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Japanese international students' motivation towards public speaking and English

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JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' MOTIVATION

TOWARDS PUBLIC SPEAKING AND ENGLISH

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Communication Studies

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

By

Akihiko Yokomizo

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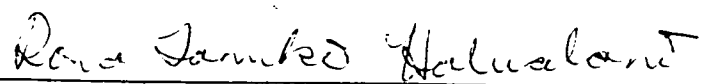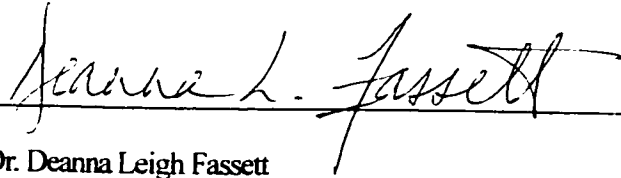
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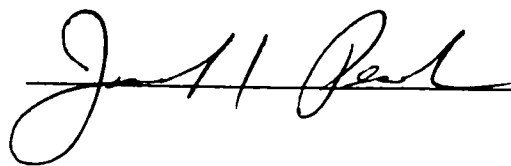
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ABSTRACT

JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' MOTIVATION
TOWARDS PUBLIC SPEAKING AND ENGLISH

By Akihiko Yokomizo

This thesis analyzes Japanese international students' motivation towards learning public speaking and English and its influence on their identity. An in-depth analysis of their experience reveals that their motivation is constructed by the large contexts such as globalization and the marginalized female social status in Japan.

This thesis is conducted from a critical-qualitative perspective which is characterized as the radical subjectivist paradigm. I engaged in in-depth interviews with Japanese international students and analyzed the data from cultural studies and feminist perspectives.

The study discovered that their motivation constitutes of eight sources: academic requirements, business skills, practice speaking English, the discourse of "English as an international language," and elitism as well as admiration for the Whiteness, resistance to the gender marginalization in Japan, and identity negotiation for female students. I suggest that the public speaking curriculum includes instruction of rhetorical contextualization so that students raise their awareness of the politics of speaking.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO JAPANESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' MOTIVATION TO LEARNING ENGLISH AND PUBLIC SPEAKING

Introduction

English is now the most widely used language in the world (Crystal, 1997). It is used for international communication between native speakers of English and non-native speakers as well as between non-native speakers who speak different languages, (i.e., Japanese and Koreans) (Suzuki, 2001). A large number of Japanese international students come to the U.S. in order to master English, and are required to take an English public speaking course as a core requirement. Since most of them do not have many opportunities to practice speaking English and to learn structured ways of speaking in front of an audience in Japan, Japanese students are afraid of taking an English public speaking course. But, on the other hand, they show positive interest in English public speaking courses and view English public speaking courses as valuable opportunities to improve their English speaking skills.

Numerous studies have been done on public speaking in communication studies (for e.g., Beatty & Friedland, 1990; Behnke, Sawyer, & King, 1987; Giffin & Gilham, 1971; Kondo, 1994). These studies reside in the areas of communication education and intercultural communication. Communication education scholars research the nature of speaking anxiety (Ayers, 1996; Ayres & Hopf, 1985) and intercultural communication scholars conduct interethnic or international comparative studies on communication apprehension and speaking anxiety from a social scientific perspective (Klopf, 1984; Martini, Behnke, and King, 1992). However, few studies have focused on international

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students in the public speaking context, especially from critical and qualitative perspectives. Scholars in communication studies have not paid attention to how the motivation of non-native student speakers of English is constructed by external forces such as internationalization and power forces.

This research, therefore, aims to analyze the nature of Japanese undergraduate international students' motivation in public speaking courses as well as outside of the classroom from a critical-qualitative perspective. This study will contribute to higher education both in Japan and the U.S. by presenting in-depth insights about Japanese international students' important affective aspects of motivation toward public speaking courses from a critical-qualitative perspective not seen in past studies.

Literature Review

Quantitative/Social Scientific Research on Cognitive Aspects of Communication

Communication Apprehension.

In the communication studies discipline, there are numerous studies that focus on communication apprehension (Chesebro, 1992; McCroskey, 1984), uncertainty reduction (Berger, 1987; Gudykunst 1988; Gudykunst, 1995), and speaking anxiety (Ayers, 1996; Ayres & Hopf, 1985; Beatty & Friedland, 1990; Behnke, Sawyer, & King, 1987) conducted from a social scientific/quantitative perspective. Of these, several studies examine Asian international student experiences and attitudes with regard to communication apprehension and speaking anxiety because of the cultural differences and communication styles (see e.g., Klopf, 1984; Martini et al., 1992; McCroskey, Gudykunst, & Nishida, 1985). For example, Klopf (1984) indicates that Japanese college students reported higher levels of communication apprehension than any other

groups did.   The number of Asian international students has been increasing in the U.S. and teachers have to pay attention to communication with them.   Within this body of research, there are only a few studies that focus on Japanese students' speaking anxiety (e.g., Kondo, 1994).   Anxiety has been framed in this research as a negative problem that needs to be corrected and in particular, Kondo (1994) focuses how to overcome speaking anxiety.   Therefore, his view of communication is mechanical though he tries to deal with emotional aspects of communication.

The implication from this line of research is that Japanese students are somehow deficient in Westernized speaking settings.   Based on the assumption that one culture is dominant in Japan, McCroskey and Richmond (1987) call people in a minority position in communication "culturally divergent individuals" and argue that such culturally divergent people are "very similar to people who have deficient communication skills" (p. 140).   McCroskey and Richmond's (1987) notion of culture is based on ethnicity and geographic region and they conclude that frequency and amount of communication increase willingness to communicate.   Within this line of research, studies on affective aspects in communication have not paid any attention to power imbalances between communicators and complex social constructions of the specific motivations and feelings that Japanese international students possess towards public speaking and communicating in English.

Motivation.

Motivation is an important factor in communication education.   Zorn (1991) summarizes the significance of motivational aspects in communication education studies: "Effective communicative performance is the result of not only abilities (or competence)

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and contextual influences, but also the individual's motivation to communicate" (Burleson, 1984; Spitzberg & Hecht, 1984; Zorn, 1992). In order to achieve communication departments' pedagogical goals in culturally divergent classrooms, it is important to examine the motivation of various student groups who have different backgrounds, in terms of nationality, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic class. These elements are important because they cannot be separated from their motivation towards communication in their social life.

Motivation has been also studied in other fields of study outside of communication studies. In education, Brophy (1987) defines student motivation to learn as "a student tendency to find academic activities meaningful and worthwhile and to try to derive the intended academic benefits from them" (p. 205). Educational psychology distinguishes motivation into two categories: extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation is motivation created by external rewards other than for its own sake, and intrinsic motivation refers to motivation associated with activities or undertaken for its own sake (Vander Zanden, 1980; Woolfolk, 1987). TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) classifies two types of motivation: instrumental and integrative motivation. Brown (1994) explains:

> Instrumental motivation refers to motivation to acquire a language as means for attaining instrumental goals: furthering a career, reading technical material, translation, and so forth. An integrative motive is employed when learners wish to integrate themselves within the culture of the second language group, to identify themselves with and become a part of that society (p. 154).

English education in Japan is largely based on linguistics and holds this view of motivation following Gardner and Lambert's (1972) research in the bilingual area of English and French in Montreal in Canada (cf. Takanashi & Takahashi, 1990).

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Instrumental motivation is extrinsic motivation because learners of English aim to benefit from using English as a tool of communication or qualification. Integrative motivation is more intrinsic because learners satisfy their desire in which they are assimilating themselves in communities of speakers of English by learning English itself. These classifications of motivation are based on the types of external and internal rewards by learning.

The study of reward-oriented motivation focuses on the cause-effect relationship between independent variables (e.g., attitudes and motivations along with the foreign language aptitude, the verbal IQ, and socio-economic background) and dependent variables (e.g., language acquisition proficiency, performance in the classroom, and test scores) as Lambert (1991) discusses. However, this study does not explore its analysis of instrumental motivation beyond the economic structures. Other structures interconnected with such as educational systems and international relations may shape the idea for knowledge, specific purposes for attaining education and student expectation. Giroux (1991) suggests that "Education must be understood as producing not only knowledge but also political subjects" (p. 47). In addition, Freire (1970) proposes the banking concept of education, in which the flow of knowledge is systematically fixed in the one way from teachers, who have power to choose what to teach and how to teach, to students, who are taught and have to adapt to teachers' choice. Freire continues that education indoctrinates credulous students to adapt to the systems of oppression with ideological intent of which even teachers are not aware. Similarly, a critical Marxist scholar Louis Althusser (1991 reprint) argues that schools are an important site of

ideological state apparatuses, or structures that function to reproduce, normalize, and naturalize ideologies by using firstly ideologies and secondly forces such as physical punishment. Schools, therefore, reproduce students for the knowledge base and skills of the ruling class (English, history, science, and cannons) and certain ways of thinking by the ruling class (ethics, civilization, modernization, and philosophy).

Education is also in the structure of the society, nation, and the global power balance. Hall (1997) illustrates that global mass culture always uses a variety of broken English as a new form of international language; this is not Queen's English but still it is centered in the West. Thus, it is valuable to examine how power structures such as internationalization guide Japanese students to form their motivation toward speaking English.

On the other hand, studies of motivation in communication studies have emphasized the significance of context. Motivation is studied in terms of two dimensions in communication studies: trait motivation and state motivation. In communication education, trait motivation is the motivation toward education in general, and state motivation is the motivation toward specific learning contexts and at a particular point in time (e.g., topics, tasks, teachers, and classes) (Brophy, 1987; Christophel, 1990; Frymier, Shulman, & Houser, 1996; Keller, 1983). For example, Christophel (1990) explains that motivation can "lead to arousal and instigative behaviors, give direction and purpose to behaviors to persist and lead to choices of preferred behaviors" (p. 324). Christophel also reveals that there is a significant relationship between nonverbal teacher immediacy and student state motivation.

Frymier at el (1996) argues that student empowerment, a form of motivation which also includes organizational or global tasks, is positively associated with students' state motivation to study in a specific class, but does not have a significant relationship with their trait motivation. The aforementioned area of communication research examines students' state motivation, and the positive affect of students' experiences in public speaking such as emotional affect and motivation (or willingness to communicate). However, motivation for public speaking has not been studied extensively, specifically, from the perspective of Asian international students.

Communication scholars associate motivation with anxiety. Zorn (1991) explains that motivation is related to anxiety because people may increase their motivation to communicate when they do not have much anxiety. Giffin and Gilham (1971) explain that the tendency to avoid failure inhibits tendency to achieve success in public speaking courses. However, the absence of communication apprehension does not always motivate them to communicate (McCroskey & Richmond, 1987; Pearson, DeWine, & Willer, 1984; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1989; Zorn, 1992). For example, McCroskey and Richmond (1987) suggests that there are other factors related to willingness to communicate rather than anxiety: communication apprehension, unwillingness to communicate, predisposition toward verbal behavior, talkativeness, reticence, and quietness. In addition, communicators' affective aspects are complex, and intensive studies are necessary. From the aforementioned quantitative or social scientific research, scholars have focused on the cause-effect relationships between motivation or demotivation factors and learning efficiency or communicative competence, and have

viewed motivation factors as mechanical tools to enhance students' learning and communication. However, this paradigm has not enabled an understanding of motivation as a component of learners' world view.

<u>Critical-Qualitative Research on Motivation</u>

Scholars have engaged in other paradigmatic approaches to studying motivation, namely, the critical-qualitative paradigm. For example, scholars of anti-English imperialism in applied sociolinguistics examine learning English from a postcolonial perspective. Phillipson (1992) analyzes that people in countries colonized by Western countries have to master their colonizers' language to secure good occupations and this results in colonizers' influence on those countries even after liberation. Pennycook (1994) reveals that English language teaching has infused learners with the Western ethnocentric notions of development and modernization. Education in Japan cannot escape from these influences. Hirano (1979) examines the English language textbooks used in Japan and argues that they contain the American middle-class values and those of British culture. These scholars see language as not merely a tool of communication but also a discourse with power. Also, feminist scholars reveal hidden gender issues in the context of learning (Kishizawa, 1996; Nishitai, 1998; Takada, 1993; Ujiie, 1996). For example, Takada (1993) analyzes the reason why female students tend to choose to major in literature though male students tend to major in science by conducting questionnaires and interviews. She reveals that there is a pervasive common sense or myth saying that girls are not good at math and it creates the hierarchical consciousness that male's science major is superior to female's literature major in the male-dominated society.

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These studies suggest that the larger contexts of learning and use should be considered. Therefore, it is important to examine motivation toward learning from a critical perspective.

However, in communication studies, there are a limited number of critical-qualitative studies on Japanese motivation toward speaking English. A critical-qualitative perspective can be defined as the radical subjectivist position of research, which I will detail in the later section of "Method." One important example of a critical-qualitative research study on Japanese motivation toward speaking English lies in a Japanese critical scholar of international/ intercultural communication and language policy, Yukio Tsuda. Tsuda (2000) researched Japanese international students' motivation toward English. He conducted survey questionnaires and interviews that examine the fetishism for English and Whiteness felt by Japanese international students who were in the English language program at the University of Hawaii. He critically analyzes the data and has three significant results. First, the result of the survey indicates that female students are more likely to report their fetishism to English and teachers who are native speakers of English than male students do. Second, the data from the interviews support female interviewees' strong English fetishism. Third, female interviewees reported their positive attitudes towards male foreigners as romantic partners. Tsuda concludes that Japanese women associate English, the U.S., and *gaijin* (foreigners) as representations of freedom, independence, and emancipation from the hierarchically closed Japanese society in relation to romantic relationships but they are not afraid that they will lose their identity through fetishism for English and Western

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cultures. Tsuda explores his analyses by using postcolonial critiques and anti-English imperialism.

Gender issues are also important. Tsuda (1993a) explains the trend of Japanese female workers' resignation and study in the U.S. in relation to domestic gender inequalities in Japan. He distinguished Japanese women's sources of motivation toward studying English and studying in the U.S. and U.K. into three categories: Western fetishism, search for moratorium, and desire to be superwomen. First, Japanese women in the Western fetishism want to assimilate themselves into the Western culture and people, especially White. Second, Japanese women in the moratorium have experience of gender marginalization in the Japanese society such as gender inequalities in their job tasks and promotion. They view learning English and studying in the U.K. or U.S. as escape from the marginalization and the Japanese society. Third, Japanese women with superwoman desire perceive English as empowerment in their job career. They have strong ambition and goals of their study. For example, they pursue an M.B.A. in the U.S. and compete with men. Tsuda suggests that Japanese women are marginalized in double dominant systems: the male dominance and the English language dominance, but they are not aware of the dominance of English. They view "English as a language of liberation" (p. 47) and blindly accept the dominance of English to escape from or get over the gender marginalization in Japan. Tsuda criticizes the dominance of English relating to the female marginalization in Japan from a feminist perspective.

These studies are important because Tsuda suggests that there may be a link between Japanese students' motivation and structures such as international or global

conditions of the economic, technological, and military power of the West that influences the order and value systems in the world as well as domestic gender inequalities to women in Japan. This raises the following question: To what extent is the international student motivation (especially that of Japanese students) for learning English constituted by sociopolitical, historical, and ideological forces and contexts?

There is another significant element that influences on motivation: identity. Several intercultural communication scholars have focused on identity. Hecht (1993) argues that "Identities are a source of expectation and motivations" (p. 79). Identity is a perception of self constructed through communication (Martin & Nakayama, 2001). Similarly, Chen (1992) claims that the identity construction is a social process. More in detail, Collier (1994) describes identity not as a static personality but as a dynamic and fluid identification which emerges through communication. Specifically, Hall (1996) illustrates that identity is constructed through differences. Ikeda and Kramer (2000) also explain that identity is a boundary of multiple selves and differences from others clarify the boundary and frame fields of selves. These scholars summarize that identity is a mass of attribution awareness to various groups and is decided by relationships with others. Learning English enables Japanese to communicate people with people who have different ethnic backgrounds in different countries. How Japanese students view and hope to associate with those people constructs their identity (e.g., a business person in an international company) and motivates them to learn English because Japanese international students come to the U.S. and have specific purposes to learn English.

Identity influences norms and expectations of acting as well as a sense of being

(Collier & Thomas, 1988; Yep, 1998). For example, Halualani (2000) argues that Tongans migrate and live in the U.S. as being naturally Tongans who send their salaries back to their family in Tonga. Their motivation to obtain a good Tongan identity guides them to do so. Lee (1998a) also explains that many Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants in the U.S. anglicize their Chinese names following the discourse saying that they "should adopt 'American' names so that 'people' can remember them more easily" [Parenthesized by Lee] (p. 283). In this example, Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants struggle to adapt to life with ethnically and culturally European-descendent American people and society by changing their Chinese identification. In the worst case, as Ponterotto and Pedersen (1993) discuss the danger of the minority identity development, it is possible that negative perceptions towards one's ethnic group and positive perceptions towards Whiteness lead minority people to negatively frame their own identity and ethnic group. Similarly, Fujimoto (2002) illustrates that Japanese people have longed for whiteness after westernization of Japan and their favoritism to whiteness causes neglecting and marginalizing "internal others" (p. 15): Japanese minor ethnic groups (e.g., Korean Japanese and Chinese Japanese). Japanese tend to view all White people as Americans and try to speak to them in English even in Japan instead in Japanese which is their mother tongue and a source of their Japanese identity (Tsuda, 1990). Therefore, it is valuable to analyze how Japanese international students' motivation influences their identity construction.

