appointment in schools is their 'emblematic presence'. Thus positioned, AFELT feel their true value is linked to their role in marketing the appearance of an internationally orientated institution for the consumption of potential domestic students. A negative outcome of this form of 'positioning' is the effect it has on AFELT esteem concerning their professional identity. The Japanese university sector was positioned by participants as being primarily commercially focused with AFELT and students accordingly positioned as commodities. Participants either claimed and then exploited this position, or rejected it by reflexively positioning themselves as purposeful, professional practitioners. For those claiming the university is a commercial organisation this understanding afforded them further opportunities to exploit the sector.

Participants were invited to explain what they liked most about teaching in the Japanese university sector. The majority reported they enjoyed the autonomy they felt afforded. This autonomy was attributed to several causes, such as a perceived indifference directed toward themselves and their discipline at the institutional level, at the curriculum level and within the student body more widely. Therefore, thus positioned, participants reported teaching what and how they like. As such, in the negotiation of AFELT identity participants ‘positioned themselves through the metaphor ‘teaching is fighting a war’ and hence they are involved in a conflict of relevance’ (Whitsed & Volet, p. 17). Notions that AFELT were anything other than professional teachers of English were rejected by many participants who ‘reflexively positioned’ themselves through the assertion ‘I am an English teacher’.

Summary

An overview of each paper constituting the body of this dissertation has been presented. The four papers were contextualised and the theoretical perspectives utilised in the data analysis were outlined. In the following section, each of the papers are presented in the order they were written up. This is followed by a review of the main findings, discussion, and conclusions.

- **Paper 1.** *Fostering the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in higher education: Metaphors and challenges in the Japanese context;*
- **Paper 2.** *Perspectives from within: Adjunct foreign English-language teachers in the internationalization of Japanese universities;*
- **Paper 3.** *Taking the inside outside: Teaching communicative English, and intercultural and global competencies in the Japanese university sector; and then*
- **Paper 4.** *Positioning foreign English language teachers in the Japanese university context.*

Fostering the Intercultural Dimensions of Internationalisation in Higher Education: Metaphors and Challenges in the Japanese Context

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Abstract

The sustainability of many Japanese institutions of higher education is dependent on the injection of large numbers of foreigners. This requires addressing the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. In this article, the authors contrast the literature on internationalisation in Japan (*kokusaika*) with the Anglo-European discourse on internationalisation and highlight the limited attention given to intercultural dimensions in the Japanese context. The authors examine how the constrained professional situation of foreign English teachers seems to inhibit the generation of opportunities for promoting reciprocal intercultural understanding. The authors discuss how these teachers' use of metaphorical constructs, such as *uchi/soto* and *omote/ura*, to frame their experience in the Japanese higher education context provide conceptually powerful tools with which to consider internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context. The authors conclude by arguing that metaphors that stress notions of difference and otherness are problematic as they create challenges for addressing the intercultural aspects of internationalisation in the Japanese context.

Keywords

kokusaika, internationalisation, Japan, higher education, metaphorical constructs, foreign English language teachers, reciprocal intercultural understanding

Background

Political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms. Like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality.

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But in the area of politics and economics metaphors matter more, because they constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation.

Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 236

The significance of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in higher education has been continuously stressed in the Anglo-European literature since the mid-1990s (e.g., De Vita, 2007; De Wit, 1995; Otten, 2003; van der Wende, 2001). In contrast, internationalisation in Japan has emerged in the literature as largely a pragmatic strategy aimed at promoting a positive image of Japan to the outside world, alongside bringing economic benefits to the country—this latter characteristic being shared with the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia (Yonezawa, Akiba, & Hirouchi, 2009). In Japan, internationalisation is expected to be achieved in part through a large intake of international students, short-term programs for foreign students, increasing the flow of domestic students abroad (Huang, 2006; Kuwamura, 2009), and the teaching of English by foreign native-English-speaking teachers. In light of this, the lack of emphasis on fostering intercultural development at the institutional and individual level in Japanese higher education appears somewhat surprising. This oversight is not only apparent in the higher education policy literature, but is also noticeable in the constrained professional situation of the large group of adjunct foreign English teachers (in the following referred to as foreign English teachers) who work in the Japanese higher education system. Kuwamura (2009) suggests that given the direction towards greater diversity and capacity in the internationalisation of Japanese higher education, more focused attention needs to be directed towards the development of intercultural competence at both institutional and individual levels.

In this article, we examine how internationalisation has been conceptualised by foreign English teachers in the Japanese university context and how metaphorical constructs appropriated from the Japanese language are used in their discourse to make sense of their experience in the Japanese higher education system. It is argued that these metaphors are perceived as constraining the adoption of inclusive practices and more generally the development of reciprocal cultural understanding in Japanese university contexts.

First, we discuss the increasing importance placed on fostering intercultural dimensions in the Anglo-European literature on internationalisation. Second, we review the literature on internationalisation within the Japanese higher education context, using the term *kokusaika* following Goodman (2007) to signal the unique meaning of internationalisation in that context. In particular, we highlight the limited attention given to the inclusion of intercultural dimensions in that discourse. Third, we examine the place and status of foreign English teachers within the higher education context, with a view to highlight their constrained professional situation and the missed opportunities for promoting reciprocal cultural understanding. Fourth, we review a number of metaphorical constructs emerging from the Japanese

language that are commonly used by foreign English teachers to frame their experience in the Japanese higher education context. We discuss the function of these metaphors for interpreting current institutional social practices concerning foreign English teachers and the need for new metaphors to face the forthcoming expanding future of internationalisation in Japan.

Intercultural Dimensions of Internationalisation of Higher Education: The Anglo-European Discourse

As the result of globalisation and changing economic environments, universities in many English-speaking countries have seen their traditional role of creating and disseminating knowledge expanded to include internationalisation as a revenue-generation strategy (Scott, 1998). Universities in countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and more recently Japan are actively marketing their courses internationally in the hope of attracting large numbers of fee-paying international students. Although this aspect of the internationalisation of higher education has brought many economic benefits to the host countries, it also highlighted the need to address the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation as an integral part of the whole process.

According to Knight and de Wit (1995), a major aspect of the internationalisation of higher education is to prepare staff, faculty, and students to function in intercultural contexts. They argue that one of the major functions of international education is to enable students “to understand, appreciate and articulate the reality of interdependence among nations (environmental, economic, cultural and social) and therefore prepare [those involved] to function in an international and intercultural context” (p.13). This capacity is critical not only for students’ future in the community but also their present, given the highly visible, culturally diverse student population of most university campuses (Turner & Robson, 2008).

The intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are stressed in Knight’s (2003) definition of internationalisation. Following Knight, we regard internationalisation as follows:

A process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education.

Furthermore, we conceptualize “intercultural or global dimension[s]” as pertaining to policies and processes that are aimed at reducing cultural distance and enhancing intercultural communication competencies and engagement, and mutual reciprocal understanding (Volet, 2004). However, as Leask (2008) observes, this is not “an easy thing to achieve” (p. 19).

Interestingly, however, there seems to be an implicit view, among some proponents of the internationalisation of higher education in host English-speaking countries, that the mere presence of a diverse body of students and staff is by itself sufficient to

generate productive intercultural interactions and a tolerance of diversity. Such a view has, however, been widely refuted (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). For example, Wright and Lander (2003) argue that “universities are deluding themselves if they believe that the presence of international students on campus contributes to the internationalisation of higher education” (p. 250).

Research undertaken in Australian universities has explored the attitudes of staff and students to mixing or working with peers or colleagues from different cultural backgrounds (Andrade, 2006; Leask, 2007; Summers & Volet, 2008; Volet & Ang, 1998; Volet & Tan-Quigley, 1999). This research has highlighted the difficulty experienced by many domestic staff and students to mixing with people who they perceive as displaying culturally unfamiliar expectations and practices. What this research suggests is that although internationalisation has as one of its major goals the development of intercultural understanding and a reduction in cultural distance (Ward & Kennedy, 1993, 1999), this dimension has been, and continues to be, particularly challenging. This is especially the case when people have strong culturally bound cognitions, values, and expectations (Volet & Tan-Quigley, 1999); when the internationalisation of the curriculum is not a primary agenda; and where specific institutional policy and practices may even contribute to this problem. Leask (2001) observed that even though a higher education institution may have policies for internationalisation, there are significant challenges for implementation. Examples of institutional practices that can exacerbate this phenomenon are pedagogies that are culturally bound (Bruner, 1996). Ballard and Clanchy (1984, 1997), for example, have highlighted the difficulties faced by unprepared international students in adjusting to the learning conventions in Australian university contexts and reciprocally the pedagogical challenges faced by equally unprepared academic staff as the result of increasing numbers of international students. This issue is still applicable to the present situation.

The internationalisation discourse is, however, gradually evolving, with universities expected to transform themselves into learning environments where reciprocal intercultural understanding is actively promoted and the development of intercultural communication skills intentionally embedded in the curriculum (Brown & Jones, 2007; Turner & Robson, 2008). For example, De Vita and Case (2003) argue that

[intercultural learning is] not just a topic to be talked about (thinking and knowing), it is also about caring, acting and connecting. It calls for the use of a number of learning processes . . . It entails the discovery and transcendence of difference through authentic experiences of cross-cultural interaction that involves real tasks, and emotional as well as intellectual participation. (p. 388)

Earlier, Volet and Tan-Quigley (1999) claimed that effective intercultural understanding can only be achieved through a reciprocal understanding of the culturally bound meanings attached to other people’s behaviours. Their argument is that from such a perspective it is incumbent on all members, staff and students, local and foreign, to

bear the responsibility of developing an understanding of the cultural values, attitudes, beliefs, and identities of others outside of their cultural group. Therefore, as Volet and Tan-Quigley maintain, it is through an appreciation of cultural difference that the development of cultural sensitivities are fostered and ethnocentric behaviours and attitudes mitigated. This view is widely supported in the literature (Ellingboe, 1997; Knight, 2004; Olson & Kroeger, 2001; Paige, 2004). However, this would require, as Knight and De Wit's (1995) definition of international education implies, an institutional environment where cultural inclusion is valued and culturally inclusive practices are embedded in the curriculum and embraced at all levels of the organisation.

Over the years, the internationalisation of higher education discourse in English-speaking countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, has become more explicit about incorporating intercultural dimensions in the internationalisation agenda (e.g., Bartell, 2003; Brown & Jones, 2007). Although the economic aspects of internationalisation remain dominant, fostering the development of cultural awareness and reciprocal understanding is no longer peripheral but has been brought into focus as a highly desirable goal in a globalised world. Consistent with cultural diversity being visible largely within the student population, the bulk of the literature, however, has concentrated mainly on that aspect.

Intercultural Dimensions of Internationalisation of Higher Education: The *Kokusaika* Discourse

We now examine how the notion of internationalisation has been conceptualised in the Japanese context, and what place has been given to the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the internationalisation process. We have chosen to use the Japanese term *kokusaika* in this section following Goodman (2007), to signal the specific range of meanings to which the term has been applied that extend beyond the scope of the term internationalisation as a construct in the Japanese context.¹

Since the 1980s, *kokusaika* has increasingly become an important topic in the literature on higher education reform in Japan (Eades, Goodman, & Hada, 2005). The literature on *kokusaika* is extensive, covering a number of aspects, such as providing an overview of Japanese higher education (Doyon, 2001; Eades et al., 2005; Ninomiya, Knight, & Watanabe, 2009; Teichler, 1997), reforms to higher education in Japan (Amano, 1997; Goodman, 2005), the quality of higher education (Yonezawa, 2002), higher education policy (Huang, 2006), definitions of *kokusaika* (Goodman, 2007), institutional initiatives to become international (Hada, 2005; Huang, 2006), the demographic crisis (Kinmonth, 2005), the flow of foreign students into Japanese tertiary institutions (Horie, 2002, 2003), university rankings and global competitiveness (Ishikawa, 2009), and the flow of Japanese students out of them and foreign as well as English language instruction (Liddicoat, 2007). Neoliberalism and the role of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), as agents for the preservation of the Japanese cultural identity (Hashimoto, 2000; McVeigh, 2002; Takayama, 2008), have also been offered as a means to consider *kokusaika*.

To date, however, the *kokusaika* literature does not reveal a clear definition of the aims, processes, and outcomes for the internationalisation of Japanese universities. According to Jones and Killick (2007), for example, rationales for the internationalisation of higher education appear typically either pragmatic or values based. From the pragmatic perspective, which is a consistent theme throughout the *kokusaika* literature, the purpose of higher education is to foster the skills and understandings needed to work and live in a globalising world. As such, the pragmatic-based curriculum aligns with the “notion that the function of a university is to produce a successful workforce, which will enable a country to maintain or grow its international competitiveness and influence” (Jones & Killick, 2007, p. 110). Pragmatic considerations for the internationalisation of Japanese universities are generally considered to be underpinned by rationales such as increasing the viability of private universities, particularly given the significant decline in local student numbers (Kinmonth, 2005); increasing Japan’s competitiveness in the global market; promoting a positive image of Japan abroad (MEXT, 2003); and maintaining or increasing the research profile and international ranking of Japanese universities by importing large numbers of postgraduate students (Goodman, 2007).

Historically (the Meiji period, 1868-1912), *kokusaika* concentrated on the appropriation of Western ideas and practices to Japan. Accordingly, it focused on learning Western educational ideas by inviting foreign faculty for short periods with the purpose of modernising Japan (Ebuchi, 1997; Huang, 2006; Jones, 1980). A more complex picture of these concerns is illustrated in successive publications on *kokusaika* over the past 20 years. According to Mannari and Befu (1981), *kokusaika* arose out of and was nested in a series of slogans put forth by the ruling authorities to unify the country behind their cause. Depending on the interest group, *kokusaika* has also been interpreted as meaning some form of Westernization or alternatively used to refer to economic expansion into foreign countries (Hadley, 2003; Mannari & Befu, 1981). Kobayashi (1986) argued, for example, that *kokusaika* had the potential to “end up as nothing but lip service . . . or may be used as a tool for national interests, serving to reinforce a past trend towards nationalism in education rather than working as a force in opposition to it” (p. 66). Lincicome (1993) also stressed the primacy given to the ideological aspects of *kokusaika*. In the education context, Ebuchi (1989) argued that *kokusaika* refers to a process used to attain and assimilate international standards into the higher education system. Amano (1997) regarded *kokusaika* as a means for making necessary adjustments to Japanese universities to increase their appeal to foreign students. Similarly, Kitamura (1997) viewed *kokusaika* as a tool, first, to help Japan compete with economic rivals, and second, as a goodwill exercise designed to promote positive images of Japan internationally. More critically, Ishii (2003) argued that Nakasone’s (prime minister of Japan, 1982-1986) *kokusaika* plan was not focused on improving understandings of other countries and by extension their citizens. Consistent with a nationalistic agenda, *kokusaika*, according to Ishii, was instead concerned with the “revival of traditional Japanese values and the development of pride in Japanese culture through moral education rather than through education for better

understanding of other countries” (p. 85). Itoh, quoted in Seargeant (2005), has reformulated these conceptualisations of *kokusaika* as a “process of simulation . . . of recasting the concept of internationalism according to specific Japanese needs, of presenting an internationalist image to the international community while still managing to adhere to a nationalist or even isolationist agenda” (p. 313).

Similarly, according to Goodman (2007), *kokusaika* at the institutional level is not primarily concerned with promoting openness to intercultural understanding but rather, as Goodman observed,

to confer status on institutions by bringing in substantial numbers of high quality graduates to internationalize their research programs; it [*kokusaika*] can be used to generate income for economic survival by attracting fee-paying foreign students who want to study in an international environment; it can be used to legitimate the qualifications and hence the employability of graduates. (pp. 85-86)

Kokusaika has historically been understood to refer to pragmatic processes that largely ignore the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. As argued by Goodman (2007), therefore, *kokusaika* discourse functions to create impressions, at national and institutional levels, of a forward looking, progressive suite of policies and initiatives towards intercultural understanding. Yet, this idea does not appear to be a feature of *kokusaika* at either policy or implementation levels within Japanese universities.

A closer examination of foreign language education within the university context provides an illustration of how some intercultural dimensions have been overlooked. For example, foreign (specifically English) language education emerges as a key component of internationalisation in MEXT policy (e.g., MEXT, 2003) and the *kokusaika* discourse (Hashimoto, 2000; McConnell, 2000; Seargeant, 2008). This is consistent with the view that “second- or third-language proficiency is important to intercultural competency” (Turner & Robson, 2008, p. 64) in the Anglo-European discourse. However, according to Hashimoto (2000), English language education in Japan may be conceptualised as a process used for “reconfirming the Japaneseness of individual citizens” (p. 49), rather than being a process through which the cultivation of intercultural communicative competency is fostered. This view is supported by McVeigh (2002, 2004) who likewise argues that the English language and the foreigners who teach it actually “reinforce Japanese identity” (McVeigh, 2002, p. 148) and students’ nationalistic perceptions. This contrasts with the rationale for language learning advocated in the Anglo-European literature, which stresses the promotion of reciprocal understanding and intercultural awareness (Brown & Jones, 2007; Turner & Robson, 2008).

Similar to universities in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, many Japanese universities host large numbers of international students, and challenges related to intercultural interactions have also been reported in the literature (e.g., Tanaka, Takai,

Kohyama, Fujihara, & Minami, 1997). In addition, however, Japanese universities have another large distinct and highly visible group of people from different cultural backgrounds, namely the foreign English teachers. Foreign English teachers have been employed on a relatively large scale since the middle of the 1980s. According to MEXT statistics, as of 2006 there were 11,045 foreigners employed part time in the Japanese higher education sector (MEXT, 2006). MEXT publications (1998, 2003) on internationalisation in the university sector make explicit references to foreign teachers as representing an extremely important element in the internationalisation of Japanese education. However, in the higher education sector, in contrast to the elementary and high school sectors specifically in the The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET), their role does not appear to be framed within an agenda for the development of reciprocal intercultural learning. Rather their role can be conceptualised within a framework that has more of a nationalistic agenda for global commercial competitiveness (MEXT, 1998; Mok, 2007).

It could be argued that because foreign teachers are employed to teach communicative English (McVeigh, 2002, 2004) they are ideally placed for promoting the importance of intercultural understanding through their daily interactions with students and Japanese colleagues. However, the potentially powerful role that they could play as vehicles for the development of reciprocal understanding in the process of internationalisation in Japanese universities has not been explored. Furthermore, it seems that their constrained professional situation within the Japanese higher education system inhibits this important goal from being achieved. The place and status of foreign teachers of English within the Japanese higher education system is now examined as an illustration of missed opportunities to promote the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the Japanese context.

Missed Opportunities to Foster the Intercultural Dimensions of Internationalisation in the Japanese Higher Education Context

It is important to stress that although this article highlights the lack of explicit emphasis, in policy and at the institutional level, on the role that foreign English teachers can play in enhancing the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the higher education sector, there are a few policies and programmes that have addressed these dimensions. In his review of major policies pertaining to the internationalisation of university curricula in Japan from the 1980s, Huang (2006) highlighted initiatives aimed at enhancing the intercultural communication skills and understanding of domestic students. These include the development of policy as well as specific strategies to increase the number of study-abroad programs for Japanese students, with a view to foster their “open-mindedness and cross-cultural understanding” (Asaoka & Yano, 2009, p. 2). Kuwamura (2009) recently argued that as the number of international collaborative programmes between Japanese and international universities expand,

Japanese students will have more opportunities to develop their intercultural skills and enhance their capacity for mutual and reciprocal understanding. Other strategies for the next phase of internationalisation were outlined in the Asian Gateway Initiative (2007). These include, for example, hosting international conferences and forums, strengthening collaboration in joint international research programmes, and increasing the number of foreign students to 300,000. Each of these strategies is expected to provide additional opportunities for Japanese students and academics to interact with foreigners.

In regard to the role that foreign English teachers can play to promote intercultural dimensions in the process of internationalisation, it should be noted that their presence in the Japanese university is not new. According to Beauchamp and Vardaman (1994) and Jones (1980), Japanese universities have employed foreign English-speaking teachers since the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912). Phenomenologically, little is known of their experience of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education sector. Furthermore, their potential contribution to facilitating reciprocal cultural understanding as a dimension of internationalisation has largely been ignored. This is evident in MEXT policy and the broader internationalisation discourse. In both MEXT policy (2004) and the internationalisation discourse, it is foreign students—not teachers—who are featured as important in helping Japan maintain and develop “harmonious relationships with other countries” (MEXT, 2004, p. 3).

Before the introduction of the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program in 1987 (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2009), most Japanese university students’ first experience with Anglo-Europeans was likely to be in their university English language classes or while travelling abroad. As such, the teachers of these students appeared to be well positioned, not only to play a significant role as teachers of English but also to act as vehicles for the development of reciprocal intercultural understanding in a relatively homogenous educational system and societal context. This situation has not changed much since the early days of the JET program. The major potential contribution to the internationalisation of Japanese higher education that foreign teachers of English could make, therefore, has not yet been recognised nor researched. This further highlights the lack of attention given to intercultural dimensions in internationalisation policy and discourse, and the missed opportunities for the development of reciprocal understandings in all those involved, Japanese and foreign staff and students alike.

McVeigh (2002) argues that by not being Japanese, foreign faculty are considered “temporary, expendable, and peripheral to the national and state-sanctioned system of education” (p. 171). Rather critically, McVeigh notes further, referring to Hall (1998), that in the Japanese higher education system, foreign teachers are largely ignored, marginalised, or discriminated against socially and legally. McVeigh (2002) offers one view as to why, contending that

Japanese nationalism (whether understood as state, ethnocultural, or racial nationalism) draws a very thick line between Japanese and non-Japanese, and this colors much of social interaction between Japanese and non-Japanese faculty

and students . . . Because non-Japanese are often judged by superficial or “skin deep” (i.e., racial) criteria, there is a tendency to overlook their real worth and potential contributions. (p. 174)

This may be disputable, however; the constrained professional situation of the large number of foreign teachers of English across the whole university system is noticeable and beyond dispute. Yoshida (2002) observed that more than half of all Japanese higher education institutions employ foreign teachers of English on a part-time basis. The lack of status given to these foreign English language teachers has been discussed in the literature on Japanese higher education for many years (Hall, 1994, 1998; Poole, 2005). For teachers themselves, their status as part-time teachers creates a number of tensions. The majority of them are employed on one-year (renewable) contracts and are only permitted to teach between three and four classes a week at any one institution (Poole, 2005; Wadden, 1993). To maintain a decent livelihood, these teachers must therefore find employment across multiple institutions, thereby reducing opportunities for interaction beyond the classroom context and for greater participation at the department/faculty/institutional level (Poole, 2005). Moreover, the complication of part-time contracts affords foreign adjunct staff few protections through labour laws as well as limited career prospects.

Given the status and employment conditions that constrain their opportunities for social interaction and inclusion, it is not surprising that the potential role that foreign teachers of English could play for the development of reciprocal intercultural understanding has not been formally recognised. However, when considered in the context of MEXT rhetoric concerning the rationale for increasing the number of foreign students, this oversight is more difficult to explain. One explicit objective for increasing the number of foreign students, aside for the potential benefits of additional revenue and/or research status of an institution (Goodman, 2007), is precisely to encourage international exchanges and thereby reciprocal understanding (Horie, 2002, 2003). Nevertheless, foreign English teachers, who interact on a daily basis with Japanese students and academics, neither figure prominently in internationalisation policy or discourse nor in the implementation of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education system.

Trying to understand why fostering the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation is not stressed in the internationalisation agenda seems particularly challenging. It is a complex issue and requires a broad analytical framework and analysis that considers anthropological, sociological, and psychological perspectives because it involves cultural, political, national, local, and individual viewpoints. *Kokusaika* as a concept is diffused and crosses many discourses each with their particular interpretations, orientations, and priorities. Goodman (2007) highlights this in his discussion of *kokusaika* when he refers to the concept as multivocal, which will be discussed in the next section.

Equally complex is understanding how the foreign teachers of English themselves understand and experience the Japanese university system. In discussing their experience, position, and role in the context of internationalisation of Japanese universities, these teachers tend to populate their discourse with Japanese vocabulary and concepts.

One avenue by which to consider this phenomenon is to consider this discourse metaphorically. This idea is inspired by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who argued that one's "ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" and therefore "the way we think, what we experience, and what we do everyday is very much a matter of metaphor" (p. 3). Therefore, metaphors can be considered as a conceptual means by which reality is constructed and thereby articulated. As such, metaphors may provide a useful conceptual means by which to consider the experience of foreign English language teachers in the Japanese university. This is illustrated anecdotally in foreign English language teachers' use of the Japanese term *gaijin* as a self-referent label instead of *expat* when referring to themselves in Japanese society. Using this self-referent label in their discourse is highly significant because the word *gaijin* is connoted with notions of otherness (Creighton, 1997) and disdain (Buckley, 2002; De Mente, 1994). Other culturally bound vernacular and concepts, such as *soto* (outside/not one of us) and *uchi* (inside/ one of us), are also frequently used by foreign teachers of English, when discussing their position in Japanese higher education and *kokusaika* (Whitsed and Wright, submitted).

In the next section, we discuss how the cultural constructs of *soto/uchi* (closed/open, them/us/, outside/inside) and *omote/ura* (public, front, visible/private, behind/invisible), in particular, provide metaphorical constructs for foreign English language teachers to explain their experience within the Japanese higher education system.

Metaphors in the Adjunct Foreign Teachers' Experience of *Kokusaika*

Metaphors are conceptual devices used in the construction and interpretation of human experience and meaning. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors transcend language and are "pervasive in everyday life . . . thought and action" (p. 3). Furthermore, they argue that because one's conceptual system is metaphorical, all cognition, perception, and experience are "a matter of metaphor" (p. 3). As such, one's metaphorical constructs then play a central role in defining everyday realities and the regulation of social interaction. Similarly, Quinn (1994) contends it is the "metaphorical act" that is the most common means in which "words come to participate in new meanings" (p. 41). According to Fairclough (1992),

[Metaphors are] not just superficial stylistic adornments of discourse. When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way. (p. 192)

At the cultural level, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also note that,

the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture . . . So it seems that our

values are not independent but must form a coherent system with the metaphorical concepts we live by. (p. 22)

Oriental and spatial metaphors such as in and out, inside and outside, up and down, open and closed, and public and private are present in all cultures, but they provide stronger explanatory constructs in some instances than others. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that individuals and cultures assign different priorities, values, and definitions to such metaphors. In our opinion, the significance of such metaphors for gaining insight into the implementation of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context has been overlooked. Metaphors, however, should not be construed as implying causality but rather as frameworks by which experience is interpreted and understood.

In the following section, we discuss how orientational and spatial metaphors, such as *soto/uchi* and *omote/ura*, are used by foreign English language teachers in the Japanese university context to explain their experience in that context. These metaphors are perceived by the foreign English language teachers as regulating social interactions and constraining the development of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the sense that they do not afford inclusiveness, reciprocal understanding, or the development of positive intercultural attitudes within Japanese society. In the discourse of the foreign English language teachers, in/out, open/closed, hidden/revealed metaphors provide a culturally based interpretive framework to explain why they are not afforded (Gibson, 1979) a more central role in the internationalisation of Japanese higher education.

After reviewing the general meaning of *uchi/soto* and *omote/ura*, as discussed in the Japanese anthropology literature, we examine these metaphors as they apply to *kokusaika* and from the perspective of foreign teachers of English in Japanese universities.

Oriental and Spatial Constructs in the Japanese Context

Metaphors are ubiquitous in the construction of meaning and can structure social interaction. In the case of Japan, it has been widely noted by anthropologists that orientational and spatial metaphors play a significant role in meaning making and social interaction (e.g., Bachnik & Quinn, 1994). Importantly, it needs to be noted that although such metaphors may be present in a society, they may not be part of the social consciousness. According to Fairclough (1992), for example,

[Certain metaphors] are so profoundly naturalized within a particular culture that people are not only quite unaware of them most of the time, but find it extremely difficult, even when their attention is drawn to them, to escape from them in their discourse, thinking, or action. (p. 195)

This observation can be extended to the Japanese context.

Uchi/Soto Dichotomies

A significant number of scholars and anthropologists have noted the prevalence of *uchi* (inside, intimacy, hidden abuse; Lebra, 2004) and *soto* (outside, exclusion, courtesy; Lebra, 2004) expressions in the Japanese language. These terms are widely discussed in terms of their function in Japanese society, for the Japanese self and their influence in social interaction in Japan (e.g., Bachnik & Quin, 1994; Lebra, 1976, 2004; Nakane, 1970). According to Bachnik (1994), *uchi/soto* orientational and spatialization metaphors permeate all spheres of Japanese society, as they do in all societies to varying degrees (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In the case of Japan, they have been discussed in relation to politics (Ishida, 1983), enterprise (Gerlach, 1993; Hamabata, 1990), and the organisation of the family/household (Kondo, 1990). More recently, for example, Lebra (2004) in her analysis of the Japanese self and social interaction in Japan highlighted from an anthropological perspective the regulatory nature of *uchi/soto* and *omote/ura* (front, visible, public/invisible, behind, back) in structuring social interaction in Japanese society.

Furthermore, Makino (2002) notes that *uchi/soto* constructs for the Japanese have “metaphorical extensions like in no other major language” and have “cultural, social and cognitive implications that underlie key concepts of the [Japanese] culture” (p. 29). Makino (2002) contends that “the fundamental semantic property of *uchi* is one of involvement” (p. 29). Inversely then, *soto* implies exclusion meaning those perceived as being *soto* are not afforded entry into the *uchi* group. Importantly, these metaphors are also used in the discourse of the foreign English language teachers when discussing their experiences in Japanese universities, which according to these teachers is dichotomised along the lines of “us” (*uchi*) and “them” (*soto*; Whited, and Wright, submitted).

In the regulation of social interaction, for example, according to Bachnik (1994) and Lebra (2004), *uchi/soto* dichotomies are used to differentiate between insiders and outsiders, between members of “in” or “out” groups, and are social in nature. Such constructions are universal and are widely discussed in Western literature. Examples of this include “self-categorisation” (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and the “out-group homogeneity effect” (Smith & Mackie, 2000) where out-group members are perceived as all being the same. According to Smith and Mackie (2000), such distinctions constrain the interaction between perceived in and out groups and the presence of outsiders may cause in-group members to “close ranks” (p. 219). Related to this and also widely discussed in Western social psychology literature is the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Yuki (2003) explains that social identity theory (which provides, arguably, one of the most widely accepted psychological theory of group behaviour; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests that “in-groups cannot be defined in isolation from out-groups; they gain their definition from comparisons with and contrasts to out-groups” (p. 167). In the context of Japan, Sugimoto (1997) writes that *uchi/soto* function metaphorically as a means to maintain “us” (Japanese) and “them” (non-Japanese) dichotomies.