Besides Tsuda, there is limited research on the emotional affect and motivation felt by Asians (and specifically, Japanese) with regard to speaking English by communication

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scholars in the critical-qualitative paradigm.   Such research is important because looking at these aspects may reveal important insights about Asian motivation towards communication in English as opposed to concentrating on only the outcomes of anxiety and ways to mediate and overcome the anxiety.   Their affective conditions are important to understand in order to establish better communication between native and non-native speakers of English and even between non-native speakers since English is now widely used in international contexts.   However, limited research has been done in this area in communication studies.   Thus, I propose a Master's thesis study that examines the nature of Japanese international students' emotional affect and motivation to speak English in the U.S., for example, in terms of emotional affect, structural influences, and its relation to the identity constructions of Japanese international students.

Rationale and Justification

Public speaking is a popular way to practice speaking English for non-native speakers of English.   The Department of Communication Studies at San Jose State University offers COMM 20N: Public Speaking for Non-Native Speakers, which is an undergraduate public speaking course specially designed for non-native speakers of English.   COMM 20N is an important course in the required course section of the "A1: Oral Communication" in the "A: Basic Skills" in the core general education at San Jose State University.   About six COMM 20N courses are offered each semester and about one hundred and fifty students enroll in this course.

I examine Japanese international students' motivation toward public speaking courses given my personal experience as a Japanese international student who is

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currently studying communication studies. I have also previously majored in Teaching English in my undergraduate program in Japan. I thought about these issues when I first took a public speaking course in the U.S. After I finish my master's degree at San Jose State University, I am planning to go back to Japan and teach English and communication courses at the high school and the college levels. This study will prepare me for my future teaching.

In 1993, the Ministry of Education in Japan introduced oral communication courses, Oral Communication A, B, and C, to the high school English curriculum. The Ministry of Education in Japan reformed the oral communication courses as Oral Communication I and II in 1995. Oral communication I is a required two-credit course and Oral Communication II is an optional four-credit course. Public speaking is a relatively new focus in English education in Japan. This is significant because oral communication curriculum helps to shape Japanese students' motivation to speak English.

In addition, my proposed project is important because there is little known about Japanese students' public speaking activities in Japan. Studies on English public speaking have not been popular in Japan. Scholars of communication and English education do not pay much attention to public speaking because it was treated as an extracurricular activity in students' clubs, E.S.S., in Japan. Itaba, a Japanese scholar of rhetoric and communication theory, (1996) compared students' ways of persuasion in winners' speeches in English oratorical contests in Japan and the U.S. Mikuma, a Japanese scholar of public speaking, (1999) summarized the history of the E.S.S. and

explained that public speaking was a character shaping activity as well as practice of

speaking English because students generate and organize their ideas with a great deal of

information.   Mikuma also suggests that further studies are necessary on the validity of

application of English public speaking activities as a method of practice speaking English

for Japanese non-native speakers of English because speech theories in Japan are based

on European or American textbooks and findings of communication researches.

Few U.S. communication scholars focus on speaking practices for non-native

speakers of English.   Only Stringer's (1998) research appeared in a major

communication journal.   He researched the applicability of everyday life performance, a

method to develop fluency by repeating after tapes with scripts, to Spanish speakers.

He suggests that everyday life performance is useful for non-native speakers of English

to improve their fluency of English conversations.   Although there were about forty-six

thousand Japanese students in universities in the U.S. and they occupy 9.5 percent of

total international students in the U.S. in 1998 (Davis, 1999), affective aspects of

Japanese international students' public speaking practice have not been examined

extensively in communication studies in the U.S.

Past research studies in this area conducted from a social scientific perspective

have limitations.   Min-Sun Kim (1999) reviews the limitation of empirical studies on

affective aspects of cross-cultural verbal communication and criticizes them:

> Typically, investigations have attempted merely to describe different mean levels
> of various communication orientations.   Although this line of research provides
> an important descriptive base, a fundamental problem stands out: It does not
> enhance our *understanding* of the different levels of verbal communication
> motivation across cultures. Why does a given cultural group prefer certain levels of

verbal communication? [Italicized by Kim] (p. 63).

A social scientific approach is useful when the researcher aims to measure levels of motivation. However, in order to go beyond measuring the level of motivation, scholars must conduct research in qualitative, critical, or a collaboration of these approaches. Therefore, this study is valuable because Japanese students' motivation toward English public speaking courses has not been focused on in communication studies both in the U.S. and Japan, especially, from a critical-qualitative perspective.

Description of Thesis Project

In this thesis, I analyze Japanese international students' motivation toward learning public speaking by conducting in-depth interviews. I pose the following questions for my research. To what degree are Japanese students at San Jose State University motivated toward speaking English in public speaking courses? What constitutes their motivations? What is the source of their motivation in and out of their classroom? How do they describe their motivation connecting to their ideal future self-image and identity as Japanese? By focusing on these questions, I explore the degree and nature of Japanese students' motivation to speak English through the qualitative method of in-depth interviews. I propose the following research questions.

RQ1: What constitutes the source of Japanese students' motivation in public speaking courses?

RQ2: What are the context and structures surrounding Japanese international students' motivation toward learning public speaking courses and English, (i.e., internationalization, globalization, gender, and identity)?

RQ3: How are Japanese international students' motivations related to how they view

their identities as Japanese?

Method

Paradigms

I embrace a critical-qualitative paradigm. Rogers (1982) contrasts critical

scholars and empirical scholars' positionality in knowledge and research:

> Most critical scholars explicitly identify themselves with leftist political ideologies, while most empirical scholars claim they are objective social scientists and wish to avoid any connection with a political ideology. But the critical scholars claim that no one can avoid having an ideological identification, whether they realize it or not (p. 135).

Tsuda (1993b) compliments Rogers by claiming that not all empiricism is based on

positivism and critical scholars may use the empirical approach because they can find

ideology by analyzing the empirical data with a critical perspective. Similarly, Lee

(1993) calls for attention to a critical science by getting out of positivism and focusing on

social problems. Conquergood (1991) illustrates the goal of critical theory: "Critical

Theory is committed to unveiling the political stakes that anchor cultural practices

—research and scholarly practices no less than the everyday" (p. 179). Supporting these

claims, I call my approach to this research "a critical-qualitative perspective." With

qualitative research methods, it strives to understand the relationship between human

beings and meaning, which is socially and politically constructed, because researchers

believe that "humans infuse their own actions, the other actions and worlds to which they

have access, with meanings" (Lindlof, 1995, p. 6).

Rossman and Rallis (1998) summarize Burrell and Morgan's (1979) typology of

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paradigms in sociology which classify paradigms with four aspects: subjectivist or objectivist assumptions, and radical change or status quo orientation. First, they explain that research studies are usually grounded in subjectivist assumptions or objectivist assumptions. They claim the epistemological assumption that subjectivists assume that there are multiple truths because there are multiple perspectives in the world, though objectivists believe that there is a capital single "Truth," which is determined. They also suggest that the ontological assumption that subjectivists recognize that human beings construct reality through their personal experience and understanding, and by contrast, objectivists view that reality is independent from human beings. In this study, I embrace subjectivist assumptions because I believe that Japanese international students' motivation is not independently pre-determined but is socially constructed and transformed in and out of their learning environments and experience.

Second, Burrell and Morgan (1979) classify paradigms into radical change orientation and status quo orientation which is judged by researchers' political stance about the society. The radical change orientation views that the society is full of contradiction because social structures confront tensions of domination and oppression, and the status quo orientation assumes that prediction is possible because the society is well-ordered and functionally coordinated. I embrace the radical change orientation because Japanese students' motivation and identity reflect the society, which is in various tensions of power. Therefore, I try to invoke the radical subjectivist position but carefully negotiate the relation between myself and my interviewees. I focus on how Japanese international students view and make sense of their motivation and identity in

relation to their perception of the society.   Even if I cannot directly radicalize their worldview, I share my findings with them and initiate a dialogue so as to provide them with opportunities to rethink the issue of language.   In addition, I propose suggestions for developing the public speaking curriculum so that future Japanese international students can be self-reflexive.

<u>Interviews</u>

I utilize a critical-qualitative method to study Japanese students' motivation to speak English in public speaking courses: naturalistic in-depth interviews.   Rossman and Rallis (1998) locate interviewing as a method of phenomenological study in the naturalistic paradigm and describe its purpose as "to understand the deep meaning of individual's experiences and how he or she articulates these experiences" (p. 72).   Tsuda (1993b) describes the goal of phenomenology as "According to Lanigan, phenomenology researches our conscious experience, that is the relationship between human beings and their everyday life" (p. 122) [Translated by Yokomizo].   Chirban (1996) explains the goal of naturalistic in-depth interviews as to comprehend interviewee's viewpoints, emotions, motivation, and needs.   Therefore, the interview method matches my critical-qualitative paradigm.   Using this method, I access in-depth level and sources of Japanese international students' motivational aspects in English public speaking courses.

Last fall, I conducted research that examined the type of motivation international students possess in public speaking courses from a social scientific perspective.   I asked students who were taking and have completed the COMM 20N course to answer a survey questionnaire about the degree of their motivation toward communication in English.   I

used the quantitative research instrument on motivation toward communication, McCroskey and Richmond's (1987) Willingness to Communicate (WTC) scale. The WTC scale is a self-report survey questionnaire based on two assumptions. First, the level of a person's willingness to communicate in a context (e.g., public communication) is correlated with other types of context (e.g., conversations, small group, and group meetings). Second, the level of a person's willingness to communicate with a type of communication partners (e.g., acquaintance) is correlated with the other types of communication partners (e.g., friends and strangers). For example, if a person willingly communicates with an acquaintance, the person will willingly communicate with friends and strangers, too. Zorn (1991) explains its strength as "McCroskey and Richmond (1987) provide means and standard deviations that may aid in interpretation" (p. 388). This research study aimed to examine how students' levels of motivation are varied, according to their communication partners and speaking contexts.

I statistically analyzed responses from eighteen Japanese students and thirty-four Vietnamese students by utilizing the cross-tabulation and independent T-test. The results suggest that Japanese international students reported a lower level of motivation toward speaking English in the public speaking context than Vietnamese students did. It also reveals that communication partners and speaking partners are complexly associated each other and influence students' motivation towards speaking English. The smaller number of audience members the speakers have and the more intimate relationships they are in, the higher motivation towards speaking English the non-native speakers of English report. However, the results of my survey questionnaires in the

pilot study cannot explain how and why students' motivation is constructed and how they understand their motivation.

Face to face interviews provide rich data about students' affections by sharing experiences and establishing trust between researchers and respondents. Frey at el. (1992) explain that "Most people are more comfortable speaking than writing" (p. 285). As such, Japanese students may feel more comfortable and at ease talking in Japanese than writing English. Frey et al. (2000) explain that interviews encourage full participation by establishing a rapport between researchers and respondents. Such a rapport may enable me to uncover the felt perceptions, emotions and motivation of students. Therefore, I choose a qualitative research method in this study.

In terms of my interview procedures, I interviewed fourteen Japanese international students at San Jose State University who are now taking a public speaking course and have taken it recently. I asked professors who were teaching public speaking courses now to introduce their Japanese international students to me. I also contacted the Japanese international students who participated in my pilot study last year. The length of each interview was about one hour so that I could reach details of interviewees' experiences and feelings. The interview was recorded by a Mini Disc recorder with participants' permission.

Interview Questions

In order to analyze Japanese students' motivation toward public speaking, I asked the following questions in Japanese:

Q1: When did you come to the U.S.?

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Q2: Why did you come to the U.S.?

Q3: Why do you learn English?

Q4: What led you to taking a public speaking course?

Q5: What in Japan influenced you to take the courses or even to come to the U.S.?

• Questions one to five were introductory questions through which interviewees might easily answer so that they could feel comfortable talking about themselves and I could establish a rapport with them. They also provided important background information.

Q6: What was your experience like in learning English?

Q7: How did you feel during the public speaking course?

Q8: How did your experience affect your attitude about learning English and public speaking?

• In relation to the questions above, my interviewees talked about their own experiences in learning English and public speaking, and how their experiences influenced their motivation in questions seven to eight.

Q9: How did learning English affect how you view yourself?

Q10: How did learning public speaking affect how you view yourself?

Q11: How did learning English affect how you view your friends who did not learn it intensively?

Q12: How did learning public speaking affect how you view your friends who did not learn it intensively?

• Answers to question nine to twelve revealed how my interviewees who learned English and public speaking viewed themselves and others who did not learn English and public speaking. These questions revealed what aspects of learning English and public speaking they were aware of and how the difference related to their identity.

Q13: What kinds of Japanese learn English extensively?

Q14: What kinds of Japanese come to the U.S.?

Q15: What kinds of Japanese learn public speaking?

• Questions thirteen to fifteen explored how my interviewees view their Japanese peer students in relation to learning English and public speaking. These questions therefore were a source of what they would like to achieve and what their ideal self was in relation to learning English and public speaking.

I did not directly ask my interviewees about possible structures that could influence their motivation and identity because I did not know whether such structures exist or not. I was afraid that the strong assumption about the existence of such structures would guide my interviews to a certain direction and greatly influence data. Instead of asking any direct questions about structures, I aimed to analyze intertextuality in the data from my interviews as Hart (1997) explains that "One way of discovering the context within the text is to inquire into the intertextual aspects of a message –the bits and pieces of previous texts 'deposited' into a new text" [Parenthesized by Hart] (p. 48). The context would enable me to view if the structures emerge.

Mode of Analysis

I transcribed recordings of each interview as soon as possible after interviewing. Rossman and Rallis (1998) explain stages of analyzing and interpreting data: organizing the data, familiarizing with the data, generating categories, themes, and patterns, coding, searching for alternative understandings, and writing. In organizing the data, I classified it with prefigured broad categories of themes and patterns: motivation, other affective aspects, experience, internationalization and globalization, gender issues, and identity. Reviewing each interview and notes, I familiarized myself with the data and modified my questions and wording expressions for the next interviews. I generated patterns according to my interviewees' answers. In coding the data, I made them concrete by segmenting them into smaller topics and patterns. Then, I judged what was significant and what was not, evaluated and justified how my interpretation was sound. Notions of postcolonialism and feminism, English as an international language, and English imperialism helped me at this stage. As a radical subjectivist researcher, I tried to understand my interviewees' interpretations of their experiences from cultural studies and feminist perspectives because these perspectives enabled me to analyze large structures, which are surrounding and framing Japanese international students' motivation such as globalization and gender inequality. Then, I proposed suggestions to the public speaking curricula from a critical pedagogy perspective because critical pedagogy aims to empower students. In the writing stage, I organized my descriptions and discussion in accordance with themes. My audience consists of communication scholars and graduate teaching assistants who teach public speaking or English to

non-native speakers.   The purpose of my writing is: a) to explain how Japanese international students' motivation toward English and public speaking courses is constructed by superstructures and ideology, b) to raise intellectuals' awareness of importance of this theme, and c) to promote further studies.

Positionality and Responsibility as a Researcher

Prior to discussing my interviewees' experiences and feelings about their learning English and public speaking, I first shared my own learning experiences as autoethnography.   I have two ethical reasons to show "Who am I?"   First, I would like to be sensitive of the relationship and power balance between my interviewees who kindly participated in my research and I.   I agree with Goodall's (2000) position as a researcher:

> Viewed this [ethnographic] way, to observe others is to *colonize* them.   To write their experiences in your book or article is to *use* them.   It is to place yourself, as author, in a *superior relationship* to the persons you are observing, hearing-in, and analyzing... If we are willing to study others, we ought to be equally willing to place ourselves, our lives, our families, under the same critical scrutiny [Italicized by Goodall] (p. 110).

I did not intend to make use of my interviewees' experiences and merely take advantage as a graduate student researcher for my academic record.   I aim to contribute to developing the public speaking course curriculum in communication education and English education communication studies with this research.   For a pedagogical reason directly toward my interviewees, I will send them a brief summary of the research findings so that they can get some critical insights about their experiences and feelings.

Second, I must reflect upon my own experience and feelings in order to show how my life has related to this research topic and to clarify my certain ways of analysis as a

subjective researcher. Frey at el. (2000) explain that "Autoethnographers focus on their own past experiences and how they viewed themselves and others at that time, made sense of people's behavior (including their own), and all the other things ethnographers seek when studying people" (p. 261). I would like to add the statement that subjective researchers should always strive to be aware and critical of their own perspectives (See Lee (1998b) and Conquergood (1991) for authors' self-reflexivity). Their worldview has been constructed through their history and experience as members of society as well as academic studies. I am a male Japanese international student who learned English as a foreign language in and out of school in Japan as my interviewees did. I try to balance the primary research position as a Japanese international student and the secondary research position as a researcher by going forth and back between my experience of learning public speaking and English as a non-native student of English and my academic studies in the graduate program with reading books and articles and taking classes though I cannot fully escape from my personal background. By taking the primary position as a Japanese international student, I aim to understand my interviewees' experience, feelings, and the contexts surrounding them such as English education in Japan. By taking a secondary position, I analyze their interpretation of experience, feelings, and the contexts from a critical perspective. Therefore, my primary and secondary position attitudes in this research are not oppositional but rather complementary.

All of the interviewees are renamed in this thesis to protect their privacy. Readers have to be aware of interviewees' gender since I introduced numerous narratives from my

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interviews and gender takes a significant role in my analysis. For the convenience of my readers who are not familiar with Japanese names, I renamed female interviewees in a typical way in Japan. All female interviewees' names follow "ko" [子] and all male interviewees' names are ended with other letters. Therefore, my readers will easily understand, for example, Mariko is a female Japanese international student and Jiro is male. However, my name, Akihiko, should not be understood as Akihi-ko but as it is Aki-hiko [彰-彦] in the Japanese sound segmentation system with meaning. I am a male.

Chapter Description

I will briefly preview the following chapters. In Chapter 2, I explain my own experience of learning English and public speaking as a Japanese non-native speaker of English throughout my life history. This chapter will give readers a sense of the context of learning English and public speaking in Japan and how I reached this thesis project topic. In Chapter 3, I discuss how Japanese international students' motivation was constructed through globalization and internationalization and how their identity is formed through their learning experience. In Chapter 4, I analyze how Japanese international students' motivation and identity are related to gender issues. In Chapter 5, I draw implications for the development of public speaking course curricula from a viewpoint of critical pedagogy.

CHAPTER 2

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY: ENGLISH, PUBLIC SPEAKING, AND I

In this chapter, I share my own experience of learning English and public speaking and attitudes toward it. By writing about myself, I aim to provide readers with some background information and insights about education in Japan, people's views toward English, and my own.

Autoethnography

I am a male and 27 years old. I grew up in a middle class family in Japan with my father, mother, and a younger sister. My mother's grandmother is from Taiwan, but I have never seen her nor any Taiwanese life styles in my family tradition. My hometown is Kurume, a middle-sized industrialized city whose population is twenty-three thousand, in Fukuoka in Kyushu Island in Japan. My family rented a house next to a private college of technology. I played with my childhood friends there everyday. So, college was not an ivory tower but a play field for me.

My family was conscious of my education in my childhood. I remember when I was just a 6 year old boy, my grandfather told me on his death bed, "Akihiko, go to Meizen High School." I promised him that I would enter his old school, Meizen High School, which was the most competitive public high school in my school district. *Naraigoto*, or taking private lessons, was already popular at that age. I have learned Japanese calligraphy and swimming for 6 years and my sister has taken piano lessons. I mostly learned patience by sitting up straight on the *tatami* sheet for 1-2 hours per calligraphy lesson in a week. My mother encouraged me to go to swimming lessons to cure my allergic asthma, though I was not sure whether swimming was scientifically

effective for my asthma. Honestly, I did not like these lessons. But my mother urged me to take them. I couldn't resist my parents as many other children. Parents had strong authority over their children in my childhood.

"Am I 横溝彰彦 or Akihiko Yokomizo?"

I entered a public elementary school. When I was in the 4th grade, I learned the English alphabet in my Japanese class for the first time. There was a list of the alphabet letters in a textbook. I didn't learn the English language itself at that time but learned how to spell out Japanese pronunciation in English alphabets, for example, "a, i, u, e, o" for Japanese 5 vowel sounds. I didn't know why I should learn such unknown strange foreign letters. But one of my female classmates seemed to find it interesting. She wrote her name in English letters on her pen case. She knew we changed the Japanese last-first name order to the Western first-last name order when we wrote our names in English letters. That was new, striking, and cool. Many students began to write their names in English alphabets on everything such as their pen cases, bags, school shoes, and even on exam sheets. For the first time, I did not do that. I thought, "What a strange thing they are doing! We don't have to use English before we learn it in junior high school in a few years." I liked "横溝彰彦" much better than "Akihiko Yokomizo." "Why do we have to change the name of order? I am Yokomizo Akihiko, not Akihiko Yokomizo." As you see, the spelling of my name in Chinese characters, "横溝彰彦", is so complex. It takes much longer time and greater effort to write "横溝彰彦" than "Akihiko Yokomizo." I practiced writing "横溝彰彦" hard in my calligraphy lessons. It was a strong identification of mine. But I threw it away just because all of my classmates did so. I asked myself, "Am I strange or are they?"

<u>Learning English Words and Grammar was Boring.</u>

In junior high schools in Japan, foreign language was a required subject. Now foreign language is an official compulsory subject and among other foreign languages, English is compulsory "in principle," according to the <u>Course of Study in Junior High School</u> (1998, p.96.) First, I learned the English alphabet again. Then, classes advanced to practicing greetings in English such as "Hi, how are you?", "I'm fine, thank you. And how are you?", and "I'm fine, too.", and to simple sentences like "This is a pen." and "He is Bob." Memorizing words and simple grammar and reading easy short sentences, constituted the study of English classes.

I was a serious student, sitting at the desk and taking notes quietly. I received good grades in English classes and that satisfied me. I went to *juku*, which was a cramming school for math and English. Many of my friends attended *juku* in my junior high school days. In Japan, students had to choose between private schools and a public school in a certain school district and to take entrance examinations to go to high school. People see high schools with categories of *shingaku-ko* (schools to proceed to college), some special schools such as commercial high school, technical high school, fisheries high school, and agricultural high school, and *hutsu-koukou* (other ordinary schools). As I promised my grandfather, I decided to go to Meizen High School, the best public *shingaku-ko* in my district. A choice of high school is very important in Japan because this can greatly guide or limit students' further life, especially whether or not they will be college students after high school. I studied English as well as other subjects. I saw English not as a language for communication but just as a subject in school for high school entrance examinations.

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I passed the entrance examination to Meizen High School following my grandfather's will. I took classes at school from 7:45 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. on Monday through Friday, and from 7:45 a.m. to 12:00 a.m. on Saturday. The purpose of study at this high school was to get the best scores possible in entrance examinations for colleges. Teachers of English assigned us to memorize as much English vocabulary as possible. Each week, we had two pop quizzes of vocabulary. We had to memorize 30-50 English words and idioms per quiz. Other than that, we had to read textbooks written in English for reading classes. Input was all about my study for me. The output of learning materials was done only in writing classes (though they were actually translation practice classes) and on quizzes and tests. That was really tough. I sometimes murmured, "How many words and grammatical rules do I have to memorize and study for English?" It seemed endless.

I just kept studying English because it was a mandatory subject of entrance examinations regardless of my future major in national colleges. Education, Literature, Sociology, Business, Law, Medicine, and Engineering. All of these departments in national colleges required applicants to take at least one entrance examination of English. English was so important a subject.

"A White Guy Came to Class!"

One day in a class of English, my teacher escorted a British man. He was an "ALT," Assistant Language Teacher. The government hired native speakers of foreign languages mainly from the U.S., U.K., Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in accordance with the JET Program, The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme, which aimed to enrich foreign language education and to promote international exchange at the

local level.   That was the very first time I remembered seeing a White person face-to-face.   "Tall."   "Blue eyes."   "Blond."   "Handsome."   "Looks tough." Those were my classmates' and my first impressions of him, which were not different from the images of White people in Hollywood movies.   He talked about his country with easy words slowly so that we could understand him.   My teacher of English spoke with him in English.   "Cool!"   "She is speaking English!"   "I didn't know she could speak English."   Those were our honest reactions to our teacher of English who spoke English.   We did not know whether Japanese teachers of English actually could speak English or not.   After some talks, the British guy asked us, "Do you have any questions for me?"   Suddenly, we became quiet.   After a moment, one of my classmates raised her hand and asked the British guy, with her face turning red, "Uh…, umm…, do you like Japan?"   I didn't have any idea of what to ask him and how.   I was just surprised to hear my classmate bravely speaking English!   I remember this international encounter vividly.   That was striking.   This was the first and last time I saw a White person during my elementary, junior and senior high school days, though I have never seen any Black and Latino people in my school experience.

I did not care about any international matters, relations, and exchanges in my high school days.   I lived in a middle-sized city in Japan.   What international issues really mattered to me?   But I had a favorite foreign country.   That was the U.S.A.   I belonged to a basketball club in my junior and senior high schools.   I knew the top basketball players in the world played in the NBA.   "Magic" Johnson, Michael Jordan, Charles Barkley, Larry Bird, David Robinson…   I had a lot of favorite star players.   I bought a monthly basketball magazine.   I watched their games on videos.   Cool!

Exciting! The U.S. was a country of the NBA. I had a good impression of the U.S.

Capitalism Determined My Major: Teaching English.

I devoted my high school life to practicing basketball. I went to the school gymnasium early and practiced shooting before class. I did it during the lunch break, too. I had team practice for 2 hours every day after school. Then, I had sometimes weight training and running. When I went home, I was always exhausted. I had injured my right leg because of such hard training. I had continuous pain. One day I went to hospital and had an X-ray examination. The doctor said to me, "You have almost fatigue fracture. Stop any training right now." However, I kept practicing basketball enduring the pain. I loved basketball so much. I could not stop my passion. But in the end I could not bear the pain of quitting the basketball club when I was a sophomore. I could not do continuous exercise any more. I was so much involved in basketball in my high school days. I felt as if I had a big hole in my mind.

When I was a senior, I had to decide on my major in college. In Japan, prospective applicants had to choose their major prior to the entrance examination. For the first time, I did not have any future dreams. The economy of Japan was already declining at that time. TV news announced that companies went bankrupt. That raised anxiety for my future. "What do I want to do for my future job? Nothing special. I just want to get a stable salary and life in the future. What is a stable job now?" I had one more concern. My family was not rich. I had to choose a major in a national college or university because the tuition of private colleges and universities were almost twice as expensive as that of national ones. I could not go to urban universities because the living expenses would be high.

I kept wondering for a few months and reached a decision, "I want to be a teacher in junior or senior high school and take part in a basketball club as trainer. Then, even if I can't play basketball, I can work on basketball." Basketball and the economic condition determined my future major: education. "What subject do I want to teach?" I once chose Japanese in summer because I liked it and earned the best grade out of all the other subjects I took. But I changed my mind. "What if I wouldn't want to be a teacher of Japanese during college, then, what could I do with knowledge of Japanese? What kind of job can I get with a Bachelor of Education in Japanese? Umm..., seems nothing special. I may change it now to teaching English. Then, even if I feel like working in a company in the future rather than being a teacher, I may get more job opportunities with my English." I was not sure why I thought so, but I changed to take an entrance examination to major in Teaching English in Secondary School at Fukuoka University of Education, a national teachers' college in my prefecture. I began to study English hard. I knew there would be a listening test in the entrance examination to the college. I borrowed tapes of English teaching materials for high schools students from my teacher of English. I listened to the tape-recorded English conversations day and night. That was an unfamiliar study method for me. It was stressful. "I can't understand what these people are saying!"

"How Difficult It Is to Master the North American English Accents!"

In the first semester at Fukuoka University of Education, I took courses in English phonetics, literature, and GE courses. The English phonetics class was held in the Language Laboratory. Basically, I read explanations of English sounds and practiced articulation following tapes. That was a very mechanical process. I was like Eliza in

"Pygmalion." I wanted to be a teacher of English who could speak good English. I practiced hard to reduce my Japanese accents and tried to master the pronunciation of North American English. I wondered which English I should master: North American or British English. I decided to practice North American English since I liked the NBA and the U.S.

Out of my classes, I belonged to the E.S.S., English Speaking Society, which was a student club for students to practice speaking English by making speeches, and discussing and debating social issues in English. I had never used English outside of the classroom until I belonged to the E.S.S, though I had studied English for 6 years in junior and senior high schools. That is pretty common in Japan. The first activity in the E.S.S. was recitation of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s famous speech, "I Have A Dream." This activity was designed to improve pronunciation of new club members of the E.S.S. New members memorized and practiced it with senior members' direction. "Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation." I remember I struggled to pronounce the word, "proclamation." Similar to many Japanese learners of English, I had difficulty in distinguishing pronunciation of /r/ and /l/ sounds, because the Japanese sound system did not have both /r/ and /l/ sounds though it had a similar sound. I didn't like my Japanese-accented English. Speaking fluent English with North American accents, that was my goal.

"My Classmates Don't Want to Speak English in English Conversation Classes!"

I took an English Conversation class in my second semester. The American professor encouraged my classmates to speak in English, but they were quiet. Even

when he asked them easy questions such as "In what country do people speak English?," they did not answer. I was sure they knew the answer, but they did not answer just because they hesitated to do so. They didn't want their classmates to hear their Japanese accented English. Moreover, students in Japan were told to take notes quietly in classes by teachers throughout their school experience. There was not the norm of participating in class. Another E.S.S. member and I always answered the professor's questions. We were trained to speak English somehow in the E.S.S. and could do that much better than other classmates. I sensed the American professor was not happy to know most of his students were quiet in his class. I once asked him, "Is that O.K. for you, I mean, that my E.S.S. friend and I always answer your questions? I am afraid that I take away my classmates' opportunities to speak out." He replied to me, "That's O.K. You have the right to express your opinions in class." I decided to wait for a while to confirm my classmates were not going to say their opinion, and then raised my hand. I was frustrated. "This class does not help me so much. I had better practice speaking English in the E.S.S."

<u>"I Love Public Speaking."</u>

As an E.S.S. member, I participated in three English speech contests. Various organizations held speech contests: E.S.S.s, national and regional associations of E.S.S.s, newspaper companies, and English conversation schools. The process of making a speech in the E.S.S. was the following: selecting a topic, reading related articles, gathering data, planning organization of my arguments typically following the cause-effect or problem-solution pattern, writing a script, revising the script with American professors' direction and grammar correction, memorizing the speech, and

practicing pronunciation, intonation, and gestures.   These were exciting processes.   I had never expressed my own ideas about the society before I joined the E.S.S.   Or, I should say, I had never thought what problems the society had and how they were related to me.   Schools did not offer any public speaking instructions even in Japanese.   I began to grasp my world critically and had interest in news in TV and newspaper.   That was really interesting.   I devoted myself into critical thinking for my speeches.   In my first speech contest, I talked about my injury in my basketball club and suggested professional sport trainers should be involved in athletic club activities in school.   I won the third place prize in the contest!   I won the first place prize in my second contest talking about the danger of postharvest agricultural chemicals in imported crops when I was a sophomore.   My friends and professors praised me.   I became a section chief of public speaking in the E.S.S. at my college and F.S.E.A., Fukuoka Students' English Association, which was a regional association of E.S.S.s.   I organized a speech contest in the F.S.E.A.   I was so active in the E.S.S. activities that my passion for basketball disappeared in my mind.   My friends in the E.S.S. and the F.S.E.A. recognized me for my achievement.   That was a significant reward for my effort.

"What is Like Studying in the U.S.?": Dream and Reality

I was not satisfied with my knowledge and skills of English and public speaking. "How can I develop my skills?   Even though I won prizes at regional contests, I may not win at the national level.   In the future, I want to compete with native speakers of English." Then, I decided to go to the U.S. to study English and public speaking.   I chose Eastern Kentucky University, a middle-sized university in a rural Blue Grass area because the tuition was cheap and it required a TOEFL score of 500, which was not so

high. "I'm going to the U.S.!" I was really glad when I received a notification letter of acceptance. I went to the U.S.; that was my first foreign country when I was a junior and 20 years old.

But such happiness suddenly turned into upset in Kentucky. I could not understand southern accented English. Rhythm and pronunciation were totally different from the North American English I had eagerly learned in Japan. I was so surprised, "Is this really English?" I expected my English proficiency would be better soon there because I was in the U.S., but my development was not so rapid. No, it came slowly. That made me shy and I hesitated to communicate with my classmates. I had dreamed I associated and went out with White and Black American friends before I went to Kentucky. "That should have been my American life! What's wrong with me?" My friends there were mainly Asian international students such as Japanese, Koreans, and Taiwanese. I felt at ease being with my Asian friends. There was a friendly mood, "We are Asians. We are non-native speakers of English."

Classes at the undergraduate level were really tough for me. I took the minimum required score of TOEFL and went straight to the undergraduate program at the Department of Speech Communication and Theatre Arts. I took public speaking, organizational communication, English composition, and some more introductory courses of communication studies. In classes of English majors at Fukuoka University of Education, I read 5-7 pages of textbooks in English per class. But professors at Eastern Kentucky University assigned me to read 20-40 pages. I was a slow reader in English. I usually stayed up until 4 a.m. and read textbooks.

The public speaking course was interesting. I learned sophisticated knowledge of

public speaking. I knew just cause-effect and problem-solving patterns before the class. But the textbook in that course, Paul Nelson's Confidence in Public Speaking, gave me spatial, topical-sequence, and chronological patterns in the linear order and some others in the spiral order. I bought other public speaking textbooks, for example, Osborn and Osborn's Public Speaking, Beebe and Beebe's Public Speaking: An Audience-Centered Approach, Samovar's Oral Communication: Speaking Across Cultures, Clella Jaffe's Public Speaking: A Cultural Perspective, and Kearney and Plax's Public Speaking in A Diverse Society. Adding textbooks on English public speaking written in Japanese, I read more than a total of 20 books. Knowledge in textbooks can be used in practice soon and I was glad to recognize, "I am learning for practice."

Presenting speeches in the class was fun. I made four speeches: a self-introduction, an informative speech, and two persuasive speeches. My professor and classmates were supportive and I felt comfortable about that. I was happy to know they understood my speeches. But I was sad because I could not understand my classmates' speeches. They spoke too fast for me with Kentuckian accents. I had been struggling with their fast speaking rate and accent. I gradually got accustomed to Kentuckian English somehow right before I went back to Japan. two semesters were too short.

After I finished my 10-month stay in Kentucky, I went back to Fukuoka University of Education in Japan. I visited my senior project advisor, who is a White American, and reported my study and life in Kentucky. He soon found my English was southern accented. I didn't know why, but I was glad to hear that. "I speak Kentuckian English. Isn't it cool? I learned different English from my classmates. The Kentuckian accent

proves that I was in Kentucky."

"I am a Person who Studied in the U.S."

My classmates in Japan were quiet as before in an English conversation class. My junior friends in the E.S.S. were struggling with making speeches of the cause-effect or problem-solution pattern. "I went to the U.S. and learned a lot." I realized my growth during that time that I could not feel in Kentucky when I got back to my college and saw my friends in Japan. I was proud of it. It became one of my characteristics instead of just acquiring speaking skills, and I began to have somehow superior feeling against my friends who did not speak English. "I can speak English. I learned public speaking in the U.S."