Omote/Ura Dichotomies

In addition to the *uchi/soto* constructs, *omote/ura* dichotomies are widely discussed (e.g., Doi, 1985; Libra, 2004) in literature on Japanese society. These latter constructs are used to differentiate between things intended for public scrutiny and those that are not. For example, Doi (1985) writes, “*Omote* is that which is presented to the *soto*. *Ura* is that which is not presented to *soto*, but kept closed up in *uchi*” (p. 24). Sugimoto (1997), commenting on *omote/ura*, notes that they are used metaphorically to distinguish between “sanitized official appearance and hidden reality” or “between the façade, which is normatively proper and correct, and the actuality, which may be publicly unacceptable but adopted privately or among insiders” (p. 26). In the political arena, Johnson (1980) argued that understanding how these constructions function in Japanese society and politics constitutes “the single most important datum for the political analyst” (p. 91) because the meaning of political words and concepts may change depending on whether they are being used to refer to an *omote* or an *ura* level of politics—which could be the case for *kokusaika*. From an *ura* perspective, Japanese institutional responses to internationalisation appear to suggest an experience of internationalisation that is significantly divergent from that of a model of internationalisation that prioritises inclusive practices and intercultural and reciprocal understanding.

In the Japanese university context, one can argue, as foreign English language teachers do (Whitsed, and Wright, submitted), that internationalisation does not afford them social inclusion or reciprocal understanding. Moreover, such pervasive metaphors as in/out (*uchi/soto*) lead to foreigners as staff being automatically perceived as outsiders (*soto*), with little or no chance of ever becoming fully integrated into the university community. This is a view consistent with observations made by many social commentators on Japan concerning foreigners and minorities in Japanese society (e.g., Befu, 2001; Donahue, 2002; Sugimoto, 1997; Weiner, 2008). Much, therefore, of the institutional implementation of internationalisation is perceived by this group as *omote* rhetoric and understood to represent a form of propaganda (Burgess, 2004). Thus, these metaphors are understood as actually working to reinforce notions of other/outsider and constrain rather than afford the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation, suggesting this aspect of internationalisation is not highly prioritised in Japanese universities. Metaphorically then, foreign and adjunct foreign teachers of English can be regarded as outsiders who are partially inside given their situatedness. Their experience of internationalisation may reveal an *ura* (private/hidden) reality not normally open to public scrutiny and, as such, warrants attention. As adjunct and foreign teachers, they do not have the same rights of customer satisfaction as full-fee paying foreign students because they are not vital to the economic survival of many struggling universities (Goodman, 2007). This then affords a unique position from which to consider internationalisation as it is actually played out in Japanese universities. Therefore, the metaphorical constructs of inclusion and exclusion, us and other, and open and hidden afford a useful means by which to

consider the absence of reciprocal intercultural understanding in the internationalisation discourse and at the institutional level.

The usefulness of Japanese cultural dichotomies to consider internationalisation is now explored, with special attention to the place, status, and experience of adjunct foreign English teachers within the process of internationalisation of higher education in Japan.

Usefulness of Orientational and Spatial Metaphors to Understand Internationalisation

In this section, we extend the analysis of internationalisation by considering orientational and spatial metaphors, such as *uchi/soto* and *omote/ura*, as constraining social interaction and inclusion in the Japanese university to the situation of foreign English language teachers of English. Terms such as *gaijin*, *uchi*, *soto*, *omote*, and *ura* populate the vernacular of the foreign teachers of English who often use them in their discourse on Japanese universities and higher education. Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), these metaphors may therefore be understood as constructing their reality when they attempt to reconcile their experiences within Japanese universities and what they consider to be the purpose of English instruction by foreigners as opposed to by Japanese teachers of English in the internationalisation of Japanese universities. These metaphorical devices are used to articulate their perceived roles and functions and their place and purpose in the internationalisation of Japanese higher education. They are also used as referents when explaining internationalisation as they understand it. The use of these metaphors to discuss Japanese education is, however, not unique to this group of teachers.

Uchi/soto and *omote/ura* constructs have been used by observers and critics of Japanese education and higher education reforms (e.g., Cave, 2007; Doyon, 2001; McVeigh, 2006; Sato, 2004). For example, both Doyon (2001) in his review and McVeigh (2006) in his critique of Japanese higher education reforms, argue that it is important to consider *uchi/soto*, *omote/ura* dichotomies when examining education reform in Japan. For example, Doyon states that

one of the distinguishing features of Japan as a country is its strong demarcations: *uchi/soto* . . . Many, with a little *omote* knowledge of Japan, are quick to heap accolades upon its systems. Yet, for those who dare to look a little deeper beneath the surface (*ura*), the criticisms are stronger. (2001, p. 443)

Similarly, McVeigh (2006) in a critique of the administration of Japanese universities refers to these constructs, which he links to notions of front and public performance appropriated from Goffman (1959) to advance similar notions. McVeigh suggests that much of MEXT internationalisation policy is front performance (*omote*) for the international community, whereas a much different ideology underpinned with a nationalistic agenda (the *ura*) exits behind the scenes off the stage.

Foreign teachers' own accounts of their daily experience within the Japanese university context reveals the cultural basis of institutional social practices. According to teachers, they are not encouraged or even permitted to integrate into the Japanese universities in which they work (Bueno & Caesar, 2004; Hall, 1994, 1998; Mc Veigh, 2002; Poole, 2005). This is evident not only in their assigned status outside the formal structures of the university but also in the fact that they are not encouraged to participate in any activity beyond those associated with the instruction and administration of their classes. As observed by McVeigh (2002) and Poole (2005), these teachers feel socially and professionally marginalised, with their English language teaching environments being largely characterised as an exercise in banality. Significantly, *uchi/soto* and *omote/ura* metaphors are used by this large group of teachers to explain, at least partially, why they seem to be prevented from being fully integrated within the Japanese university system (Whitsed, and Wright, submitted). It has been well established that in Japan people labelled *soto* (or outsiders such as foreigners) are not permitted full entry into an *uchi* or in-group (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994; Lebra, 2004; Sugimoto, 2003). Nor are they extended the privileges or rights attributed to in-group members. According to foreign English language teachers, it is their status as nontenured, non-Japanese outsiders (*soto*) that therefore largely explains why Japanese universities maintain policies and practices that accentuate the distinction between teaching staff that constrain inclusive practices and intercultural understanding (Whitsed, and Wright, submitted).

The significance of metaphorical constructs such as *omote/ura*, and how these are perceived as functioning and influencing the implementation of internationalisation by foreign English teachers in Japanese universities (Bachnik & Quinn, 1994; Lebra, 2004), can provide further insights into how internationalisation is operationalised. One example is the rebranding of faculties and programmes in many universities to include the term international. This is understood by foreign English language teachers to be a PR exercise (*omote*) designed simply to attract more international students. From these teachers' perspective, this rebranding has not changed Japanese staff and students' attitudes towards foreigners or fostered inclusive environments (Whitsed and Wright, submitted). Similarly, Goodman (2007) discusses similar pragmatic applications of internationalisation in Japanese universities. Different universities, according to Goodman, "utilise the word [*kokusaika*] in very different ways as is best exemplified in the treatment of overseas students" (p. 84). According to Goodman, foreign students are desirable in the case of elite national universities to promote themselves as serious research institutions, for the top-tier private universities as part of their commercial repositioning strategies, and for low-level universities as a means of fiscal salvation.

As noted earlier, Goodman (2007) appropriated Victor Turner's (1977) notion of the multivocal symbol to the term *kokusaika*. Multivocality, as Shore (1996) observes, "promotes not only ambiguity about reference but also the possibility of transforming an individual's understanding of things by pointing to the possible relatedness of things that are not normally connected at all" (p. 255). In this respect, Goodman's assertion concerning the multivocal nature of *kokusaika* correlates with those of the foreign English language teacher. Internationalisation is underpinned by pragmatic (*ura*) rather than altruistic values, such as reciprocal cultural understanding.

Foreign teachers of English are positioned neither fully in nor out of the Japanese university system. Paradoxically, although English language learning is considered a key component in the internationalisation strategy, foreign teachers of English are at the periphery in the Japanese university. This affords them a unique perspective, at the institutional level, of internationalisation. According to reports of foreign teachers of English, internationalisation—as it relates to them—seems to ignore concepts such as reciprocal internationalisation and inclusiveness. Internationalisation policy has not, from their perspective, directly addressed or challenged *uchi/soto* (us/them, in/out) dichotomies, which they consider constrain social interaction and integration. Therefore, questioning the sociopsychological implications of metaphors such as *soto/uchi* and *omote/ura* is essential because these metaphors stress the need to differentiate between “insiders” and “others,” and the “sanitized official appearance” in deference to “hidden reality” (Sugimoto, 2003, p. 28).

The urgency of this proposal can be linked to the Japanese government’s plans to increase the numbers of quality foreign students (Kuwamura, 2009; MEXT, 2008) and academics (Ishikawa, 2009; Kuwamura, 2009) through internationalisation. If Japan is to increase the number of foreign students to 300,000 (MEXT, 2008) and the number of foreign academics accordingly, a major conceptual shift concerning the us/them (*uchi/soto*) dichotomy will need to be effected. As Ninomiya *et al.* (2009) note, there are significant implications concerning the “acceptance and integration” of foreigners into a “traditionally homogenous Japanese society” (p. 6).

New metaphors may need to be invented. *Kokusaika* appears to be a metaphor where inclusion is subjugated to exclusion. The experience of foreign English language teachers as metaphorical expressions of internationalisation suggests that there is a large gap between *kokusaika* and what Turner and Robson (2008) have called reciprocal transformative internationalisation. Given the perception among foreign English language teachers in Japanese universities that *uchi/soto* (us/them) metaphorical dichotomies are constraining institutional practices and their daily interactions, one may express concerns regarding how internationalisation that includes intercultural development can be achieved in that context. A step forward may be to identify explicitly the extent to which such metaphors affect the development of internationalisation and how a process of internationalisation that considers intercultural dimensions could be set in place.

Conclusion

According to Ninomiya *et al.* (2009), Japanese higher education may be facing difficult times. Internationalisation policy aims at increasing the number of foreigners in the Japanese universities to unprecedented levels, largely driven by economic concerns and university rankings (Ishikawa, 2009). Yet, to date, internationalisation policy and implementation at the institutional level appears to have neglected the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation, such as the promotion of reciprocal cultural understanding, the development of internationalised curricula, and the adoption of more inclusive practices. The lack of inclusive practices towards the large group of

foreign teachers of English, and the missed opportunities that their presence and contribution represents for promoting and fostering reciprocal intercultural understanding among university staff and students in Japan, were noted. It was argued that foreign teachers of English are uniquely positioned in the Japanese university context and that their discourse is populated with Japanese cultural metaphors.

With intensified globalization, multinational work environments, and increasingly diverse and multicultural university environments, there will be further opportunities for contact between people from many cultures within Japan. In such a climate, as Westrick (2005) notes, “intercultural sensitivity could understandably be considered a prerequisite for effective, global citizenship in the 21st century” (p. 105). Major goals for the internationalisation of higher education identified in the Anglo-European literature include the development of reciprocal intercultural understanding and inclusive social practices (Ellingboe, 1997; Knight, 2004; Paige, 2004; Volet, 1997, 2004). These appear to be less pronounced in the Japanese context. It should be highlighted, however, that although the Anglo-European internationalisation literature has advocated intercultural dimensions as an integral part of the internationalisation process, its implementation is still in its infancy.

In this article, we have argued that Japanese higher education faces additional challenges towards enhancing the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in comparison to other countries. These challenges are a number of metaphorical constructs emerging from the Japanese language, which are commonly used by foreign English teachers to interpret the institutional social practices. These metaphors represent significant challenges because they stress the notions of difference and otherness. In light of announcements to increase the numbers of foreigners in Japanese universities, perhaps new metaphors for *kokusaika* will need to be invented, metaphors that promote reciprocal intercultural understanding and inclusive social practices.

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1. Goodman (2007) observes that in the context of Japanese higher education reforms attributing a label to these processes is problematic in so far as the complexity of the process exceeds the meaning any single label such as *internationalisation* can convey. Therefore, he cautions that by applying a label to this concept one “is in danger of helping to construct and essentialise the process rather than explaining it.” As such, Goodman maintains, “labels need to be seen as political and ideological statements rather than theoretical tools” (p. 75).

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Bio

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Perspectives from within: Adjunct, foreign, English-language teachers in the internationalization of Japanese universities

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Abstract

This qualitative study is part of a broader study that explored how adjunct foreign English-language teachers (AFELT) in the Japanese university sector conceptualize their role against the backdrop of internationalization. Forty-three teachers across a range of universities participated in this study. The results report on AFELT perceptions of higher education in Japan, teaching English and the role of AFELT in that context, and reveal a discontinuity between the governmental rhetoric of internationalization concerning English-language education and how this is enacted at the institutional level.

Keywords

intercultural education, internationalization, Japanese higher education, non-native English teachers

Introduction

This article reports one aspect of a broader study that critiques Japanese movements towards internationalization as enacted in the higher education sector. In order to do this it is first important to understand the context in which internationalization operates as it is both context- and discourse-specific (Knight, 2008).

Internationalization is a manifestation of the phenomenon of globalization. Knight (2008: 4) defines globalization as ‘the flow of people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology, and economy across borders resulting in a more interconnected and interdependent world ... that can impact countries in vastly different ways’. Japan is one country that has responded to globalization in and through its education system through internationalization. This response is particularly evident in the higher education sector. For example, to be competitive in the global knowledge economy the Japanese government initiated a series of reforms, including internationalization, to the higher education sector commencing in the 1980s (Eades et al., 2005).

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The literature on internationalization and higher education reform in the Japanese higher education sector has considered strategies and related issues such as: the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) policy (Kitamura, 1997), foreign students (Kinmonth, 2005), study abroad programs (Tsuneyoshi, 2005), quality assurance (Yonezawa, 2008) and English-language education (Hashimoto, 2009; Poole, 2005; Seargent, 2008). Furthermore, the literature discusses perceptions of university leaders (Yonezawa et al., 2009), Japanese academics (Huang, 2009), foreign and domestic students (Lee-Cunin, 2005; Pritchard and Maki, 2006), but not the perceptions of adjunct foreign English-language teachers (*gaikoku-jin hijoukin eigo kyouin*, referred to in the following as AFELT).

The majority of AFELT are employed to teach oral or communicative English-language classes to domestic students (Poole, 2005). English classes are taught in most universities and most undergraduate students are required to take them (Poole, 2005). While anecdotal accounts of foreign academics working in Japanese universities have been published (Hall, 1998; McVeigh, 2002), little research has been conducted that explores how foreign academics perceive, evaluate and understand their place and role in the Japanese university sector, against the backdrop of internationalization.

How AFELT perceive their role in the university sector is illuminating in that: AFELT are a significant group of foreigners in the Japanese higher education sector; they are important in Japan's plan to internationalize the education sector as teachers of English; and they are both simultaneously positioned 'inside and outside' of the dominant culture as long-term residents. Further, unlike many visiting foreign academics, many AFELT work across multiple universities (for example, three to four in a week) in order to maintain a livelihood. Therefore, their insights potentially offer depth and breadth into internationalization in the Japanese higher education sector from emic and etic perspectives. Furthermore, a consideration of foreign academics' perceptions is increasingly important given the strategy proposed in the Asian Gateway Initiative to increase the number of foreign academics in Japanese universities in order to help facilitate internationalization at the institutional level (Council for Asian Gateway Initiative, 2007).

English-language education: serving the national interest?

Historically, there has been a discontinuity between the 'utilitarianization' (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2001) of foreign languages, and teachers and trainers, and the intercultural aspects of language education in Japan (Reesor, 2002). English-language education has featured in the Japanese higher education system since its commencement in the Meiji era (1868) as both a reaction against and specific response to globalization. As such, English was viewed as a means of acquiring knowledge, rather than as a means for facilitating dialogue (Reesor, 2002) or cross-cultural communication. Consequently, English-language pedagogy historically focused on grammar and translation rather than on developing communication competencies, intercultural awareness and global perspectives (Poole, 2005).

Communicative English-language learning became fashionable from the 1980s. During this time business and government increasingly promoted English as a strategy to 'internationalize' the nation (McKenzie, 2006). Many universities responded by expanding English-language programs and increasing the number of foreign teachers, in part to project an international image (McKenzie, 2006), attract domestic students (Kinmonth, 2005) and satisfy business and government demands. Furthermore, in the internationalization of Japanese higher education discourse, as promoted by MEXT, the inclusion of non-Japanese teachers would enhance mutual understanding, strengthen foreign language education, and provide domestic students with opportunities to interact with foreigners (MEXT, 2003). The degree to which these objectives have been realized is, as yet, unclear.

Foreign teachers of English in the university sector

There is a significant corpus of academic literature that examines attitudes towards native and non-native speakers of English (Moussu and Llorca, 2008). This literature suggests that native speakers are perceived as more desirable by students and institutions and therefore less likely to be exploited than non-native speakers of English. In the Japanese context however, this is contentious. For instance, McVeigh (2002: 169) maintains foreign teachers of English in the university context are perceived as 'living tokens of some idealized and stereotypical "foreign" culture'. Less extreme views suggest pedagogical rationales. For example, Butler (2007: 29) suggests that Japanese teachers' perceptions concerning their English-language proficiency, attitudes concerning non-standard English and their 'sense of pride in their own language and culture' contribute to the construction of the notion that native speakers of English 'are the ideal language teachers' (2007: 7).

Critics however, have maintained that the fundamental purpose for English as a foreign language in Japan is not to foster intercultural and cross-cultural communication skills or global competency but to 'build national identity among students' (McVeigh, 2002: 148). This occurs first by excluding authentic English from Japanese society and detaching it from the real world (McVeigh, 2002), and second, by removing English from the 'core identity of Japan' (Hashimoto, 2007: 27). The English language (and, by extension, the native English-language teacher) is, therefore, conceptualized in pragmatic and utilitarian terms. As such, Hashimoto (2007) argues, it is taught in a de-contextualized way by focusing on Grammar and translation and excluding the communicative aspects in order to preserve Japanese values, traditions and cultural independence.

Teaching English as a foreign language therefore reaffirms both 'the historical continuity of Japan and its cultural coherence', and the belief that Japan and the rest of the world are distinct entities (Hashimoto, 2007: 27). Moreover, internationalization actually functions as a 'form of resistance to the cultural homogenization' and as 'a process of reaffirming the Japaneseness of the Japanese people' (Hashimoto, 2007: 27). As a consequence, foreign teachers of English, like the language, are viewed more as "resources" to be utilized at the Government's [and institutions'] discretion' (Hashimoto, 2009: 35), and, as in the Meiji era, not as agents of change.

Consequently, there appears to be little value attached to AFELT interactions with students and integrating foreign teachers in Japanese universities. For example, there is modest evidence of well-coordinated and funded efforts that suggest the integration of AFELT is regarded as a serious enterprise in universities. Japanese universities are considered to discriminate and be essentially 'closed' to non-Japanese academics (Arudou, 2007; Hall, 1994, 1998; McVeigh, 2002; Poole, 2005). Further, activist Debito Arudou's (2007) university Black List documents discriminatory practices and labour law violations in a significant number of Japanese universities. In addition, a survey conducted by a coalition of adjunct university teacher unions on the conditions for part-time university lecturers in the Kansai region reported significant levels of dissatisfaction concerning remuneration, job security, lack of social insurance/pension, status and facilities, and control over teaching and class size (University Part-time Lecturers Union Kansai, 2007). Negative attitudes toward the inclusion of foreign academics are not unique to Japan. Shaikh (2009) and Kim (2009, 2005), for example, highlight issues pertaining to the inclusion of foreign academics in universities in Anglo-European and Korean contexts.

McVeigh (2002: 175) contends that in the Japanese university context, however, 'English instructors are often hired for their "foreignness" ("whiteness") and are expected to somehow "internationalize" the *daigaku* [university] and its students.' Moreover, as McNeill (2007) argues, MEXT knows that universities discriminate against foreigners and that they want to keep them 'disenfranchised and disposable'. What this means is that there is a potentially significant gap between the government rhetoric concerning internationalization and the place and function of

English on the one hand, and how AFELT experience and understand it on the other. Hence, there is a potential mismatch between what AFELT could potentially contribute to the university sector and a Japanese higher education system that is not ready to accept them (Umakoshi, 1997).

Conceptual and theoretical framework

Constructionist and phenomenological perspectives, which sit within an interpretive paradigm (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999), frame this research. These perspectives help to understand the lived world 'from the point of view of those who live it' (Schwandt, 1994: 118). Therefore, because internationalization is conceptualized at the institutional level as a socially constructed phenomenon (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) with particular historical and cultural locatedness (Scott and Usher, 1996), it is cogently understood through the eyes of its participants.

Three theoretical perspectives converge in this study. The first relates to the internationalization of higher education; the broad focus of the research. The second is derived from Volet's (2001) person-in-context model of social interaction and motivation. This conceptualization provides a theoretical tool to better understand how the phenomenon in question is perceived by AFELT. The third appropriates Lebra's (1992) notion of hierarchical and spatial demarcation coupled with Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical metaphor, as the sociocultural phenomena that form the basis of these perspectives are features of AFELT discourse (Whitsed and Volet, 2010). These theoretical constructs shape the study in four ways: (1) through focusing the research; (2) aiding in the development of the research questions; (3) informing the data collection strategies and procedures; and (4) through providing a structure for data analysis. Each is briefly described in turn.

Internationalization: definitions and outcomes

Internationalization is a widely debated concept with differing conceptual and operational definitions. However, the development of intercultural competencies and cross-cultural perspectives are seen as central to internationalizing the curriculum (Jones and Killick, 2007; Turner and Robson, 2008). Internationalization has been defined as:

the process of integrating an international perspective into a college or university system. It ... involves many stakeholders working to change the internal dynamics of an institution to respond and adapt appropriately to an increasingly diverse, globally focused, ever-changing external environment. (Ellingboe, 1998: 199)

Therefore '[t]he essence of internationalization of higher education', as Mok (2007: 449) maintains, 'is to promote cross-cultural understanding and to deepen international cooperation'. Thus, an internationalized university is considered to be one where the goal is to foster graduates who are multi-culturally aware and demonstrate developing cross-cultural communication competencies and global perspectives (Leask, 1999). Following Hill (2007: 255), an internationalized curriculum would then include 'the study of issues which have application beyond national borders and to which the competencies of intercultural understanding, critical thinking and collaboration are applied in order to shape attitudes which will be conducive to mutual respect'.

What this reveals, that is pertinent to this study, is that universities are starting to make "'international understanding and cooperation" more central to university teaching, research, and service' (Mok, 2007: 435). However, while Japanese higher education can be viewed as internationalizing, the degree to which stakeholders are working to address the intercultural dimensions is unclear.

The person-in-context: affordances

The person-in-context is a helpful way of conceptualizing the research. Volet's (2001) model is particularly revealing in this study through the concepts of 'affordance' and 'constraint'. Affordances, according to Greeno (1994: 9), 'are qualities of a system that can support interactions and therefore present possible interactions for an individual to participate 'in'. In other words, an affordance is 'whatever it is about the environment that contributes to the kind of interaction that occurs' (Greeno, 1994: 336). What this means in the context of this research is that the sociocultural notion of affordances and constraints allows one to identify and label environmental phenomena that participants perceive to be congruent or incongruent with their expectations, thus enabling or constraining their interaction in the university context. The person-in-context approach, Nolen and Ward observe (2008: 440), "'highlights individuals" appraisals (perceptions and evaluations) of their context as an important influence on their motivation and self-regulation'. In the case of AFELT, for example, while their appraisals of institutional support for their classes may identify phenomena they consider constrain their teaching, they may regard these as affordances thereby influencing their motivation to participate as 'authentic' teachers in the university context.

Metaphors and managed impressions

Whitsed and Volet (2010) observe in their analysis of AFELT discourse that Japanese metaphorical constructs are frequently used. In framing AFELT experiences, concepts such as *uchi/soto* (inside/outside; us/them) and *omote/ura* (public/private) were generally viewed as constraining and/or affording their social interactions. For example, Whitsed and Volet (2010: 14) argue that 'such pervasive metaphors as in/out (*uchi/soto*) lead to foreigners as staff being automatically perceived as outsiders (*soto*), with little or no chance of ever becoming fully integrated into the university community'.

In a historical context, Lebra (1992) highlights the significance of such metaphors in the regulation of social interaction in hierarchical juxtaposition of a family (*kazoku*) and their servants. According to Lebra (1992), space in a Japanese residence could be conceptualized in terms of boundaries that intersected vertically and laterally. First are the dichotomical opposites *kami* (above; 'family occupied upper domain') and *shimo* (below; lower; the servants). Interlocked with the vertical domain in an 'intricate fashion' in the lateral plane is *omote* (front) and *oku* (interior). According to Lebra (1992: 64), '[t]he omote versus oku opposition further corresponded to that of the "public" versus "private" sector of the house. The omote staff managed the house in relation to the outside world ... the oku staff was in charge of the private life of the *kazoku* family'.

Metaphorically, AFELT occupy *shimo/omote/soto* space as they are both adjunct staff and foreigners. Because they occupy this space they are excluded from the interior (*kami/oku*). To illustrate, according to Befu (2001: 75, 76), caucasians are 'excluded from full participation in Japanese society simply by virtue of their foreignness'. Similarly, at the university level, Poole (2005: 254) observes in a case study conducted at Edo University, 'there is a very striking and important distinction between "core" and "periphery" faculty'. This distinction is further marked in tenured *versus* adjunct status. At the periphery, adjuncts such as AFELT are expected to do no more than teach. Generally, AFELT are not 'systematically included in curriculum planning or implementation' (Poole, 2005: 255) and are excluded from university meetings, and/or professional exchange.

Finally, Lebra (1992) draws on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical concepts of 'front' and 'back' and these also provide useful conceptual tools for this study. For example, what occurs in the 'front' (*omote*) may be metaphorically conceptualized as an attempt to manipulate an audience so

that they believe what they see before them is authentic. In this context, foreign language classes are made compulsory while authentic language learning outcomes, such as communicative ability, are not actually supported in practice (Ellis, 2003).

The inquiry process

The broad aim of the research reported here was to explore the perceptions, knowledge and experiences of AFELT employed in the Japanese higher education sector, and to critique internationalization in the Japanese higher education sector from an AFELT emic perspective. Specifically, this research determined to address the question: How do foreign adjunct English-language teachers employed in Japanese universities understand and construe their role against the backdrop of internationalization in Japanese higher education?

Background to the research

The research grew out of seven years' experience by one author as an AFELT. This experience revealed discontinuities between the rhetoric concerning the centrality of communicative English-language teaching in the internationalization of Japanese universities, and the marginalization of AFELT.

Communicative English-language instruction is particularly pertinent as a research 'site' because AFELT can develop intercultural communication competencies and global perspectives in domestic students, an important aspect of international education (Field, 2010; IB, 2008), and internationalization at the institutional level (DeVita and Case, 2003). This article indicates how AFELT perceive higher education in Japan and the teaching of English in that context, their position, the factors they attribute to their positioning, and how they consequently understand and enact their role.

Research design

Participants. To ensure depth and breadth of responses and to provide a profile of the typical AFELT, purposeful 'typical case sampling' (Patton, 2002: 236) was employed in this research. Forty-three teachers participated in the study. Participants were selected on the basis of years in employment in Japanese universities and number of institutions worked in, thereby offering a potential 'insider' perspective to the study. Other criteria included: Japanese-language ability reflecting a capacity for engagement with Japanese society and potential to be employed in a tenured position; years resident in Japan and marital status as an indicator of cultural awareness and rationale for employment in the university sector; and gender. Each criterion constitutes either an attribute or a dimension that could influence AFELT experience in the sector.

Participants had worked in the university sector for significant periods of time: 9 participants between 2 and 5 years; 19 participants between 6 and 10 years; 6 participants between 11 and 15 years; and 9 participants between 16 and 23 years. The majority of participants had thus worked in the Japanese university sector for between 6 and 23 years. Furthermore, the majority of participants were long term residents, aged between 40 and 55 years, married with Japanese spouses and dependants. Participants self-reported limitations in Japanese language ability, with the majority rating their proficiency as 'basic' ($n = 10$) to 'intermediate' ($n = 27$). Six participants self-reported their Japanese language ability as 'fluent'. Overall, this suggests the majority were committed to

living in Japan, and while conversant in Japanese were potentially constrained professionally by their language limitations in terms of tenured positions.

The majority of participants were male ($n = 33$) and American nationals ($n = 19$), suggesting a preference for American English across the sector (McKenzie, 2006). Furthermore, 14 of the participants had been employed in six to 11 post-secondary institutions and 29 had been employed in between one and five such institutions. In addition, slightly over one-third ($n = 16$) were employed with an undergraduate degree even though the minimum requirement across the sector is generally understood to be a postgraduate degree.

Data collection. Qualitative interviews were the principal means of data creation (Jones et al., 2006). This method afforded a systematically structured yet flexible means of data collection consistent with the constructionist and phenomenological epistemologies framing the research. Furthermore, it provided participants with opportunities to describe their experiences and views, and to identify issues important to them without restrictions being placed on them (Minichiello, 1990).

The data for this study were collected in three rounds utilizing focus groups and one-to-one in-depth interviews (Miller and Crabtree, 2004). The first round consisted of two focus groups with six AFELT in each. Each focus group was approximately 90 minutes long. The focus of the first focus group was exploratory and canvassed topics including: higher education in Japan, teaching English in the Japanese university sector, internationalization, the role and status of AFELT, and cultural challenges. The participants in the first focus group comprised key informants purposefully selected based on length of employment in the university sector. The themes and concepts that emerged out of the first focus group were presented to the second focus group with participants chosen to represent the broader AFELT community. This was both to 'scope' the phenomena in question, and iteratively to inform the subsequent round. The themes generated out of both focus groups were then used to construct an interview guide for use in the second data collection round. The guide therefore included topics such as higher education in Japan, internationalization, working as a foreigner in a Japanese university, the English-language curriculum, pedagogy and students.