There was a drinking party held for new English majors in a Japanese traditional bar near campus in spring. All participants introduced themselves briefly. When I talked about my experience in Kentucky, I drew much attention from my audience. All the English majors were interested in studying in the U.S. I felt as if I were special and exceptional among the other students. Right after I finished my self-introduction, one of my junior friends asked a question, "How did you like your stay in the U.S.?" His face lit up. My audience was waiting for my response. I was sure of what kind of answers they were expecting from me; for example, attractive scenes in the famous U.S. TV drama in Japan, Beverly Hills, 90210. But I honestly confessed, "That was really tough. The toughest experience in my life. My English speaking skills developed so slowly. It was really difficult to make American friends. Food was not delicious. I ate potatoes everyday." My answer apparently surprised them. They wondered "Why?" I explained how it was tough to live in a foreign country with a foreign

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language. They seemed to lose interest in my talk and even looked disappointed. But that was my true experience and feelings.

Is English Good or Bad!?

One of my senior friends at my major recommended me to read a book. It was titled eigo shihai no kouzou [The Structure of The Dominance of English] written by Dr. Yukio Tsuda. It was an eye-opening book for me. So far, I believed learning and using English were simply good because it was an international language in the world. But it told me of the negative aspects of English. In his view, language was not a tool of communication, but also a source and outcome of power inequality! It has been "postcolonized" people in the world with various forms of British and U.S. power such as military, economic, technological, and cultural power. I have been postcolonized by native speakers of English and I might have been offensive to my friends who did not speak English *better*(?) than I. "What have I been learning? Is it *good* to learn English? Is it *bad* to use English? Is it *worthy* to teach English after I become a teacher of English?" I was really upset. Tsuda gave me a critical perspective on what I had been devoting myself to so hard. I doubted using English. I doubted native speakers of English. I doubted learning English. I doubted teaching English. I doubted myself. Tsuda deconstructed my worldview. That embarrassed me.

English Helped Me in My Job Hunting.

I began my job hunting in June. That was relatively late to start job hunting in Japan. I was originally motivated to be a teacher of English. However, I was wondering whether or not I should be a teacher of English after I read Tsuda's book. I was not confident in teaching in school yet. The teaching profession was a wonderful

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but tough occupation. The salary was stable but not so good as compared with big companies. And I wanted to study language, communication, and culture more. Anyway, I needed to get a job to live independently without my parents' support. "What can I do? I have been studying just English." I did not know whether it was good to use English or not, but I decided to do a job where I could use because I had no special skills and knowledge except English.

I checked the information of the job offer in the placement office at college. I found many companies would test job applicants' English proficiency. "I may pass the English exam quite easily. Lucky for me." I chose five finance companies, three private English conversation schools (but not as an instructor but as a staff member), and one private university (also as a staff member). These companies required tests of my job aptitude, general knowledge of the society, Japanese composition, basic math, understating of written English, and face-to-face interviews. The tests of English were easy for me. I completed the part of the English test fast and could spend much time on their tests. I passed the exams and received acceptance letters from all finance companies, two English conversation schools, and the university office. The only one English conversation school refused to hire me. I remember the interviewer of the school company said to me, "We don't need someone who can speak English. Instead of English proficiency, we value creativity for our school management more."

I chose the full-time staff position at the private university. It was a large university which had six colleges. The number of students was about sixteen thousand. I became a staff member at the Academic Affairs Office there. My tasks included arrangement of the class schedule, registration of students' courses, planning and

preparation for final exams, input and check of students' grades into the database.   My

co-workers sometimes asked me to negotiate with part-time instructors of English

conversation classes who were native speakers of English, and to translate documents

from sister schools in the U.K. and U.S.   But basically I didn't need to use my English

so often.   I began to understand that my English proficiency declined.   I was unhappy

to lose one of my characteristics.

Is English a Special Language?

When I told I spent ten months in the U.S. and spoke English, my colleagues

praised me, "You are so cool!" and "I can't speak English at all.   You are so brilliant!"

One of my colleagues used sign language when deaf parents visited office.   He told me

he could use Korean a little, too.   I thought that was really cool, "He uses three

languages: Japanese, Korean, and sign languages.   I had never seen any Japanese

speakers of Korean before him though Korea was a neighbor country, though I could

reach Pusan, a city in South Korea, in three hours by a fast ship."   But this news did not

strike my colleagues.   They were calm to see him using sign language and to hear he

could use Korean, too.   I wondered, "All English, Korean, and sign language should be

treated equally.   Why did my colleagues not praise him?   What's the difference

between sign language, Korean, and English?"   My co-workers seemed to distinguish

these languages and privileged only English.

These experiences increased my curiosity toward international/intercultural

communication.   When I confessed "I want to resign this job and go to a graduate

program in the U.S.", my colleagues were very supportive.   One day on a lunch break,

one of my bosses said laughing, "I am sure you will get an American girlfriend there who

has White skin, blue eyes, and blond hair to Japan." That was a fairly common response from male colleagues who were over 40 years old. "How did they get this image of American girls? Umm..., it's like an actress in Hollywood movies. What does the U.S.A. mean to them?" Also, many of my co-workers said to me "You should take advantage of your English proficiency. I thought you were not the person who works here. You are different from us. You can get better jobs, not this boring ritual office work. I could guess that you would resign this job someday." These comments reminded me of Tsuda' book saying that English was not just a tool or skills for international communication and it could produce social inequality.

Summary

Until I entered college, English was just a mandatory subject for me. As I developed my English proficiency, especially speaking skills, people began to see me as an exceptional person including myself. I was clearly aware and proud of their positive evaluation of my English proficiency. This view of English was based on skills, which I acquired with much time, money, and effort. In addition, there are myths about English. For example, Japanese believed that aptitude played a significant role in mastering English, which they did not master and I did. Therefore, they tended to attribute my English proficiency to my personal characteristics. Also, English seemed a way to access the Western people and cultures for them which they thought were something and someone sophisticated and cool connecting to the images in Hollywood movies. In the end, Japanese valued English the best among other languages and admired Japanese speakers of English as elite.

CHAPTER 3

INFLUENCE OF GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONALIZATION
ON MOTIVATION AND IDENTITY

"After I came here, I realized I couldn't speak English. I needed more
opportunities to speak English and took the public speaking class because that was
necessary for me" (Keiko).

Keiko is a twenty-one year old female student. She is an exchange student from a
university in a middle-sized city and majors in English Literature there. She is
interested in Black Studies and majors in Humanities at San Jose State University.

For example, most young Europeans can speak English, and, then, they study other

subjects such as Business. However, I major in English and I can speak English.

Instead, English should be something *basic* like arithmetic. English is the *format*

like [Microsoft] Windows. Then, we can learn other subjects and take advantage

for the future business. I want the education system which provides all Japanese

with English speaking skills without special effort (Tsutomu).

Tsutomu is a twenty-one year old male. He is an exchange student from a large
university in Tokyo. He majors in English at San Jose State University and in Teaching
English in Japan.

Most junior and senior high school students think Japanese who can speak English

are *cool*. They have studied English in school, they are learning English, but they

can't speak English. I guess, therefore, they see someone cool who fluently speak

English and communicate with foreigners. This may be based on the assumption

that foreigners are cool. They definitely have the image that "a foreign country =

the U.S." The U.S. has the advanced scientific technologies such as NASA and computers. Students have the idea that "advanced = cool." I have been also thinking it would be wonderful if I could speak English (Mariko).

Mariko is a twenty-two year old female student. She is an exchange student from a university in a middle-sized city and majors in Teaching English there. She is interested in Communication Studies and American Sign Language.

"Japanese have *inferior feelings* in relation to Whiteness and English. Japan was defeated in the World War II and Japanese people lost their pride in the Japanese culture" (Masao).

Masao is a twenty-seven year old male student. He is an ESL student. He came to San Jose to pursue an M.B.A. degree after he resigned from his job in Japan. He will start studying business in a graduate program this fall. He wants to import used clothing after he earns an M.B.A.

In this chapter, I analyze Japanese international students' experiences and feelings that constitute their motivation in taking a public speaking course and learning English. In addition, I examine how Japanese international students' identity formation influences this motivation in relation to the forces of globalization and internationalization. First, I discuss three sources of Japanese international students' motivation toward public speaking courses: academic requirement, business skills, and practice speaking English. Among these three sources of motivation, Japanese international students' motivation toward learning public speaking is strongly connected with their motivation toward learning English. Half of my interviewees answered that they were interested in public speaking courses in order to practice speaking English. All of them are short-stay

international students such as one-year exchange students.   The main purpose of the short-term Japanese international students' study in the U.S. is to learn English, especially speaking English, and all of them took a public speaking course in their first semester at San Jose State University.   They were not forced to take a public speaking course at all while long-term international students who aimed to earn a degree at San Jose State University had to complete the course as a core GE requirement.   Such short-term international students' motivation is free from any college requirements and it is directly reflected in their interest and expectation for their study, which have been constructed personally, socially, and structurally.   In the next section, I focus on their views of English.   Their views of English consist of three sources: a discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] in Japan, elitism, and inferior feeling on Japan.   Lastly, I analyze how learning English is related to their perception of identity development as Japanese.   Motivation toward leaning English and identity cannot be separated from the influence of globalization on Japan.   Modernization of Japan with the influence of the West caused tensions between old and new views of Japanese identities and communication styles.

Japanese International Students' Motivation and View of Public Speaking

Japanese international students' motivation toward English public speaking courses consist of three sources: academic requirement, business skills, and practice speaking English.   Throughout the interviews, my interviewees shared their views of motivation explicitly and implicitly.

Academic Requirement

First, Japanese international students need to complete a public speaking course as

a mandatory academic requirement if they hope to earn an undergraduate degree in the California State University Systems.   Public Speaking is one of the four courses in the "A1: Oral Communication" in the "A: Basic Skills" section in the core General Education requirement at San Jose State University.   Five of my interviewees were undergraduate students pursuing a degree at San Jose State University.   All of them mentioned this requirement for their reasons to take this course.   Their majors were Aviation, Business, Computer Science, and Japanese.   Three of them transferred from community colleges in the west coast and explained that completion of a public speaking course was a crucial requirement to transfer to universities at the California State University Systems.   Two of the interviewees who took a public speaking course for their GE requirement honestly confessed to me that they did not want to take a public speaking course because they simply did not like to speak in front of a number of people. This applies not only to Japanese international students.   I remember that I heard a young White male American student saying to his friend, "Speaking in front of people. That's what I most hate!" on his way out of the classroom on the second floor of the Hugh Gillis Hall where public speaking courses were often held.   Whether they like a public speaking course or not, students, including Japanese international students, have to take a public speaking course if they seek a college degree in the California State University System because it is required by their department and for transfer to/from other colleges.

Why did these Japanese international students have to take a public speaking course though four other courses were available to meet the core GE requirement in the A: Oral Communication of the A: Basic Skills section?   Business has a strong influence

on their choice. The other available options for the GE requirement in that section are COMM 40: Argumentation and Advocacy, HUM 1AB: Background of Western Culture and Society, HUM 2AB: Modern Culture and Social Institutions, and MAS 74: Mexican American Contemporary Rhetoric. Students have to complete at least one course among the five courses including COMM 20 Public Speaking or COMM 20N: Public Speaking for Non-Native Speakers. They have a choice, but it is not a completely free choice. When I asked what type of Japanese international students learned public speaking, Haruko, a twenty-four year old female business student, explained that the business-related departments recommend or even require students to choose a public speaking course. She shared that her friends in the art-related departments did not necessarily take a public speaking course and actually they took HUM 1AB or 2AB. Therefore, departments recommend or require students to take a public speaking course if they are to hunt for their jobs in the business world.

Business Skills

Second, in addition to the departmental requirement, six interviewees perceived that public speaking was necessary for their future business. Shizuko, who is a twenty year old female exchange student majoring in International Management, told me that she hopes to establish her own trade company because the Japanese economy has been depressed and she recognizes that public speaking skills were necessary for her future job. In addition, Tsutomu dreams of working overseas without any job preference and has an abstract motivation for his public speaking course saying "I will lose nothing by learning speaking English in front of audience. I might have opportunities to speak English in the future. I guess I will not be upset when such an opportunity comes." He related

his view of necessity of speaking English to the influence of globalization on Japan:

> For example, the Japanese economic system has protected domestic companies so far and foreign enterprises did not eagerly come to Japan. But many will come to Japan in the near future because of globalization whether it is good or bad. Then, Japanese have to speak English with foreign workers. Such free and open economy and society need English.

Thus, he is trying to prepare for the reality of global capitalism. In his view, Japanese have to communicate with foreigners not in Japanese but in English even in Japan. Though he did not specify from which country the foreign enterprises and workers will come to Japan, he assumes that foreign workers can and will use English in Japan due to the influence of globalization. Tsutomu continued about his idea of the necessity of English for Japanese: "The present world system has been established based on English at present. Even if it is unfair [for non-native speakers], we can't stop studying English." He feels somehow frustrated to learn English. But he accepts the present situation and tries to accommodate to the present situation in order to survive. Similar to Tsutomu, Yuko, a twenty-seven female student who has experience in working a transnational company in Japan, spoke about her experience and necessity of English public speaking: "I once participated in a business meeting in Belgium. Belgians spoke fluent English but I couldn't speak well. English public speaking is necessary in such a business chance." She was not surprised or did not complain that she had to use English in the meeting with Belgian partners in Belgium where Dutch speakers and French speakers had severe language policy conflicts. It seemed to be somehow a naturalized for her, learning and using English in international business with non-native

speakers of English.

However, at the same time, Yuko is aware of and frustrated by the hegemony of English in business. She confessed her complaint about the diffusion of English to me: "I am frustrated when I study English and do not understand English well, 'Why is English like a public language?'" But on the contrary, she hopes that her brother will learn English for his business:

Yuko: My brother has never been abroad. He does not use English but he is a professional in the computer programming. So, if he masters English, too, that will be great.

Akihiko: What do you mean by "great?"

Yuko: He will be invincible. He will be a valuable person, though not of his humanity, in business because he will not lose jobs [if he masters English].

Though she does not like the forced need of English in the global capitalism, she accepts it, saying "But English is necessary in reality. I can't help that." The necessity of English is rooted in global economy in her mind.

The global economy structurally naturalizes this social need for English. Japan is a country of trade and technology. Therefore, Japan has to cooperate with foreign countries. Kubota (1998) argues that Japanese have needed to communicate well with their international partners to develop and maintain their economic prosperity subjugating their nation to the West and accommodating the hegemony of the West. Japanese have chosen English for international communication in business because the economic power of the West is strong. Funahashi, who was a member of the former Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi's private meeting about Japan in the twenty-first century,

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(2000) explains that Japanese have to learn English and cooperate with investors in the world in this global capitalism because Europeans and even Asians speak English. He is afraid that Japan will be left behind foreign countries in the global capitalism if Japanese people's English proficiency is immature. As the capitalist world-economy expanded, the globalization and Westernization occurred in relation to the economic and political power of dominant countries (Wallerstein, 1990, 1997). Language choice is also determined in relation to power. English became standardized in various international scenes such as international business, meetings, and diplomacy with the U.K. and the U.S. military and economic power (Itou, 1993; Nakamura, 1989; Mizuno, 1993; Suzuki, 2001; Tsuda, 1990). For example, Nakamura (1989) describes the process of diffusion of English to the world: The U.K. colonized countries such as India; it overwhelmed other European countries during the process of its colonization; it brought the social systems to the colonized countries such as the government and laws; it established English as a public language in the colonized countries: the local communities lost their localized languages because the industrialization caused the density of popularity in urban cities and mass media broadcasted in English; people in the colonized countries willingly learned English in order to benefit within the colonized system; the U.S. succeeded the system based on English from the U.K. Therefore, the language choice is not free from the power of the U.K. and currently the U.S especially because the U.S. exercises its power and established the world system of English. In the end English became the dominant language in the international scenes and the necessity of the English speaking proficiency has been established.

Haruko is eager to learn public speaking. She has already completed a public

speaking course in her previous community college and transferred credits to San Jose State University. She does not need any more credits of public speaking for her GE requirement, but she said "I will have to take a public speaking course here again. It's useful. It's necessary, though I don't like it." She plans to go back to Japan after her graduation and to take advantage of her English proficiency in a job in stock markets. She emphasized that public speaking is a necessary skill for her future business. The interviewees believe English public speaking is necessary in relation to their future jobs.

Public speaking courses in the U.S. constitute Japanese international students' ideas about public speaking, because the public speaking course in the U.S. is often their very first experience of public speaking. One of my interviewees, Matsuko, is a female Japanese major in her forties who came to the U.S. because her husband was transferred to the U.S. branch. She and Tsutomu explained that they have never taken any public speaking courses either in Japanese or in English in their education in Japan. This may be caused by the notion of communication in Japan. Interestingly, the Japanese language does not have the exact translation for the English word, "communication." Japanese use its English loanword of コミュニケーション [komyunikeishon]. The most frequently used intimate Japanese expressions for communication are 情報伝達 [jouho dentatsu], which means transaction of information, and 意思疎通 [ishisotsu], which stands for conveyance and understanding of intention. For example, Keiko explained her idea of the necessity of learning public speaking as "I have to willingly accept it [public speaking] as a way of expression of myself and to use it as a way of conveyance." This view of communication and public speaking holds a strong assumption that communication is skill or effect-based, which is similar to Shanon and Weaver's (1949)

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linear model or Schramm's (1954) transactional model of communication. As Spano (2001, April) argues in the colloquium titled "Public Dialogue and Participatory Democracy: The Cupertino Community Project" that public speaking instruction can provide learners not only with argumentation skills but also critical thinking skills about public issues. However, my interviewees are not aware of this aspect of learning public speaking.