The second round of data collection utilized a series of one-to-one, in-depth interviews (Miller and Crabtree, 2004) with 24 AFELT. In-depth interviews focused 'on facilitating a co-construction of the interviewer's and an informant's experience and understanding of the topic of interest' and employed 'open, direct verbal questions' (Miller and Crabtree, 2004: 188, 189). Consequently, this stage provided an in-depth exploration of topics raised and elicited rich narratives that contextualized these.

The third round consisted of two focus groups with six AFELT in each. The final focus group comprised the same participants from the round one focus group. This process served to close the data collection circle. Participants were invited to discuss themes that emerged from previous data collection cycles. This strategy was used to check the trustworthiness and dependability of the data, and to attend to issues of quality in the research process (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982; Maxwell, 1992).

Data analysis. Miles and Huberman (1984) provided the broad framework for the data analysis. In particular, open and thematic coding and categorizing were employed in the initial stages of the data analysis to identify patterns and themes enabling categories to be formed as they emerged, following Glaser and Strauss (1967). A constant comparison method of analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was applied to the data and then compared with new data as it was generated. Once the major themes were identified, the voices of the participants were used to illustrate their perspectives.

Results and discussion

The focus groups and interviews reported in the following are numbered sequentially according to the order in which they were conducted. Therefore, participants are identified as, for example, (Foc1.1) or (Int.2). So, (Foc1.1) corresponds to focus group one participant one while (Int.1) corresponds to interview one and so on.

Higher education: maintaining appearances

The meta-narrative arising out of the research can be understood metaphorically as ‘appearance over substance’ (Foc.3.7), or in other words ‘impression management’ (Goffman, 1959). To illustrate, the national, public and private universities have different missions and rankings and each institution’s status changes accordingly (Goodman, 2007). Consequently, the student profile also varies. Therefore, participants noted, generalizations concerning the state of higher education do not necessarily apply to all universities unilaterally. Yet, there was a consensus of opinion that genuine academic enterprise at the undergraduate level appears to be largely unimportant, a view consistent with earlier observations by Sugimoto (2003) and McVeigh (2004).

For example, participants expressed the view that, in Japan, higher education appears to constitute more of a ‘social’ rather than ‘educational’ focus. Consequently, AFELT consider their teaching practice to be constrained by what they perceive to be a pervading attitude across all levels of Japanese society that university students are not expected to study. Participants commented for example that:

Japanese students don’t study. It’s really hard to explain to Western people why Japanese students don’t study, and well of course we know that they kinda work harder in high school, and university is not the same as it is in America ... it’s more like relaxing time before they have to go into society. (Int.18)

As a result, the teaching and learning of English, as understood by participants, revealed incongruent expectations for themselves, their students and often institutions concerning educational expectations thus influencing participation. The majority of participants believed that university education in Japan, in contrast to higher education in their home countries, is mostly for ‘show’ and that ‘the reality of what happens is often quite different’ (Int.16). As one participant observed:

University is not really about education, it is about form over function. Form over practice. As long as we give students 15 classes in a semester, take attendance, give a test, fill the grades, that is all the university cares about. They don’t care about what we actually achieve in the classroom. We do, but the institution doesn’t and an extension of that then is that the students themselves don’t care because they can see that. (Foc.3.1)

At the institutional level, the offering of communicative English classes satisfies MEXT, business, parents and students. Applying Lebra’s (1992) typology this metaphorically constitutes a form of *omote* with AFELT classes situated hierarchically lower (*shimo*) than those taught by full-time Japanese academics (*kami*). As such, at the classroom level, teaching that produces authentic learning outcomes (Ellis, 2003; Turner and Robson, 2008) is not always expected or valued by the other stakeholders. In this context, ‘authentic’ is understood to be teaching and learning practices and objectives that aim to maximize students’ learning potential. McVeigh (2002: 123) suggests that Japanese higher education represents a form of simulated learning and teaching where ‘genuine

educational practices' have been dismissed. Participants throughout the research expressed similar views. This view is encapsulated in the following participant's comments:

It's [all] lip service; it is form over substance ... we can all pretend ... (Foc.2.5)

[Consequently we all] just go through the motions. (Int.17)

What AFELT experience then is a situation where there is a significant degree of incongruence and tension around the teaching and learning of communicative English and their place and role. This incongruence and tension influences how AFELT choose to participate or not in these contexts (Volet, 2001).

Institutional indifference toward AFELT

Participants reported universities they worked in as being ambivalent about the development of communicative English-language competencies in domestic students. They maintained that in many cases communicative English-language programs lacked clear coordination, were unstructured, or were not integrated into the wider curricula. Moreover, the majority of participants believed that most universities placed little value on authentic learning outcomes and assessment related to their classes. In one retrospective account, a participant noted his surprise and disappointment at arriving at a university to discover, for example, that:

[N]obody knows or cares [about what you do]. I didn't know what I was supposed to teach, and nobody really wanted to tell me ... there seems in most cases to be nobody really overseeing a curriculum ... it can be bewildering, confusing and stressful ... (Int.2)

Given the participants' appraisals concerning the nature of higher education they maintained that at the institutional level there exists a 'culture of indifference' (Foc.1, 2, 3; Int.2, 10, 20). Indifference exists not only in relation to educational achievement generally, but specifically to AFELT and their classes. According to participants, this phenomenon renders AFELT classes irrelevant educationally, though necessary in order to maintain an impression of an 'international' university staffed with native speakers of English. For example, in one focus group several participants explained that:

The main role of the university education is socialisation. The academics take a back seat ... and in order to draw students in, you want to give the image that you are international and that you have got a strong language program. (Foc.2.5)

Furthermore, the interviews canvassed the degree to which participants considered there existed a shared understanding between university staff and AFELT concerning the rationale for and educational objectives of communicative English-language classes. It is significant to note that the general consensus among participants was that there appeared to be little genuine shared understanding, corroborating Poole's (2005) observations concerning the nature of social and professional interaction between foreign English teaching faculty and their Japanese counterparts. Applying Lebra's (1992) model to this situation, AFELT are situated in a *shimo* hierarchical relationship and consequently marginalized relative to their position on the periphery (Poole, 2005). For example, one participant related the following that illustrates this position:

Japanese teachers don't want to get involved [with us] because if we found out what some of them are doing in some of their classes they would just be laughed out of the world. (Int.3)

It was argued by participants that this indifference and lack of shared understanding is also clearly evident in the failure of many universities to adequately facilitate communicative English-language programs in order to support authentic learning experiences for students. This was expressed as follows:

Almost universally in Japanese universities foreign language classes meet once a week for ninety minutes. Is there any research anywhere that could possibly support that kind of class structure? Absolutely not! (Foc. 2.5)

For participants then, institutional indifference is interpreted as reaffirming their belief that what is valued at the university level is not the provision of authentic learning opportunities, or enhancement of intercultural communication competencies for domestic students. Rather, what is understood is that the role and place of AFELT in the university sector has less to do with specialist teaching and more to do with *kami/omote* and *shimo/soto* distinctions and the maintenance of appearances. As one participant observed:

[S]ome universities want to have English classes taught by native speakers ... [for] the show factor, [to be able to say] 'Look! We have a foreigner ...' (Int.15)

Consequently, participants felt that:

There is not a whole lot of respect for the foreign contingent out there. We are a tool. Just, 'we have to have foreign teachers, so let's hire this guy and let's hire that guy' ... The only reason I was hired for my first job was because I was a foreigner and particularly an American ... (Int.24)

This is consistent with Hashimoto (2009) who argues that, just as English is viewed as a tool or as a utility, foreign teachers of English are likewise instrumentalized. This means their value is not linked to individual backgrounds or experience, rather it is indexed to their capacity to function as resources. This view is widely believed by participants to be the dominant attitude adopted towards AFELT, and participants cited employment conditions, labour law violations, exploitation and class divisions to validate their claims. It is important to note that numerous participants also observed that employment conditions for Japanese adjuncts were little better, and in certain cases worse, than their own. One very experienced participant explained for example that 'the Japanese university system is absolutely abusive to part-time Japanese people ... it is criminally absurd the way they are treated' (Foc1.2).

At the chalk face: incongruent expectations

Participants maintained that what happens pedagogically in their classes is not as important as keeping students happy because 'the student is the customer' (Int.14), a phenomenon DeVita and Case (2003: 389) identify as directly indexed to the 'increased commercialization of education and the consequent commodification of the curriculum'. Kinmonth (2005) alludes to this phenomenon as significant in the Japanese private higher education sector, because more value is placed on students as customers rather than as students. In effect, participants explained, this shifts power from the teacher to the student. Several participants observed this both affords and constrains the

teaching of communicative English and their place and role in the university sector. For example, one participant explained that:

In Australia the students are students. In Japan, they are customers ... Here, as a western staff member ... if push comes to shove, who is more expendable? The student or you? Well you must know that answer, especially when you are a part timer ... next year it will be 'Oh sorry, we don't have a position for you.' (Int. 23)

It is important to note that the commercialization of education is also a global phenomenon. In this context, many participants viewed themselves as being little more than 'expendable commodities' (Int.2, 5 and 7).

Commodification and othering

Most participants believed that in the privatized sector entrepreneurial enterprise is more highly valued than academic quality and standards. As one participant observed:

Education in Japan is a business. It would be my contention that there are two ends of the spectrum. One is a pure focus on education, the other a focus on business, or getting money out of students. Those at the business end are many ... (Int.21)

As such, participants appeared to interpret their importance in the university sector as indexed to the capacity universities have to exploit them in order to attract domestic students. The view was expressed in this way:

They needed a white face and I was a good one ... For example, in order to draw students you want to give the image you are international and that you have a strong language program. They need the face for the brochure, for when they do the recruiting session for the parents when they bring their kids. They don't give the face any power, but they need [it] ... (Foc.2.5)

Consequently, many participants felt that, first, they were commodified to appeal to Japanese students, offering them opportunities for an 'international' or 'gaijin experience... in the classroom' (Foc.1.1); and, second, that their presence as teachers and the communicative English-language curriculum represented little more than a form of tokenism.

What this suggests is that, rather than being employed as professional language educators, participants felt exploited for their exoticism as foreigners and their utilitarian value. As such, they viewed their place within the university system as less to do with developing students' linguistic and communication competencies, increasing students' intercultural and cross-cultural understanding, or enhancing global competencies, and more to do with maintaining a culture of 'othering'. This reveals a significant tension between the stated goals in MEXT policy that stress the importance of 'education for international understanding' (MEXT, 2003) and the experience of participants. Significantly, participants maintained that many students also considered this proposition untenable, as the following section details.

Students: not buying in

At the student level, participants identified three significant factors that constrained their practice. Each further reinforces the view that their role is more closely aligned to the *omote* (Lebra, 1992,

2004) and dramaturgical representation where form/appearance is more important than substance. This was reflected in three ways. First, it is seen in the level of maturity their students brought to their classes. Second, students are not motivated to engage with or participate in classes because they are 'pigeon holed' (Foc.1) by the status of the university they attend. Third, students were not buying into MEXT rhetoric that *all* students require conversational/communicative English-language ability. Each of these is now elaborated upon.

Many participants considered Japanese students to be immature in comparison to western students. This was evident not only in their classroom behaviour, but also in their awareness of global issues and capacity to consider English in a broader context than responding to decontextualized tests used in university entrance examinations (McVeigh, 2004; Poole, 2005). What this meant, according to participants, was that students do not view English as a 'living language' (Int.21) and are not generally prepared for multi-directional, participatory collaborative learning environments. Therefore, one significant challenge identified by AFELT is to effect change in the attitude students harbour concerning the value of English. For example:

I see it as my brief to show them that English is not only about testing, it is about a whole world of culture, life and interaction. (Int.17)

Second, because Japanese universities are ranked there is fierce competition for places in the top universities (Yonezawa et al., 2002). One impact for students is the degree to which the status of a university affords or constrains their social mobility and employment prospects. What this means, as participants explained, is that students' motivation to participate in their classes, particularly in lower status universities, is low. As such, many tend to focus on social rather than educational achievement. One participant noted:

[Students are] pigeonholed in the lower universities and in certain departments ... they know they are going to mediocre jobs ... So it is very hard to motivate these people because they know or feel that they are going nowhere. (Foc. 1)

Therefore, the status of an institution, its clubs, alumni and established networks with business or government and employment assistance (Lee-Cunin, 2005; Stevenson and Baker, 1992) is important where 'graduation is automatic' (Foc.1). As one participant noted, students are therefore 'really apathetic' (Int.17) about participating in classes and learning English.

Third, the vast majority of non-language major undergraduates do not 'buy into' the rhetoric that all students need English. According to participants, while MEXT (2002, 2003) emphasizes the importance of cultivating Japanese with English abilities as part of its broader commercial and internationalization strategies, students reject this. The idea that English is an 'indispensable tool for international market competitiveness' (Hashimoto, 2009: 21) is not supported in their experience. Many believe that in all likelihood they will have no real use for English in their future. One participant outlined the situation for students thus:

MEXT say English is very important ... But the students don't see it as a very big priority. They see it as lip service on the part of MEXT. [However] these kids are going to get into jobs and they are never going to use English ... I would say that 80% of them won't need English and the 20% that do, their company is going to say you need to learn English and then [they] will. (Foc.1)

Expressing a level of frustration at the constraints this places on the instruction of communicative English classes, one participant lamented:

It seems useless because the kids here ... don't feel the value of learning it. So, I would say confidently, at least half the class are just not interested. (Int.3)

Consequently, participants reported feeling so constrained as to render their classes 'banal' (Int. 19) and effectively useless educationally.

Outside but inside: the place of the AFELT

While AFELT at the policy level may be conceptualized as being centrally placed in the internationalization of higher education, at the university level they are on the periphery. On the one hand, their place is tenuous given the contextual constraints. On the other, the place of AFELT in the university system is unique and as 'outsiders' the constraints that restrict them at both the institutional level and in their classrooms are also viewed as affording rich opportunities. The following extract exemplifies this, position:

The bottom line is, being foreigners in Japan [we are] outside of the system ... a lot of that carries over to our teaching. There are some institutional expectations, but for the most part what we try to do in the classroom is outside of the system ... we have brought this subversive idea of what an education is supposed to be [and] the system cooperates so well by pushing us into that situation. (Foc.2.5, 6)

Consequently, participants reported that because of the indifference and apathy they feel an opportunity is available to do as they please. What this means is they are essentially accountable to no one concerning their endeavours in their classes. This autonomy was one of the most significant themes to emerge in the data. As one participant explained:

I love the fact that I am the boss and once that door closes nobody knows what I do ... nobody is telling us what to do, we have complete freedom. (Foc.3.4)

Because of their experience in Japan, participants explained, AFELT are able to utilize their knowledge of Japanese culture and language to effectively address what they consider educational imperatives. This means adopting pedagogical practices designed to encourage greater global awareness and intercultural competencies. Furthermore, they strive to encourage in their students an understanding of Japan's place in the global community and a more sophisticated understanding of the 'cultural other'. As such, participants considered what they do to be important because they are positioned such that they challenge students' negative views, stereotypes and understandings concerning 'others'.

Inside but outside: the role of the AFELT

The interviews also revealed that while the role of the AFELT as teachers of communicative English is severely constrained, many participants viewed their role as extending beyond the traditional conceptualization of language teaching. For example, participants considered their role as directly challenging the status quo by presenting themselves as exemplars of globalized citizens. One participant explained:

Foreign teachers are a great resource in many ways because they are all people who have done what you would like the students to do themselves. They have travelled. They have moved ... re-located to a different country and got on. (Int.13)

AFELT, in this light, directly challenge the purpose of MEXT if one accepts Hashimoto (2009) and McVeigh's (2002, 2004) claims that English-language education in the Japanese context is in essence a nationalistic and utilitarian enterprise. As such, their role may be considered an act of subversion and diametrically opposed to the implicit goals of MEXT. For example, one participant stated 'What we are doing is subversive actually' (Foc.4.4). This is achieved through developing a greater appreciation among students for English as a language connected to a cultural way of being. For example, one participant highlighted this, stating:

[P]art of the teachers' job is to raise students' awareness to bring them [students] into the bigger world and to point out that while Japan is a great country, there is a far wider world and far more things to be aware of than just Japan... So awareness raising of major world issues is an important part [of what we do] ... (Int.12)

AFELT, therefore, generally considered one of their roles is to challenge established notions of 'cultural independence' (Hashimoto, 2009) and to encourage students to consider English and 'cultural others' from a more cultural relativistic rather than cultural centric perspective.

Conclusion

This research, unlike previous research exploring internationalization in the Japanese higher education sector, focuses on the experiences and perceptions of a significant, yet almost invisible, group who are positioned both inside and outside the formal functions of many universities in Japan. This article reports on contextual phenomena identified by AFELT that constrain how they teach communicative English, advance intercultural awareness, endeavour to shape attitudes and international-mindedness, and contribute to the provision of education for mutual understanding in an increasingly pluralistic society.

Employing methodology that enabled participants to discuss their position and roles, this study highlights discontinuities between MEXT rhetoric and policy concerning English-language education in the university sector and AFELT experience. The study affirms Hashimoto's (2009) claims concerning the utilization of native English teachers as human resources. In this regard, AFELT may be considered exploitable because of their status as adjunct staff. This study also affirms previous claims that communicative English-language programs and native teachers are not taken seriously by students, Japanese academics, and administrators of higher education (Poole, 2005). While many Japanese universities appear to offer well-coordinated English-language programs, this research reveals a significant degree of incongruence concerning the value, nature, purpose and function of higher education, internationalization, educational achievement and authentic teaching and learning as it relates to international understanding and intercultural awareness and communication.

As such, English programs taught by AFELT may be understood from the perspective of a *kami/shimo* dichotomy where AFELT classes are deemed lower in status and priority, and a dramaturgical perspective where appearance is presented and 'performed'. Extending the metaphor, because of their position in the 'back', AFELT draw attention to these inconsistencies that exist. As such, AFELT are able to identify discrepancies and what Goffman (1959: 142) labels 'strategic secrets' amounting to a discontinuity between rhetoric and practice.

This study demonstrates that AFELT essentially consider their position and role to be cosmetic in form and function. Formally, their role adds an 'international' dimension to university campuses and provides Japanese students with opportunities to develop and enrich their capacity to work in

global contexts. However, the structures and attitudes that exist not only constrain pedagogical practices and learning outcomes, but also alienate and marginalize AFELT themselves. However, these constraints also, paradoxically, offer unique opportunities for AFELT to challenge the dominant paradigm.

AFELT nonetheless have an important role to perform in the internationalization of the domestic Japanese student. For example, they not only challenge the current paradigm by engaging students with curricula intent on changing the dominant ‘mindset’, but approach teaching and learning with an aim to encourage students to develop their intercultural communications skills and global competencies.

Influences such as globalization, internal demographic trends and competition for foreign students and academics in other regions throughout Asia such as China and Korea are challenging Japan’s aspirations to establish itself as the ‘Asian Gateway’ (2007). For Japan to achieve this goal, greater scrutiny of the dynamics that afford and constrain internationalization, social interaction, the inclusion of foreigners, and values and attitudes concerning English and other languages, and their place in Japan, will be required. The nexus of internationalization, communicative English-language programs and foreign teachers is multilayered and complex, and intersects with cultural values, attitudes and assumptions. Further research is required that explores such aspects from the perspective of other stakeholders in order to build a more sophisticated understanding of the dynamics that are shaping internationalization in this sector. Finally, this research highlights the continuing need for further research that considers these issues and the complex nature of social inclusion of foreigners in Japanese universities, and internationalization of the curriculum.

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Abstract:

The graduate attribute ‘global competence’ is increasingly viewed as a significant learning outcome of a tertiary education. In Japanese higher education, global competence appears to be less of a priority despite Japan becoming an increasing pluralistic society. This article explores how adjunct foreign English language teachers (AFELT) encourage global competency in their classes. Data was drawn from focus groups and interviews and two emergent themes developed: first, the positionality of AFELT on the margins institutionally; and second, their pedagogical practices, which participants report as both subversive and necessary.

Keywords: internationalisation; intercultural; global competence; Japanese higher education, TEFL; graduate attributes

Introduction

This article employs a constructivist, sociocultural cognitive-situative perspective to examine how adjunct foreign English language teachers (AFELT) understand and construe their role and place in the Japanese university context. As such, this is not a comparative study, though the experiences and views of AFELT may parallel those of other non-native foreign language teachers in similar contexts. While the experiences of foreign academics in Japan have been documented informally (e.g., Arudou, 2007) and in some scholarly literature (e.g., Hall, 1994; Poole, 2005), research that considers AFELT experience is limited. For example, much of the research around internationalisation in Japan has focused on the experience of international students (e.g., Lee-Cunin, 2005) and the perceptions of Japanese academics and education leaders (e.g., Huang, 2009). However, few studies have considered AFELT and their potential to influence, or not, domestic Japanese university students’ global competence and curriculum internationalization through their pedagogy. One way of understanding this is through the lens of the goals of an internationalised curriculum as it relates to the Japanese higher education context implemented by and through AFELT. Specifically, AFELT pedagogy potentially contributes to and influences the development of attributes related to the intercultural aspects of internationalisation in this context, an area not previously considered. However, this does not imply that opportunities for such learning do not occur in Japanese taught classes, nor that the students themselves contribute nothing, or that AFELT purposefully design curricula to achieve such aims. This research is situated in a context where most universities in Japan employ AFELT (Poole, 2005). AFELT provide Japanese students opportunities to interact with foreigners over a period through their classroom

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interactions. Consequently, AFELT are well positioned to facilitate environments that have the potential to promote the development of intercultural and global competencies. What is not known is the extent of this influence?

This article first situates the research in the Japanese higher education context and then highlights graduate attributes that reflect intercultural and global competencies, a feature of an internationalised curriculum. ‘Intercultural competency’, is understood following Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002: 6) as the ability to interact with people of other cultures and:

to understand and accept people [them] as individuals with other distinctive perspectives, values and behaviors; and to... see that such interaction is an enriching experience.

Global competence is defined as,

having an open mind while actively seeking to understand cultural norms and expectations of others, leveraging this gained knowledge to interact, communicate and work effectively outside one’s environment. (Hunter, 2004: 130-1)

Next, a snapshot of teaching English is provided to highlight tensions identified that constrain AFELT pedagogical practice. Then, the research design and procedures are outlined and discussed. Finally, the themes emerging around the participants’ positionality and pedagogical practices, namely encouraging students to value diversity of language and culture and to think globally and inclusively are elaborated.

Background

Globalisation and a changing demographic profile are challenging Japan socially and politically. Its demographic and social landscapes are changing because of growing migrant numbers, declining birth rates, and an aging society, resulting in new ‘transcultural realities’ (Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). One contentious, albeit seemingly inevitable strategy to address these issues is to increase migration (Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). It is estimated that by 2050 the population of foreign residents in Japan will have increased to between 14 – 33 million (Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008). In a country that conceives of itself as largely homogenous (Befu, 2001) such as influx presents serious social and political challenges. Consequently, socially inclusive education for a multi-cultural reality is required. As the Japanese higher education sector provides almost universal access (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology here after MEXT, 2009), it is ideally placed to act as an ‘incubator of (inter)cultural change’ (Otten, 2009).

Approaches to internationalisation in the higher education sector that are not culturally inclusive and systematic are increasingly criticized as deficient (DeVita, 2007). Otten (2009: 409) notes it is increasingly evident that:

the simple presence of international students and international colleagues on campus is not enough to turn an academic programme into an intercultural experience or an entire university into an intercultural community, either for students or for academic staff.

Issues with commercially focused approaches to internationalisation include the lack of emphasis placed on the development of all students’ intercultural and global competencies aimed at reducing distance between themselves and cultural ‘Others’ (Turner and Robson,

2008), or in other words, the transformative dimensions (Robson, 2011). Recently in the Australian and British internationalisation discourse, these notions have found expression in the move towards a increased focus on graduate attributes for ‘responsible global citizenship’ (Clifford and Montgomery, 2011).

‘The official role of internationalisation [in the Japanese higher education sector]’, according to Kim (2009, 395) ‘may sound as if it is for international understanding and the development of interculturality, but it is not’. This view is widely purported (c.f. Rivers, 2010). Critics argue it is about revenue generation and status building (Goodman, 2007). For example, Goodman (2007) highlights the plurality of meanings associated with ‘internationalisation’ (*kokusaika*) as it is applied across the Japanese higher education context. To illustrate, Hashimoto (2009) argues internationalisation in the Japanese context is understood as a series of pragmatic endeavors that do little to challenge the established hegemony of dominant nationalistic views that priorities the maintenance of Japanese cultural independence. Additionally, Yonezawa (2010) links internationalisation in the Japanese context to global rankings and highlights the absence of ‘cosmopolitanism’. However, this is not unique to Japan, though it is salient, and is also considered a feature of internationalisation in countries such as the United Kingdom (Kim, 2009) and Australia (Marginson, Nyland, Sawir, and Forbes-Mewett, 2010).

To date, in the Japanese higher education context, there is little to suggest that the transformative dimensions of internationalisation such as the development of intercultural and global competencies as graduate attributes in domestic students is an explicit priority. While there is a focus on growing international student numbers to ‘internationalise’ the sector, what has not been considered is the impact of increasing diversity on domestic students themselves and the success or otherwise of these strategies. Moreover, there is little known about the degree of influence AFELT or other foreign teachers have in promoting domestic students’ global competencies.

English language: an internationalisation priority

English is a key element in Japan’s internationalisation strategies (Hashimoto, 2009). This is reflected in the range of initiatives directed at supporting English language learning. For example, the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2006), and the requirement that all elementary school introduce compulsory English lessons for fifth and sixth students (see, Fennelly & Luxton 2011 for an overview). Consequently, increasing the number of Japanese who can use English is a MEXT priority. This is reflected in two documents: first, *Developing a Strategic Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’* (MEXT, 2002); second, *Regarding the Establishment of an Action Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’* (MEXT, 2003). These initiatives and policies have been widely critiqued in an out of Japan. For example, Hashimoto (2009) maintains that the phrase ‘Japanese with English abilities’ is actually better translated as ‘Japanese who can use English’. This means, Hashimoto (2009) argues, that emphasis is placed on the pragmatic manipulation of the English language to achieve functional outcomes, rather than the development of intercultural communication competencies.

Similarly, Kubota (2002) argues in Japan the widespread assumption that learning English leads to the development of intercultural understanding is untenable. This is especially the case, Kubota (2002) suggests, when the focus in English language education is purely on American or British English. This essentialized focus ‘promote[s] a narrow view of world cultures and, furthermore, produce[s] essentialized images of both Inner Circle

countries [such as Australia, England, and the United States] and Japan' (Kubota, 2002: 22). For example, exemplars used in English lessons tend to stress cultural differences and do not promote 'international understanding' in the sense of cosmopolitan pluralism or critical multiculturalism' (Kubota, 2002: 22). Instead English education, 'reinforces cultural nationalism through constructing a rigid cultural boundary between *Us* and *Them*' (Kubota, 2002: 23). Thus, it is argued, English language teaching in the Japanese context fails 'to give a serious consideration to multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multiethnic populations that currently exist in Japan as well in global communities' (Kubota, 2002: 23). This form of English language education then has implications for AFELT and for full-time foreign teachers of English equally. Author/s (2011a) (2011b) reported, based on the same dataset for this paper, numerous constraints, actual and perceived that impede AFELT pedagogy such they feel they are not able to teach English in the manner they expected. Therefore, many AFELT reported a desire to inject more meaning into their teaching by trying to influence the development of intercultural competencies and global perspectives in their students. How they attend to this, or the effectiveness of these endeavors has not been considered in previous research.

AFELT: teaching to develop intercultural and global competencies

Teaching EFL is a worldwide phenomenon, and many of the observations in the following are not necessarily isolated to Japan or AFELT in that context. It is also important to note that MEXT is less able to exert influence on the English language curriculum in the tertiary sectors than in the others. This means the English language curriculum, its aims, goals and agendas are diverse. As Japanese universities constitute the research site, some generalizations need to be made. While almost all universities employ AFELT to teach predominately 'oral/communicative English' to almost all freshmen and sophomores irrespective of program of study, it is reported that communicative English language learning is not genuinely supported in many universities (see, Authors 2011b; McVeigh, 2002; Poole, 2005 for additional information concerning FELT roles, duties and integration at the institutional level). Communicative English language learning, in contrast to traditional approaches that stress grammar and translation, focus on the functional aspects of language learning. As such, pedagogy in communicative English language classes '... is organized on the basis of communicative functions (e.g. apologizing, describing, inviting, promising) that a given learner or group of learners needs to know and emphasizes the ways in which particular grammatical forms may be used to express these functions appropriately' (Canale and Swain, 1980: 2). For example, Author/s (2011a) note that AFELT report many universities fail to adequately structure syllabi and courses to maximize any significant communicative language learning outcomes. Author/s (2011b) also highlight the constrained professional circumstances of AFELT and extend Author/s (2011a) observations through a close examination of phenomena perceived by AFELT to afford and/or constrain (Greeno, 1994) their aims, objectives, and pedagogical aspirations. According to Author/s (2011b), AFELT report a 'culture of indifference' across all levels of the university towards their discipline area that envelops them. For example, students' attitudes towards communicative English learning were identified as having a negative effect on how communicative English classes, especially in lower status universities, and non-English major classes are taught. However, Author/s (2011b) also note AFELT are paradoxically afforded opportunities to go extend traditional FELT learning in practice.

In addition to functional linguistic capability building, while AFELT do not claim to be highly sophisticated intercultural educators they feel a responsibility to work as effectively as they are able to, in the conditions that they have, to facilitate some level of intercultural learning. What this article does is provide some potential insights into a broader understanding of students' 'disengagement' and the frustration that AFELT report. Hence, AFELT narrate accounts of attempting to structure classes in ways that maybe understood to present students with opportunities to consider broader global issues, extend their views beyond a narrow focus on Japan, encourage students to be more interculturally aware, and to further encourage the development of global perspectives rather than specifically focusing on language development. Drawing on Hunter (2004) and Leask (2001) AFELT may be understood as striving to encourage students to think globally; consider issues from a variety of perspectives; develop an awareness of their own cultural perspectives and of Japan's place in the global community; respect and value multicultural and diverse contexts and hence, 'Otherness'; and, to effect attitudinal changes toward English as an international language. In other words, attributes required of 'globally competent citizens' (Hunter, White and Gobey, 2006).

Thus, while Hashimoto (2009) and Kubota (2002) maintain there is little in MEXT English language policy that explicitly promotes intercultural competencies and global perspectives in language learning, AFELT nevertheless appear to support the develop of students' intercultural communication competencies and global perspectives, in the context of their teaching. This does not mean, however, this type of learning is not encouraged elsewhere in the students' learning experience. Hence, the curriculum delivered to Japanese domestic students and the attributes AFELT aspire to encourage are significantly linked to the implementation of an intercultural education. This can be further understood through a consideration of internationalisation of the curriculum and what is commonly understood as 'graduate attributes' (Barrie, 2007), as they are related to the former.

Internationalisation and global competencies

Higher education internationalisation is increasingly conceptualized as aimed at fostering the development of the intercultural dimensions in domestic students such as 'global competence' (Mok, 2007; Leask, 2008; Bourn, 2011). For example, according to Knight and de Wit (1995: 13):

the primary reason for internationalizing universities is to increase international and intercultural knowledge and skills of students and to promote research which addresses interdependence (cultural, economic, environmental, political) among nations. [Such]... an international approach attempts to avoid parochialism in scholarship and research and to stimulate critical thinking and inquiry about the complexity of issues and interests that bear on the relations among nations, regions and interest groups.

Furthermore, this means, 'universities are thus increasingly focused on developing international perspectives in all students' (Leask, 2008: 90). Consequently, an internationalised curriculum would have some of the following attributes: generic indicators of a graduate as a global citizen who demonstrates international perspectives (Leask 2008); focus on transformative aspects of learning (Bartell, 2003; Turner and Robson, 2008); prepare students to be globally competent (Hunter, White, and Godbey 2006); value diversity and inclusivity (Mestenhauser, 1998); and finally, be taught by cosmopolitan academics (Sanderson, 2008).

Graduate attributes in internationalised curricula

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of universities that state that their graduates will demonstrate the graduate attribute 'global competence' (Hunter et al. 2006) often expressed as 'global perspective'. Hunter et al. (2006: 269) ask what is meant by 'globally competent'. They maintain that 'as a concept [it] is important because it informs the ways in which we encourage and train people to interact with, and open themselves to, other cultures and to build relationship capital' (Hunter et al., 2006: 269). According to Haigh (2002: 51):

[t]he ideal of international curriculum provides equably for the learning ambitions of all students, irrespective of their national, ethnic, cultural, social class/caste or gender identities. It values social inclusion, cultural pluralism and "world citizenship" ahead of partisan links with any smaller geographical, cultural or social unit.

Such graduate attributes are developed through internationalised curricula. Consequently, an internationalized curriculum Haigh (2002) suggests, aims to 'create graduates who are capable of engaging in a culture of communication and work that is becoming increasingly global'. What this means, Haigh (2002: 52) argues, is :

[graduates] must be able to adapt to an unfamiliar culture and operate in a socially and culturally diverse environment; appreciate differences in gender, culture and customs; and be able to work effectively and sensitively within the (national) and international ... and multicultural context.

For graduates to achieve these goals they need to be provided with learning opportunities that foster the development of these attributes. For example, De Vita (2007: 156) maintains intercultural learning involves more than the acquisition of 'new international knowledge or merely 'rubbing shoulders' with fellow students from different cultural backgrounds; it involves 'the discovery and transcendence of difference through authentic experiences of cross-cultural interaction that involve real tasks, and emotional as well as intellectual participation'. Intercultural learning is therefore conceptualized as a fundamental outcome of internationalized curricula.

There is some recent scholarship that links graduate attributes with internationalised curricula and intercultural learning and perspectives (Leask, 2001, 2008). According to Leask (2001: 106), an 'internationalized curriculum emphasizes a wide range of teaching and learning strategies designed to develop graduates who demonstrate *international perspectives* as professionals and as citizens'. This is accomplished by widening the focus of subjects to include international content and/or contact and 'approaches to teaching and learning that assist in the development of cross-cultural communication skills' (Leask, 2001: 106). In other words, as Bourn (2011) argues facilitating a 'transformative counter-hegemonic' learning environment.

In terms of graduate attributes and internationalised curricula the following are 'general sorts of characteristics that graduates who have achieved the quality might exhibit' (Leask, 2001: 103):

- Displaying an ability to think globally and consider issues from a variety of perspectives;
- Demonstrating an awareness of one's own culture and its perspectives and other cultures and their perspectives;

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- Appreciating the importance of multicultural diversity to professional practice and citizenship;
- Valuing diversity of language and culture; and,
- Appreciating the relation between their field of study locally and professional traditions elsewhere. (adapted from University of South Australia, 2008).

A consideration of these characteristics will help reveal how AFELT support the development of these attributes in their classes in Japanese higher education context.

Given the manner in which Japan is developing as a multicultural society, MEXT internationalisation policy to further increase the number of foreign students, and academics to 'internationalise' the Japanese higher education sector (MEXT, 2009), the place and role of AFELT in encouraging the development of the attribute 'global competence' and implement global education is significant. It was observed by Authors (2011) significant constraints, cultural, psychological and structural impeded AFELT pedagogy. Thus, the question of what AFELT were trying to achieve in their teaching, if they were not able to teach communicative English arose?

Methodology

Participants

Forty-three teachers employed across 66 universities in the *Kansai* region of Japan (approximately one third of the total number in the area) participated in this research. To ensure breadth and depth, typical case sampling (Patton, 2002) on the basis of three main criteria was employed. The first was 'years of experience' teaching in the sector. Of the participants (n=43) five had 1-5, nineteen 6-10, and fifteen 10-25 years experience working as English language teachers in Japanese universities. The second criterion was Japanese language ability and relationship status. These were considered important attributes because they indicated a level of interaction and engagement within Japanese society, the university and classroom environments. Across the 43 participants, 3 rated their Japanese proficiency as fluent, 3 as beginners and 37 between low to upper intermediate. The majority of participants were either married to, or in long-term relationships with Japanese spouses or partners. This is significant because participants reported their relationship status as a major contributing factor underpinning decisions to reside as permanent residents in Japan and therefore pursue employment in the university sector. Periods of residency in Japan varied from 2.5 years to 27 years with an average of 14 years. This means that the participants in most cases possessed a sophisticated understanding of Japanese society and culture. Importantly, this also provided an emic perspective and understanding.

The third criterion was the number of universities that participants taught across and the number of classes taught each week. Specifically, participants were selected to reflect a range of teaching commitments from only two classes at one university a week to 21 classes over five days across five different universities. This criterion revealed a breadth of experience across a range of universities.

Data collection and analysis

The dataset used in the preparation of this paper was drawn from a research project grounded in an interpretive epistemology that foregrounds constructionist and phenomenological traditions (Creswell, 1998). It therefore is premised on the understanding that realities are, as

Guber and Lincon (2004: 26) observe, ‘multiple, intangible, mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature... and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding them. A qualitative methodology was used in the research project to access the ‘lived everyday world of the interviewees’ (Kvale, 1996: 30). Furthermore, by adopting a qualitative approach participants were provided with opportunities to identify and describe issues and constructs they considered important without undue restrictions placed on them (Minichiello, 1990).

This research employed two methods of data collection: focus groups and one-to-one, semi-structured open-ended in-depth interviews. In addition, the first author was a privileged participant observer (Ely, 1991) with seven years experience as an AFELT. Data was collected over three iterative rounds with each phase of research informing the next. The first utilized two focus groups with six participants in each group, and was conducted over 90 minutes. The second round of data collection utilized one-to-one, semi-structured, open-ended in-depth interviews (Miller and Crabtree, 2004) with twenty-four AFELT participating. The third round of data collection consisted of two focus groups. Each focus group comprised six participants and was 90 minutes long. The purpose of these focus groups was confirmatory in that participants were able to comment on the emergent themes and the researcher’s interpretations of these (Vaughn, Schumm, and Sinagub, 1996). To close the research loop, and ensure ‘credibility and trustworthiness’ (Schram, 2003), the last focus group comprised participants from the first focus group in round one. These participants were also invited to reflect on issues and themes that emerged out of previous data collection cycles.

All interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed. Drawing on the conceptual work of Hunter et al (2006) and Leask (2001) the analysis focused on identifying instances of AFELT pedagogy that were directed toward facilitating opportunities for students to develop intercultural capabilities and to develop a broader global perspective. The analysis employed a bricolage approach (Kvale, 2007) and Miles and Huberman’s (1994) framework informed the analysis. A constant comparison method of data analysis was applied to the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Thus, the dataset was coded, themed, and categorised in light of these perspectives. The voice of the participants is represented through thick description and quotes to illustrate their perspectives.

Findings and discussion

A strength of this research is it is grounded in the participants’ experience. What is reported here is thematised from that experience. However, we recognize that self-reported data is often partial and incomplete and other views exist. For example, several participants spoke in very positive terms concerning their experience as AFELT and their students. The caveat is, this provides an alternative view but is largely inconsistent with what was covered through the research. This paper reports on two foci that emerged around which pedagogically related themes clustered. First, were participant’s observations and perceptions concerning internationalisation in the Japanese university sector at a macro-level: namely internationalisation employed as a force for ‘containing’ and ‘controlling the world’. Second, were pedagogical practices AFELT believed encouraged students to further develop their global perspectives, consider issues from multiple perspectives, critically reflect on their own culture, value linguistic and cultural diversity, and see value in English as a language and cultural artifact (Hunter et al., 2006). What is broadly revealed, in the context of internationalisation of Japanese higher education, is that internationalisation as a concept – is

perceived of by AFELT as ‘basically for show’. In short, what AFELT do in the classroom is a response to this perceived constraint. Hence, the research reveals that a principal aspiration in AFELT pedagogy is facilitating classroom environments and learning opportunities that encourage students, who the majority of participants perceive to be largely deficient in this area, to further develop the graduate attribute, ‘global competency’. This suggests AFELT consider themselves positioned such that they are afforded opportunities, as a consequence of the constraints in which they teach, to encourage students to question what they consider to be hegemonic normalizing tendencies prevalent in higher education systems (c.f. Grant, 1997 for a discussion of this process in the Western university context). AFELT, therefore, consider much of what they do in the classroom as a largely subversive albeit vital, activity.

The focus groups and interviews are labeled numerically in the order they were conducted. For example, focus groups are labeled, *Foc. 1*; *Foc. 2*; and, interviews are *Int. 1*; *Int. 2 et cetera*.

Internationalisation? AFELT positioned outside of the ‘system’

Participants typified internationalisation, particularly in the private Japanese university sector, as focused on revenue creation and presenting the universities in which they work as international in character. They understand these universities to be underpinned by hegemonic structures and practices that maintain dichotomous ‘power relations’ (Foucault, 1986) such as ‘us/them’, and ‘in/out’. In this context, and because of their position and status, participants report a wide range of constraints they maintain impede their professional practice, such as arbitrarily imposed and inappropriate textbooks, overly large classes, exclusion from academic meetings, and a ‘system’ that does not support them or their activities consistent with previous observations (Poole, 2005; Rivers, 2010).

Paradoxically, however, participants maintained these constraints afford AFELT opportunities to teach what and how they like. For example, at the curriculum level, participants regard internationalisation as a vehicle that highlights Japanese distinctiveness and a means ‘*controlling communication with the corrupting forces outside of Japan*’ (*Foc. 2*). Being outside the ‘system’ means that AFELT have the potential to subvert the ‘construction of student subjectivities’ (Grant, 1997: 101). One participant with 17 years experience living in Japan and married to a Japanese explained that social interaction with non-Japanese is not normalised in Japanese society because it is not the ‘Japanese’ thing to do. The participant whose comment was affirmed by the other focus group members and echoed in the interviews elaborated:

the way they [Japanese] interact with the world is exactly the same as you would from inside a cult ... If you are Japanese any kind of interaction with the outside world is a betrayal of your religion, your Japaneseness ... (*Foc. 2*,)

However, while such sentiments may be considered extreme, such attitudes, according to many participants, are not acceptable. Therefore, in their classes many participants felt compelled to ‘*try and help them [students] out of that*’ (*Foc. 2*) type of mindset.

As AFELT, participants work to challenge the notion that interaction with the outside world is not desirable. They are able to attempt this because of the affordances created from being marginalized within the university and not overly scrutinized in their classrooms one participant noted:

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The bottom line is we [AFELT] being foreigners see ourselves, not unrealistically, outside of the system. A lot of that carries over to our teaching. There are some institutional expectations we as professionals meet, but for the most part what we try to do in the classroom is outside the system... We bring this subversive idea of what an education is supposed to be in terms of opening the mind... and it is funny that the system cooperates so well by pushing us into that situation, into that role... (Foc. 2)

This means that AFELT consider themselves to be '*outside of the system,*' and, therefore, not constrained by the hegemony of the formal curriculum. Therefore, they see this as an opportunity to encourage students' learning potential and attributes of 'global competence'. This is accomplished through the provision of learning opportunities intended to encourage students to critique cultural filters and social mores that may impede intercultural communication, social interaction and 'global competence' (Hunter et al., 2006).

Behind closed doors

Participants report that they try to facilitate activities and experiences in their classes that they believe produce educational outcomes closely aligned to what are described as graduate attributes (Leask, 2001). Consequently, participants view themselves as working to create and maintain learning environments they believe foster the development of more sophisticated understandings and intercultural communication competencies. This development occurs while simultaneously striving to broaden students' horizons by encouraging what they label '*critical thinking*'. In other words, to challenge their students' worldviews, or open-mindedness. One participant stated, for example:

I look to broaden my students' horizons and help them to see beyond Japan and to look at other cultures with a more open mind. (Int. 7)

However, the goal of higher education in Japan, McVeigh (2004) argues, is not to produce 'autonomous universal individuals' (Grant, 1997: 103). For the majority of participants, higher education, like Japanese society, is not predicated on a culture of autonomy and individualism (Lebra, 2004). They understand the goal of higher education in Japan, as in Western universities, is 'the production of the "good", or docile and useful, student subject' (Grant, 1997: 101). Consequently, institutions of higher education in Japan are conceived of as structured such that students are normalized and disciplined into an essentialized discourse of binaries such as 'Us' and 'Them' (Law, 1995; McVeigh, 2002, 2006). Therefore, actualizing students' potential for reciprocity by reducing the distance between 'Us' and 'Them' through the provision of learning opportunities intended to encourage 'global competency' is not seen as being normalized in the wider curriculum. However, participants explained that in their classes they strive to subvert this process, albeit surreptitiously.

Encouraging students to examine preconceptions, prejudices and cultural filters that obstruct the development of 'global competency' was widely reported as underpinning much of AFELT pedagogy. Participants reported using pedagogy intended to encourage students to critique Japanese social and cultural norms. For example, one participant noted:

When the classroom door is closed it is our show. We can rewrite the rules for 90 minutes and we can break down the barriers and we can work on that all year and that can be one of our goals that

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we just don't happen to tell the administration.... I honestly think it is part of western education to ask questions which you wouldn't normally do if he is 'a good Japanese student'. (Foc. 4)

Participants also reported that a significant amount of their teaching involves engaging students in activities that encourage them to consider learning English as a way to further the quality of their lives. Japanese society is understood to be structured around hierarchical relationships that regulate and govern social interaction. These structures constrain social interaction through dichotomies such as 'in' and 'out' that are reinforced throughout all levels of society (Bachnik and Quinn, 1994; Lebra, 2004). Participants, therefore, endeavor to encourage students to be '*less Japanese*' (Foc. 3) in this respect. In other words, to critically examine their social identity (Tajfel, 1972), and question aspects of their culture that potentially constrain their interactions with 'Others'. This was explained in the following way:

What we teach is more an alternative way of being. It is a social experience, we are pointing the way to this way of being that is less Japanese, less constricted, and more relaxed... what we are doing is subversive actually. (Foc. 3)

Further, AFELT practices can be understood as encouraging students to like English, move beyond justifying reluctance to engage in social interaction with autostereotypical beliefs such as shyness (Taylor, 2002), and to see Japan in a broader context. In short, AFELT pedagogy is focused on helping students develop attributes of global competency. This is now elaborated.

Graduate attribute: Valuing diversity of language and culture

A key aspect of global competence is valuing diversity of language and culture. Among many students, particularly for non-language majors or students in courses where English is not regarded as necessary, it was reported that there is significant resistance to using English in classes. As one participant explained, '*We have many students, though not all, who hate English*' (Foc. 3) and by extension communicating in that medium. What this means is many students are perceived of as not willing to engage 'Others'. Similar attitudes to English language learning are elaborated by Canagarajah (1999) in the context of linguistic imperialism. Therefore, a major goal for AFELT is to encourage students not to '*hate*' English. They want to effect change in students' attitudes towards English and to do this try to build connections with them; as one participant explained, '*[we want to] empathize with them... and make it enjoyable, joke and try to be personable*' (Int. 20). In working towards this, AFELT strive to help students feel comfortable around them as foreigners. In one AFELT's words:

I try to help students feel comfortable just speaking to a foreigner and once they are comfortable speaking to you in Japanese then you can maybe make them feel comfortable speaking to you in English. (Int.13)

The degree to which they AFELT are successful, or not, in this endeavor is yet to be determined. However, in addition to rapport and confidence building, participants report trying to encourage students to view English '*as the language of equality*' (Int. 13), as a strategy to effect positive change in students' attitudes towards English. This was expressed as follows:

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Historically, English has been a language associated with democracy, with freedom of expression; I mean that is part of the product we are selling. If you can teach these students these two and at the same time create the association in their minds that English is the language of equality... I don't think that is so bad. (Int. 13)

Participants maintained that Japanese teachers of English classes overemphasize tests performance rather than focusing on English as an authentic mode of communication. One participant noted:

From my experience, I think if Japan wants to truly use English to help their society, and more importantly, their economy to internationalise, they have to get away from that structure aimed towards the entrance exam situation. (Int. 14)

As participants explained, given the emphasis on grammar/translation approaches used throughout high schools, it is hardly surprising many students are not motivated to participate in their English classes, and was explained thus:

The internal [motivation] to use the language for fun, to communicate, to make friends is not there. I mean that just completely disappears in junior high school and there really is so little emphasis on using language as a communication tool. They teach it more like a science, and I think that is a fundamental flaw with the system. (Int. 9)

Participants expressed the view that while they struggle with student reluctance to use English, they nevertheless try to facilitate change in students' attitudes to English language learning. This is exemplified in the following:

We have too many classes to be really meaningful in helping them learn a language but I don't think it is completely meaningless because, I do think that we can motivate them or show them the reality that English can be fun. That we are motivators. We are facilitators. So, I think, rather than thinking about really improving their language in the little time we see them, it is more about improving their attitude towards the language. (Int. 9)

Issues of teacher identify are highlighted in this extract. As it is beyond the scope of the present paper to develop this theme it is developed in a forthcoming paper utilizing positioning theory (Author/s Submitted). This suggests that AFELT deemphasize the formal language learning aims and objectives and employ a range of strategies to effect change in students' 'mindset' and attitudes. These included using Japanese as the language of instruction, viewing of movies, using global issues as topics of discussion, role play, debate, using materials that align more closely to the students' disciplinary area, and using learning materials they have personally designed for their students.

Consequently, a key AFELT objective is to encourage students to consider English from a broader cultural context and to value diversity of language and culture. This means that AFELT endeavor to motivate their students to view learning English as something meaningful and relevant socially, personally, and professionally: goals that are consistent with the outcomes of an internationalised curriculum aimed at fostering global competence.

Graduate attribute: Thinking globally and from varied perspectives

In addition to effecting change in students' attitudes towards English, AFELT also attempt to facilitate students' willingness to 'think globally and consider issues from a variety of perspectives', a view encapsulated in the following statement:

[A]nother objective is to show how students' daily lives are connected to global issues that affect everyone, so I think that in learning English they need to talk and think about a world that is changing dramatically. (Int. 18)

One pedagogical practice participants employ, consistent with the literature, is encouraging students to consider issues from other cultural perspectives. For example, Haig (2002, 53) maintains a graduate from an international curriculum should be aware of 'their cultural tradition and its perspectives in relation to other cultures and their perspectives.' One participant explained, and common perception among participants:

Japanese students tend to be very singular in their vision. Japan and only Japan... I think giving them some cultural wherewithal, some sort of tools for critical thinking for what is around them and enabling them to look at Japan more critically and openly is important. (Int. 17)

By way of elaboration:

[Students] don't watch the news; they have no idea what is going on in the world. Japan is the centre of the world and I try [to] get them to do research on the internet about different cultures, cultural things, historical things, watch the news ... I just think they are not really interested in what is going on outside of their little world. (Int. 1)

Consequently, AFELT express concerns about students' willingness to recognise and reflect on attitudes such as autostereotypes (Taylor, 2002), ethnocentrism (Befu, 2001), and the degree to which these act as 'cultural filters' and consequently influence cognitions and social interaction (Inglehart, 1997). Therefore, these strategies intended to encourage students to be culturally reflexive and consider how culturally mediated attitudes and values influence perceptions of reality (Inglehart, 1997). This was expressed in the following terms:

The problem when you take a foreign student and put them in a group of twenty or thirty Japanese is they get isolated. Nobody wants to mix with them. It is almost like, "Of course we Japanese are shy". That is the mantra. (Int. 6)

The notion that Japanese are 'shy' is extended into AFELT classes where students are required to interact. Students explain their reluctance to participate by justifying a Japanese disposition towards shyness. Therefore, participants maintained that the interaction students have with AFELT is significant. First, it provides students with opportunities to reflect on autostereotypical attitudes and behaviors; and second, it helps students to be more comfortable interacting with 'Others'. In one participant's words:

I probably am the only American or one of two Americans most of my students will ever meet... In fact most of these kids will never meet another *gaijin* [foreigner]... I mean they will spend 45 hours with me they will probably not spend 45 hours with an other *gaijin*... (Foc.1)

Graduate attribute: Thinking inclusively

A further attribute of global competence is thinking inclusively. For example, it is held that, a university graduate ought to be able and willing ‘to think globally and inclusively’ and to ‘understand the basic tenets of different worldviews and be able to see the world as others conceive of it’ (Haig, 2002: 53). This attribute is demonstrated through attitudes and behaviors directed towards cultural ‘Others’ and a significant influencing factor in the formation of attitudes and behaviors towards ‘Others’ is stereotypes (Smith and Mackie, 2000).

Participants maintained, from their experience, many students perpetuate and naively stereotype foreigners and AFELT. Participants attribute this tendency to students’ unwillingness to think globally and to consider the world differently. Consequently, participants’ goals include facilitating reductions in levels of stereotypical thinking. To illustrate this, one participant explained that because of his physical appearance (being tall with European features), he is often subjected to ‘comments’ or ‘giggles’ from students who often remark ‘hana ga takai’ (‘what a big nose’). This, at times, resulted in him feeling ‘a bit paranoid’ (Int.2). Therefore, one aspect of his teaching is to help reduce the level of this type of stereotyping behavior and encourage students to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the effect of stereotyping on individuals. Other AFELT also explained the way they encourage their students to limit generalisations or stereotypes based on cultural differences. For example:

[T]here is an element in this society ... that perpetrates stereotypes... what I want them to understand is that, my culture is just like this culture: there is good things and bad things, good people and bad people, good ideas and bad ideas and pick and choose from those things... you are exposing students to something new and that is what makes our job important. (Int.21)

Interestingly, several participants explained that they intentionally exploited their foreignness to provoke students into confronting stereotypical attitudes and behaviours towards foreigners. For example:

Japanese students are somewhat somnambulant. They sit through lectures where they sleep most of the day and they come into a room with a foreign teacher who is interesting like they have never seen interesting before in a class. This can be marvelous. This can wake students up and not just physically... (Int. 2)

In order to encourage students to think globally and inclusively AFELT, therefore, view the teaching of critical thinking skills (broadly defined as being ‘open’) as an important facet of their pedagogical practice. However, this was not without its challenges, as many participants believe their students are not overly motivated to think critically, in other words to think in broad terms, about their worldview, its construction and/or notions of ‘Other’. Therefore, generalizations such as the following were not uncommon across the data:

they [students] don’t have any critical skills and they don’t have any objective viewpoints. (Int. 19)

A different participant explained in less critical terms how they viewed their students:

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Students seem to be at their most uncomfortable when you ask them to discuss or to give an opinion. And they seem to be almost flabbergasted that you would ask them to question their reasons, or, like when you ask them the ‘why’ question, the usual reaction is “Why? Eh?” It is like they have never thought about it before or nobody had ever asked them that question before. (Int. 18)

Consequently, participants sharing similar views reported trying to encourage their students to consider issues from broader perspectives by employing pedagogy intended to motivate them to be more ‘open’ or critical in their thinking. This sentiment was expressed in the following way:

I think it is the benefit of giving them some cultural wherewithal; some tools for critical thinking [to] enable them to look at Japan more critically as well as more openly... I can help them through a sort of cultural experience too to find interest in what is around them and if we do it in the medium of English then I think it might awaken an interest in English too. (Int. 17)

Hence, AFELT see themselves as actively working to provide opportunities for students to develop competencies considered essential in a globalised environment and multicultural society such as critical/open thinking. In this regard AFELT consider themselves to be more of a ‘*coach than a teacher*’ (Int. 10).

AFELT, by stressing the importance of being sensitive to culturally different ‘Others’ and encouraging students to appreciate and value other cultures, are both directly and indirectly internationalising the curriculum. This then has the potential to lead students into the ‘*bigger world*’ (Int.12), expressed thus:

I think part of the teachers’ job is to raise students’ awareness, to bring them into the bigger world and to point out... there is a far wider world to see and far more things to be aware of than just Japan ... [Therefore] I would say that I have become more of a content teacher than a skills teacher.

The degree to which AFELT are successful in achieving such goals, as noted above, is as yet unknown and further research to determine the efficacy of AFELT pedagogy is merited.

Conclusion

According to Peterson, Ginsburge, Garcia and Lemke (2000, cited in Haigh, 2002: 52), the purpose of the internationalised curriculum is ‘to create graduates who are capable of engaging in a culture of communication and work that is becoming increasingly global’. Increasingly graduates will have to acquire new skills and to be ‘able to adapt to an unfamiliar culture and operate in a socially and culturally diverse environment; appreciate differences in gender, culture and customs; and be able to work effectively and sensitively within the (national) and international community’ (Haigh, 2002: 52).

This research, unlike previous research exploring internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context, has focused on the aspirations and goals of AFELT who are centrally placed in the internationalisation discourse in Japan as teachers of communicative English. However, they regard themselves as being marginalized and constrained professionally by cultural and institutional mores. This article reveals that while AFELT feel constrained by factors such as limited institutional support and students’ motivational levels towards communicative English classes, they are also afforded significant levels of autonomy to structure their teaching, such that they believe they are able to positively influence

students' capacity for intercultural communication, global understanding, and competencies. What this reveals is tensions between policy, intention and delivery in the Japanese context and both the affordances and constraints foreign teachers of English experience.

Given the pressures on Japanese society and the university sector to accept and integrate increasingly diverse populations, education that fosters the development of intercultural communication skills and global competencies is a priority (c.f., MEXT, 2003, 2004, 2009). However, this study reveals a significant gap between the rhetoric around these themes and the lived experiences of AFELT. The research also demonstrates that while AFELT are constrained and marginalized as teachers of English, they also take advantage of opportunities for developing students' global competency through exposing students to 'Others', and effecting change in students' attitudes and behaviors towards their own and other cultures. Thus, AFELT can be understood as contributing to the internationalisation of Japanese higher education, albeit in expected ways.

This research further highlights the need for ongoing research to determine, student outcomes and the effect of English foreign language classes on intercultural competency and the degree to which AFELT classes are influential or not in the experience of Japanese students. It also highlights the need for further analysis that critically examines the implementation over time of intercultural education as Japan and its institutions become increasingly pluralistic. Finally, it can be concluded that AFELT play an important and unacknowledged role in the internationalisation of the Japanese higher education system that goes beyond English language teaching itself.

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Positioning foreign English language teachers in the Japanese university context

Abstract

This paper employs positioning theory to explore the experiences of adjunct foreign English language teachers (AFELT) in the Japanese university sector. The research is located in the broad internationalisation discourse and considers AFELT positions as ‘foreign’ teachers at a time when the Japanese university sector is aiming to increase internationalisation. The data is drawn from focus groups and interviews with 43 AFELT who between them were teaching across 66 universities in Kansai. Three subject positions emerged from their reflections on their experience: commodification, disempowerment and desideration. The usefulness of positioning theory to interrogate higher education internationalisation discourse is discussed.

Keywords: Positioning; Teacher identity; Internationalisation; Global Thirty

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Introduction

The drivers of internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context

The global marketisation of higher education (Kim, 2009) has been a significant catalyst driving the positioning and entrepreneurial activities of universities across OECD countries. Responding to external pressures, stemming from increased globalisation and changing internal demographics, Japanese universities are striving to capture a larger proportion of the transnational student market to further internationalise. Given these economic realities, the internationalisation of the university sector in Japan may be viewed, as Goodman (2007), and Ninomiya, Knight and Watanabe (2009, p. 123) assert, as ‘a lifeline... in terms of increasing low enrolments and optimizing its research output and competitiveness’, which is not dissimilar to that recently experienced in the United Kingdom (De Vita and Case, 2003).

These drivers have pushed the Japanese government to steer the university sector towards further expanding internationalisation (Lim, 2008). Whilst these moves are not universally embraced across all levels of government or in all public and private higher education institutions, the declining traditional student demographic (Kinmonth, 2005) and aging society confronting the country are leading to a reduction in human resource capital (Hashimoto, 2009). This is a concern for the Japanese government and the implications have informed policy. However, Kuwamura (2009) identifies two challenges facing Japanese universities as they move to further internationalise. These are increasing the diversity of campus populations and expanding capacities for such diversity.

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The initiative to increase international students and foreign academics

From the 1980s, the Japanese government initiated a series of reforms across the higher education sector, including internationalisation (measures to increase the numbers of international students) (Eades, Goodman and Hada, 2005; Goodman, 2010). In 2008, the Fukuda administration announced a key government strategy to increase the number of international tertiary students studying in Japan from 100,000 to 300,000 by 2020. This strategy was called the 300,000 International Student Plan (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), 2009). The figure 300,000, according to Yonezawa (2009), was arrived at to maintain the current share of the international student market going forward. The strategic objectives of this plan included ‘opening Japan to the whole world’, and increasing the number of international students entering graduate schools and then entering the Japanese workforce. As part of this plan, MEXT launched the ‘*Global 30*’ Project for Establishing Core Universities for Internationalization (MEXT, 2009). The principal rationale underpinning this initiative was to increase the appeal of studying in Japan for potential international students. The universities selected to host international students would receive ‘prioritized financial assistance’ over five years. A condition of selection was the expectation that each university would implement a raft of new initiatives, such as offering degree programs taught in English (MEXT, 2009). Out of the 756 public and private universities, 13 institutions were selected, mostly large, comprehensive and elite (Goodman, 2007), and have received substantial funding.