Instead of critical thinking, Japanese international students focus on how to organize and present their ideas. Yoshiko shared that she would positively recommend taking a public speaking course to her friends:

I recommend taking it [a public speaking course] to my friends. I learned a lot from the class and it is useful when I begin to work. I didn't know anything about how to organize my speech before I took the class. How can I say..., the organization of speeches and there are a few categories of speeches such as the persuasive speech. I didn't know these and I learned them a lot. After I get a job and have to make a speech, I can use the simple format. So, I will keep my notebook of the class for my future job.

Similar to Yoshiko, Tsutomu explained that "The speech organization is useful and easy because it is systematic." They focus on how to adapt their ideas to the speech organization such as the attention getter, thesis statement, preview, body I, topic sentence, support A, B, and C. Ichiko, a female graduate student in TESOL [Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages] who are in her forties, explicitly explained to me that "I am not good at speaking English. So, I want to improve my presentation skills." They do not intend to learn how to analyze their society or simply do not know that they are

already analyzing their society during the speech making processes. They expect to learn how to make an effective speech in the public speaking course in order to take advantage for their future job and build up their presentation skills.

<u>Practice Speaking English</u>

Third, seven interviewees explained that they took a public speaking course because they wanted to have opportunities to practice speaking English. Mariko confessed that she "misunderstood the course was for practice English conversation for non-native speakers and took it." Momoko, twenty-one year old female law major, shared that she took the course to practice speaking English. Yuko described her view of what types of Japanese take a public speaking course as "people who want to practice speaking." Keiko and Yuko explained that they took a public speaking course because they "felt at ease" with its course title "Public Speaking for NON-NATIVE SPEAKERS" because they did not have confidence with and wanted to develop their phonetic English speaking skills such as pronunciation, rhythm, stress, and intonation. They imagined that they would practice speaking English as a foreign language in the class.

They were later surprised to learn that most of their classmates in the class were "Americans" who were immigrants or immigrants' descendents and could speak English fluently. Yuko reflected her surprise in the very first class activity of self-introduction and wondered, "The Chinese guy, who was born in the U.S., spoke fluent English. Why did such a person take this non-native public speaking course?" She complained that the criterion of a native speaker or non-native speaker in the course was not clear. In her understanding, native speakers of English were learners of foreign languages. On the contrary, Tsutomu was happy to know that his classmates were not native speakers of

English even if they spoke English well. He illustrated his relief as "All of my classmates had accents. So, none of them accused me that my English was strange." Japanese international students were not aware that the U.S. faced complicated English linguistic problems among immigrants and their descendents, who came from mainly Asia and Mexico, and had debates about its language policy between English and other various immigrants' languages. They simply believed that Americans spoke English before they attended classes in the U.S. They did not imagine that the English language in the U.S. includes a variety of accents spoken by numerous immigrants and their descendents who spoke other languages. Ichiko was surprised to know that most of her non-native classmates were Americans and they had various ethnic backgrounds. Momoko was embarrassed because she learned only North American English in Japan and could not understand what her classmates spoke in the class. In Japanese international students' minds, the English language is localized as North American English because they learn North American English in school in Japan but, at the same time, internationalized as a widely used foreign language because they know that English is often used in international business. This reminded me of the question "What is Japanese international students' view of the English language?"

Japanese International Students' Views of English

Complex sources constitute Japanese international students' views of English: a discourse of "English as an international language" and social status and elitism.

English as an International Language

My interviewees believed that learning English is beneficial for their future because "English is an international language." Mariko exactly mentioned that

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"English was an international language." Keiko described the reasons why she chose learning English not other languages: "English is the major language. When I hear the expression of 'foreign countries,' I associate it with English." She used the expression of "the major language." She meant that English was the most widely used language in the world and, therefore, she could use English in foreign counties. Haruko explained her feeling toward learning English: "I benefit from learning English. English can be understood in every country." Tsutomu used a metaphor of the dominance of English by comparing it with Microsoft Windows. English occupies a higher status than any other languages in their mind. They value the efficiency and convenience of English because it is widely used in the world and they can benefit from using English such as in business.

What does "international" mean to my interviewees? Fujimoto (2002) summarizes studies on discourses about *kokusaika* [internationalization] in Japan (e.g., Befu, 1983; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986). She points out that internationalization has positive connotations to Japanese and it is the desirable change. Kubota (1998) argues that the discourse of *kokusaika* and Japaneseness "tends to define Japan's position only in relation to the West" (p. 301) and Japaneseness was discussed as uniqueness of the Japanese culture compared to the West. In Tsutomu's words in which I quoted at the beginning of this chapter:

> For example, most young Europeans can speak English, and, then, they study other
> subjects such as Business. However, I major in English and I can speak English.
> Instead, English should be something *basic* like arithmetic. English is the *format*
> like [Microsoft] Windows. Then, we can learn other subjects and take advantage

for the future business.   I want to the education system which provides all

Japanese with English speaking skills without special effort.

He talked about his view of English and dissatisfaction with the English education

system in Japan by contrasting it with European education.   This statement explicitly

explains that his worldview is directed toward the West, not Asia or Africa.   I was not

sure if most young Europeans could really speak English or not, what he meant by

Europe, and who were Europeans according to his definition.   When I asked him "How

did you know that most young Europeans can speak English?," he could not answer.

But, at least, he believes so.   He thinks that the European education is better than the

Japanese one because Europeans can speak English better than Japanese.

Japanese eagerness for learning English cannot be separated from Japan's

internationalization.   Lummis, a political scientist who has experience of teaching

English in Japan, (1977) explains in his autoethnography, "English Conversation as

Ideology," that English conversation is not a simply language training but imprinting the

Western worldview.   Historically, the purpose of learning English was to catch up with

the Western countries, especially the U.K. and the U.S. and to modernize Japan by

importing advanced Western techniques and thought in the pre-modern era (Koike &

Tanaka, 1995).   Relating to the discourse of internationalization, Tsuda (1990) suggests

that there has been little criticism against the popularity of English conversation.   He

continues that "In any decades 'English conversation' was perceived that it was good and

it should be welcomed, and it has been encouraged.   It was viewed favorably as

'cultural' and 'international'" [parenthesized by Tsuda] [Translated by Yokomizo] (p.

116).   Tsuda (1992) estimates the annual gross sales from the business of English

education in 1987 as one trillion yen, which was equal to eight billion US dollars at that time. A Japanese scholar of English literature, Oishi (1990) calls Japanese excessive passion for learning English "English obsessive neurosis." Learning English has become a subculture which was a representative act to internationalize Japanese. Literally, "international" means between nations. However, "international" has a connotation of Western and modern in Japan. English is authorized by the power of the U.K. and the U.S. (Itou, 1993; Nakamura, 1989; Mizuno, 1993; Suzuki, 2001; Tsuda, 1990). Saying that English is an international language, I am afraid that Japanese seek benefit from speakers of English and do not pay much attention to people who do not speak it because communication without English is difficult for them.

How do Japanese international students practically benefit from learning "an international language?" My interviewees explained that they were motivated to learn English because it is advantageous for job hunting in Japan. I also had this kind of motivation when I was a senior in high school and changed my future college major from Japanese teaching to English. Throughout my job hunting, this change helped me very much. All job interviewers saw my resume and mentioned that I won prizes in English oratorical contests and I studied at a university in Kentucky, saying and nodding "You can speak English well, can't you?" Then, I replied to them, "Yes, I can communicate in English with people in the world. In Kentucky, I had a lot of friends who came from various countries: Asia, Europe, and Africa, and of course Americans. I devoted myself to learning English and spent most of my college life for English. Especially, living in the U.S. with the foreign language and the different culture was really tough. It was tough, but I got over the hardship and became able to speak English. I believe that I can

contribute to your company with my English, patience, and continuous effort if you hire me." I received eight job offers out of nine companies. It seemed that my strategy worked well. Due to the economic depression and the high rate of obtaining a college degree in Japan, job hunting has become very competitive. Job applicants are eager to demonstrate in their job interviews and essays how they are different from other applicants and how the company will benefit from hiring them. English is one of the strengths that stands out among other special skills, credentials, and qualifications for job hunting and increases a Japanese person's status. I have to mention here that most of my job interviewers and decision makers of employment were late middle-aged Japanese men at administrative posts.

English skills are required for job promotion in transnational companies in Japan. Many Japanese and foreign transnational enterprises encourage their Japanese employees to study English for business purposes because they believe that they have to negotiate with foreign businesspersons and survive as Kubota (1998) states. Matsuko explained that the English proficiency of workers in big companies influences their job promotion. Her husband can use English well and he is now working in a laboratory near San Jose. Not only her husband's company but also other Japanese companies value employees' English proficiency. For example, Toshiba, which is the oldest manufacturer of electrical products in Japan, even established its own instructional institute, the Toshiba International Training Center (ITC) in Tokyo in 1981 (Morrow, 1995). The ITC hires native speakers at full-time and provides the Toshiba workers with daily and intensive instruction of cross-cultural business negotiation, presentation skills in English and foreign language, mainly English. According to Morrow, about five hundred Toshiba

employees participate in the intensive English course and additional fifty workers study other foreign languages such as French, Chinese, Spanish, German, and Thai each year. They are trained for upper management positions.

How do Japanese employees study English at most companies without their own schools of English? They go to private English conversation schools after their work or on holidays. While English instruction in junior and senior high schools focuses on knowledge, which is ridiculed as non-useful exam English, private English conversation schools have emphasized practical and useful English skills and have become very popular in Japan (Tsuda, 2000). Matsuko, Yuko, and Asako, who was a nineteen year old female computer major, went to private English conversation school in Japan before they came to San Jose. They told me that many *ojisan*, the common expression of Japanese meaning middle-aged men, went to their private English conversation schools. Here is the script of the conversation with Matsuko when I asked her who she thought studied English hard in Japan:

Matsuko: It is *ojisan* who studied English the hardest in Japan.

Akihiko: *Ojisan*? Are you sure?

Matsuko: Yes. Though you may not know, for their business, they, including my husband, are required to earn a certain or above score of the TOEIC [Test Of English for International Communication] to get administrative posts, to make a business trip to the U.S., and to be stationed here as a representatives of their company. After all, the proficiency of English influences their status now. So, I assume it is not students but *ojisan* who study English the hardest in Japan, especially middle-aged *ojisan*.

Therefore, it can be said that the discourse of English as an international language in Japan has been framed from the viewpoint of success in the global economy and Japan's national development following the West.

This discourse does not always promote the internationalization of Japanese people's minds. It contains two negative aspects: neglecting non-Western regions, especially non-English speaking countries, and framing the Japanese worldview according to the upper middle class positionality. None of my interviewees mentioned that their purpose for learning English was to communicate with Asians, Africans, or Latino/Latinas with English. Mariko mentioned that she did not learn or even have a chance to learn any other foreign languages in her junior and senior high school. This is a common experience in Japan. The secondary education in Japan rarely offers any other languages. The foreign language education policy in Japan systematically distorts Japanese view of internationalization. The course of study both in junior and senior high school (1998) includes a chapter of foreign language education. But the chapter is all about English. As I introduced in the earlier chapter, the Ministry of Education in Japan locates English is principally a compulsory subject because "English is internationally and widely used as a way of communication" (The Course of Study in Junior High School, p.3). The course of study both in junior and senior high school just briefly mentioned about other foreign languages that instructions of other foreign languages should follow that of English. This is all about other foreign languages in the course of education in Japan. It hides other foreign languages in secondary education in Japan.

In addition to that, it constructed a myth that people in the world are learning

English and can speak English, as Tsutomu said. Mariko shared that she wanted to be a teacher of English. She thought English was an international language and it was wonderful to explore her worldview by communicating with people who spoke English. This myth fails to consider who speaks English from the viewpoint of the socio-economic class. Who in non-English speaking countries are able to speak English and will communicate with Japanese in English? Who comes to the U.S., pays the expensive non-resident tuitions and fees, and becomes friends of Japanese international students on campus? Who can learn and speak English in Japan? Who goes to private English conversation schools? Japanese international students are not aware that they are privileged to learn English. In the end, Japanese are communicating in English only with native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English in the upper middle class or above. By communicating with such non-native speakers of English in the upper middle class, Japanese international students' worldview is still framed within the upper middle class because they do not learn other languages and have access to people in the lower class in the world. They do not learn poverty and hunger in courses of English. Therefore, Japan's internationalization as evident in the focus on learning English is directed toward the upper middle class worldview. They have to ask themselves, "Who in what class in which countries communicates with Japanese in English for what purpose? What type of Japanese can master English with much time, money, and effort and communicate with foreigners in English in what situations? Who is included in the international communication and who is excluded?" in the discourse of "English as an international language" in Japan. The discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] guides Japanese international students who study English and

public speaking to the Western worldview and the upper middle class worldview.

The purpose of learning an international language is to communicate with foreign people. English is the means for such a purpose. However, the means has substituted the purpose and Japanese have focused on communicating with certain types of foreigners such as Western people in the upper middle class for their benefit. As long as people's view of internationalization is directed to this line of thought and favoritism, learning the international language is a way to actualize their benefit. I am afraid that such partial internationalization of Japan hides other types of people such as poor people who are starving in developing countries from Japanese people's mind. Communicating with foreign people only who economically benefit them, Japanese fail to admire non-English speaking people and cultures and take a part in strengthening the world of English.

Elitism

The positive attitude toward the native-like English proficiency stimulates and reproduces positive attitudes toward elitism. Momoko said to me "I have a sense of superiority over my friends who cannot speak English." People evaluate and distinguish people according to their English. For this, I analyzed Japanese international students' attitude toward accents in English. Japanese value pronunciation in foreign language learning. The Japanese language has an adverb and adjective of *perapera* for the English word, fluently. Japanese use *perapera* when they have the positive attitude toward the fluency in foreign languages and praise the speaker of native-like accents. Yoshiko told me that her mother asked to her: "Yoshiko, can you speak English *perapera*?" A Japanese who can speak English *perapera* with the

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native-like accents is viewed as an exceptional Japanese. Yoshiko talked about her initial motivation toward learning English:

> For the first time, I wanted to able to speak English like native speakers anyway. How can I say..., everything including pronunciation. My goal was to acquire the good English proficiency so that native speakers do not ask me which country I am from when they hear my English... I felt that I had achieved the goal to a certain extent, though my English was not perfect yet. When I was working [at an airport] in Japan, Americans sometimes asked me where I was from. They thought I was from somewhere in the U.S. because my pronunciation seemed the American accents to them. That experience brought me the satisfaction that I had achieved my goal.

Yoshiko was happy to hear that American native speakers of English misunderstood that she was an American.

Japanese international students' favoritism toward the native-like accents was so strong that they feel obsessed to master North American English accents. They strive to reduce their Japanese accents from their English pronunciation. Keiko told me that the professor in her public speaking course always pointed out her Japanese accents and she became conscious of her accents negatively. Ichiko told me about the inferiority complex of her English pronunciation in her public speaking course that she felt timid and did not feel encouraged to speak in her non-native public speaking course because her classmates, who were not non-native speakers of English, could speak English fluently. She continued:

> I am pursuing a M.A. degree in the U.S. It is strange that I can't speak English

with correct pronunciation after I earn a M.A. degree in the U.S.   I do not want others to hear my Japanese-accented English.   I really want to master North American English accents.

She was frustrated very much with her Japanese-accented English.   She hopes to reduce the accents from her mother tongue and have the North American accents.   They are very conscious of how others think about their English.

Accents of English are used as a means to evaluate people and one's self.   Yuko has a strong sense that accents distinguish herself from other Japanese.   She is aware that her Japanese ESL classmates speak Japanese-accented English and she does not like that.

Yuko: I am glad to hear my English is different from other Japanese.

Akihiko: Does the difference have a positive connotation?

Yuko: Yes, for example, pronunciation.

Akihiko: Who said your English was different?

Yuko: My Taiwanese classmates.

Akihiko: Were you happy to hear that?

Yuko: Yes.

Akihiko: Do you want to reduce your Japanese accents?

Yuko: I want to.

Akihiko: How do you think your English should be like?

Yuko: Standard American English which my teacher in the Adult Education speaks.
    She is from Hollywood.

She was glad to know that she had less Japanese accents in her English.   She has

experience in working at a Japanese transnational company and used English in her

business there every day. She talked about her impressions about her boss's English:

> *Ojisan* had rich English vocabulary about business and products. But he had
>
> strong Japanese accents in his English and spoke on the phone "Hello, okkei okkei
>
> [O.K. O.K.]. Bye." He was a section chief and did very good job. But I felt
>
> he was not a professional.

Thus, she evaluates her boss according to his Japanese-accented English pronunciation,

not to his job ability. Then, reflecting her English, she wants to be a *perapera* speaker

of English which has positive connotation. English is more than a tool to communicate

with foreign people for her. It is strongly related to her value system with which she

evaluates her boss. How did such the *perapera* English favoritism become pervasive in

Japan? It is rooted in the history of English education in Japan.

The history of learning a foreign language has depended on the history of the

elitism. Koike and Tanaka (1995) review the history of English education in Japan.

They summarize that after Japan opened its diplomacy and trades to the world in 1858

the Japanese government sent a small number of elites abroad to study foreign languages

and knowledge and they contributed to the civilization and modernization of Japan.

Therefore, acquiring English proficiency and studying in the U.S. seemed to reflect a

level of civilization and modernization of the elites and that develops a sense of

superiority. Yoshio Nakano, a scholar of English literature, criticizes the attitudes of

Japanese scholars of English literature in the World War II when Japan fought against the

Western countries: "When people master a foreign language a little, they feel as if they

are greater than others. That is ridiculous caused by intellectual vanity." (Nakamura,

1990, pp. 21-22).   When I asked Asako why she studied English and came to the U.S., she answered "I want to be someone different from others."   Apparently, she implies that speaking English and studying in the U.S. make up a positive difference for her. She confessed to me that "If I did not learn English, I spend boring ordinary life... My family members and friends praised me of my English proficiency.   I am happy to hear that."   She wants to be distinguished from other Japanese by learning English because she believes that English provided her with higher social status.