In order to help realise the 300,000 international student goal, the Japanese government also stipulated that the ‘*Global 30*’ universities needed to increase the number of ‘foreign’ academics, up to 30% of their teaching staff in selected faculties/divisions (Lim, 2008). This proposal has taken place in the context of a broader regional movement in a number of Asian universities to market themselves as attractive destinations for international students. This requires offering degree programs taught entirely in English, and as a result increased competition to employ English-speaking academics is expected (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley, 2009). Whilst the number of international academics employed across the entire Japanese university sector (including the ‘*Global 30*’ and other universities) has already increased in recent years (Huang, 2009), it is unclear how they will be integrated into the university environment. Recent accounts by international academics currently employed in the Japanese university sector may offer some insights.

The experience of international academics in the Japanese higher education context

Transnational academic mobility has received little attention across the general internationalisation literature, even though academic mobility is becoming a feature in an increasingly globalised sector (Kim, 2009). Whilst the professional identity of international academics is undergoing significant changes (Turner and Robson, 2008), research that considers academic identity in the context of internationalisation is limited. Similarly, as Saltmarsh and Swirskib (2010) highlight, research exploring the everyday experiences of international academics in the higher education sector is limited. Kim and Locke (2010)

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likewise argue that research exploring the nature of the experiences of international academics in host countries and institutions has remained largely unexamined.

Within the Japanese higher education context, research that scrutinises the experience of non-Japanese academics is also scant, even though Japan has a long history of employing foreign academics mostly for instrumental and utilitarian purposes (Jones, 1980; Pedlar, 1989; Rivers, 2010). Hall (1998) describes how the employment of 'foreign' teachers during the Meiji period represented a temporary measure, until Japanese nationals could take over. According to Hall (1998), this explains why they were not made fully welcomed and integrated into their host institutions. In recent times, various forms of discrimination and marginalisation have been noted, despite significant increases in the number of international academics (Hall, 1994, 1998; McVeigh, 2002, 2004). Since 1992, as Huang (2009, p. 145) reports, there has been a 'strikingly large rise' in the number of international faculty employed, particularly in the private university sector in Japan. According to the latest available data, in 2003, 40% of non-Japanese academics were Anglo European, with the remainder (60%) from Asian countries (Huang, 2009). Notably, while there is limited research centred on the positioning and experience of Anglo academics, research focused on academics from India, Africa, China, Taiwan, Korea and other Asian nations in the Japanese context is silent. This suggests that the number of non-Japanese academics currently employed in the Japanese university sector is significant and research examining their experiences is merited, although as yet largely unexplored.

The limited research available points to problems of integration often exacerbated by discrimination in casual staff employment conditions. Such problems are not confined to the Japanese context. For example, Kim (2005, 2009) identifies similar conditions and attitudes in British and Korean higher education contexts. However, following Kim's (2009) argument, if Japanese universities intend to internationalise their enterprise and also transform themselves into increasingly transnational and intercultural organisations, then the tensions related to the integration of non-Japanese academics will become increasingly apparent.

In a critique of the '*Global 30*' initiatives, Fitzpatrick (2008) argues that many Japanese academics, and institutions by extension, were not enthusiastic about welcoming international academics. Yonezawa (2010) likewise notes that many highly ranked Japanese universities appear to lack a cosmopolitan atmosphere. According to Klaphake (2010), many Japanese academics are not yet prepared to accommodate international colleagues beyond the status of visitors. Some institutional and structural practices also seem to inhibit integration. For example, Poole's (2005) case study of English as a foreign language teaching at Edo University of Commerce (EUC) illustrates this. Poole (2005) found marked distinctions between 'core' or full-time tenured staff and 'periphery' or adjunct staff within the institution, in terms of rights, responsibilities, and levels of access and participation. In the context of English language teaching staff, adjunct non-Japanese English teachers were specifically not 'formally' or 'systematically' included in curriculum planning, implementation and professional exchange. Poole (2005) also found limited professional and social interaction between 'western' and 'Japanese' teachers (he is silent on non-Anglo Europeans). This situation may have been exacerbated by a perceived divergence regarding their approaches to teaching, and the purpose of higher education more generally. Poole

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(2005) found that each group tended to consider the others' teaching methodology problematic. The Japanese teachers viewed the 'western' teachers as frivolous, while the 'western' teachers considered Japanese teachers to be 'out of touch'. Social divisions were also apparent in venues such as the teachers' lounges, where self-segregation was clearly observable (Poole, 2005). However, importantly, such divisions are not isolated to EUC (Author/s, 2011). Similar observations have been made in other university contexts within and outside of Japan, including Australia where adjunct staff have reported experiences (Knight, 2010).

Within Japanese universities, several groups of non-Japanese academics can be identified teaching across the disciplines, including full-time tenured academics who are permanent residents, and full-time academics on fixed three to five year contracts who are not permanent residents. In addition, there is a large number of non-Japanese academics employed on an adjunct basis who also teach across the disciplines, but a relatively large proportion of these are teachers of English from Anglo backgrounds. A survey of the literature on internationalisation in the Japanese context reveals little concerning the experiences of non-Japanese academics in any of these groups. Within the context of the internationalisation of higher education in Japan, English language education is centrally placed, particularly as it relates to domestic students (Hashimoto, 2009). Given the emphasis, it is surprising that research focusing on the experiences of English language teachers in the Japanese university context is so limited.

Therefore, a broad aim of this paper is to contribute to the literature regarding the experiences of international academics in the Japanese higher education context. This paper intends to achieve this by focussing on adjunct foreign English language teachers (AFELT), arguably the largest group of Anglo teachers in Japanese universities, and explore how they perceive their role and place set against the backdrop of internationalisation. As such, this paper aims, first, to explore the 'discursive positioning' of AFELT; second, to highlight AFELT 'subject positioning' in relation to internationalisation in the Japanese university context; and third, to demonstrate the conceptual usefulness of positioning theory as a theoretical perspective to understand how individuals and groups are positioned, tacitly or explicitly, in the context of internationalisation. A consideration of AFELT positioning and subsequent identity negotiation, arguably offers a unique opportunity to consider how future international academics recruited by Japanese universities may be received and integrated in the sector.

In considering the experiences and issues, regarding the integration of international academics in the Japanese university sector in the context of internationalisation, the following section: first, outlines the conceptual framework that underpins this research; second, describes the study and procedures employed in the data generation and analysis; and third, presents the findings and discussion.

Positioning Theory

Positioning theory was considered relevant in this research because it has the potential to move one to re-think 'taken-for-granted' storylines (Moghaddam et al., 2008). In the context of internationalisation, 'taken-for-granted' storylines abound, for example, 'the academically challenged and problematic international student' versus 'the less challenging domestic

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student' storyline. 'Positioning' is an ontological paradigm located in the social sciences and situated in the cognitive psychology of social action (Harré, Moghaddam, Pilkerton, Rothbart and Sabat, 2009). Positioning theory is defined by Harré and van Langenhove (1999, p. 1) as, 'the study of local moral orders as ever shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting.' Anderson (2009, p. 291) succinctly summarises the basic tenants of positioning as,

highlight[ing] ideas of people as characters in storylines, their presumed duties, and the meaning of their actions – all of which are dynamic, evanescent, and mutually constitutive... Positioning is comprised of positions and storylines that together delimit possible actions and the meanings of what is said and done by people who are positioned in particular ways. Locating positions and their attendant storylines in local interaction conveys the rights, duties and responsibilities presumed to be associated with such positions relative to shared cultural repertoires.

As such, a 'position' may be understood as constituting, 'a cluster of rights and duties to perform certain actions with a certain significance as acts, but which also may include prohibitions or denials of access to some of the local repertoire of meaningful acts' (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003, p. 5). The focus of positioning theory is the manner in which ephemeral identity positions are strategically claimed and/or rejected by individuals, or groups, as well as the ways in which individuals, groups and even discourses assign identity positions to others (Reeves, 2009).

In this research, three modes of positioning are developed. The first mode is 'intentional reflexive/first order positioning', where an individual asserts an identity for the self (self-positioning) (Davies and Harre, 1990; Reeves, 2009). This is defined as 'the way people locate themselves and others within an essentially moral space by using several categories and story lines', and is generally tacit in nature (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999, p. 20). The second mode is the questioning and/or rejection of a first order position, which is an act of agency. It is, therefore, always intentional. For example, as Harré and Moghaddam, (2003, p. 7) observe, a second order positioning of oneself or others means to 'claim a right or a duty to adjust what an actor has taken to be the first order positioning that is dominating the unfolding events.' The third mode is interactive/other-positioning (Reeves, 2009). This is where what one person says positions another (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999). Through the act of discursive reflexive positioning, Davies and Harré (1990) contend, one's self-positioning influences the manner in which they conceptualise, and enact their role/status/place, and subsequent duties, rights and obligations in a given context.

Unlike reflexive/first order positioning, interactive/other-positioning by individuals, groups and discourses (intentionally or unintentionally) in a particular manner limits or extends what can be logically be said, or done. Moreover, it affords and/or constrains the range of speaking forms, actions, and cognitions available to one within a given context. Harre' and van Langenhove (1999) observe, for example, that if people are positioned as inept in a particular undertaking they will not be accorded the right to contribute to the discourse in that area. Furthermore, when what is said about an individual or a group 'leads others to think about and treat' that individual or group in a harmful way this is referred to as 'malignant or

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malevolent positioning' (Moghaddam, Harré and Lee, 2008, p. 293). Another associated concept is 'forced positioning'. 'Forced positioning' refers to instances when one is positioned against their will 'in the eyes' of others. 'Indirect (presumptive) positioning' occurs when one uses 'mental, characterological, or moral traits to place a person or group into a position' (Moghaddam, et al. 2008, p. 293). Moreover, Harré and Moghaddam (2003, p. 7) explain, 'by positioning someone in a certain way someone else is thereby positioned relative to that person.'

Therefore, positioning theory was utilised in this research as a conceptual heuristic as it provides a powerful social constructivist theoretical framework for the analysis of conversations and discourses. Positioning theory has been widely used to theorise language teacher identity (Reeves, 2008), conflict (Moghaddam, et al., 2008), and individual and organisational identities in a university context (Garcia and Hardy, 2007). However, the application of positioning theory in the area of higher education internationalisation, and specifically in the Japanese context, is limited. This is surprising given the volume of research attempting to explain the phenomenological domain of internationalisation, and given the potential of this theoretical perspective to illuminate stakeholder positions claimed, assigned or rejected, and to highlight the repertoires of social actions one performs within a 'local moral order'. Moghaddam et al. (2008, p. 293) define the 'local moral order' as 'the dynamic, collaboratively negotiated cluster of rights and duties associated with particular positions embedded in a storyline.' The relevance of positioning theory as a perspective from which to view stakeholders, such as AFELT, in the context of higher education internationalisation is examined in the analysis and discussion that follows. However, it is important to stress that in constructing this argument, the specific focus of the analysis was not the subjectivity and construction of AFELT identity. Rather, the intention was to explore consequences that cascade out of particular forms of AFELT positioning in the Japanese higher education internationalisation context. In other words, this paper is primarily concerned with the 'action orientation of discourse' (Potter, 1996).

The study

Consistent with other studies applying positioning theory (Garcia and Hardy, 2007; Reeves, 2008), the research presented in this paper used text, generated from focus groups and interviews, and discourse analysis as the main sources of data. This section initially details the participants and selection criteria, then documents the data collection procedures, and concludes with an overview of the analysis employed in this paper.

Participants

Forty-three teachers employed across 66, predominately middle and low level status universities, and several elite national and private universities throughout Kansai participated in this research (c.f., Goodman, 2007; Yonezawa, 2010 for an overview of Japanese university stratification). To ensure the study had breadth and depth, typical case sampling was employed (Patton, 2002), with potential 'informants' approached to participate on the basis of two key criteria, the first being 'years of experience' teaching in the sector. Ten participants had taught as adjunct teachers of English between six months and five years; 16 between six and ten years; nine between 11 and 15 years; and, seven participants between 16 and 23 years. The majority were male and American, reflecting the preference for American

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English across the sector (McKenzie, 2006). Furthermore, during the data collection phases 14 participants were employed in as many as 6 to 11 different universities concurrently, and 29 participants between 1 and 5. Almost one third (N=16) of the participants were employed with only a Bachelors degree. The minimum requirement across the university sector is generally understood to be a Masters degree, albeit in any field.

Second, participants were selected to reflect a range of teaching commitments (*koma = 90 minute class*), from teaching two classes in one university a week, to 21 or more classes over six days across multiple universities. Except for two, all participants had been employed after entering Japan. All of the participants had prior experience of teaching English in language/conversation schools, or on the Japanese Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme as assistant English language teachers. All of the participants cited length of holidays, remuneration and professional autonomy as reasons for taking up and continuing employment in the Japanese university sector. Several participants cited 'being trapped' in Japan, due to a perceived lack of employment opportunities if they were to return home, as a reason for staying in employment in the Japanese university sector. Finally, the majority of participants were long-term residents holding permanent resident visas, aged between 40 and 55 years old, married with Japanese spouses, and with dependents. Most reported an intermediate level of proficiency in Japanese.

Data collection

The research was conducted in three rounds involving focus groups (Fig. 1 & 2) and one-to-one, semi-structured, open-ended, in-depth interviews (Miller and Crabtree, 2004). The lead author was a privileged participant observer (Ely, 1991) with seven years experience working as an AFELT. The first round of data collection, which was exploratory in nature, utilised two focus groups with six participants in each group, and was conducted over 90 minutes. Participants were invited to discuss the Japanese university system; English language education in Japanese higher education; the role and status of AFELT; employment and teaching issues and concerns; working in a culturally different context; and their classroom goals, pedagogy and experiences. An iterative methodology was applied to the data collection with emergent themes used in the construction of question guide for subsequent rounds. The second round of data collection utilised one-to-one, semi-structured, open-ended, in-depth interviews (Miller and Crabtree, 2004) with 25 participants. This stage furnished the research with a rich exploration of the emergent themes, and further contextualised and elaborated on these themes and those identified in round one. The third round of data collection consisted of two focus groups (Fig. 3 & 4). These focus groups were confirmatory, in that participants were asked to comment on the emergent themes and the researcher's interpretations of these (Vaughn, Schumm and Sinagub, 1996). Both focus groups were comprised of six participants and were 90 minutes long.

Analysis

The focus of the data analysis reported in this study was to identify the tacit yet identifiable constraints, affordances, and negotiations that AFELT participants used to maintain shape, restrict, or enable their practices, rights, duties and obligations within the Japanese university context (Osbeck and Nersessian 2010, p. 137). Of particular interest was how 'positioning' was used within AFELT discourse, as articulated in focus groups and interviews. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant. The transcript data was themed, categorised

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and coded according to subject positions identified. These included first and second order positions, as well as self and other positions. Once these were identified and catalogued the data was further analysed in terms of the rights and duties, cognitive and social, affording and constraining forms of 'sense-making' (Osbeck and Nersessian, 2010).

How AFELT positioned and repositioned their professional identities is explored below, and also how such positioning appeared to be accomplished through descriptions and evaluations nested in the discourse of participant centred on AFELT, students and Japanese colleagues. The data analysis specifically focused on participants' appraisals of Japanese higher education, teaching English in the Japanese university sector, and their interactions within and outside of classes.

Findings and discussion

The following examines how participants discursively appraised the Japanese higher education system and positioned themselves within it through the storyline that 'Japanese university is a business'. Three inter-related positions within this storyline were identified and analysed in relation to AFELT professional identity: the first position focused on commodification; the second on disempowerment; and the third on desideration.

Storyline: The Japanese university is a business

Most participants commented on the significant financial pressures experienced by Japanese universities because of the decline in the traditional student demographic. Interestingly, only a few noted the parallel development between Japan and their home country in terms of universities being increasingly run as businesses. For the majority, these parallels were not acknowledged, probably due to a lack of awareness that the higher education system in their home country had evolved in similar ways since they graduated. Many participants explained that in order to be financially competitive, universities had implemented a range of initiatives, and that in their view these had a largely negative impact on AFELT. The characterisation of universities as business rather than educational institutions was a common theme. A key theme in participants' discourse was that Japanese universities had positioned themselves strategically to create revenue growth through increasing student numbers (domestic and foreign). Given participants predominately worked in private universities, this was not surprising. However, within their storyline of universities as businesses, several tensions concerning AFELT identity became apparent. In developing the 'university is a business' storyline, the discursive positioning of participants clustered around three inter-related positions: commodification, disempowerment and desideration. These are elaborated in turn.

Position 1. AFELT: Commodification

The commercialisation and commodification of education have been widely critiqued within higher education discourse for more than a decade. Shumar (1997), focusing on the American context, likens the experiences of adjunct teaching staff to laborers in factories, with education increasingly rationalised into a service-based industry. Shumar (1997, p. 24) observes:

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[T]he ideas that go into the notion of commodification, particularly as it relates to higher education, involve the transformation of the social activity of education ... [the] process of transformation involves not just rearrangements in institutional structure, but changes in how education is viewed and changes in the subjectivities of the actors involved; students, teachers, and administrators.

In recent years, as Barnett (2010) observes, entrepreneurial universities focused on capital growth have come to prominence. Focusing on the British context, Kim (2009) claims that a consequence of the commodification of higher education is internationalisation, driven by economic interests, rather than 'intercultural' strategies. In regard to the Japanese context, some commentators have linked higher education to marketisation and commodification (c.f. Hashimoto, 2009; McVeigh, 2002), and have discussed emerging tensions and contractions in policy and practice. Other critics have observed similar conditions in Anglo (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) and East Asian (Mok, 2003) contexts. Therefore, it is not surprising that participants were inclined to view the universities in which they worked in similar terms. The following extract from the focus group three exemplifies the participants positioning of Japanese universities as commercial organisations:

Evan: I think it is many private universities were set up about 25 years ago and basically set themselves up as a license to print money.

Gavin: (laughs) It is a business lets not forget that.

Furthermore, another participant with eight years experience in the Japanese university sector, and thus somewhat removed from the Australian context, elaborated:

Lucas: In Australia, the students are students. In Japan, they are customers and that is a fundamental difference between the two. [Universities] look at bums on seats ... If push comes to shove, who is more expendable? ... If push comes to shove, the situation, it is a customer situation.

Consequently, because the Japanese university sector is positioned as commercially focused in AFELT discourse, the institutions are then afforded the right to act in their own best interest, and to focus on profit and growth. Barnett (2011) discusses similar growing tensions across the higher education sector worldwide, which some participants may not have been fully aware of generally. However, this form of positioning brings into question what constitutes ethical behaviour for stakeholders. For example, how stakeholders, such as AFELT, are positioned. Their rights, duties and obligations, and the reciprocal rights, duties and obligations of the organisation become important, as do subsequent ethical questions (Guha, 2008). This complex matrix is further complicated by perceptions of appropriate rights and duties, and notions of rights violations. For example, in a competitive free market, no organisation will be overly concerned with the welfare of its workforce when its primary function is to be 'used to the optimum of greater production/distribution and profits when needed' and dismissed when not needed (Guha, 2008, p. 107). Reciprocally, if employees are treated as mere commodities, it is therefore by extension ethical for employees to treat organisations as 'happy hunting grounds' (Guha, 2008, p. 108). The following extract from focus group three illustrates how some AFELT negotiate this aspect of commodification:

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Gavin: There are some people who has been here as long as any of us and understand the culture and the way things are run and they understand exactly what this four years is for and they have taken that to heart. They say, 'okay, if that is what society says it is, then that is what I am going to do.'

Taylor: That is true for some, but I think for some it precedes that. I think that some people come with different levels of commitment to what ever their job might be whether you want to call this a profession. They don't see it as a profession. It is a job! They are just getting by and are there for the vacations, or the money... just putting in time.

Participants either strategically claimed the positioning of 'university is a commercial organisation' or rejected it. Participants who claimed this, viewed this as affording them opportunities to exploit the sector. In one sense, the act of claiming the commercial organisation positioning empowered and liberated AFELT through 'indirect reciprocity' (Moghaddam et al., 2008). However, for a large number of participants, the positioning of the 'university as commercial organisation' posed serious professional and ethical questions concerning AFELT relevance, role and identity as teachers. For example, several participants positioned themselves as primarily employed to be '*gaijin*' (a term with derogatory connotations for foreigners), and subsequently felt obliged to provide students with a '*gaijin experience*' (Fig. 1) in order to maintain an 'exotic ambience' on campus (Hall, 1998). Positioned thus, the professional identity of these AFELT is not affirmed.

Crottle (2003) observes that affirmation aids in meaning making and reduces the doubt of self, and helps one to believe and exhibit a unique identity and sense of self that is not illusionary. According to Ricoeur (Ricoeur and Ihde, 1974, p. 122), it is in the sphere of 'value' as it relates to the construction of meaning, that psychology can only grasp at what it means to be 'esteemed, approved, and recognised as a person.' Ricoeur writes (1974, p. 122), '[m]y existence for my self depends utterly on this self-constitution in the opinion of others. My self – if I dare say so – is received from the opinion of others, who consecrate it.' In his work on affirmation, Crottle (2003) introduces the notion of the 'disaffirmed self'. According to Crottle (2003), the disaffirmed self struggles to maintain a coherent sense of identity because it perceives no affirmation of self.

Participants overwhelmingly reported feeling that their professional status was not being affirmed, and as a consequence their professional identities were challenged. In seeking to subvert such positioning, participants relayed strategies they employed to 'reflexively position' themselves as professional educators, to affirm their status and assert their identity as English language teachers. Tensions were accordingly evident across the data, and the positioning of participants was polarised on a continuum regarding the affirmation of self as professional English language teachers. At one end of the continuum, were participants who in their second order positioning asserted themselves as being savvy, autonomous professionals, thus subverting the forced positioning of 'exotic *gaijin*' who is obliged to entertain students and look good in marketing brochures. At the other end of the continuum, were participants characterised as '*mercenary*.' They perceived the education system as a commercial enterprise exploiting and disaffirming them, and adopted a mercantile approach

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to professional practice. They positioned formal English language teaching activities as ineffectual or meaningless, and therefore felt no obligation to project themselves as English language specialists. As one participant stated, *'I am basically an educational mercenary you might say'* (Kevin). This participant explained that he was therefore not overly concerned with providing students with structured English language classes, and rather used the time in classes to introduce students to topics of personal interest, or pursued his own interests. As such, teaching English was not what he considered his duty. The following excerpt from focus group three encapsulates the tensions between these polarised groups:

Justin: It is not that I don't understand that group that we are saying isn't so committed. I understand exactly where they are coming from. I just never, never wanna go down that path, because then I am thinking what am I doing here? I just can't go down that path. I see times when I think this is pointless. These kids have no reason to and shouldn't be here, but I just keep plugging away, because once I go that way it is a slippery slope. If I go down that path, I am lost. Then I will have no self-respect, no self-esteem. I will think that I can't do this any more, and I just don't want to go there.

From this excerpt it appears that some AFELT, in the absence of positive affirmation in the classroom and institutional contexts, were questioning their relevance and professional identities. Accordingly, they employed 'explicit reflexive positioning' to preserve their sense of self-respect and self-esteem, to give meaning to their experiences and to subvert their perceived 'forced other positioning'.

Position 2. AFELT: Disempowerment

Whilst participants positioned students as commodities, they more importantly positioned them as customers. This has been a consistent theme in higher education literature since the mid 1990s (c.f., Cuthbert, 2010). With students positioned as customers, AFELT rights as English language teachers appeared eroded. As one participant declared, *'here I have no rights as a teacher'* (Anna). Discussing students as customers in the private university sector, one participant in focus group three commented:

Justin: [T]he students have risen up because it is a supply and demand kind of thing. They are the customers and the university looks at them as customers. So, the whole idea of what we can do in the classroom and what we can't do I think is, I would assume that the teacher should be able to do whatever they want with unruly students, but we can't now...this whole culture of the student as consumer is rising.

A number of participants thought that students as 'customers' were essentially buying their degree, and were consequently afforded a disproportionate power advantage over AFELT, who were then subjugated. As such, students were perceived to be afforded the rights of customers, and therefore not obliged to conduct themselves in a manner expected of university students. For many participants, positioning students as 'customers' was a source of significant tension as this likewise challenged their sense of professional relevance, identity and purpose. This was particularly evident in the manner by which participants

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positioned students and themselves as engaged in a power struggle. For example, some participants expressed frustration that university administrators and Japanese academics might sometimes side with students over issues of discipline and allocation of grades. Some participants explained that it was not worth failing students because they may ultimately be pressured to pass them. By discursively positioning students as customers, and not as students, AFELT were effectively afforded the right to purposefully choose not to teach English to students. Several participants claimed that their obligation to the universities in which they worked did not extend beyond ‘*baby-sitting*’ or ‘*making it seem academic*’. Other participants felt that they were not expected to perform more than the role of an ‘*entertainer*’. However, the majority of participants rejected this positioning, and maintained that such attitudes and behaviour reflected poorly on AFELT collectively, and did little to enhance their image as professional English language educators across the sector.

Position 3. AFELT: Desideration

All participants were invited to explain what it is they liked most about working in the Japanese university system. Almost all participants reported, ‘*the money*’, the ‘*holidays*’ and the ‘*freedom*’. Participants explained that teaching English in the Japanese university sector comprised the pinnacle of English language teaching in Japan for non-Japanese English language teachers. Participants attributed this to the higher level of remuneration, earning potential and the length of paid holidays, compared to other sectors, and the status that was afforded to English language teachers within the native English language community in Japan. A dominant theme in the participants positioning was the freedom that they felt they had in their teaching. The following statement illustrates this:

James: I like being able to do what I want. Usually, as part-time teachers you're not included in the group so they don't really care and there's no one really telling you what to do. So, you have free reigns of what you do and what you teach in a class and they kind of don't really care. So, I really like that.

It may be argued that their identity as English language teachers was influenced by idealised notions that what one does in the classroom can and will ‘make a difference’: initially, at a micro level in the life of individual students; then, at a meso level in their schools; and finally, at a macro level in society and ultimately for the nation. In the Japanese university context, participants positioned AFELT as being constrained in their teaching by the realisation of this ideal. As Varghese et al. (2005, p. 39) observes, teacher identity is conceptualised as a profoundly complex construct:

Teacher identity is a profoundly individual and psychological matter because it concerns the self-image and other-image of particular teachers. It is a social matter because the formation, negotiation, and growth of teacher identity is a fundamentally social process taking place in institutional settings... It is a process that is inextricably intertwined with language and discourse ... yet it is also very much a real-world phenomenon that impacts teachers' standing in their communities...

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In this research, teacher identity was conceptualised and empirically examined as socially negotiated, dynamic, fragmented and in conflict (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson, 2005). This is consistent with Reeves (2009, p. 35) who argues that ‘identity construction is a negotiation with self, with other and within discourses present in ones’ life.’ Throughout this process, individuals construct, adopt or reject identity positions for themselves, and are simultaneously subjected to external forces. As Reeves (2009, p. 35) observes, ‘as people negotiate identities, they take up, assert and resist identity positions that define them...[and] the positions people take up for themselves are intertwined with the positions they ascribe to others.’

In the negotiation of their AFELT identity, participants felt positioned as adjuncts first and then as foreign teachers of English. They did not feel they had the right to inform the nature of the English language curriculum, and did not feel they were taken seriously in the Japanese university context. They were unable to have any influence on the culture of their employing institutions. This extended into society where AFELT, as ‘*gaijin*’, felt they had little status and no capacity to effect change in the broader national discourse on English language policy, education and internationalisation. Yet, many participants were striving to subvert the ‘malevolent position’ that they were ‘*not going to make a difference*’. As explained by one participant:

Brandon: It is pretty clear that there is, to some extent, even if it is way down deep an element here that despite of all the crap we care about what we do and we are trying to make it work.

Illustrative of this self-positioning by participants is the metaphor ‘teaching English is fighting a war’, whereby they are involved in a conflict of relevance while striving to make a difference. The use of other comparable metaphors by participants was common, including ‘*up hill battle*’, ‘*I fight with students*’, ‘*we are the front line staff*’, ‘*most easy expendable*’, ‘*we are in the trenches together*’, ‘*push comes to shove*’, ‘*pressured from all sides*’, ‘*trying to cut down their superiority complex*’, ‘*they are going to hit the part-timers*’, and ‘*what we are doing is subversive*’. Such attitudes may be attributed to a desiderative element in the professional identity of AFELT who assert, ‘*I am an English teacher*’, and reject notions of themselves as positioned as anything other.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research reveals that although AFELT as international academics are key stakeholders in the Japanese English language and internationalisation discourse and rhetoric (Seargeant, 2008), they do not feel well integrated in the Japanese higher education context. The experience of AFELT identity negotiation offers one lens through which to consider the issue of integration for non-Japanese academics in Japanese universities. This research, through an examination of the multiple positioning within AFELT discourse, shows a disjunct between the role of English language teachers as key stakeholders in the internationalisation process and how they are positioned and subsequently reposition themselves. When Japanese universities are viewed as intercultural organisations, the multiple positioning of AFELT suggests that the integration of international academics is problematic. The findings of this study support and extend other observations concerning the

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integration of foreign academics in the Japanese university context, including Kuwamura's (2009, p. 200) assertion that Japanese universities need to further consider how to manage increasing diversity.

In addition, this research challenges previous studies where the taken-for-granted storyline has been one of foreign academics in the Japanese university context passively accepting a marginalised status (c.f. Hall, 1994, 1998; Mc Veigh, 2002). Within this, international academics are positioned as powerless, which denies them the right to assert themselves (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) and to exploit their positioning. This study recasts foreign academics, namely AFELT, as assertive negotiators of their agency through reflexively repositioning themselves and their professional identities as '*master teachers*'. The findings highlight how AFELT positioning significantly influences their interaction patterns, and the subsequent positioning of students as university learners. Furthermore, the study shows that each position is indexed to the degree of affirmation that AFELT feel they receive, which affirms their professional identity as teachers of English. This research demonstrates the conceptual usefulness of positioning theory as a lens through which to consider stakeholders in the broader context of internationalisation. Therefore, the potential of positioning theory to expose taken-for-granted storylines, and how these afford or constrain what one may say or do relative to a position, is shown to be significant.

This research has analysed three implicit and explicit positions assigned, claimed and/or rejected by participants as AFELT. It found that participants felt positioned based on their foreign status, rather than their status as English language teachers. As such, participants highlighted a 'local moral landscape' for AFELT that consisted of commodification, disempowerment and desideration, which in turn both afforded and constrained their professional practice and identity negotiation. In light of the internationalisation of higher education, analysing stakeholder experience beyond the confines of prescribed roles delivered new insights concerning the marketisation of higher education discourse in the Japanese context.