Some Japanese parents are eager to have their children to learn English.   Mariko explained how her parents tried to draw her interest to English:

I was strongly influenced by English learning materials which my parents gave me in my childhood.   For example, I had tapes of old Japanese tales.   I listened to them and saw picturebooks of them.   The tapes told stories mostly in Japanese but sometimes had English words and gradually told stories with English sentences.   I had a lot.   My parents gave them to me soon after I was born.   I had a picture-story show book titled "Ken-chan in Mokumoku Village."   Ken-chan [the main character of the story] learns English through his various adventures. Readers see that and can learn English.   In addition, I had a plastic sheet which showed English alphabet letters. [In Japan, elementary students have a custom to use a plastic sheet when they take a note.   Originally it was because their wooden school desks were sometimes uneven because some students engraved letters and pictures on their desk with chisels for art classes.   However, using a cool and beautiful plastic pad became a kind of their fashion now.]   I had about 60 books for English learning totally.   I had as many tapes as the books.   There might be

even more. I didn't understand the materials but I liked them pretty much. The

stories were fun and I liked to listen to English. I mimicked and followed the

tapes. The tapes sounded strange for me because they had some English words

inserted into old tales in Japanese like "Ojiisan, grandfather, -ha yama-e

shibakari-ni..." ["Grandfather goes to mountains to gather firewood." This

sentence aims to have children understand that the English word of grandfather

means *ojiisan* in Japanese.] That stimulated my curiosity, "What did the tape said

right now?"

Matsuko has two sons who are ten and thirteen years old. When she told her married

female friends in Japan about the hardship in living and raising her children in the

foreign country, the U.S., they replied to her "But your children will be able to speak

English." Japanese parents, specifically those who cannot speak English, want their

children to speak English. Within the discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] in

Japan, I frequently heard "korekarano jidai eigo gurai hanase naitone" [We should be

able to speak English in this and the following era.] and "semete kodomoniha

eikaiwagurai yarasetai" [I want my children to learn English conversation.] These

common phrases push parents to give their children videos, tapes, and picturebooks of

English learning and entertaining materials for small children such as <u>Sesame Street</u> and

<u>Bugs Bunny</u> and send children to English conversation school so that their children have

interest in English and learn "beautiful" North American English or British accents.

Parents love their children and hope that their children will be able to speak North

American English in order to raise their children as elites and international persons.

Here is the contradictory attitude to internationalization and English accents.

Internationalization urges Japanese to learn North American or British English, which is one of local accents in the world but often misguided as the standard English. Even if they really view English as an international language, they will not willingly learn Indian English or Filipino English and will not hope to reduce their Japanese accents from their English pronunciation. This is because the U.K. and the U.S. have been the most powerful and influential countries to Japan and Japanese have strived to catch up with these Western technologies and modern civilization based on the elitist foreign language education as well as their Western fetishism. This reflects the Japanese participation in advancing the dominant ideology of language.

Inferior Feeling toward Japan

Japanese have inferior feelings about Japan in relation to the West. When I asked Masao what his friends thought of his English learning and studying in the U.S., he answered that they said "Cool!" Then, he explained that Japanese have inferior feeling about race and English. He described the reason as "Japan was defeated by the U.S. in the World War II." Similarly, Matsuko talked about her own childhood experiences:

> My uncle was a translator in the American base. I lived near it, too. I had many
> American friends near the air force base and my neighborhood. I often went into
> the base to get pizza and candy bars and went to church for sweets though I was
> not a Christian... After the war, after the war, though you may not understand,
> Japan was defeated in the war and numerous Americans got into Japan. About
> MacArthur [the American general who defeated and ruled Japan after the World
> War II] or everything, Japanese have had inferior feelings since then.

Japan lost the World War II. It is easy to imagine that this experience brought Japanese

the inferior feeling against the U.S. that they were a loser. Yoshiko talked about how her grandparents thought of her learning English:

Yoshiko: Everyone thinks positive of my learning English. Even grandfather and

grandmother showed me their positive attitude, though my grandfather actually

fought against the U.S. in the war.

Akihiko: Though English is his enemy's language?

Yoshiko: Yes. He thinks it is good and always says "*gambare* [Hold out]."

Various forms of the American popular cultures developed the good image of the U.S. and the war experience brings Japanese the identity of the loser in relation to the West. Then, they strived to catch up with the Western technology and knowledge again as they did after Japan opened its country to the world in the middle of the nineteenth century. Japanese international students come from the Japanese society with this line of thought and learn English.

The West became a teacher and Japan became a student of the Western cultures again. Moreover, Japan is a faithful and obedient student of the West and helps the Western cultures and technology reproduced and diffused to the rest of the world with its economic and technological power such as TVs, audio sets, and computers made by SONY, Aiwa, Fujitsu, and NEC. This helps the diffusion of the Western cultures, information, and English to Japan as well as to the rest of the world. Japanese old traditions and Western new modernity coexist in Japan and Japanese reside in the tension of new and old identity (Befu, 1987). The next session discusses Japanese international students' motivation in relation to this tension.

Communication Styles and Japaneseness

Interpretations of different communication styles in Japanese and English make Japanese international students aware of their Japanese identity. They find that communicating in Japanese and English is different for them. Shizuko, Haruko, Ichiko, Momoko, and Asako mentioned that they became more honest and used more direct expressions when they speak English than Japanese. Haruko explained that her friends in Japan told her so when she went back to Japan during a break. She continues "I was so surprised to hear that for the first time. But I think that it is natural to use more direct expressions because I live in the U.S." As Japanese international students studied in the U.S., they think that they adapted their communication style to the American way in English.

However, not all Japanese international students accept the American communication style. Matsuko confessed to me that she did not like American communication in English because it sounded sometimes too straightforward, aggressive, and exaggerated to her. Kamimura and Oi (1998) analyzed Japanese students' and American students' English in writings and found that Japanese students tend to use "I think," "I wonder," "perhaps," and "maybe" and, on the contrary, Americans students often use "should," "I am sure," "absolutely," and "no doubt." Okabe (1987) also describes the differences between Japanese and American ways of communication: Japanese communication is based on the high-contextual culture and relationships and Japanese respect others' thought and feelings and rarely discuss different opinions. On the other hand, he contrasts it with American communication: American communication

is based on the low-context cultures and persuasion and Americans try to clarify differences between communicators. As Japanese international students learn English, they believe that they are aware of and/or acquire "American" ways of communication which are different from "Japanese" ones. My interviewees did not share that there are collectivistic Americans and individualistic Japanese. They distinguish communication styles according to communicators' nationality and fail to pay attention to other possible elements such as gender, socio-economic class, age, and ethnicity.

Momoko and Asako feel as though they are different people when they are in Japan versus when they are in the U.S. Momoko said "I am a different person when I speak Japanese and English. I express my ideas more frankly when I speak English [than Japanese]." Asako also described her perception:

> I think I am a different person when I am in Japan and here. English does not have so many polite expressions as Japanese has. English has more vocabulary to express feelings than Japanese. So, I feel that people here show more humanity than Japanese, though I can't explain that well.

They show positive attitudes to their frank communication style in English. Asako is glad to know that she can express herself in English better than in Japanese as well as others can. Momoko appreciates that learning English and public speaking reduced anxiety to speak in front of audience and enabled her to speak up as well as Yoshiko, Jiro, Ichiko, Jun, and Yuko. They make positive sense of the difference and hybridize the communication styles without rejecting different styles. This seems to be enhancing their motivation toward learning English and public speaking.

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Danger of the Japaneseness Discourse

On the contrary, Shizuko's case is negative to the Japanese communication style. She complained of Japanese high-contextual communication and thinks that she fits better with English communication than the Japanese one:

Japanese do not say their opinions clearly and I have to guess what they really want to say. I am tired of that. Though I relatively express my honest ideas and feelings, many Japanese cannot do so. That made me dislike Japan. Though I can't explain that well, I have felt I was under pressure and burden not to do so... I feel that I have to fit myself to *otonashisa* [quietness and gentleness], which have been thought were Japanese virtue, though I am active. I have to synchronize with others and can't be self-centered in Japan. Self-assertion is seen selfish in Japan, though it is not here. I should constrain myself under such pressure in Japan.

Thus, she compares Japanese communication styles with American ones, and struggles with her Japaneseness. She said "I don't want to live in Japan in the future."

Similarly, Yoshiko is in crisis about her Japaneseness, with regard to her act of questioning. After she stayed in an American family in the U.S. for seven months prior to studying at San Jose State University, she returned to Japan once. She experienced American cultures, was interested in reflecting Japanese cultures, and began to learn *sado*, the art of tea ceremony which held very strict and old traditions. The *sado* instruction is not only about how to make tea, but *sado* learners first learn how to walk. Yoshiko confessed to me that she quit learning *sado* after she finished three lessons:

The *sado* instructor first told me to watch her behavior. Then, I didn't understand

how to behave in practice and asked her "How can I do this?" She scolded me

"odamarinasai!" [Be quiet!]. Learners have to learn by watching others in such a

traditional world. I didn't know such a rule and thought I could ask questions if I

did not understand. See? I am not a Japanese at this point. American teachers

often say "Ask me questions." However, Japanese teachers rarely say so. Even

if they said so, nobody actually ask their questions.

There is a Japanese proverb which exactly tells the instructor's attitude toward

instruction: "narau yori narero" [Practice makes perfect. Or, get accustomed rather than

learn.]. Questioning is a face threatening act in Japan. Tsutomu's perception about

questioning:

Asking questions means I did not understand teacher's explanations. I feel as of I

am saying "I am not capable to understand your explanation." I have thought

questioning should be ashamed but that idea changed after I came here. My

classmates often question in class.

Similar to Tsutomu, Yoshiko was embarrassed by the different learning styles in Japan

and the U.S. Then, she concluded that she was much more like American than Japanese

since she held the American notion of questioning. Yoshiko is seriously thinking to

immigrate to the U.S. after she graduates.

This Japaneseness discourse negatively works for Shizuko and Yoshiko. They are

under pressure and seem to be excluding themselves from the Japanese society. Befu

(1987) reveals that the Japaneseness discourse is based on the hidden assumption that a

culture is homogeneous and points put that the Japanese culture has had individualism

and materialism since long ago like the West but that has been neglected because the

theory of the Japanese culture is based on the uniqueness in contrast with the West. He continues that explanations of characteristics of a society and culture are critically influenced by which society and culture is compared with the society and culture as well as the theory of the Japanese culture provides Japanese with cultural identity in relation to the West. Yoshino (1997) similarly explains that "Cultures in present days are usually 'polluted' by foreign cultures and reflection to the traditional cultures is the only way to express uniqueness and ethnic community" [Parenthesized by Yoshino] [Translated by Yokomizo] (p. 61). Shizuko and Yoshiko compare themselves with traditional Japanese communication within the discourse of Japaneseness in Japan which has constructed on the assumption that Japanese were one unity in relation to the West. The Japaneseness discourse prevented Shizuko and Yoshiko from viewing themselves as "normal" Japanese. They believe that they are strange Japanese because they deviate from the normal Japanese thought and behavior within the Japaneseness discourse. Lee (1998b) argues that understanding how people discuss their identity tells how they "distinguish themselves from others, making arguments *for* one and *against* another [Italicized by Lee] (p. 23). Shizuko and Yoshiko's explanations of their identity reveal that they are against the Japaneseness discourse and escape from Japan in order to negotiate and protect their own view of identity.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I first explained that the sources of Japanese international students' motivation toward learning public speaking are the necessity as academic requirements, desire for acquisition of business skills in the global capitalism, and practice speaking English. Second, I focused on their views of English because it was the most pervasive

and structurally constructed by globalization and history. It shapes a discourse of internationalization and elitism. Some Japanese students try to escape from the Japaneseness discourse that overemphasizes traditional Japanese value systems in comparison to the West. This chapter revealed that all of these aspects are directed to the West such as the global capitalism, history, and popular cultures. However, there is one more significant element of Japanese international students, specifically female students' motivation that reflects the gender marginalization in Japan. The next chapter focuses on this issue.

CHAPTER 4

INFLUENCE OF FEMALE GENDER ISSUES ON MOTIVATION AND IDENTITY

"Now I think I should have gone out with a White man as a life experience. I don't know why, but I think so" (Yuko).

Yuko is an ESL student. She takes some undergraduate courses of the Open University. She resigned from her job soon after she got married and came to the U.S. because of her husband's business stay in the U.S.

> They [married Japanese women] are oppressed by the social obligation that says they should be good mothers, good wives, and good daughters-in-law...
>
> Japanese women can't be independent because of the socially accepted idea. It is like an unspoken rule. Nobody tells it, but it actually exists and Japanese women can't be free from it (Matsuko).

Matsuko majors in Japanese and minors in Communication Studies. Before she came to the U.S., she was teaching Japanese to foreigners in Japan. Her husband is working in a Japanese transnational company and her family came to the U.S. about five years ago. He hopes to go back and forth between Japan and the U.S. for his business and they applied for green cards. She is a mother of two sons. Her elder son is now thirteen years old and the youngest is ten.

> But still I was just an OL. When I raised suggestions for the business, colleagues said "Don't say any uninvited things. You are a girl." That happened almost every day... Men decided all of rules and manuals. OLs could not do their jobs as they wanted to do. When I confessed "I want to do this in a different way," my boss said "onnano-ko wa damatte nasai!" [Girls do not have to interfere!]

(Yoshiko).

Yoshiko is an Aviation major and she is now twenty-nine years old. She worked in a Japanese trading company before she came to San Jose. Female office workers in Japan are called "OL." OL is an abbreviation of a Japanese-English expression, "Office Lady." OL is often compared to a Japanese expression of *shokuba-no hana*, "flowers in a company." They are not expected to work hard. Companies expect them to be supportive to male workers and to do odd jobs such as copying documents, sitting on the reception desk, and answering phone calls.

In this chapter, I discuss Japanese female international students' motivation toward learning English and how such motivation relates to gender issues such as romance and gender inequalities in Japan. None of my male interviewees mentioned gender issues. However, several female interviewees shared their experiences and feelings of romance with White men and domestic gender marginalization in Japan in relation to the motivation toward learning English and studying in the U.S. Gender is political because the power relationship between men and women is not equal (Ueno, 1995). Men in power easily fail to notice how they are powerful over women.

I introduce three narratives from my female interviewees about their experiences and feelings of romance with White men and gender marginalization in Japan. Starosta (1997) explains that good narratives reveal "what the narrator and the narrator's community or culture are disposed to believe" (p. 142). My interviewees' narratives appeal to me how they and their female friends in Japan are marginalized by the unspoken social pressure of being ideal women under the male dominant society. Yumiko shared her and her friends' White men fetishism which constructed by popular

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culture. Matsuko talked about how the invisible social obligations oppress married Japanese women. Yoshiko talked about how she was marginalized in her company in Japan and such marginalization was naturalized. Resistance to the gender inequality in Japan can be the source of motivation toward learning English for Japanese females. Also, the gender identity negotiation between old and new Japanese female identities constitutes their motivation. Therefore, it is valuable to analyze the relationship between learning motivation and gender issues. I share one narrative about female student's White men fetishism and relate it to her motivation. Then, I present two narratives about gender inequalities in Japan, analyze their experience, and then relate it to their motivation toward learning English in the next section.

White Male Fetishism

Yuko's Narrative

I think a lot of Japanese just follow the social trend saying "Global! Global!" and study English. In addition, people who have strong curiosity, those who long for foreign countries, those who like foreign countries, and those who like foreigners may study English. One of my Japanese friends is a White fanatic. She loves only White Anglo-Saxon men. She is now 32 or 33 years old. She visited Hawaii to take a test of the CPA. There, she saw an American man who came from Detroit and had some romance. He told her to come to his home in Detroit and she believed him. She resigned her job in Japan and went to Detroit! She stayed there for 2 months until her visa expired.

I know some other Japanese women who like White like her. I guess they are influenced by the images produced by Hollywood movies and musicians.

Here is another girl's story. She studied English after she graduated from a 2-year college in Japan. She said "Anyway, I want to talk with foreigners." Later, she courted an American man and got married. She lives near San Jose now. We see relatively many couples of American men and Japanese women, can't we? I guess there are a lot of Japanese women who like White men.

Now I think I should have gone out with a White man as a life experience. I don't know why, but I think so. But I like White men because they are cool. I remember I was so attracted by Michael J. Fox in the Hollywood movie, Back to the Future when I was a junior high school student. One of my friends in the ESL began to associate with a White man. I envy her. She basically likes White men's faces and bodies.

Analysis of Yuko's Narrative

All of the Japanese women described by Yuko, including herself, show their White male fetishism and Yuko concluded that the popular culture caused her initial fetishism. Tsuda (1993a) explains that some Japanese girls are called "Yellow Cab" in the U.S. because they likely and easily have sexual intercourses with multiple American men. Tsuda analyzes that such girls want to decorate themselves with expensive Western brand products, English, and sex with Western men and enjoy intoxicated. Haruko criticizes some short-term female Japanese international students for their rapid romance with Whites in the U.S., "What is their purpose to come to the U.S.? Some short-term female international students just want to go out with foreigners and boast about their romance with White American to their friends after they go back to Japan." As Fujimoto (2002) argues Whiteness is privileged in Japan.

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My Japanese female interviewees seemed to reflect the internalization of White fetishism. Fujimoto (2002) reports that a Japanese short-term ESL student complained about her roommates in the dormitory because her roommates were not White Americans and her peer Japanese students' roommates were all White when Fujimoto was doing assistant jobs at a U.S. university. Japanese international students admire Western countries because of the good images in the American popular cultures. When I asked Keiko what made her begin to study English hard, she answered: "I just longed for foreign countries and I wanted to speak English. I have never thought that I would use English in my future career." When I asked her what she meant foreign countries, her answer was Europe such as the U.K., France, and Italy. She continued "Simply admiration. Where is it from? Such as TV and magazines..." Mariko explained that she was a Beatles fanatic since she was a junior high school student. Asako's first goal was to watch and understand movies in English without Japanese subtitles. Yuko majored in English and American literature in Japan. When I asked her why she chose literature in English not in other languages, for example, Japanese and Chinese, she described the reason:

Yuko: How can I say..., for the first time, I began to long for English and speakers of English. Many American literatures were made into movies, aren't they? I liked watching such movies and began to have interest in reading their literature versions. Japanese literatures are also interesting, but American literatures have a different charm.

Akihiko: What kind of charm is it?

Yuko: Very vague, but cool and beautiful.

Akihiko: Cool? Do you mean English itself is cool or the world in English?

Yuko: I thought both the world in English and sounds of English were cool.

Akihiko: How did your friends and family members think about such movies?

Yuko: None of my family had interest. But my friends in my major of literature in

English were like me.

Western popular culture intrigued Japanese international students' initial interest and

admiration toward the West.

Popular Culture as a Source of Motivation

As my interviewees mentioned, popular culture plays an important role for

Japanese students' admiration of the West and motivation toward learning English.

Japanese are exposed to a large number of popular cultures in English. Tanaka-Oda

(1995) researched the number of Japanese and American movies listed in the movie

guide of Japan Times (February 10, 1994) for the Tokyo-Yokohama-Kawasaki area and

of Chunichi Shinbun (February 10, 1994) for the Nagoya area which was a prefecture in

the middle of Japan. She found ten Japanese movies (about seventeen percent) and

thirty three American movie titles (fifty-five percent) out of the total sixty movies shown

at 157 theaters and thirty Japanese movies (about fifty-five percent) and twenty-three

American movie titles (about forty-two percent) out of the total fifty-five movies shown

at thirty-nine theaters. I recalled of movies that I recently watched in Japan: Titanic,

Mission Impossible II, X-men, The Matrix, Men in Black, Spirited Away (a Japanese

animation movie), Princess Diaries, and the revival version of Planet of the Apes. I did

not realize that I have not watched any Japanese movies except the animation movie.

The American movies listed above were highly popular in Japan, too. I heard that

Harry Potter was going to be much more popular now.   In addition to movies, we can watch American TV programs in Japan such as <u>Beverly Hills, 90210</u> and <u>Ally McBeal</u>. My sister loves to watch <u>Beverly Hills, 90210</u> every night.   At least three of my colleagues in my past occupation were <u>Beverly Hills, 90210</u> fanatics.   The American entertainment is so popular in Japan.

Both Western admiration and White male fetishism have a strong influence on Japanese female students' motivation toward learning English.   Fiske (1989) argues that the popular culture shows what people have in common and the dominant ideology to gain profit in the capitalist society.   Japanese students like representations of the West and Whiteness in the popular culture.   The popular culture describes the good images of West and White men and helps to shape Japanese students' motivation toward learning English as Yuko's case.

Gender Inequalities in Japan

<u>Matsuko's Narrative</u>

My friends in Japan are impressed with the fact that I am studying in the U.S. But they think I enjoy my attractive student life under the blue sky in California in the days of my second youth.   None of them imagine that I am struggling the study in the U.S. college.   That's a huge gap.   Everyone thinks my life here is just nice.   No way!   How can I say..., they have a strong impression that Americans are the representative of freedom and Americans have virtues that they don't have.   Such an image has been beautified.   It is rainy and humid in Japan. But here, in California, everybody is like half-naked and walks under the blue sky. They are envious saying like "That's freedom.   It's what I want."   Such envy

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beautifies my U.S. life.

Japanese housewives spend tough life in Japan. Even if Japanese women work outside of the home, their husbands don't do any housework or their husbands can't do anything because their husbands are always extremely busy in business. So, Japanese mothers have to be responsible for all child care responsibilities in the home. Japanese mothers don't have custom to ask for babysitters, right? They are under the social obligation that says mothers have to raise their children. They are oppressed by the social obligation that says they should be good mothers, good wives, and good daughters-in-law. They will be upset if their husbands' mother becomes bedridden and say "My daughter-in-law doesn't take care of me." Japanese women can't be independent because of the socially accepted idea. It is like an unspoken rule. Nobody tells it, but it actually exists and Japanese women can't be free from it.

My friends in Japan envy me of such freedom here. They say "Your children don't have severe competition in school entrance exams. You don't have to take care of your husband's mother. You don't have any boring and tiring ceremonial occasions such as marriage parties and funerals. You are free!" They are tired. They just want to escape from their married life and envy me.

They don't understand my hardship here. My children have to adapt to this society. They have a lot of trouble in terms of identity conflicts, racism, and their English proficiency. They are growing in this country. My husband and I came here when we were older. But my children are still immature and struggling really hard against such troubles. But my friends in Japan never understand such

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hardship. They just say "You are lucky to live in the U.S. Your children will be able to speak English and don't have school entrance exams." They mention only good aspects. I was tired of that but gave up explaining the real situation which wives of representatives of Japanese transnational companies in the U.S. face.

Let me tell you the real situation. For the first time, the language barrier was a significant problem for me. But I found I could survive here even though I couldn't speak English because I was just a housewife. Other Japanese wives who came to the U.S. with their husbands go to community colleges and take ESL courses to kill their time. However, many of them quit after they are assigned a lot of homework. Few of them attend four-year colleges because classes are so demanding. Some Japanese wives enjoy shopping and playing golf. Others enjoy their housework in their daily life and handicraft is popular among them. Japanese women enjoy their life here as housewives. That's not so much different from their life in Japan.

Analysis of Matsuko' Narrative

Matsuko's narrative vividly explains how married Japanese women suffer from the social pressure in the masculine Japanese society. Matsuko used the English expression of "social obligation" and described it as "It is like an unspoken rule. Nobody tells it, but it actually exists." She identifies herself as a mother, wife, and daughter-in-law in accordance with the social obligation. These labels are not neutral. They exercise the discursive power and she was forced to and accepted to take up responsibilities to raise her children as a mother, to do housework as a wife, and to take care of her mother-in-law.

Throughout the interview, she sometimes said "because I am just a housewife." She accepts her identities as a mother, wife, and daughter-in-law and strives to match herself to a good mother, good wife, and good daughter-in-law. Even though she complained of those identities, she did not argue about who evaluated her for what purpose with whose value. The discourse supports the Japanese male-dominated society: Men work outside the home throughout their life and married women work inside the home. Matsuko shared that she was working in a big transnational company until she got married and she taught Japanese to foreigners as a part-time lecturer in a small private Japanese language school after her children started to school. This means that she did not and could not get a full-time position in a big company as she did before she got married because she fully took care of her children and house work at home. She has tried to fit herself to the "mother/wife/daughter-in-law" discourse. This discourse frames married Japanese females' identity in the family, and represents the marginalization of Japanese women. Matsuko learns English and study at a college for a degree in order to liberate her from this Japanese patriarchal discourse.

Yoshiko's Narrative

I worked in a Japanese trading company. It was small but had a long history. It had few workers who could speak English. It often traded with Taiwanese companies. Taiwanese negotiators spoke Japanese a little. My colleagues communicated with them in written Chinese characters and spoke English a little. I majored in English literature in my 2-year college and spoke English a little. One day I was demanded to interpret English in a business meeting, though OL was usually ignored and not allowed to attend such an

important event.   I was surprised that the President participated in the meeting in which I interpreted.   I sometimes attended such meetings as an interpreter.   My English was trained there by translating documents and interpreting in meetings. I could not say "No, I don't want to do that." because I was just an OL.

A middle-aged male Taiwanese negotiator thanked me for interpreting Japanese into English for him and English into Japanese for my President.   I felt ashamed of my poor English proficiency and told him that my English was still immature.   He replied to me "Your English is much better than others in your company.   Just keep working on your English."   His words encouraged me. Because I had some English proficiency, I could participate in big projects and my status in the company was high as an OL.

But still I was just an OL.   When I raised suggestions for the business, colleagues said "Don't say any uninvited things.   You are a girl."   That happened almost every day.   There are a lot of rules and manuals in business, aren't there? For example, when I received an order, I had to write it on the prescribed form and call the factory next, etc.   Men decided all of rules and manuals.   OLs could not do their jobs as they wanted to do.   When I confessed "I want to do this in a different way," my boss said "onnano-ko wa damatte nasai!" [Girls do not have to interfere!]

That was my experience in the society.   I became negative against such a society and men.   In Japan, everything is concluded just because I am a girl.   But Japanese people don't see Japanese girls as Japanese if the girls don't show Japanese female virtues such as modesty and obedience.   On the contrary, in the

U.S., I am recognized as a Japanese only because I am a Japanese.

I am thinking to emigrate to the U.S. I know I can't spend my life as I dream here, neither. There will be a lot of hardship and troubles in this country, too. But when I compare Japan and the U.S. and wonder in which country I can live more comfortably, how can I say, in which country I can live without such upset, I choose the U.S., though I like both, Japan and the U.S. I'm sure it is comfortable to live in Japan. But instead of the language barrier, I choose the U.S. because I can be a Japanese in the U.S. So, I want to work and live in the U.S. after my graduation.

My friends in Japan envy my life overseas. But for me, if they really envy me, they can come to the U.S., too. I wonder why they do not do so. They have some experience of staying in an American family in the U.S. or studying in the U.S. shortly in their 2-year college days. However, they see me still stay in the U.S. and just say "Yoshiko is privileged." I experienced a lot of troubles here but they do not understand that. Therefore, how can I say…, I began to guess they will never understand how tough it is to live with the English language is, and I do not confess such hardship to them any more.

Analysis of Yoshiko's Narrative

Yoshiko' narrative reveals that she was required to be primarily supportive to her male co-workers and boss. Men always made the decisions in her company. Knapp-Kamio (2000) introduces an allegory, "warriors" for men and "flowers" for women in Japanese companies. She explained that the number of deaths from overwork has increased but OLs are still called "office flowers." Yoshiko's male co-workers

viewed female workers as "office flowers." Because she could speak English better than her male colleagues, her status in her company was relatively high, but it was high only as an office flower. She could not make any changes in her job. When she tried to make her job easier, her male and even female colleagues stopped her and said "Don't say any uninvited things. You are just a girl." She always concluded that the reason of her powerlessness was "because I was just an OL" and "just because I am a girl."

Throughout the interview, Yoshiko used the Japanese expression of *onna-no ko* [女の子] for girls or young women including herself. On the contrary, she used *otoko-no hito* [男の人] for adult men. There are other expressions for adult females, *onna-no hito* [女の人], and for boys ,*otoko-no ko* [男の子] (See the summary table 1).

	ko [子] (child)	hito [人] (adult)
otoko [男] (Male)	otoko-no ko [男の子] (boy)	otoko-no hito [男の人] (men)
onna [女] (Female)	onna-no ko [女の子] (girl)	onna-no hito [女の人] (women)

Table 1: Japanese Expression for Gender in Relation to Notions of Maturity

However, Yoshiko called herself and her female co-workers "*onna-no ko*" [女の子] (girl), not as "*onna-no hito*" [女の人] (women), and her male co-workers "*otoko-no hito*" [男の人] (men), not "*otoko-no ko*" [男の子] (boy). Yoshiko chose her words in a particular way.

When I suggested this point, she was not aware of this particular word choice. She explained that most of her male colleagues were in their thirties and older than she because they worked in her company after they graduated from four-year colleges and most of her female colleagues were in their twenties and older then he. Then, I asked

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her if she calls her younger male colleagues "*otoko-no ko*" [男の子] (boy) and her older

female colleagues "*onna-no hito*" [女の人] (women). Her answer was "No, I can't call

younger men "*otoko-no ko*" [男の子] (boy)." In her notion, the age range of *otoko-no ko*

[男の子] (boy) was much younger than *onna-no ko* [女の子] (girl). She calls males

"*otoko-no ko*" [男の子] (boy) until they are under the age of college freshmen which is

usually eighteen, but she calls females who are in twenties "*onna-no ko*" [女の子] (girl).

She calls males who are over eighteen years old "*otoko-no hito*" [男の人] (men) and

females who are roughly over thirty "*onna-no hito*" [女の人] (women). Therefore,

onna-no ko [女の子] (girl) is not symmetrical to *otoko-no ko* [男の子] (boy) and also

onna-no hito [女の人] (women) is not symmetrical to *otoko-no hito* [男の人] (men).

There is a difference between these gender expressions beyond the age.

In order to analyze Yoshiko's word choice in *hito* or *ko* [人 or 子] (adult or child),

I segment her expressions into two parts: gender of *otoko-onna* [男-女] (men-women) and

maturity of *hito-ko* [人-子] (adult-child). First, men and women are not symmetrical.

The Japanese word of *josei* [女性] (female/women) is a relatively new concept for

Japanese. The notion of women was introduced to Japan from the West in the modern

era (Takemura, 2001). Human beings have been a synonym to men and women have

been neglected (Nishitai, 1998). Gender labels in occupations reveal that men have

been centered in the society and women have been marginalized. The expressions of

josei [女性] and *onna* [女] (women/female) are added to many, especially high-class

occupations such as *josei-giin* [女性議員] (female members of the Diet), *onna-bengoshi*

[女弁護士] (female lawyers), *onna-shacho* [女社長] (female president in a company), and

jo-i [女医] (female doctors) and as physical labor such as *onna-untenshu* [女運転手]

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(female drivers). However, *dansei-giin* [男性議員] (male members of the Diet), *otoko-bengoshi* [男弁護士] (male lawyers), *otoko-shacho* [男社長] (male president in a company), *dan-i* [男医] (male doctors), and *otoko-untenshu* [男運転手] (male drivers) are not seen. They are simply called *giin* [議員] (members of the Diet), *bengoshi* [弁護士] (lawyers), *shacho* [社長] (president in a company), *isha* [医者] (doctors), and *untenshu* [運転手] (drivers) without any gender labels. The female gender is often mentioned but male gender is not in these occupations because women in these occupations are few and they draw attention. This reveals that jobs were predominantly a male domain while females remained at home, as Matsuko explained.

Second, Yoshiko unconsciously implies the unequal power relationship between women and men in her company by choosing *hit* or *ko* [人 or 子] (adult or child). Throughout the interview, she expressed herself and her female colleagues as *onna-no ko* [女の子] (girl), not as "*onna-no hito*" [女の人] (women) though they worked at full-time after they graduated from two or four-year colleges. *Ko* [子] originally means child and *hito* [人] means human being or adult. Therefore, *onna-no ko* has a connotation that the young woman is immature and dependent. You may remember that I explained that *ko* [子] was commonly seen in Japanese women's names in the explanation of renaming my interviewees' names at the end of the Chapter One. These reveal that women have been traditionally viewed as immature and dependent at their birth. On the contrary, she called her male colleagues "*otoko-no hito*" [男の人] (adult men), not "*otoko-no hito*" [男の人] (adult men). Yoshiko views men as mature and independent in this line of the expression. Davies (1989) discusses that people make meaning of their gender in relation to the opposite one, but the oppositional relationship is not equal and one is

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dominant over the other. Yoshiko's expressions unconsciously imply that her notion about maturity of men and women is not symmetrical in accordance with their age as well as she views that males are more mature and independent than females. She is frustrated by the gender inequality in Japan and learns English in order to liberate her from the Japan male dominant society.

Female Gender Oppression and Motivation toward Learning English

In this section, I discuss Japanese female students' motivation toward learning English in relation to the gender oppression in Japan. Matsuko's frequent use of "because I am just a housewife" and Yoshiko's expression of *onna-no ko* are not only the results of Japanese female marginalization but also the dynamic practice which constructs their worldview. From a feminist poststructuralist perspective, people's language use constitutes of their meaning systems as well as their language use reflects the situation in the society. Nishitai (1998) summarizes Weedon's (1987) application of a poststructuralist perspective to feminism: People believe that the discourse reflects reality (metaphysical nature of language) and they locate themselves in the society in accordance with the discourse (subjectivity). Therefore, scholars can examine the dominant power by analyzing how people express themselves in relation to the society.

Matsuko and Yoshiko's language use about their gender such as mother, wife, daughter-in-law, and *onna-no ko* [女の子] (girl) reveals that they are marginalized by the Japanese male-dominant society. Matsuko and her female friends in Japan raise their children as a mother, do housework as a wife, and take care of their husband's mother as a daughter-in-law. Yoshiko became supportive for her male colleagues because she was an OL and *onna-no ko*. These gender identities are not passive labels but they construct

Matsuko, her friends, and Yoshiko's world as a mother, wife, daughter-in-law, OL or

onna-no ko [女の子] (girl) in cooperated with the oppression of the Japanese

male-dominant society. Men benefit from this labeling because they are free from their

family matters and take strong leadership over women. However, women are not

always passive to the gender marginalization in Japan. Matsuko and Yoshiko's

narratives reveal that they are aware of their oppression, frustrated by it, and hope to

make a change in their life. Especially, Yoshiko learned English hard and wanted to

emigrate to the U.S. in order to escape from the Japanese male dominant society.

Resistance as a Source of Motivation.

My analysis reveals that resistance against the gender marginalization in Japan is a

source of Japanese women's motivation toward learning English and studying in the U.S.

Resistance issues from the defensive relationship of the cultural power between

dominants and subordinates (Bennett, 1998; Barker, 2000). Resistance can be exercised

without any intentions to demand directly a material change to the dominant group.

Deviated behaviors from the dominant rules can be resistance, for example, shoplifting

and drinking alcohol in the mall (Fiske, 1989). Fiske urgues that young people are

presenting their dissatisfaction of unemployment by clustering around the store windows.