Finally, this study highlights the need for further research into the experience of other international academics in the Japanese higher education context, with a view to better understand the dynamics that promote and constrain their integration in this sector in the context of increasing internationalisation. Further research exploring the experience of international academics, in Anglo and European university contexts, from a positioning theory perspective may challenge other taken-for-granted assumptions, and recast in a new light international academics and the institutions in which they work.

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Introduction

The aim of the present research was to contribute an understanding of how AFELT perceive their place and role in the Japanese university context set against the backdrop of internationalisation. The research process and ‘sensitizing concepts’ (Blumer, 1954) were located within the interpretivist/constructivist approaches to human inquiry (Schwandt, 1994). As noted previously, the goal of these approaches, from an emic perspective, is to arrive at a level of *Verstehen* of the ‘life world’ of the participants (Schwandt, 1994). The research was, therefore, grounded in the assumption that ‘actors, in particular places, at particular times, fashion meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction involving, history, language and action’ (Schwandt, 1994, p. 222). As such, the focus of this dissertation and research was the self-reported meaning of AFELT situated in a particular context, at a particular time, in both physical and meta-physical terms, perceived as constraining and affording aspects of professional practice and identity negotiation. The findings presented, therefore, are not generalizable to the entire AFELT population without qualification, though perhaps they are consistent with the experience of many.

Likewise, the study was not comparative and did not set out to make comparisons across cultural, institutional, educational, or national contexts. However, the circumstances and conditions for AFELT may not be that different to those of non-native teachers of foreign languages in other contexts. Nor, the attitudes and motivations brought into the learning environment greatly different to those of other students around the world who are compelled to study a foreign language as part of their programs of study. In this regard, AFELT are not unique. Equally, the aim of the research has not been on drawing causal links between AFELT experiences, cultural and institutional tendencies and mores. However, cultural and institutional tendencies and mores are significant in the meaning making processes, especially in terms of congruence and incongruence, and affordance and constraints in AFELT appraisals at the ‘experiential interface’ (Volet, 2001). In other words, this refers to the overlapping space between their experience and the multi-layered, multi-dimensional context

in which they teach and interact. Instead, the focus of this research is the ‘life world’ of the participants as perceived and understood through their eyes. Through this exploration of AFELT meaning making, as outlined in each of the preceding papers, several observations can be made and conclusions drawn. The following presents a summary of the main observations and findings that emerged out this research endeavour.

Summary of the main findings

The findings revealed a complex, multilayered, matrix of intersecting and diverging themes and discursive discourses. At the macro level, a major finding was a significant discontinuity between internationalisation and communicative English language education policy and practice in Japan, and how these are enacted at the institutional level. AFELT role and place was perceived by participants to be mobilised in essentialist, utilitarian, and symbolic terms, with AFELT value indexed to the realisation of internationalisation and marketing strategies rather than to educational outputs. Thus, a significant degree of incongruence concerning the nature, purpose, and function of AFELT classes was exposed. According to participants, higher education, broadly speaking, constitutes a social rather than educational experience for many Japanese undergraduate domestic students. From the AFELT perspective, English language classes should be considered peripheral to the function of the universities in which they work, and not essential to the internationalisation process advocated in the broad internationalisation discourse. As such, many AFELT construed their role as being commodified and instrumentalised. They asserted that AFELT are not supported in, or encouraged to facilitate the development of interculturality in the domestic student population. Yet nevertheless, the majority of participants still felt a responsibility to implement aspects of what may be considered intercultural education. They said they actively sought opportunities to encourage the development of students’ ability to value diversity. At the micro level, the research identified contextual and individual affordances and constraints that impacted upon AFELT communicative English language teaching. The ‘subject positioning’ of participants was identified as a salient factor affording or constraining AFELT professional identity and practice. As such, AFELT may be recast as aggressively asserting their agency and identity negotiation through ‘reflexive positioning’ (Moghaddam et al., 2008).

The findings of this research are presented in four themes. The first theme, through an examination of AFELT discourse, explores metaphorical constructs that emphasise ‘othering’. The second theme examines the affordances and constraints AFELT perceive as influencing how and what they teach. The third theme explores the goals and aspirations of AFELT, given the perception that they are significantly constrained in their professional practices by the phenomena identified in paper two. The fourth theme focuses on AFELT positioning within the Japanese higher education context. Each theme is elaborated in turn.

Theme 1. Metaphors and challenges

Internationalisation of the curriculum, according to Leask (2009), involves the incorporation of an intercultural dimension into the content of the curriculum as well as the learning experience. Therefore, according to Leask (2009, p. 209):

An internationalised curriculum will engage students with internationally informed research and cultural and linguistic diversity. It will purposefully develop their international and intercultural perspectives as global professionals and citizens.

However, achieving such goals is not without challenges as Leask’s (2011) ongoing research exploring ‘enablers’ and ‘blockers’ (another term for affordance and constraint) of curriculum internationalisation is demonstrating. While internationalisation in the Japanese context appears to be primarily focused on revenue and status building, the intercultural dimensions are not entirely absent. In paper one, it was argued that AFELT are potentially positioned in such a way that they are able to contribute significantly to the internationalisation of the curriculum. *Kokusaika* (internationalisation), therefore, takes place formally through their pedagogy and informally through their ‘being’ and interactions. However, the degree to which this potential is valued, desired, or realised is as yet not well understood. What this paper argued is that there are significant institutional, cultural, sociological, and psychological constraints on AFELT. One ‘blocker’ (Leask, 2011) is how internationalisation is conceptualised by stakeholders. This paper also examined how AFELT understand internationalisation in the Japanese university context and the challenges associated with fostering the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. It was argued that metaphors,

which ‘stress notions of difference and otherness’ constrain the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the experience of AFELT.

The power of metaphors in the construction of the ‘other’ was identified as a significant constraint, both for AFELT and the Japanese, in the construction of meaning and the structuring of social interaction. What this paper revealed is the need to explore how metaphors in stakeholder discourse afford or constrain the incorporation of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. The significance of considering how metaphorical constructions, such as *uchi/soto* – us/them, are perceived as functioning and influencing the implementation of internationalisation by non-Japanese academics was highlighted as providing further insights into how internationalisation is actually being operationalised in the Japanese context. This, in turn, unveiled significant gaps between internationalisation at the level of policy and rhetoric, and the experience on the ground. Additionally, it highlighted a lack of emphasis placed on the role of academic staff in facilitating the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. Internationalisation was conceptualised as a ‘closed’ rather than ‘open door’, metaphorically speaking. Finally, the meaning of ‘being’ a university (Barnett, 2010) in the Japanese context emerged as not that dissimilar to the Anglo context where the emphasis is on academic capitalism, and where the internationalisation of the curriculum is not a priority.

Theme 2. Perspectives from within

The second paper argued that higher education in Japan is largely incongruent with many AFELT expectations of what constitutes higher education. This was significant in terms of understanding AFELT meaning making in that context, and also for understanding how internationalisation is construed in light of the intercultural dimensions. The meta-narrative for participants identified in this paper was, higher education in Japan is concerned more with managing appearances, or in other words impression management (Goffman, 1959) more than what they consider ‘genuine education’ as participants experienced it in their home contexts. The consensus among participants was higher education in Japan is focused on ‘form not substance’. Therefore, higher education in Japan was understood by participants to focus on the social rather than educative domains. As such, AFELT were considered

necessary, participants believed, not for what they could bring as teachers of English into that space, but rather for how they could contribute to maintaining the perception of an international institution.

Goffman's (1959) notion of 'front' was particularly helpful in terms of understanding the dynamics in this space. AFELT, from this perspective, perform the role of props employed by universities to help them maintain their appeal to domestic students. The notion of 'back' is also relevant. In the 'back' the research revealed what resemble 'inopportune intrusions... facts which, if introduced during the performance, would discredit or at least weaken the claims about self that the performer was trying to project as part of the definition of the performance' (Goffman, 1959, p. 204). At the institutional and classroom level AFELT professional practice and social interactions were shown to be constrained. At the institutional level, participants maintained the view that there existed high levels of 'indifference' to AFELT. This was understood by participants to be related to their status as adjunct teachers, and not too dissimilar from that experienced by Japanese adjunct teachers. However, as teachers of English, participants maintained that the attitude of indifference was pronounced. For example, in a large number of instances once they commenced employment they were expected to choose, select, or prepare teaching materials without any direction or oversight. While some participants lamented this lack of attention, the majority valued the autonomy it afforded them. It was also revealed, by many participants, that what then happens in the classroom is not as important as keeping students happy.

The research, therefore, revealed tensions around what participants considered a shift in power relations from students as students, to students as customers. From this perspective, AFELT were understood to be utilised more for marketing purposes, rather than educative. Thus, for numerous participants, this brought into question the meaning and value of AFELT activities as teachers. Students were identified as not 'buying into' the rhetoric that all Japanese need to learn English. Moreover, this was shown to be reinforced by students being 'pigeon holed' by the university they attended because this affected their potential employment and social prospects. Hence, participants maintained, the teaching of communicative English represented little more than a staged performance with themselves exploited for their capacity to function as human resources. Such views, in turn, reinforced

the perception among participants that they are indeed on the margins in the Japanese university, and therefore very much ‘outside of the system’.

Drawing on *kami/shimo* constructs (Lebra, 1992), the research also revealed a hierarchical institutional organisational structure wherein AFELT are excluded from full participation in the university context, because they are adjunct and are teachers of a subject perceived by Japanese full-time academics and by many students as frivolous. However, what the research also reveals is how being positioned on the ‘outside’ paradoxically affords AFELT the opportunities to promote the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation through their ‘being’ and pedagogy.

Theme 3. Taking the inside outside

The research in the third paper drawing on the graduate attribute ‘global perspective’, showed how AFELT pedagogy aligns with key facets of this attribute. It revealed English language education as being a key component in Japanese internationalisation policy. However, it was observed, English language education in the Japanese context is not predicated on the understanding it is focused on enhancing opportunities for increased reciprocal intercultural understanding or communication. Indeed, English language education is contextualised as serving national, rather than individual interests. As such, English language education was understood to reinforce ‘cultural nationalism through constructing a rigid cultural boundary between *Us* and *Them*’, and accordingly there were implications for AFELT.

Internationalisation (*kokusaika*) was shown to be understood by participants as a construct and a series of activities used as a means to ‘contain’ or ‘control’ the world. This, it was argued, could be understood as measures to limit the influence of globalisation on the Japanese national identity and culture. In addition, the research also highlighted perceptions among participants that internationalisation in the Japanese context had more to do with revenue creation than with preparing Japanese citizens to join the global community. Given that AFELT are positioned ‘outside’ the system, as indicated in Paper One, many participants maintained they felt no compulsion to ‘teach’ English or communication. Rather, as this research showed, because they are not ‘inside the system’ participants then teach what and

how they like. Therefore, domestic Japanese students are exposed to not only 'native' teachers of English, but also to a range of ideas and experiences intended to provoke them to 'broaden their horizons'. Thus, AFELT are revealed as challenging the world view of their students and as encouraging them to examine their preconceptions, prejudices, and cultural filters.

Then examples of AFELT pedagogy aimed at encouraging students to value diversity of language and culture were presented. It was observed that encouraging students to view English as something meaningful, rather than being a decontextualised cultural artefact, was of great importance to this group of teachers. This research also highlighted the degree to which AFELT feel they have to work to mitigate what they perceive as the negative impact on Japanese students of compulsory English language teaching by Japanese teachers in schools in preparation for examinations. Participants believed that many students, particularly the non-language majors, hate English. As a consequence, they expended considerable energy, and psychological resources, trying to create learning environments that are perceived as fun and rewarding by students. Thus, language learning is deemphasised in order to encourage students to view English as a real and contextualised language, rather than a decontextualised cultural artefact. Likewise, participants are shown to be endeavouring to encourage students to think globally and from varied perspectives. This suggests that Japanese students, from the AFELT perspective, appear to be particularly inward looking.

In the majority of cases AFELT classes are almost entirely composed of domestic Japanese students. Therefore, one significant aspiration for AFELT is to encourage students to think inclusively. By encouraging students to value languages, think globally, and inclusively, AFELT are shown to be 'directly' and 'indirectly' internationalising the curriculum. They are shown to be doing this not only by being foreigners, and therefore adding an international element by their presence alone on university campuses, nor through the teaching of English. Rather, AFELT purposefully endeavour to seize or construct opportunities to address the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. In this sense they are revealed as leading those inside outside.

Another facet of research pertained to AFELT identity negotiation. Intragroup tensions were observed concerning the ‘teacher’ construct. These were elaborated in paper four.

Theme 4. AFELT positioning

Overall, the research in Paper Four focused on an examination of the discursive positioning of AFELT. It revealed the Japanese higher education sector as continuing to be challenged by the inclusion of non-Japanese teachers. The analysis of AFELT accounts showed multiple positioning acts in their discourse, and highlighted a disjuncture between the role of AFELT as key stakeholders and their positioning. Further, this research suggested that when Japanese universities are viewed as intercultural organisations the integration and positioning of international academics appears likely to continue to be problematic. The research findings challenge the established taken-for-granted storyline of foreign teachers passively accepting their role as props and place as peripheral in the functions of the Japanese university.

Through the analysis of AFELT discourse it is possible to recast them as negotiating and asserting their agency as professionals and ‘master teachers’. Wherein, returning to the established meta-narrative, post-secondary, tertiary institutions in Japan were not considered by participants, in the ‘traditional Anglo view’, as universities or as offering a ‘higher education’ (Barnett, 2010). The ‘local moral order’ (Moghaddam et al., 2008, p. 293) is defined ‘as the dynamic, collaboratively negotiated cluster of rights and duties associated with particular positions embedded in a storyline.’ A storyline to emerge in the participants’ discourse was ‘university is a business.’ A series of first, second, and third order positioning acts were also identified within these discourses constituting the local moral order.

Within the ‘university is a business’ storyline, three positions were evident: commodification, disempowerment, and desideration. Each was shown to be typical of a range of discursive positioning acts in AFELT discourse. The range of positioning acts clearly highlights the difficulty AFELT experience in locating themselves within the Japanese university context. Not only their role, but also their place is challenged. In the commodification positioning act, participants felt afforded the reciprocal right to exploit universities to their own gain. The research revealed this form of positioning challenged their professional and ethical identities.

Two groups were identified along a continuum. One group claimed the first order position of ‘commodity’ and the other larger group rejected this position and, in a second order positioning act, claimed the position of, ‘professional, ethical and responsible teacher’.

While the analysis revealed students being positioned as commodities, it also revealed students being positioned as ‘customers’. Participants appeared to be engaged in a power struggle with students, and universities expected teachers to provide a service rather than an educational experience. What this highlighted was a series of tensions around professional relevance, identity and purpose. The fourth position identified a desiderative element in the professional identity of participants who flatly rejected the notion that they were anything other than ‘professional teachers’.

Finally, the conceptual usefulness of positioning theory as a tool to illuminate the negotiation of rights, duties, and obligations nested in discursive discourse in the negotiation of stakeholder identity was demonstrated. In the conclusion of this paper, it is argued that the internationalisation discourse and the complex and multilayered interactions of stakeholders in higher education internationalisation is afforded a more fine grained and nuanced perspective when considered through the lens of positioning theory.

Overall findings and discussion

Through its in-depth examination of AFELT ‘experience’, ‘role’ and ‘place’, this dissertation makes a unique contribution to the Japanese internationalisation discourse. The multiple theoretical perspectives outlined above, to explore AFELT meaning making, role, and place, provide powerful conceptual ‘layers’ through which to interrogate AFELT positioning in the Japanese university context, set against the backdrop of internationalisation in that context. The next section overlays each of the theoretical frameworks as ‘layer’ to further reveal AFELT role and place (see Figure 4). Each framework is briefly introduced with a recap of the major points drawn from each perspective, followed by a discussion of the key findings and conclusions.



Figure 4. Theoretical frameworks as layers of meaning

The situative social/psychological person-in-context layer

As noted earlier, there are three key components in the Volet's (2001) person-in-context perspective. The first key component is the affordance concept. According to Volet's (2001) model, affordances are social and physical phenomena within a particular context or environment. According to Gibson (1979, p. 140), 'the central question for the theory of affordance is not whether they exist and are real but whether information is available in ambient light for perceiving them.' The 'affordances of an environment are', as Gibson (1979, p. 127) argues, 'what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides or furnishes*, either for good or ill.' Moreover, as Gibson (1979, p. 140) maintains, it is important to stress that '[t]he perceiving of an affordance is not a process of perceiving a value-free physical object to which meaning is somehow added in a way that no one has been able to agree upon; it is a process of perceiving a value-rich ecological object.' From the person-in-context perspective, social affordances include: (a) interaction and support from the institution; (b) the behaviour of students, Japanese adjunct, and full-time academics and administrative staff *et cetera*, other adjunct and full-time non-Japanese teachers of English as a foreign language, and other

academics; (c) the cultural norms and tendencies; (d) value systems; and (e) social expectations prevailing in the setting, which are assumed to be understood and shared by all in a particular setting.

The second key component in Volet's (2001) model is the 'experiential interface', which encapsulates the core idea of 'congruence'. The focus here is on an individual's cognitive processes. Volet (2001, p. 61) writes: 'From a cognitive perspective, the most critical aspect is the interface between an individual's effectivities and the (affordances of the) context – whether perceived, observed, or inferred.' As such, cognitive phenomena activated in a particular context or setting include: (a) prior knowledge and beliefs developed over years; (b) situational interpretations; (c) immediate emotions; and (d) construction of meaning, which takes place at the 'experiential interface' and are key determinates of congruence. According to Volet (2001, p. 62), the degree to which an individual is 'attuned' (or experiences high levels of congruence) within a particular setting or whilst engaging in a particular task is, in part, dependent on the characteristics of the individual, their 'prior experience, motives and preferences, and their cognitive, motivational and emotional online appraisals of the immediate task.'

The third key component in Volet's (2001) perspective is the notion of the tacit nature of norms and expectations in a given setting. Volet (2001) observes that these become salient when newcomers to a community of practice attempt to apply in the new setting the knowledge and skills valued in their previous setting. Significant incongruence may result, and the process of attuning to the new setting may subsequently be psychologically challenging.

In sum, according to Volet (2001, p. 77), when participating in a particular context, like a learning environment, such as a university classroom setting, an individual's,

motivational beliefs, orientations and habitualised forms of engagement for this type of participation are activated. These cognitions – which have been developed over years of participation in various cultural-educational activities and contexts – interact with subjective appraisals of the affordances and constraints perceived in the immediate learning situation. These subjective appraisals mediate

the direct impact of activated beliefs and orientations, and lead to goals, engagement and forms of participation, which reflect context-sensitivity.

Therefore, in light of the person-in-context perspective, how can the role and place of AFELT, through their appraisals of their experience, be understood and considered?

At the broad macro level, the present research suggests AFELT experience considerable levels of incongruence in terms of their expectations of what constitutes higher education generally, and how this is perceived to function and be valued in Japanese society. According to participants, it is the lack of emphasis placed on what they consider authentic learning outcomes (a construction mediated through their individual experiences) that constitutes a significant constraint on their activities as teachers in the university environment. From this perspective, formal university learning focused on demonstrating learning outcomes aligned to prescribed learning outcomes is considered secondary to the function universities play in the social domain. For example, participants considered the university years for students to be a four-year hiatus, a place where they are 'groomed' and prepared to enter the workforce through their association with clubs and 'old-boy networks', and a period of time where the cultural expectations concerning behaviour were generally relaxed. Therefore, participants maintained this and constrained their professional activities. Participants suggested that attuning to such an educational environment was difficult and developed over prolonged participation in the university environment, and for some attuning was almost impossible resulting in high levels of psychological distress. However, for participants who attuned to the nature of higher education and the place of universities in Japanese society several affordances became apparent. For AFELT, legitimacy as teachers is reciprocally 'compromised' by virtue of the place university education has in society, and for some participants accountability was reduced. For other participants, constructing the university sector in these terms helped them to understand and explain their experiences at the institutional level and at the classroom level.

For example, some participants narrated accounts of having to pass failing students or alter grades when students were failing, and others recounted instances of not being prepared to fail graduating students for fear of the consequences. In these instances, the perception that

'higher education in Japan is really an extension of high school', or 'not real', psychologically helped them to accept such practices as consistent with the overall expectation that in Japanese society 'it is in the companies, where the real learning happens'. Likewise, it helped participants to understand the lack of motivation and engagement they encountered in the classroom.

Other constraints identified at the macro level, though salient across the meso and micro levels, included what were perceived as cultural norms, expectations, and tendencies that were considered to be 'insular' and 'othering'. For example, appraisals made by participants of the Japanese culture suggested the Japanese tended to be 'inward-looking' and to regard 'foreigners' with degrees of apprehension and xenophobia. Moreover, they considered Japan to be psychologically closed to the world, and not really willing to engage with the international community more than necessary. Participants regarded this perceived tendency in Japanese society as a significant constraint on the development of intercultural and cross-cultural communication, and ultimately on their role and place in the university context.

At the meso level of the institution, AFELT identified employment practices, conditions, and organisational and cultural structures, mores, and tendencies as significant constraints on their professional activities and sense of inclusion. Again, high levels of incongruence were observed among participants at this level; however, racial discrimination was not generally considered one of these. For example, the manner in which the communicative English language curriculum was organised and the vast number of units of study students were required to take in a semester was incongruent with the expectations of many participants. Many participants reported being 'used to' systems of curriculum organisation that may be characterised as requiring deep engagement in a few units of study, and thus considered it unrealistic to expect any real language learning outcomes when students were doing as many as 14-15 different units a semester.

Likewise, at the institutional level, appraisals of employment practices by participants suggested that these also constrained their participation in many institutions. One particular constraint related to the insecurity of their position as adjuncts, whereby their continuing employment is on one-year 'renewable' contracts. Therefore, participants considered it

important to avoid being seen by a university as '*rocking the boat*' or '*making waves*'. Many participants maintained they would not join a union for fear of reprisal. As a consequence, the majority of participants felt they had experienced levels of workplace disadvantage.

However, for many participants, not having to be involved at the institutional level constituted a significant affordance. For example, when asked if they would consider pursuing permanent employment, an overwhelming majority of participants stated that they would not. Their status as adjunct teachers liberated them from a range of responsibilities typically expected of full-time academics. For example, participants cited not having to participate in departmental meetings, entrance examination committees, or not being involved in institutional politics as reasons. Another significant rationale for not desiring a full-time position was linked to the long holidays enjoyed between semesters. However, for some participants, attuning to the disparity between full-time academics and adjunct teachers was difficult. In particular, several participants with less experience in the university sector relayed strong feelings of hostility towards full-time academics. They identified marked discrepancies in remuneration, workload, access, and status, which were incongruent with their expectations. This suggests that these participants desired similar benefits, but without the responsibilities.

At the micro level of classroom interaction, numerous affordances and constraints were identified. Participants suggested that AFELT receive limited institutional support for their professional activities as teachers of communicative English. In terms of student behaviour, participants reported teaching large numbers of classes where students were perceived to be generally '*apathetic*', '*passive*', or '*immature*'. A large number of participants found the behaviour of students in their classes to be incongruent with their expectations, concerning appropriate student participation and teacher-student interaction. However, in turn, other participants observed students experiencing difficulty attuning to the type of teacher-student interaction and the expectations demanded of them in AFELT classes. These participants claimed that students, in the majority of their Japanese taught classes, were permitted to be somnolent and passive, which implied it was hardly surprising this would continue in the AFELT class. However, the extent to which participants had witnessed Japanese taught classes was unclear. Many participants argued that this presented opportunities to try and

engage students in types of learning that they hoped would be perceived by them as ‘different’. The degree to which the teachers achieved this particular goal is not known, and therefore merits further investigation. However, other participants argued that such student behaviour constrained their practice. They withdrew from engaging students, and kept ‘hiding’ behind textbooks and worksheets as a way of limiting teacher-student interaction in the classroom context.

The person-in-context layer: Some conclusions

When a person-in-context ‘layer’ is superimposed upon AFELT interaction and participation in the Japanese university context, the role and place of AFELT cannot be considered in simple dichotomous terms, such as in/out, exploited/supported, or marginalised/core. Rather, a more complex and holistic picture begins to emerge. According to Gibson (1979, p. 141), affordances point ‘to the environment and to the observer’. In the ambient light of the subjective appraisals of stakeholders it becomes possible to perceive affordances in this setting. Gibson (1979, p. 142) observes:

If the affordances of a thing are perceived correctly, we say it looks like it *is*. But we must, of course, *learn* to see what things really are – for example, that the innocent-looking leaf is really nettle or that the helpful-sounding politician is really a demagogue. And this can be very difficult.

Volet (2001, pp. 78-79) argued, ‘motivation in learning contexts are best understood if conceptualised as a dynamic construct, and as a dual psychological and social phenomenon.’ In addition, ‘The interplay of relatively consistent, distinct and unique aspects of contexts with relatively stable, variable and responsive motivational beliefs and appraisals’, focuses attention on the reciprocal interplay of individual and situational dimensions as determinates of participation (Volet, 2001, p. 78). As such, the role and place of AFELT is understood to be uniquely defined in the ‘experiential interface’ where contextually nested social and physical phenomenon and personal attributes intersect. Thus, the ‘official’ role of AFELT is understood to be twofold. First, to teach Japanese citizens how to exploit the English language to initially make themselves understood in the international context. Second, to teach them to be understood in a globalised world, where English is the *lingua franca* of

business, science, and technology. However, as it emerged, such a view of AFELT role was too reductionist. In Japanese government policy and rhetoric, AFELT are centrally placed in the internationalisation discourse as teachers of English as a foreign language because of their potential contribution to the development of human resource capital. However, what is revealed through the exploration of perceived affordances is a much more complex picture. The place of AFELT is understood, as with their role, to be a constructed and contested space. For some participants, the place is firmly in the marginal spaces, or in the shadows where the interplay of light and environment reveal few affordances. For others, the place is constructed as essential and, while not necessarily formally recognised as such, they nonetheless consider their place to be important.

Metaphorisation and the uchi/soto dimensions layer

Adding layers to an image can add complexity, sharpness, and depth. By hiding the previous layer it is possible to consider the image afresh. Therefore, when viewed through the layer of metaphorisation and the patterns of Japanese culture, such as *uchi/soto* dichotomies, AFELT role and place can be considered quite differently. However, it is important to emphasise that the following is not an attempt to characterise patterns of Japanese culture and social interaction. Before commencing the analysis, several observations are made concerning the application of this culturally mediated paradigm. This is not merely to repeat what has been said previously, but a means to stress the importance of acknowledging the culturally bound nature of the subsequent interpretation. This is followed by a review of several key concepts associated with the *uchi/soto* dimensions outlined previously.

All cultural contexts are understood to be dynamic, multi-dimensional, and multi-layered complex constructs, and not reducible to unique sets of behaviours and perspectives. Therefore, generalisation about any one culture needs to be approached with care in order to avoid propagation of essentialist constructs. For example, Cangià (2010) outlines a series of tensions and debates in anthropological literature on Japanese culture and patterns of social interaction from both the emic and etic perspectives. According to Cangià (2010), the focus of early studies on the Japanese self tended to construct this in terms of ‘a distinct ethos or national character, by collecting a vacuum-like set of psychological traits, linguistic and

behavioural patterns.’ Cangià (2010) stresses the inherent methodological weakness that adopts a singular perspective, either a Western approach grounded in oppositional logic, or a Japanese approach with a contingency logical perspective. Cangià (2010, paragraph 18-19) maintains;

the study of some of these categories of ethno-political practices in Japan can be properly addressed insofar as we bear in mind the methodological drawbacks recognized by recent anthropological theories concerning ethnicity and identity. The very phenomenon of *nihonjinron*, which informed most of the recent studies on Japan, should be interpreted as any other political project, such as ethnicity, nationalism and the like, common to diverse cultures, and thus added to the list of concepts to be scrutinized (Yoshino 1992; Befu 2001). By the same token, the study of *nihonjinron*, which defines its object as a project of imagination of national and ethnic content and boundaries maintenance, can be developed as an analytical category for a more balanced understanding of ethnicity and nationalism (Anderson 1991; Barth 1969)...

To the same extent, at the micro level, analytical frameworks explaining the Japanese interpretation of social relations (such as the *uchi/soto* axis) should not grasp constancy and uniqueness in essentialist terms, but may be deployed beyond 'national borders' to suggest a lot on the same topic in different contexts... historical and peculiar factors inherent to the local are extremely important: if specific conceptions on social practices may still be the wellsprings of the anthropological studies, an insight of the contextual sources and local saliency of these is notwithstanding vital. Nevertheless, the common tendency of many anthropological inquires is the interpretation of native utterances and analytical frameworks as culturally specific. Again, conceptual constructions such as the *uchi/soto* axis alone are likely to uncritically work as oppositional, thus they may end up replicating the very antithetical outlook that needs to be avoided. Additionally, the arbitrary use of such terms, *choosing instead of being chosen by their meaning*, might turn out to bias the interpretation of social practices, as well as to strengthen the problematic consequences of taking analytical categories as realities (c.f., Brubaker, 2000).

Cangià (2010) argues that a way forward can be found by combining both the Western and Japanese perspectives. For example, Cangià (2010) maintains that Western and Japanese constructivist theories may be considered ‘two sides of the same coin’. Furthermore, ‘by analysing the literature on identity of both Eastern and Western sociological and anthropological contexts, it is possible to observe a certain degree of conceptual affinity for the whole understanding of the concept of identity’ (Cangià, 2010). Commenting on the contribution of Lebra to this field, Cangià (2010) argues that Lebras’ model represents a useful ‘tool-kit [that] may inform the study of social phenomena inherent to other cultures’, as observed previously.

Drawing on Lebra (2004), Table 1 outlines four zones that are considered relevant to an understanding of the construction of self and the dynamics of social interaction in the Japanese context. These are presented moving first from outside/exterior zones, then inward to the inside/interior zones. Thus, the *soto* zone, is followed by the *omote* zone. These are followed by the interior zones of *uchi* and *ura*.

The *soto* zone – ‘is the opposite of *uchi* in that it is characterised by self-other distance, both physical and emotional, and by a lack of civility. Although it resembles the *omote* zone in terms of other being seen as a stranger; the two are otherwise opposite, for whereas *omote* behaviour conforms very strictly to rules of courtesy, *soto* behaviour ignores conventional rules of conduct. If *omote* behaviour; marked by *kizukai*, is characteristically considerate and polite, *soto* behaviour is deliberately or obliviously apathetic, discourteous, disdainful, hateful, and combative. Overall, *soto* is less well defined than the other zones, serving somewhat as a residual category for all the loose ends... Generally, this zone involves the vast category of "otherness," in which a Japanese self perceives another person, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, as markedly different, ethnically, racially, physically, behaviourally, culturally... In the *soto* zone, self's action is determined by the perception of other not merely as a stranger, but as a nobody, misfit, or enemy... Like the *omote*, the *soto* world forms multiple concentric circles around the self or self's *uchi* world. The most distant circle may be likened to an ‘alien’ zone, populated by racial or cultural foreigners; the nearest one may involve an outsider within self's own domestic realm. The latter situation generates greater stress and conflict’ (Lebra, 2004, pp. 145, 146).

The *omote* zone – Combines propriety and distance. ‘Here self perceives other as someone who, though not familiar, deserves respect. In direct encounter; self is presented in a manner acceptable to

other in appearance (e.g., attire), facial expression (smiling, perhaps, or serious), body management (bowing), speech patterns (proper greeting, honorifics), and other forms of courtesy in conformity with cultural codes of politeness, hospitality, generosity and reciprocity (gift giving, feasting). In the body metaphor, *omote* focuses on one's-whether other's or self's-face (one meaning of the word *omote*), with its associated connotations of honor and pride. The *omote* action is closely defined, most elaborately ritualized, most carefully controlled, and, all forms of sociality, assumes the greatest significance in keeping social order.' 'The *omote* zone involves not only horizontal but also vertical distance, namely hierarchical asymmetry between self and other; the result is a relative status distance involving esteem for either other or self' (Lebra, 2004, pp. 42-43).

The uchi zone – 'Here normative combines with the near, familiar, or inside. Here closeness is achieved primarily by long-term physical proximity based on coresidence, neighborliness, coattendance in schools, working and playing together, or other forms of routinized copresence and coaction. The family or the home is the most common locus of the *uchi*, and in fact both are called *uchi*. *Uchi* behaviour is based on intimacy accompanied by familiarity: while intimacy involves emotional investment and attachment, familiarity occurs from shared experience and togetherness over time ... Besides the family, Japanese in general derive emotional sustenance from peer intimacy.' 'The two zones of *uchi* and *omote*, or intimacy and courtesy, are divided through the process of wrapping: whereas *uchi* wraps the self up protectively and makes it more or less inaccessible to the world (concealment), *omote* confronts the world by presenting a carefully packaged version of self (display). Because intimacy involves love, trust, and camaraderie, more than respect and respectability, in this realm interaction is relaxed and informal, physically closer; with the theatrical mask removed, communication can be louder and more spontaneous. Safely enclosed from the outside world, participants in an *uchi* setting can unwrap themselves to an extent. The standard of civility for the *uchi* zone is pushed lower than for the *omote* zone with respect to propriety, while it is heightened in the scale of sociability' (Lebra, 2004, pp. 67, 68).

The ura zone – 'contiguous and partially overlapping with *uchi*, is least visible from outside, it is sort of a closet containing dirty linen.' 'To the extent that *ura* can intrude on *omote* to damage outward appearances, *omote* and *ura* are oppositional. The seriousness of such intrusion ranges from making a blunder in etiquette, to exposing one's hidden identity - thus thoroughly transgressing *omote*-displayed identity - through serious rule-breaking, disgrace, or scandal' (Lebra, 2004, pp. 106, 107).

Table 1. *Soto/omote; uchi/ura zones*

Whether Japanese society is actually organised and structured through and around these spatial concepts is secondary to the notion that for AFELT the perception is that these are salient. Therefore, understanding these dichotomies, or in Lebra's terms contingencies, metaphorically is helpful. To reiterate, according to Fairclough (1992, p. 194),

metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way. They are value-laden, potent and effective manipulative devices that affect and reflect the way people think, act and feel about issues, ideas and concepts—the way that they construct their reality. They say much while appearing to say little; they are pervasive and can be insidious in their effect because they are often almost invisible and so we may be unaware of their presence and power. A metaphor can 'inform our thinking without us being aware of its presence' (Bessant, 2002, p. 88).

As noted earlier, AFELT discourse is populated with vocabulary borrowed from the Japanese language, such as *soto/omote*, *uchi/ura*, and *tatemail/hon-ne*. Such borrowings may be considered significant given 'metaphorisation can transform both thinking and practice' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 195). Participants, within the context of this paradigm, construct AFELT 'place' as firmly outside the bounds of mainstream society. Indeed, participants likened themselves to a 'necessary evil' in society. As '*gaijin*' (literally, outside people), AFELT are not privileged to the familiarity or civility shared by those constituted in an *uchi* zone. They are not received in the same manner as those in the 'closeness' of *uchi* space. *Uchi*, like the *soto*, *omote*, and *ura* constructs, can be perceived of as functioning at all levels of society.

A useful conceptual device for understanding how this functions are Russian babushka dolls. For example, at the national level, Japan is *uchi* and all Japanese are encompassed in this macro level space, whilst all nations and peoples outside of Japan are *soto*. Internally, social groups are *uchi* groups, such as one's family, school, neighbourhood, and place of employment, and within each of these are other *uchi* spaces. Gibson's (1997) concept of *niche* offers a useful analogy to understand this concept. For example, within a university each Faculty, School, or Division is an *uchi* zone. In a similar manner, individual classes

within a university also constitute an *uchi* zone or *niche*, and therefore have their own particular affordances.

When transitioning between *uchi* zones, one is in *soto* space and is not afforded the civility, intimacy, and neighbourliness. The *soto* zone, as noted, is characterised ‘by self-other distance, both physical and emotional, and by a lack of civility’ (Lebra, 2004, p. 145). What this means, from the AFELT perspective, is that they may stay perpetual outsiders. As they are employed as adjuncts, they are not perceived of within the university as *uchi*. This is because they do not actually ‘belong’ to any department or the university as a whole. As such, they are *soto*. Therefore, within this logic, it is only natural they would be subject to certain phenomena, such as being viewed ‘not merely as a stranger, but as a nobody, misfit, or enemy’ (Lebra, 2004, p. 145). However, the degree to which AFELT is *soto* is regulated by ones relative distance to the core of the zone, as it is in the *uchi* zone (Lebra, 2004, p. 146). For example, the ‘*soto* world forms multiple concentric circles around the self or self’s *uchi* world. The most distant circle may be likened to an ‘alien’ zone, populated by racial or cultural foreigners; the nearest one may involve an outsider within self’s own domestic realm’ (Lebra, 2004, p. 146). Therefore, AFELT as *soto* intrude into the *uchi*, *soto*, and *ura* zones as depicted in Figure 5. The degree to which they cross these boundaries is contingent on their proximity to the core or outer edges of the *soto* zone in a given context. For example, in their classes, AFELT are ‘outsiders’, but not as far removed from the Japanese *uchi*. One common experience narrated by many participants was where students would interact with them in classes, but completely ignore them outside of classes. Likewise, similar incidents of being ignored were also experienced in relation to full-time staff. Several participants expressed the view that many full-time academics were ‘snobs’ because they refused to interact with them at almost any level. Such views can be understood as reinforcing the *soto* status of AFELT.

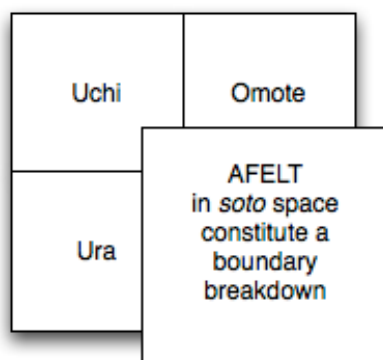


Figure 5. AFELT soto intrusion into uchi, omote, and ura zones (adapted from Lebra, 2004)

However, according to Lebra (2004), AFELT as *soto* are not afforded the civility of *uchi*. In addition, because of their long tenure, the average term of employment being 10-15 years, neither are they afforded the ‘cultural codes of politeness, hospitality, generosity, and reciprocity’ associated with *omote* (Lebra, 2004, p. 42), and shown to welcomed visitors or dignitaries. For example, participants reported a considerable degree of difference between the experience of visiting scholars and academics, and the experience of AFELT. This is not to suggest that all civility is suspended; however, as the distance between *uchi* and *soto* is reduced, the degree of propriety afforded AFELT as *soto* is narrowed.

Nevertheless, AFELT are in *uchi* space, as *soto* entities. As such, they are situated within the *ura* zone. The *ura* zone, as Lebra (2004, p. 107) observes, is a space that ‘is the least visible to the outside’. It is closed to public scrutiny and effectively closed to *soto*. Moreover, in the *ura* zone, *uchi* intimacy can be replaced by abuse in the caliginous *ura* space. A few participants argued that within the closed confines of many universities, in Lebra’s (2004) terms, AFELT are subject to a range of ‘abuses’. These include unfair dismissal, arbitrary pay cuts, pressure to pass students, to list but a few cited in the focus groups and interviews.

To illustrate, one female participant with four years experience (see Appendix A, Interviewee #3) related an account that while working in an elite private university she suspected a student of cheating during a test. After warning the student to no avail, she excluded the student from the test. As a result, the student made a complaint. At the end of the test she was then met by two administrative staff who took her to the Office of Instruction. There she was

asked to give an account of the events and directly challenged by the student. The matter escalated when she insisted her actions were appropriate, and the Head of the department she was teaching in was called. The participant related the following:

He says to me, "Well we are going to have to ask you, we might have to ask you to make another exam." And then he takes me out of the room and I said to him, "Look. If you would like me to make another exam I will do it. If you want me to pass him I will do it, but I want to know if you think I did the right thing." ... He says, "Ahh. It is difficult to say." And I said, "Look. I'm fine I told you, the exam passing no problem. Let me know if you think I did the right thing." And he said, "I'm sorry but in my position I can't say." And I said, at that moment I was getting red because I was thinking, "I understand my role in this whole thing but he can't even say to me, "Jane you did the right thing but please...", but he did say, "Jane this is Japan. You have to understand. This is Japan." Which, I read as, "Jane you did the right thing but my position as Head I cannot tell you and you have to understand this is Japan. It is not the same as your country. So you will have to do what we want even though you think it is not right."

Similar accounts were common across the focus groups and interviews. As *soto* in *uchi/ura* space, AFELT are challenged by their perceived *soto* status, and also as potentially threatening the *omote* of many universities. While this research did not canvass the experience of Japanese adjunct teachers, it is highly likely that some of these teachers encounter similar incidents, but are not publicly reported. Furthermore, the incident should not be taken as specific to the Japanese context because similar concerns have been expressed by teachers in other countries, including Australia (Hallak & Poisson, 2005).

Continuing with Lebra's (2004) interpretation, using the *uchi/soto* dimension layer, the *ura* zone may encroach upon the *omote* as these are oppositional. Such encroachments that compromise the integrity of *omote* may be relatively minor slips in etiquette or major exposures, such as scandals. Therefore, AFELT are positioned such that as *soto* in the *ura* zone they are potentially subject to 'abuses' not necessary experienced by *uchi* except when the boundaries between the zones breakdown. Moreover, they are positioned such that they have access to the 'dark secrets' of the *ura* zone; however, because they are *soto* these are easily dismissed as the account above suggests. Therefore, AFELT are potentially able to

compromise not only the *omote*, but the *uchi* as well. They construe themselves as perceived of as being potentially destabilizing, and therefore threatening at the institutional level.

At the level of metaphor, these constructs are ubiquitous in the meaning making of AFELT structuring not only their cognition, but also their behaviour. How then can AFELT 'role' and 'place' be constructed in the light of these perspectives? Broadly, participants understand their role as maintaining a university's *omote*. Evidence of this is encapsulated in the numerous expressions by participants that '*universities have to have AFELT*'. What this means, is the AFELT role is to help project an image that the university sector is academically orientated and focused on quality education. McVeigh (2002, 148) argues that the AFELT role at this level is also to engender, through their presence on Japanese campuses, 'self-orientalism'. For example, McVeigh (2002, p. 148) writes, 'the presence of foreigners... builds national identity among students. Japaneseness, as a powerful ideology embedded in an array of institutions converts English and non-Japanese instructors into practices and people that reinforces Japanese identity.'

As noted previously, another aspect of AFELT role may be to not draw attention to or create situations that would threaten the integrity of the *omote*, particularly in the public domain. This means not exposing the *ura* to public scrutiny. McVeigh (2002, p. 175) observes, consistent with the findings of this research, 'an uncomfortably large number of *daigaku* [university] administrators and staff exhibit little respect for foreign faculty.' Such behaviour is consistent with *soto* intrusion into *uchi/ura* space. However, membership with a union and assertive 'positive action' is potentially damaging to the institution, and as such the role of AFELT is to 'not make waves' and to be loyal as expected of one in *shimo/soto* position within the *uchi/kami* space. At the classroom level, the AFELT role is understood to be to engage students with the '*gaijin experience*' at the outer margins of the *uchi* zone to further perpetuate 'othering', and as a means of convincing students of their separateness, as Japanese, from foreigners (Befu, 1983).

The 'place' of AFELT, defined through *soto*, can be understood: first, culturally, outside the psychological imagination of many Japanese; second, as employees, outside the formal organisational structures of the Japanese university; and third, as teachers of English as a

foreign language, outside the *'academy'* because they are not viewed as professionals. The *'place'* they occupy in the minds of students is contingently dependent upon their psychological proximity relative to the students' cultural frame. As such, AFELT *'place'* represents somewhat of a paradox. AFELT *'place'* reveals a complex system with multiple layers of power. According to government rhetoric, if Japan is to compete in the knowledge economy of the 21st century, particularly in light of the ascendancy of China and India, it is essential they develop human resource capital capable of exploiting English as the *lingua franca* of global business. As such, AFELT are cast as essential and their *'place'* may be considered vital to the national interest, as the government perceive the Japanese as not having the required skills or resources to teach *'communicative English'*. AFELT *'role'* and *'place'* are considered vital to the national interest. Thus, while AFELT are *soto*, their presence in *uchi/ura* space is perceived by them to be *'tolerated'* (Lebra, 1992), as they are providing an important service. This situation may be understood as being similar to the service of the Jewish bankers in medieval Europe, where *'usury'* was forbidden under Christian law. As the bankers were exempt from Christian law, they could provide this vital service. It appears as if AFELT are performing a similar role, as Japan strives to maintain its position in the global economy in the 21st century much as their predecessors before them during the Meiji restoration.

Metaphorisation and the uchi/soto layer: Some conclusions

Metaphors, it is argued, are significant in the construction of meaning. In the context of this research, AFELT experience is understood to be the target domain, and the Japanese words and phrases they use in their everyday discourse represent the source domain (Kövecses, 2010). *'We are gaijin'*, *'it is all tatemaie'*, and *'we are soto'*, are indicative of AFELT drawing on Japanese concepts as the source domain to help them understand their experiences as the target domain. The first conclusion that can be drawn is the utility of drawing on conceptual metaphor as a basis for analyses for the construction of meaning making in a given context. Although Japanese anthropology is a contested area of research (Cangià, 2010), by contextualising the features of the source domain in terms of *uchi/soto* metaphors it is possible to draw closer to an understanding of AFELT experience. Therefore, research focusing on social interaction in complex systems with overlaying and intersecting cultural

phenomena, juxtaposed with individual cognitions, can arguably benefit from adopting a similar approach.

A further conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that AFELT understand their place and role as ‘outsiders’ inside. AFELT construe themselves as being ‘othered’, rather than discriminated against. They are, therefore, resigned to being eternal outsiders. While there exists some elements of *uchi* connectedness for non-Japanese full-timers, as they are ‘insiders’ in terms of the conditions of employment, they nevertheless report being largely ignored within the organisational structure of the universities in which they are employed. The majority of participants in this study are not sojourners, they are individuals invested in Japan. They have established lives and families, and a good understanding of the mores of the society, yet they remain *soto*. While this experience is not unique to Japan, as many nations struggle with migration and minorities, an exploration of the metaphors of ‘othering’ can reveal impediments to inclusive attitudes and practices, and the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation.

Furthermore, while the metaphorisation and the *uchi/soto* layer highlight features of the environment not generally accessible, this approach does not provide sufficient insights into the agency of self for the participants. This is because, in this construction, AFELT behaviour and that of the Japanese, their institutions, and social structures are not considered to be dynamic. Instead they are conceived of as being fixed and relatively stable. Observations regarding the progression towards ‘openness’ as not having advanced much from the Meiji era, are logical. From this perspective Japan is ‘closed’ and AFELT can do little to effect change in the Japanese worldview, constructed through the cosmology set out in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* myths, where Japan is the birth child of these deities.

The liminality and impression management layers

Liminality

Switching layers, this section considers what is revealed through this research on the experience, role, and, place of AFELT in the Japanese university context set against the

backdrop of internationalisation, through two additional perspectives: the liminal perspective (Turner, 1969, 1977), and the impression management perspective (Goffman, 1959).

Liminality, as noted previously, is the state of being neither here, nor there, 'betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and [ceremony]' (Turner, 1977, p. 95). Garsten (1999, p. 605) observes, 'whereas structure entails systems of classifications, models for thinking about culture and nature and ordering life, institutionalization and governing norms, the liminal phase involves a challenge of structure and its attributes.' Liminal *personae* 'slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space' (Turner, 1977, p. 95). Additionally, liminal entities may be 'represented as possessing nothing', including status, rank, role, or a position in the kinship system (Turner, 1977, p. 95). Turner (1977, 1969) also introduced the notion of *communitas* to characterise the bond and a heightened sense of community that forms between liminal *personae*. Liminality, it is argued, is a useful conceptual device for the analysis of social interaction across a broad range of contexts including universities as outlined in the previous section. In the context of this research, AFELT as 'threshold people', occupy an 'ambiguous' position across multiple levels betwixt and between the formal organisational structures of Japanese society including, but not limited to society, the university as the work place, and the classroom. According to Tempest and Starkey (2004, p. 509), 'The liminal person [is] an ambiguous figure, capable of upsetting normative orders and of transcending institutional boundaries.' Moreover, the liminal *personae* is not bound or expected to be governed by the norms that govern social behaviours.

The Japanese university has been defined as functioning in the psychology of the Japanese people as a liminal space (Tsuda, 1993). In university, students occupy a space considered to be a hiatus between the rigours of high school and the work place (Tsuda, 1993). Therefore, according to Tsuda (1993), students are not expected to study, and the rules and norms of society are generally relaxed. Tsuda (1993) argues that this also extends into the organisational structure of the university, where students are not required to do much more than attend classes. Entrance and exit from the university, and this liminal state, are marked by performances, such as, the entrance and graduation ceremonies.

Based on the reports of participants, AFELT can also be considered in liminal terms. This is reflected in the organisational structures of society and within the university. In society, AFELT as foreigners are neither fully 'in' or 'out', and are on the periphery and at the edges of society. AFELT are, according to participants, seen but not seen, heard but not heard. Likewise, consistent with other minority groups in Japan they are not afforded the social capital and cultural currency to influence or shape Japanese society (Weiner, 2008). Moreover, while they are expected to conform to the rules of civil society, participants reported that the cultural and social norms and mores of society are less clearly defined and are not generally applied to them. As such, their place in society appears ambivalent. Participants gave accounts of where they were frustrated by the manner in which certain facets of society were closed to them. One common expression of this was the reluctance of Japanese to accept them as Japanese speakers. For example, participants stated that when dining out with Japanese and ordering a meal, inevitably the waiter/waitress would ignore their presence and turn to the Japanese for the order. Other examples cited, related to how 'savvy' participants recognised their place as 'betwixt and between' the boundaries of social organisation, and exploited this to their advantage. Such examples, whilst trivial, over time reinforce the view among participants that they are 'in' but not 'in'.

At the institutional level, adjunct AFELT as 'temporary employees' felt they were not expected to do anymore than teach their classes and then leave. It was widely reported in the data that many universities provide little if any formal induction or instructions concerning the curriculum, introductions to other staff (adjunct or full-time), and services beyond library access. There are positive and negative aspects to this. For example, in many instances participants thought that their status as adjuncts provided them with significant levels of autonomy, particularly in terms of pedagogy and content. In contrast, others felt the lack of direction to be a source of stress, but more importantly indicative of a level of indifference to their activities and presence. As vagrants, AFELT have few opportunities to engage or interact with others, and in some cases this was a source of tension. Another example reported in the data, related to the manner in which many universities did not allow adjuncts to publish articles in their journals, which are reserved for full-time academics. Throughout the data, there were numerous instances where participants explained AFELT 'were outside the system'. Therefore, participants felt that they are, albeit surreptitiously, capable of

‘upsetting the normative order’ encumbering the development of a ‘global perspective’ in the student body, because they transcended the institutional boundaries structuring teaching and learning in the Japanese university context.

At the classroom level, AFELT, the communicative English language class itself, and the activities that occurred in that space may be considered in liminal terms. When students were in the communicative English class, they were expected to behave in a manner consistent with that of non-Japanese students in a regular Western university context. As such, they were expected to participate in a range of activities not normally asked or required of them in their standard Japanese taught classes. As with their entry into and exit out of the university, their entry and exit into and out of the English language class is marked by ceremonies, such as the sounding of a bell. Once in the class the norms that would normally dictate behaviour are suspended, or at least the teacher attempts to create an environment where this occurs. In cases where students were reluctant to accept their liminal *personae*, they challenged the authority of AFELT and sought to assert their power. However, in instances where students were participating, their participation maybe understood as ‘betwixt and between’ the rigid social and organisation structures that shape Japanese society. As such, they were ‘insiders’ outside. In this manner, the students experienced a level of role reversal.

Finally, the notion of liminality is a useful conceptual device for understanding the role and place of AFELT. Their role and place in the spaces between the ‘in’ and ‘out’ of society, the institutional boundaries of universities, and the imaginations of their students may be understood in terms of the metaphor: ‘AFELT are *Tengu*’. Figure 6 depicts a *Tengu*.²

² See: Swancer, B. *The Tengu*. <http://www.cryptomundo.com/cryptozoo-news/tengu/> (accessed 08/05/2011).



Figure 6. Tengu

Drawing on Bonnefoy (1993), in Japanese mythology demons of all kinds have influence over human beings. One of the best known are the ‘*celestial dogs*’ – *Tengu*. In the popular imagination, *Tengu* appear suddenly and are capable of ‘bewitching’ people. *Tengu* are endowed with the ability to fly, but more importantly to become invisible and to reappear at will. They are also perceived of as generally shunning the world of people, except when they make their presence known for their own pleasure. As described, ‘With some ambiguity, feelings of vengeance as well as compassion are attributed to them, which causes them to be at the same time feared and venerated’ (Bonnefoy, 1993, p. 285). In medieval times, as in the popular imagination, *Tengu* were characterised as ‘good’ or ‘evil’, capable of both. Good *Tengu*, make themselves known to people and ‘assist them, and sometimes transfer their supernatural abilities to them’ (Bonnefoy, 1993, p. 286). In the case of AFELT, their supernatural abilities are the capacity to communicate in English as recognised in MEXT

policy (c.f., Hashimoto, 2009). In their ‘evil humors’, *Tengu* ‘carry off children, cause objects to fall and buildings to collapse, and sow dissension’ (Bonney, 1993, p. 286). The presence of *Tengu* is signalled acoustically, through the *tengu-warari* (laughter). AFELT, as liminal *personae* or ‘threshold people’, in many ways share the characteristics of the mythical *Tengu*, because they ‘appear and disappear’, and their presence, according to many participants, is capable of ‘bewitching’ but also ‘frightening’ their students. Furthermore, they are viewed as both ‘good’ and ‘evil’, and whilst their presence on many campuses may not be overtly obvious, in numerous instances the laughter emanating from their classes ‘acoustically’ announces their presence beyond the boundaries of their classes.

The following considers AFELT experience, role, and place through dramaturgy and impression management (Goffman, 1959).

Dramaturgy and impression management

The theoretical analogy encapsulated in the metaphor of drama, attributed to Goffman (1959), is presented as a theoretical framework through which to consider and understand AFELT experience, role, and place. To recap, Goffman’s dramaturgy is concerned with the processes of dramatic interaction between an actor and audience, and the processes employed to circumvent disruptions to the presentation of self in character. As expressed by Ritzer and Goodman (2004, p. 358):

The actors hope that the sense of self that they represent to an audience will be strong enough for the audience to define the actors as the actors want them to. The actors also hope that this will cause the audience to act voluntarily as the actors want them to.

As noted previously, Goffman (1959) introduced several key concepts in his model. These include teams, front and back, discrepant roles, communication out of character, and impression management. According to Goffman (1959), any performance is generally conducted in teams, and co-dependency is formed between the performers to stay in character and not disrupt the performance. Thus, a team is defined as ‘a set of individuals whose intimate co-operation is required if a given projected definition of the situation is to be

maintained' (Goffman, 1959, p. 104). In this sense, teams are likened by Goffman (1959, p. 105) to 'conspirators' or members of a 'secret society', withholding from public scrutiny 'how they are operating together to maintain a particular performance'. Therefore, AFELT can be considered to be belonging to two principal teams. First, as participants understood it, as members of their employing university in which they are expected to perform in roles that support the projection of an 'internationally' orientated university. Second, as adjunct foreign English language teachers divided into two teams. In the first team trying to maintain a performance of AFELT as dedicated professional teachers of English as a second language. In the second team being ambassadors for English and using their classes as a vehicle to try and persuade students to '*hate English*' less and to view the English language in contextual rather than decontextualised terms.

The front stage, as noted, is the area where the performance is presented to an audience. It comprises a setting with props, which supports the performance and without which the performance cannot proceed. For example, at the macro level, the setting is the university, and at the micro level, the setting is the AFELT classroom. Then there is the personal front comprised of the items or equipment necessary for the success of a performance. Goffman (1959) subdivided these into 'appearance' and 'manner'. 'Appearance' is understood to be the stimuli that communicates to the audience the social status of the performer (e.g., a uniform). 'Manner' communicates to the audience how the performer will conduct themselves, or 'what sort of role the performer expects to play in the situation (e.g., the physical mannerisms, demeanor)' (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004, p. 359). Participants explained that students generally felt intimidated by Japanese teachers, particularly in the language class. In the performance of their roles, many AFELT differentiated themselves from their Japanese counterparts in several ways. Participants reported deliberately trying to project an image in their classes that they were not '*sensei*', and were therefore approachable, friendly, and accepting of mistakes, in contrast to Japanese teachers of English who were focused on drilling students for examinations or preparing them for TOEIC tests. Moreover, AFELT dressed casually, in contrast to their Japanese counterparts, as a means of projecting the informality they sought to project.

Interestingly, many participants reported instances of where students would consistently fail to bring equipment, such as pens, paper, and the required texts to classes, thus signalling to the teachers how they intended to conduct themselves throughout the teacher's performance. In terms of 'manner', a salient point of difference was 'genkiness' (元気, *genki*). Generally, *genki* is used colloquially to enquire of someone's well being. It roughly equates to 'how are ya?' in Australian English. As in the Australian context, the question is not intended to function beyond the basis of an informal greeting between acquaintances. However, *genki* also relates to a state of being upbeat, happy, jovial, bright, and breezy. In the performance of their role, most participants reported that AFELT are expected by universities and importantly by students to be *genki*. Therefore, if AFELT do not conduct themselves in this manner they may be perceived as being out of character. As a final observation, according to Goffman (1959), the front is the region where people typically try to present an idealized picture of themselves, and therefore feel compelled to hide things in their performances. For example, a Japanese university while projecting an image of a forward-looking, inclusive, and international university employing foreign teachers of English in the community, may be concealing employment conditions that are exploitative. Similarly, AFELT may be projecting the image of well-prepared professional teachers who have well developed resources, while they may actually be pursuing other activities that they are concealing. For example, they may instruct students to work on a task over the course of a period (such as, prepare a role play), and then use that time to do their own study or 'business'. Ritzer and Goodman (2004, p. 359) summarise other phenomena actors may want to conceal. These include secret pleasures, errors, and the 'dirty work' involved in producing an end product. All of these were observable to varying degrees in the Japanese university context and in the performance of AFELT.

Back stage is where performers are no longer in the presence of audiences and actors can step completely out of character. In terms of the university as an institution, those inside it, who constitute it and are part of the organisational structure, are in the back stage. As such, they are privy to all of the knowledge and information that is not intended for or is deliberately concealed from an audience. According to Goffman (1959), a fundamental problem for many performances is the control of information. For a performance to be effective, it is critical that the audience does not acquire any 'destructive information'. 'In other words, a team must be

able to keep its secrets' (Goffman, 1959, p. 141). Destructive knowledge could include different types of secrets, for example:

- Dark secrets – 'facts about a team which it knows and conceals and which are incompatible with the image of self that the team attempts to maintain before its audience.'
- Strategic secrets – 'intentions and capabilities of a team which it conceals from an audience in order to prevent them from adapting effectively to the state of affairs the team is planning to bring about.'
- Inside secrets – 'ones whose possession marks an individual as being a member of a group and helps the group feel separate and different from those individual who are not in the know' (Goffman, 1959, p. 142).

In Goffman's schema there are those who perform 'discrepant roles'. These roles 'are those which bring a person into a social establishment in a false guise' (Goffman, 1959, p. 145). These roles include: 'the informer', 'the shrill', 'the spotter', 'the shopper', 'the go-between', and 'the non-person'. Whilst the AFELT can be cast as an 'informer', perhaps most relevant to AFELT is the 'non-person' character. Goffman (1959) employs the analogy of the servant to describe this particular role. The servant is, 'expected to be in the front region while the host is presenting a performance of hospitality to the guests of the establishment. In this sense the university is the host, the students the guests and the AFELT are the servants. While in some senses the servant is part of the host's team... in certain ways he is defined by both performers and audience as someone who isn't there' (Goffman, 1959, p. 150). Additionally, the 'non-person's' status is subordinate to that of the host and often they are treated with disrespect. Thus, AFELT are positioned in such a way that they are part of the larger performance, and therefore have access to knowledge that may threaten the performance of the university in the broader sense. However, they are also performing in their own right, in that they are also attempting to manipulate a range of audiences, including the university, the students, their colleagues, and in some instances themselves.

Impression management (Goffman, 1959) is a goal directed process, conscious or unconscious, wherein individuals attempt to influence the perceptions of others about themselves, an activity, or an event. In order to do this, information is regulated and controlled, characters are created, and then performed. According to Goffman (1959):

When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that, in general, matters are what they appear to be. In line with this, there is the popular view that the individual offers his performance and put on his show "for the benefit of other people."

In the context of this research, multiple performances and roles were identified. At the meta level the university is performing 'university', with some performances aimed specifically at presenting an image of an 'international university'. AFELT are potentially able to discredit this performance by revealing the university's 'secrets'. However, in the main, as this group is small and generally 'outside' the university as adjunct teachers, the knowledge that they possess is limited and easily refuted. In addition, the fear of not being re-employed also assures secrets are kept. At the micro level AFELT are staging the 'communicative English language teacher' performance. Different roles are performed, as noted above, with some AFELT endeavouring to be seen as 'professional teachers of English as a foreign language', while others strive to project an image that is the antithesis of Japanese teachers of English. What is significant is that whilst a range of 'individual' roles are identified within the AFELT community of practice, there exists a strong sense of 'team'. Tensions were identified concerning the performance of AFELT. For example, the manner in which some individuals were 'performing' the AFELT role was deemed inappropriate by other AFELT. AFELT perceived to be performing 'discrepant roles' were viewed with hostility because, in the minds of many AFELT, the Japanese university administrators and full-time academics did not differentiate between AFELT. Therefore, if one AFELT was 'out of character', for example photocopying materials for their personal use, all AFELT in that particular institution would be prohibited from making photocopies for their classes. In several cases, as several participants explained, such punitive treatment meant that they had to make their

photocopies at the local convenience store and at their own expense. Other examples of this type of behaviour included arriving at classes late and letting classes out early. Where this occurred, all AFELT would be sanctioned rather than the individuals responsible for the act. Thus, such acts generated significant levels of intragroup tension.

Finally, several conclusions can be drawn concerning the role and place of AFELT when considered through the layers of liminality and impression management. These are now detailed.

The liminality and impression management layer: Some conclusions

First, this research has demonstrated that AFELT experience must be understood as ambiguous, and their role and place as fluid and flexible. As ‘adjunct’ they have no ‘place’ within the university context, and as such their role is contingent on the perception they are needed. In addition, as ‘threshold people’, as they appear and disappear, as they cross the boundaries of ‘in’ to ‘out’ and ‘out’ to ‘in’, AFELT challenge the taken for granted organisational structure of the university system in Japan. However, more importantly, liminality, when used as a layer to consider AFELT interactions as foreign teachers of English against the backdrop of internationalisation, reveals *kokusaika* (internationalisation) as a space largely devoid of the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. Therefore, by extension, the notion of liminality offers a perspective through which to consider international students and mobile academics in other contexts. As short-term sojourners, their experiences, and their place and role may be better understood. Significant bodies of research (c.f., Carroll & Ryan, 2005; Jones, 2010; Marginson et al., 2010) clearly show that international students are not well received or indeed fully integrated into the higher education system in English speaking countries. While the neo-liberal market analogy of commodification, and perceived cultural distance and language issues may contribute to this, one’s status as liminal *personae*, as neither ‘here’ or ‘there’, ‘in’ or ‘out’, ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’, may generate a deeper understanding of the dynamics of exclusion within this space. From this perspective, liminality as a theoretical perspective, can add value to research focused on stakeholder experience in the context of internationalisation.

Second, dramaturgy and impression management likewise offer a range of perspectives that may illuminate social practices and settings in novel ways not normally considered in the internationalisation context. In the context of the present research, through the application of this perspective as a layer, phenomena were revealed that would otherwise elude observation. For example, if the underlying value attached to internationalisation is revenue growth, and international students and mobile academics are commodities, this suggests that gestures of inclusion are potentially performances without substance. In this sense, while Japanese policies and institutional rhetoric proclaim inclusivity and that intercultural dimensions of internationalisation are important, to the facets of internationalisation these may be viewed as acts of 'impression management'. What was revealed in AFELT accounts is a sense of persistent and systematic structures of exclusion and marginalisation. Through the lens of dramaturgy and impression management, stakeholder agency becomes less opaque. In the context of this research, AFELT are seen to be performing many roles simultaneously, as individuals and as teams. Applying this theoretical perspective in other contexts may reveal a complex and diverse range of roles and performances for other stakeholders, hitherto unseen.

Third, consistent with those of McVeigh (2000), are the parallels between the theoretical frameworks of Lebra (2004) and Bachnik (1994), and those of Turner (1977) and Goffman (1959). As highlighted, these perspectives when combined or overlaid produced a rich image of depth and complexity. As two sides of the same coin (Cangià, 2010), the juxtaposition of these perspectives, the *uchi/ura* regions parallel the front and back zones in Goffman's schema. Attitudes and behaviours directed toward AFELT, as liminal *personae*, mirror those directed toward *soto*. Numerous other parallels can be catalogued, thus affirming Cangià's (2010) argument for using Goffman's concepts as a lexicon to discuss social order and structure in the Japanese context. This also addresses the concerns raised by Cangià (2010) about essentialising the Japanese when using *uchi/soto* and other cultural constructs to explore social structures and interaction in Japan, and the Japanese self.

The final perspective presented in this research as a conceptual framework, through which to consider the experience, role, and place of AFELT set against the backdrop of internationalisation in the Japanese context, is the notion of positioning as a layer. This is now elaborated.

To recapitulate, positioning theory has been used in this research to highlight, ‘the ever-shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting’ in a given ‘local moral order’ (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1). According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999, p. 1), a position is understood to be, ‘a complex cluster of generic personal attributes, structured in various ways, which impinges on the possibilities of interpersonal, intergroup and even intrapersonal action through some assignment of such rights, duties and obligations to an individual as are sustained by the cluster.’ Anderson (2009, p. 292) summarised positioning in the following terms:

Positioning is comprised of positions and storylines that together delimit possible actions and meanings of what is said and done by people who are positioned in particular ways. Locating positions and their attendant storylines in local interaction conveys the rights, duties, and responsibilities presumed to be associated with such positions relative to cultural repertoires.

Positioning theory, as Linehan and McCathy (2000, p. 441) explain, can be employed as ‘an analytic tool that can be used to describe the shifting multiple relations in a community of practice.’ Following Osbeck and Nersessian (2010, p. 159), positioning theory is, ‘treated as a starting point for reflecting upon the many different aspects of social life’ as it relates to AFELT in the Japanese university context, as a community of practice (Wenger, 1999) within a community of practice. As noted before, multiple positioning acts and attendant storylines are identified in the Japanese internationalisation discourse, the discourse of each university, and the discursive discourse of the participants. Each discourse, as a ‘local moral order’, affords and constrains the possibilities for action. Being positioned in a particular manner carries certain obligations and expectations about how one should behave, and constrains what one may meaningfully do. For example, being positioned as teachers of English as a foreign language, AFELT are expected to teach English, and as such teaching about worldview is not ‘logically’ consistent with the role. Furthermore, ‘subject positions’ also carry rights. For example, one has ‘the right to be heard, the right to be taken seriously, the right to be helped and the right to be looked after’ (Barnes, 2004, p. 2). The present research

suggests that these rights are not extended to AFELT in the majority of cases. Harré and van Langenhove (1999, p. 2) observe that participants in an interaction may seek to adopt a position, or others may assign a position to them. One may choose to ‘acquiesce in such an assignment, contest it or subvert it’ (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 2). Barnes (2004, p. 3) emphasises that how someone is positioned in a given situation ‘depends on the context and community values and on the personal characteristics of all the individuals concerned, their personal history, their preferences and their capabilities.’ In an educational environment, according to Linehan and McCathy (2000, p. 442), both students and teachers have a degree of agency in how they position themselves in interactions, but this agency is interlaced with the expectations and history of the community, and the sense of ‘oughtness’.

From the analysis in the present research, several storylines were observed, as outlined in the fourth paper, including the ‘*university is a hiatus*’ and the ‘*university is a business*’. The analysis also revealed multiple positioning acts. For example, at the macro level, Japanese universities were positioned by AFELT as, ‘*uncaring bureaucracies*’, ‘*exploitative*’, and ‘*insular - meaning not international*’. In turn, at the micro level, AFELT largely positioned students in terms of negative attributes such as, ‘*lacking curiosity about the world beyond Japan*’, ‘*hating and decontextualising the English language*’, ‘*not prepared to challenge the hegemony of the education system*’, and as either ‘*the good or bad student*’. Each position not only affords or constrains what is meaningful, permissible, or possible for universities and students, but also reciprocally for AFELT.

Numerous AFELT subject positions were identified, each affording a different perception and understanding of the experiences of the participants. Subject positions included, for example: AFELT as teachers who have special knowledge and skills to teach English in a manner that Japanese teachers of English were not able to because they are not native speakers of English; AFELT as different to Japanese teachers because they are caring and sensitive to their students; AFELT as dedicated to their jobs and determined to teach English; and AFELT as concerned about the influence their interactions will have on their students at a later stage in the students’ development. Two other subject positions included: AFELT who do not care about the professional dimensions of teaching English, or who, in other words, are in it for the money; and AFELT who, because they have been in Japan too long, feel they are not able

to return to their home countries, and as such are 'stuck' in Japan with few options available to them other than to continue teaching English as a foreign language. Teaching English as a foreign language was positioned in terms of positive and negative aspects. In positive terms, teaching English was considered a fun and rewarding activity. In negative terms, teaching English was considered to be a physically and psychologically demanding job that returned little, except financial benefits and long holidays. AFELT were also positioned as being, 'disposable tools', and 'potentially dangerous'. However, AFELT were also positioned as performing an important role in implicitly and tacitly promoting the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. The following excerpt exemplifies this facet of AFELT subject positioning, and also highlights the negotiation of AFELT identity:

*I think as a teacher what I am again is a cultural representative and in my classes I am showing students, and this might be a dangerous thing, but I am showing them there is another way to approach something. There is another way to think about something. Yes punching the clock and doing what needs to be done is healthy and good sometimes, but it is also good to think outside the box. It is good to think about the way other people do things, and you might actually learn something from that... what I am about is not only teaching the language **but actually teaching students how to learn, how to think, which makes this job all the more difficult, but all the more important.** And when I say that teachers are not motivated, that teachers go into class with a negative attitude, they are not willing to give students the time, you know, 'hey this is how things are. Hey, I care about you enough to take the time to be patient with you to show you, you know, not only that English is something from another place that is interesting and useful, but also there are other ways to think about things.' And I think in doing that many Japanese students have an idea that Westerners think they are culturally superior about you know English is more important with something like that.*

*But no, that is not it at all, **what I want them to understand is that, you know, my culture is just like this culture, there is good things and bad things, good people and bad people, good ideas and bad ideas, and pick and choose from those things.** But no, for the simple fact you are exposing students to something new, that is what makes our job important. So, 'Am I an English teacher?' 'Yes.' 'Am I a cultural ambassador?' 'Yes.' 'Am I a philosopher?' 'Yes.' 'Am I a motivational*

speaker?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Am I a policeman?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘What am I?’ Well just about everything I guess. It kind of goes with the territory (see Appendix A, Interviewee #21).

According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), the availability of any subject position is dependent upon the ‘local moral order’. As AFELT move from class to class and between universities each locale constitutes another ‘local moral order’ that needs to be negotiated. As noted above, how participants in a ‘local moral order’ negotiated this space appeared dependent upon what they brought to it and what the context afforded. AFELT may be positioned in the institutions in which they teach by students, and even themselves, as irrelevant, cosmetic, or insignificant. However, this research has shown is that AFELT subverted and contested such positioning acts. As the excerpt above demonstrates, AFELT exercised their agency in establishing their own positions across the macro, meso and micro levels within Japanese universities, and in the context of internationalisation and the internationalisation of the curriculum.

The positionality layer: Some conclusions

In the classic dramaturgical model, ‘role’ is viewed as the basis for action (Davies & Harré, 1999). Therefore, as Davies and Harré (1999, p. 41) observe:

In the dramaturgical model people are constructed as actors with lines already written and their roles determined by the particular play they find themselves in. Nor do they do not have much choice as to how to play these roles in a particular setting.

In contrast, ‘subject positioning’ permits one to conceive of themselves as ‘choosing subjects’, in other words, as asserting their agency. While roles, such as, ‘teacher’ and ‘teacher of English as a foreign language’ are generally understood to constitute a defined range of obligations and expectations, through positioning theory it is possible to highlight the manner in which discursive practices constitute AFELT in certain ways and provide resources for AFELT to negotiate new positions, and as such identities (Davies & Harré, 1999, p. 52).

From the perspective of reflexive positioning, AFELT experiences, knowledge, and beliefs, and how they envisage their role and place can be considered to be complex, dynamic, and negotiated. Consistent with Yoon (2008), this research also highlighted a link between belief and practice. AFELT who possessed a broad notion of their role expanded their pedagogy to fulfil their goals, whilst AFELT who had a narrow notion of their role managed their pedagogy to limit the degree of interaction they had with students and provided few opportunities for students to '*broaden their horizons*'. While phenomena, such as, social mores, cultural tendencies, and institutional practices at the macro, meso, and micro level may be considered to constrain AFELT in their 'role' as teachers of English, AFELT may be understood as reflexively positioning themselves that they transcended the 'role' of non-Japanese teacher of communicative English. Thus, as in the case of one participant, AFELT claimed multiple positions. However, it is important to note that while AFELT construed their place in terms of 'invited' but not 'welcomed', which they acquiesced or subverted, AFELT in turn positioned their students and the university system in ways that limited their opportunities for participation. This means that if students are positioned as not 'really having the right to be in university' because of a perceived lack of aptitude, then the students are not afforded the right to be received as 'deserving students'. Universities that are positioned as catering to 'lower level students' are afforded the right to 'dumb down' their curriculum, and as such expect students to perform academically or teachers to really teach is not logical within the context of that 'moral order'.

Applying positioning theory to other stakeholders and contexts within the internationalisation discourse may illuminate affordances and constraints that have not hitherto been exposed. These affordances and constraints may impact either positively or negatively on the development of the intercultural dimension of internationalisation. An exploration of 'roles' through positioning in the construction of identity within internationalisation, and participation in that context, may reveal that storylines of exclusion and 'othering' are more prominent than the 'taken-for-granted' storylines assume, or research to date suggests. For example, in the context of the present research internationalisation in the Japanese context, as constructed through AFELT discourse, suggests that the storyline is one of 'expediency', 'instrumentalisation', 'opportunity', and importantly 'dependency'. Each stakeholder in this storyline is understood to be reciprocally positioning and positioned relative to the realisation

of his/her or their goals and agendas. Thus, internationalisation when viewed through the cognition and experiences of AFELT, and their role and place in the Japanese context is not reducible to a simple narrative of exploitation. Rather, it is revealed to be a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple converging and diverging storylines.

Having ‘overlaid’ each theoretical framework representing a layer of interpretation, the final section outlines the research limitations, identifies directions for further research, and summarises the dissertation.

Limitations and directions for further research

The present research has highlighted and explored the role, place, and experience of AFELT in the context of Japanese higher education reform and internationalisation. It has shown AFELT experience, role, and place to be a complex series of negotiated constructs that intersect at the nexus of participation, organisational structure, and internationalisation. Through this research, the aim to give voice to AFELT has been addressed and realised. However, there are multiple voices that remain silent within the broader context of the study.

The findings suggest that AFELT in the context of Japanese higher education and internationalisation are not well placed. It appears as if little may have changed concerning the inclusion of foreign academics in the Japanese university context since Hall (1994, 1998) first raised the issue of Japanese universities as sites of ‘academic apartheid’, and in real terms closed to non-Japanese academics and teachers. Therefore, the present research has highlighted what appears to be a significant gap between the rhetoric of internationalisation and the reality of this as it relates to AFELT. However, this view needs to be considered in a broader context. A significant factor influencing the experience of participants in the present research is their status as adjunct teachers. As noted, because of their adjunct status AFELT are excluded from many activities within the organisational structure of the university. Further research focusing on the experience, role, and place of full-time non-Japanese academics set against the backdrop of internationalisation may reveal an entirely different picture. In addition, research critiquing how Japanese academics perceive and construct the role and place of non-Japanese academics in light of higher education reform and

internationalisation would be invaluable. Similarly, research focused on understanding how domestic Japanese students from a range of universities nationally, high and low status, public and private, position AFELT in the context of internationalisation, which is crucial for understanding how AFELT contribute to the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation. Likewise, further research that explores the influence (or otherwise) of other non-Japanese teachers on the development of global perspectives, and the intercultural dimensions of domestic students would contribute to a broader understanding of the dynamics of student positioning and the influence of teachers in this context.

Additionally, throughout the research, observations were made about the organisational structure of the Japanese university, in that it did not generally support the inclusion of non-Japanese academics, which corroborates Yonezawa, Akiba and Hirouchi's (2009) claim concerning the readiness of Japanese academics and students to accept non-Japanese. It could be concluded that Japanese universities continue to struggle with accommodating difference and diversity. However, broad generalisations of this nature need to be exercised with care. Clearly, many Japanese institutions are increasingly willing to engage with issues of diversity and they are rising to the challenge. The degree to which universities in Japan are internationalising their curricula, and are supporting interculturality in policy and practice remains largely unexamined. Also, the degree to which the universities the participants were employed in are representative of universities across Japan needs to be explored. Therefore, further research that examines these facets would be welcomed, as they have yet to be addressed. The present research focused on one distinct group of non-Japanese academics, namely adjunct teachers working in a broad range of university contexts at a particular point in time. Longitudinal research focused on the experiences of full-time non-Japanese academics may provide other insights concerning affordances and constraints, related to the intercultural dimensions of internationalisation in the Japanese university context, which at present elude detection.

What this research has also highlighted is that the majority of participants (and arguably AFELT in general) are not drawn to the teaching of English as a foreign language because they view it in vocational terms. Rather, English language teaching in Japanese universities is initially considered attractive for three principal reasons. First, the status it affords, as it is

generally regarded among English teachers in Japan, according to the participants, as the pinnacle of English language teaching in Japan. Second, the hours worked to salary ratio is understood by the participants to be better than any other form of teaching available. Third, the flexibility and holidays, whereby the academic calendar is approximately 30 weeks and AFELT have the remainder of the year free to pursue their interests. All of the participants cited this as a particularly attractive aspect of their employment. However, the present research also revealed that English language teaching for AFELT is not without its challenges. Further research that explores these challenges in-depth and from a variety of perspectives, using a range of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, may add significantly to the current body of knowledge focused on the contribution of AFELT to the development of English language and the intercultural communication competencies of domestic Japanese students. Moreover, generalisations concerning the dynamics operating in the Japanese university context relating to non-Japanese academics and students may be avoided.

Finally, this dissertation highlights the need for further research into the influence of AFELT as vehicles and facilitators of reciprocal intercultural understanding; the range of local cultural affordances and constraints; and the processes to evaluate and support 'global citizenry' as graduate outcomes in the Japanese context. Future research that considers the perspective of non-Anglo foreign academics employed in the Japanese university context may likewise significantly contribute to the understanding of how non-Japanese are being situated and positioned. Such research, as well as contributing to an understanding of the dynamics of social interaction and inclusion in the Japanese university context, may also inform government policy and institutional initiatives.

In summary

This dissertation commenced with a desire to understand more fully the experience, knowledge, and beliefs of AFELT set against the backdrop of reform and internationalisation in the Japanese higher education context. The Japanese university is understood to be a complex and dynamic juxtaposition of multiple spaces and trajectories. In addressing this aim, the conceptual usefulness of using a multi-theoretical framework to explore AFELT

experience, role, and place has been demonstrated. This dissertation has addressed each of the four stated aims. First, the research has contributed to the understanding of how AFELT construe themselves as situated in the Japanese university context. As such, this research has made an original contribution to the Japanese higher education internationalisation discourse. Second, the research has illuminated phenomena that afford and/or constrain AFELT inclusion, engagement, pedagogy, professional practice, and participation. Furthermore, it has been observed that phenomena that afford or constrain AFELT are located across all levels of social interaction, and are internally and externally constructed. Internally, the unique characteristics of AFELT as individuals and as a community of practice were shown to influence each domain of engagement, participation, and cognition. Externally, the unique characteristics of the environment as perceived by AFELT were shown to likewise influence each of these domains. Third, the research has contributed to the development of an understanding of the degree and nature of AFELT contribution to the internationalisation in the Japanese context. However, the degree to which AFELT contribute to this through supporting the development of the intercultural dimensions is unknown and requires further research. While AFELT report attempting to influence this aspect of internationalisation, there is no corroborating evidence that can be identified that suggests they are successful in this endeavour. The nature of their contribution to internationalisation is shown to be complex. AFELT are shown to be contributing to the internationalisation of Japanese higher education in unexpected ways. Fourth, this dissertation has demonstrated the conceptual usefulness of a multi-theoretical framework as a heuristic device, and for revealing a richer more nuanced understanding of AFELT role and place. Through the application of multi-theoretical perspective the complexities, subtleties, and nuances of AFELT experience, role, and place have been illuminated.

The dissertation commenced with the metaphor: AFELT are ‘standing in the *genkan*’. As such, AFELT are understood to be metaphorically invited into the house, but no further. They are not invited to remove their shoes and enter the home. Therefore, AFELT are construed as socially positioned between ‘states’, neither fully ‘in’ or ‘out’, ‘visible’ or ‘invisible’, ‘audible’ or ‘silenced’. Paradoxically, AFELT as liminal *personae* are hidden away from society while in full view. Those occupying the interior spaces, namely the full-time university administrators, Japanese academics, and students, find it difficult if not impossible to interact substantively with AFELT. This is because the ambiguous status of AFELT as liminal *personae* ‘defies all social categories’ as they are in effect rendered ‘non-persons’ (Willett & Deegan, 2001). Thus, AFELT ‘standing’ can be viewed as being marginal, peripheral, or ephemeral. However, this is not the complete picture. *Genkan* is a space. As a space, *genkan* is neither closed nor static. Rather, as Massey (2005, p. 19) argues, as a space *genkan* can be viewed as characterised by ‘openness, heterogeneity and liveliness’. How *genkan* is defined and how one’s ‘standing’ in that space is understood, is determined by how one conceptualises and imagines it. For example, in closing, to quote Massey (2005, p. 59):

Conceiving of space as a static slice through time, as representation, as a closed system and so forth are all ways of taming it. They enable us to ignore its real import: the coeval multiplicity of other trajectories and the necessary outward-lookingness of a spatialised subjectivity. In so much philosophy it is time which has been a source of excitement (in its life) or terror (in its passing). I want to argue... that space is equally exhilarating and threatening.

If time is to be open to a future of the new then space cannot be equated with the closures and horizontalities of representation. More generally, if time is to be open then space must be open too. Conceptualising space as open, multiple and relational, unfinished and always becoming, is a prerequisite for history to open and thus a prerequisite, too, for the possibilities of politics.

Thus, AFELT ‘standing in the *genkan*’ is yet to be defined when space is conceptualised as ‘open, multiple and relational, unfinished and always becoming’ (Massey, 2005, p. 59).

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Appendix A

Focus group 1 (Foc.1) Participants							Round 1 Data Collection	
Participant	Age/gender	Nationality	Marital status	Japanese proficiency	Educational qualifications	Years in Japan	Years in university employment	Total Number of Tertiary institutions worked in across <i>Kansai</i>
1	51/M	UK	Jpn S + Chd	Basic	B.Sc	9	7.5	4
2	51/M	Aust	Jpn S	Advance	M.Ed	26	23	11
3	50/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Advance	M.Ed			2
4	45/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Advanced	M.Ed	16	7	6
5	47/M	Aus	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A	17	12.5	6
6	55/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Basic	M.A	9	7	3
Focus group 2 (Foc.2) Participants								
1	33/M	Aust	S	Intermediate	B.A	8	2	1
2	38/M	Can	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A	12	10	2
3	46/M	UK	S	Basic	B.Sc	9	4	3
4	35/F	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	B.Sc	10	6	2
5	51/M	USA	S	Intermediate	M.A TESOL	15	12	8
6	43/F	NZ	Jpn S	Intermediate	M.A App.Ling	17	9	6
Focus group 3 (Foc.3) Participants							Round 3 Data Collection	

1	45/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A	12	10	4
2	36/F	Aust	S	Intermediate	M.A App Ling	10	9	4
3	36/F	UK	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A	10	11	7
4	43/F	USA	S	Intermediate	B.A; Cert TESL	11	12	3
5	52/M	UK	S	Basic	B.A	12	9	3
6	59/F	USA	S	Basic	Ph.D	10	9	3
7	47/M	NZ	S	Intermediate	M.A	6	5	3

Focus Group 4 (Fg.4) Comprised members from Focus Group 1, Round 1

Interview (Int) Participants							Round 2 Data Collection	
Participant	Age/gender	Nationality	Marital status	Japanese proficiency	Educational qualifications	Years in Japan	Years in university employment	Total Number of Tertiary institutions worked in across <i>Kansai</i>
1	35/F	Aust	Jpn S	Basic	B.Ed, TESOL Cert	5	4	4
2	50/M	USA	S	Intermediate	M.App Ling	15	10	4
3	33/F	Aust	Cez S	Basic	M.Ed TESOL	7	4	8
4	45/M	UK	S	Advance	M.A	18	10	6
5	44/M	Aust	S	Intermediate	B.A	23	20	4
6	48/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	B.A ESL	20	18	5
7	43/F	Can	Can S	Basic	B.A	8	4	3
8	35/M	USA	S	Intermediate	M.A	15	10	6
9	40/M	NZ	Aust S + Chd	Basic	B.SL App Ling	13	9	5
10	40/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A TESL	15	5	4
11	57/M	UK	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	B.A	28	18	5
12	49/M	UK	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	B.Ed RSA Dip TEFL	25	15	7
13	55/M	USA	S	Advance	M.A	25	15	3
14	47/M	Aust	Jpn S	Basic	B.A Dip Ed	11	8	5
15	37/M	Aust	Jpn S + Chd	Basic	M. App Ling	11	5	7
16	62/M	USA	S	Basic	M.A	20	14	8
17	48/M	UK	Jpn S + Chd	Advance	Ph.D	17	17	4
18	36/M	UK	S	Intermediate	M.A	6	5	6
19	43/M	UK	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A	10	6	4
20	47/M	USA	Jpn S +	Intermediate	M.Ed TESOL	18	14	5

			Chd					
21	29	USA	Amer S	Intermediate	M.A	2.5	0.5	3
22	51/M	USA	Jpn S + Chd	Intermediate	M.A App Ling	27	20	5
23	55/F	USA	S	Intermediate	M.Sc; CELTA	16	16	8
24	40/M	USA	S	Advance	B.A	19	14	1

Appendix B list of universities

Appendix B. Spread of institutions by participants and prefecture. Total Institutions = 66		
Hyōgo	Osaka	Nara
Eichi University – Int. 21	Baika Women College – Fg1.2; Int. 9	Kinki University - Fg3.5, 6
Himeiji Institute of Technology – Int. 10	Kansai Gaidai University – Fg1.6; Fg3.1, 2; Int.1, 4, 16, 22, 23	Tezukayama University - Fg1.2, 6; Fg2.5; Fg3.3, 5, 7; Int. 2, 7, 22
Kobe City University of Foreign Studies – Int. 3, 12, 16, 17	Kansai University – Fg1.4; Int. 12, 18, 22, 23, 24	Shiga
Kobe Gakuin University – Fg2.5; Int. 8	Kinki University – Fg1.1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Fg2.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Fg3.1, 4, 5, 6, 7; Int. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23	Chukyo Gakuin University – Int. 17
Kobe Jogakuin University - Fg2.5; Int. 8	Kwansei Gakuin University – Fg1.2, 4, 5; Fg3.3	Heian Jogakuin University – Int. 16
Kobe Pharmaceutical University – Int. 10	Momoyama Gakuin University - Fg3.3; Int. 13, 23	Shiga University – Int. 3, 15
Kobe Shinwa Women's University – Fg2.5; Fg3.3, 4; Int. 8	Osaka College of Foreign Languages; Int. 11, 14	Wakayama
Kobe Shoin Women's University - Fg2.5; Fg3.3	Osaka Electro Communication University - Fg1.1, 2; Int. 10	Wakayama University - Fg1.2,
Kobe Yamate University – Int. 8	Osaka Gakuin University - Fg3.2, 4	Kinki University Medical School - Fg3.1
Konan University - Fg1.3; Fg2.6	Osaka Institute of Technology - Fg1.5; Fg2.3; Fg3.3, 7; Int. 1, 2, 5, 14	Other
Konan Women's University – Int. 16	Osaka International University - Fg1.1, 3; Fg2.3; Fg3.7; Int. 6, 14	Akashi Kosen – Int. 8
Otemae University – Int. 6	Osaka Jogakuin College – Fg1.2; Fg3.1; Int. 12, 18, 19, 22	Doshisha Women's College of Liberal Arts – Fg3.2; Int. 15, 16
Sonoda Gakuen Women's University - Fg2.6	Osaka School of Music – Int. 4,	Kinran Junior College - Fg2.6; Int. 11
Kyoto	Osaka Shoin Women's University - Fg1.2; Int. 14	Osaka Seikei College – Int. 12
Bukkyo University – Fg2.6,	Osaka University of Arts – Int. 7	Shinai Junior College - Fg2.5
Doshisha University – Fg1.4; Fg3.2; Int. 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23	Osaka University of Commerce – Int. 8	Temple University – Int. 18
Kyoto Institute of Technology – Int. 3,	Osaka University of Economics & Law - Fg1.5; Fg2.4, 5; Fg3.7; Int. 1, 5, 16, 19	
Kyoto Koka Women's University, Int. 4,	Osaka University of Foreign Studies – Fg2.2; Int. 6, 9, 10, 23	
Kyoto Notre Dame University – Int. 4	Osaka University of Health & Sport Sciences – Int. 3,	
Kyoto Saga University of Arts – Int. 17,	Osaka Women's University- Fg1.1; Int. 20, 21	
Kyoto Tachibana University – Int. 3,	Otani Women's University - Fg3.6; Int. 11	
Kyoto University of Foreign Studies – Fg3.1; Int. 4, 15, 23	Otemon Gakuin University – Fg3.1; Int. 6, 9, 18	
Ritsumeikan University - Fg1.4; Int. 11, 15	Poole Gakuin University - Fg1.2; Int. 12	
Ryukoku University – Int. 3, 15	Senri Kinran University – Fg2.6	
	Setsunan University - Fg3.3; Int, 14	
	Shitennoji International Buddhist University – Int. 2, 5, 18	
	Soai University - Fg2.6	
	Sonoda Gakuen Women's University – Int. 19	
	Tezukayama Gakuin University - Int. 9, 13, 20	