Such behaviors have both internal and external effects. The internal effect changes

actors' interpretation about the relationship between the actor and the society. The

external effect raises the social awareness to the dominant rules by contrasting the

deviated acts and of providing people with opportunities to rethink the domination.

Therefore, even watching a Hollywood movie can be a form of internal resistance for

Japanese housewives. By re-imagining a stimulative life in the movie which is fulfilled

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with romance and suspense, housewives reflect their boring life, doubt their present relationship to the society, and seek a new meaning for their life in their mind. These processes are not necessarily linear. Housewives will struggle to go forth and back in these phases. A distress itself is an internal resistance in this sense. They are making an internal change in their mind.

Yoshiko resigned from her job after she worked in her company for two and half years. She refused to accept the Japanese masculine society any more. It is a form of resistance which internally changed her interpretation of the relationship to the Japanese society and externally changed her material life. Then, she stayed in an American family in the U.S. for seven months and traveled and stayed in her relatives' house in the U.S. for other three months. During the one-year stay in the U.S., she began to think of living in the U.S. She opposed the gender marginalization in Japan by escaping from Japan and seeking her place in the U.S. She once went back to Japan because she did not have sufficient money to support her life in the U.S. She worked in an aviation company in Japan in order to save money for living expenses for her future U.S. life. She originally liked English before she came to the U.S. since she earned good grade in English classes in junior and senior high school. However, the desire to escape from the Japanese masculine society was a source of her motivation toward learning English. She shared that her purpose of study in the U.S. was not to attend a college. She wants to emigrate and work in the U.S. because she does not feel comfortable in working in Japanese male dominant companies. She thought that she needs a college degree to get a job in the U.S. Therefore, she has learned English more eagerly than before. Similarly, Momoko confessed me that she did not want to work in Japan because the

predominance of men over women is strong. They actively aim to escape from the Japanese male dominant society by learning English.

Matsuko's married female friends in Japan envy her life in the U.S. Matsuko complained that her friends did not consider her hardship in the U.S. and wanted to hear attractive dimensions of her U.S. life. She reflected her life in Japan and synthesized her friends: "They are oppressed by the social obligation that says they should be good mothers, good wives, and good daughter-in-law." She also mentioned that some of her friends who came to the U.S. with their husband for husbands' job opportunities in the U.S. took ESL course in community colleges to kill their time and others enjoy shopping, playing golf, and making handcrafts. Then, she continued that "Japanese women enjoy their life here as housewives. That's not so much different from their life in Japan." On the contrary, Matsuko took an A.A. in a community college and now she is taking undergraduate courses at San Jose State University to earn a Bachelor's degree. She hopes to teach Japanese and does not want to kill her time as other Japanese wives do. Therefore, she studies English and takes a public speaking course. She wants to have something different from being "a good mother, wife, and daughter-in-law," while she takes care of her children and does all housework on the other hand. She is resisting the situation in which other Japanese wives accept.

Similarly, Yuko shared that she was tired of wasting her time at home even though she did not have children. She was working in a transnational company in Japan before she came to the U.S. She got married and resigned from her job in order to spend her life with her husband because he was moving to a U.S. branch of his company. Yuko complained that she did not want to have children because she dreamed of working in the

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international trading business in the near future. Therefore, she takes some undergraduate courses including a public speaking course and ESL classes. She is also resisting to the pervasive gender roles in Japan and is rejecting the "a good mother and good wife" identity forced upon Japanese women. She wants to deviate from the traditional notion of Japanese women and to make a change in her life by working outside the home. Even if Matsuko, Yoshiko, and Yuko are not aware that they are resisting the traditional gender roles of Japanese women, but their behaviors have influence on their friends in Japan. Their behaviors do not request direct changes to the Japanese male dominant society but raise friends' doubt about their lives. Their personal behaviors have a social impact on the people around them whether they are aware of it or not.

Even if their resistive act empowers Japanese women to speak up, it may also strengthen the ideology of English. There is a pervasive assumption that fluency of English helps women to be active (McMahill, 1997). Yoshiko, Yuko, and Shizuko believe that they can be more actively involved in the world by learning English. However, as Tsuda (1993a, 2000) argues, they are not aware that they are strengthening and reproducing the existing power of English by learning and using English as an un/conscious message to the Japanese male dominant society. They want to liberate themselves from the gender marginalization and to make a change in their life by using English, but they do not related their resistive act to the another structure of English.

Gender Identity Negotiation as a source of Motivation.

In addition, gender identity negotiation is a source of Japanese international students' motivation toward learning English. Yoshiko confessed to me the reason why

she wanted to emigrate to the U.S.:

> Japanese people don't see Japanese girls as Japanese if the girls don't show
>
> Japanese female virtues such as modesty and obedience.   On the contrary, in the
>
> U.S., I am recognized as a Japanese only because I am a Japanese...I choose the
>
> U.S. because I can be a Japanese in the U.S.

Yoshiko is searching a comfortable place where her identity can be maintained without showing the traditional Japanese virtue.

Shizuko shared her difficult experience of gender awareness when she was a junior high school student:

> Junior high school students begin to be conscious of the wall between boys and
>
> girls, though I did not think of it.   I preferred to play catch with my male
>
> classmates.   But my female friends were surprised by that and said "Wow!
>
> What are you doing?"   I have not distinguished people with their gender.   This
>
> incident made me think I was different from other girls.

Shizuko was forced to be conscious of her gender as women who were perceived not to play with males in a junior high school day.   Ujiie (1996) discusses the gender stereotype in the society of men as active and females as temperate influences on the ways of separating male and female students in co-education junior high school such as school uniforms: Male students' uniform are pants and female students' are skirts. Shizuko's positive and active attitudes were deviated from this stereotype.   Reactions from her female friends pushed her to think that she was a strange girl.

Two contradictory perceptions about women co-exist in Japan.   One is a traditional view: Japanese women are modest and obedient.   The other is a modernized

view: Japanese women are independent. A famous irony expresses the latter one, "After the World War II, Japanese women and stockings became strong." Inoue, Kameda, Hata, and Hirakawa (1994) explain that females' identity model of "wife-mother-housewife" began to collapse since 1970s after the rapid modernization of Japan and Japanese women searched for their identity out of their family, though people still highly value femininity and motherhood in women. Inoue et al. continue that this double-standard in the co-existing new and old perceptions of Japanese women causes the identity crisis of young women because they need the model to construct their ideal self. Yoshiko and Shizuko are trapped in the dilemma between the new/modern and old/traditional view of Japanese female identity. Then, they value the new female identity and hope to live in the U.S. which is often called "the country of freedom" believing that men and women are treated equal there. Calling the U.S. "the country of freedom" reveals that Japanese do not think that Japan does not reserve sufficient freedom. Some female interviewees shared their experience of being oppressed in the Japanese male dominant society and wanted to liberate themselves from the forced identities and roles. This encourages them to study English because they believe that they can have a more comfortable life in the U.S.

I am afraid that Japanese international students who hope to emigrate to the U.S. do not think through possible difficulties that they may confront in the U.S. Only Yoshiko confessed to me that she is afraid that she will face the hardship in the U.S. because of the racism and language barrier. However, others did not mention their possible uncomfortable life in the U.S. except the language barrier. They are college students and live on campus or near campus. I assume that it is their classmates and

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professors who mostly communicate with them and shape their positive attitudes to the U.S. in the academic atmosphere of their college life in the U.S. If they emigrate to the U.S. and face unexpected and unbearable hardship, they will be disappointed and go back to Japan. Their resistive act of escape from Japan may not save them. It is unknown and unpredictable that mastering English can save them from the gender marginalization. Even if they can escape from the gender oppression in Japan, they may face other types of or even gender marginalization in the U.S. They should critically examine their views and expectations of their future U.S. life, if they hope to live in the U.S. or other countries.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I examined the female interviewees' narratives. First, I argued that popular culture constructed female Japanese international students' desire for romance with White men and it was a source of their motivation. Then, I discussed that some Japanese international students had the experience of gender marginalization in Japan. Resistances to the marginalization and gender identity negotiation caused by the marginalization can be sources of their motivation toward learning English in order to escape from the oppression in Japan. However, they are not sure or even aware of their possible future hardship in the U.S. In the next chapter, I suggest what instructors of public speaking can do in order to raise Japanese international students' critical awareness about the relationship between them and their society.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

I discussed Japanese international students' motivation toward learning public speaking and English in previous chapters. In this final chapter, I first summarize my analysis in relation to three research questions. Second, I raise suggestions for my future teaching of public speaking courses in order to radicalize students, including Japanese international students, in the public speaking course from a viewpoint of rhetorical contextualization and critical pedagogy. Lastly, I argue the limitations of this research and implications for future study.

Summary

Research Question One

Research Question One is: What constitutes the source of Japanese students' motivation in public speaking courses? My analysis reveals that my interviewees have six sources of motivation: academic requirement, business skills, and practice speaking English as well as White male fetishism, resistance to the gender marginalization in Japan, and identity negotiation for female interviewees. First, five interviewees who are studying for a college degree at San Jose State University have to take a public speaking course in order to meet the core GE requirement. In addition, some students explained that they had to complete a public speaking course in order to transfer from community colleges to the California University System. Second, six interviewees illustrated that they aimed to acquire business skills by taking a public speaking course. They view public speaking as a skill to express their ideas to audience. Therefore, they focus on organization and presentation over speech making processes and do not pay much

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attention to its virtue of critical thinking. Third, seven interviewees answered that they expected to practice speaking English in a public speaking course. Some misunderstood that the Public Speaking for Non-Native Speakers aimed to provide international students with opportunities to practice daily conversation in English. Therefore, they were surprised to know that most of their classmates in their public speaking course were immigrants or immigrants' descendents and could speak English fluently though they had some accents.

Fourth, gender issues are important to analyze female students' motivation. Desire for the romance with White men is a source of motivation for female students. Some female interviewees reported that they and their Japanese female friends had White male fetishism, which was constructed by good images in popular culture. Fifth, resistance to the gender marginalization in the male dominant Japanese society is a source of motivation for some female interviewees. Four female interviewees confessed to me that they experienced gender marginalization in Japan. They are forced to be supportive to men and/or responsible to all housework and childcare in accordance with the old view of Japanese women's identity in the "mother/wife/daughter-in-law" discourse. These interviewees wanted to take advantage of their English proficiency in their future job outside of the home. Sixth, gender identity negotiation is a source of motivation for some young female interviewees. They feel a dilemma between the new and old view of Japanese women. They value their new identities as active women and are struggling with the forced old identity. Two of them even hope to escape from Japan and emigrate to the U.S., which is called "the country of freedom" in order to spend comfortable life in relation to their new identity.

<u>Research Question Two</u>

Research Question Two is: What are the context and structures surrounding Japanese international students' motivation toward learning public speaking courses and English? The base-structure of economy has significant influence on their motivation. Business-related departments recommend students to take a public speaking course among other courses in the Oral Communication section of the core GE requirement. Some interviewees explained that they would like to take advantage of their English proficiency in their future job. English is called "international language" because it is widely used in the world. The global capitalism diffused English with the power of the U.K. and the U.S. Japanese have to use English to survive in the present system of the global economy. Japanese workers in transnational companies can benefit if they can speak English. English is related to the social status in the Japanese business world. Japanese international students expect to benefit from learning English and public speaking in this global economy for their future job hunting and promotion.

The discourse of internationalization promotes Japanese international students' motivation toward learning English. Some interviewees view English as an international language and admire the West. Because Japan was defeated by the West and positively introduced the Western technology and cultures, Japanese admire the West. However, these elements reveal that their view focuses on two directions. Because mastering English stands as a desirable goal for students, learning English itself becomes the purpose of internationalization and the non-English-speaking countries are therefore overlooked. Moreover, Japanese international students communicate in English with American college students, professors, and international students who are basically in the

middle or upper-middle classes.   Therefore, their view of internationalization is directed to speakers of English and framed in terms of the upper-middle class positionality.

For female interviewees, the gender issues play a significant role in their motivation.   U.S. popular culture, which includes such as TV programs and Hollywood movies, circulates positive images of the U.S. and Japanese long for the U.S. and White men.   This intrigued some female interviewees' initial motivation toward learning English.   Japanese women are oppressed in the Japanese male dominant society inside and outside of the home.   They are forced to be supportive of men and framed within the "mother/wife/daughter-in-law" discourse.   They long for the life in the U.S. as "the country of freedom" and even hope to emigrate to the U.S.   They believe that learning English is a way to liberate them from the gender marginalization.

Research Question Three

Research Question Three is: How are Japanese international students' motivations related to how they view their identities as Japanese?   The Japaneseness discourse has been created in comparison to the West and it emphasizes the uniqueness of Japanese culture.   The old and stereotypical images of the Japaneseness discourse do not always fit the present Japanese international students and this gap can negatively work to them. Some students think that they are strange Japanese and exclude them from the Japanese society.   Some interviewees try to master English and escape from Japan.   Especially for female students, they are frustrated because people expect them to show the "feminine" virtue such obedience and quietness.   However, after the modernization of Japan, Japanese women become more active than before.   They feel a dilemma in negotiating their identity between a traditional obedient mother/wife/daughter-in-law and

a modernized active woman outside of the home. They choose the modernized identity, expect that learning English will provide them with jobs in this global capital society, and search out new identity rather than being a mother, wife, and daughter-in-law. Therefore, their motivation is related to their identity negotiation.

<p align="center">Suggestions for Public Speaking Instructions</p>

My analysis reveals that my interviewees have two significant problems in their motivations toward learning English and public speaking. First, they view public speaking as a skill to organize and express their ideas. They do not focus on critical thinking and public issues in the process of speech making though it will provide them with insights to rethink the relationships between themselves and their society. Second, their communication partners are limited to speakers of English in the middle class or above positionality. Non-English and English speakers in the lower classes are hidden in their view of communication in English and, therefore, of internationalization.

In order to make students aware of these problems, I suggest including the instruction of rhetorical contextualization in the public speaking curriculum. The theory of rhetorical contextualization is raised by Wander (1996). Rhetorical contextualization consists of three elements: speaker, audience, and message, and of two orientations toward the three elements: rhetorical presents and rhetorical voids. What is not presented is called "void." The speaker void refers to who is not the speaker and who is excluded to speak out. The audience void questions who is not the audience, to whom the speaker is speaking, who is excluded to hear, and who is neglected to be spoken about. The message void is about what is not said for what purpose. Rhetorical contextualization will enable us to go "beyond textual analysis that often leaves

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unspoken (therefore unaccountable) the ideological positions of the speaker and her or his audience" (Lee, 1998b, p. 16). It aims to contextualize rhetoric by asking what is missing, what is presented, and why.

Applying this notion, students can engage in self-reflexivity of their rhetoric. For example, I am a Japanese international student, non-native speaker of English, hearing, male, straight, and twenty-seven year old in the middle class positionality. I will speak to my classmates who are in the middle class or above, non-native speakers of English, and immigrants and their descendents as well as a male White professor who are well-educated and speak beautiful North American English. I will speak about my experience of culture shocks in the U.S. in order to inform of the Japanese cultures as well as to get credits of this public speaking course. Therefore, I am not a sixty-year-old deaf lesbian female American student who can speak English fluently. I will not speak to children starving in the slums of Africa who do not understand English. I will not speak about anything that may upset my classmates and professor so that I can associate with them and survive in this class. Then, students will be more sensitive of what is missing in their mind and notice that public speaking explores their view of their society and themselves. Rhetorical contextualization guides students to rethink of what constitutes of their worldview as well as where their rhetoric comes from in the particular context of a public speaking class.

From Giroux's liberatory theory of border pedagogy, critical educators aim to provide their students with resistance. The border pedagogy engages how and why students make particular ideological and affective features in narratives (Giroux, 1992). It is challenging, but rhetorical contextualization will help students raise their critical

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awareness. Lee (1998b) argues the strength of rhetorical contextualization as a radical notion:

> Who speaks to whom and for whose interest? Who is not a speaker, who is not an audience, and whose interest is left out? Such questions lead to a rhetorically contextualized study of the benevolent and the victims along the lines of race, class, gender, and nationality (p. 17).

Students will have critical insights by learning notions of rhetorical contextualization.

Therefore, the combination of rhetorical contextualization and public speaking course will develop critical thinking as well as their agency of narratives to resist the marginalization and oppressions in their society.

Especially, I expect that students can share their views of micro praxis in their speeches. Students have agency, though it is difficult for them to make immediate and direct changes in their society. For example, both male and female students can share their ways of micro praxis in order to raise classmates and professor's awareness of gender inequalities and improve their communities. Japanese male students can serve teas to their mother and female friends. Japanese female students can wear pants, not skirts, to be active and show their activeness in Japan. (In my understanding, Japanese female students wear pants in Japan less frequently than female American students. Skirts can be a representation of femininity in Japan.) Public speaking courses can provide students with opportunities to consider and share students' micro praxis and instructors can learn students' creative ways of micro praxis.

From the viewpoint of Freire's (1970) emancipation pedagogy, instructors have to clarify that class members, including the instructor, will learn individual students' worldview from their speech. From a conventional view of the banking concept of

education, the instructor has the knowledge and skills of public speaking and their students do not. However, students already have their history and experience of their life and community and they are secured to speak up in class. All class members have to respect that and comments should not be focused on aspects and efficiency of speech skills such as eye-contact, posture, and pronunciation. I believe that it is more important for students to establish confidence in speaking out so that they can eagerly engage in their own critical thought about their society and actively participate in the democracy in order to improve their life.

Rhetorical contextualization is not completely new to instructors of a public speaking course. Rather, it is an advanced form of the speech preparation, or some students may already apply notions of rhetorical contextualization unconsciously. For example, the audience void compensates the audience analysis which is the audience present in the theory on rhetorical contextualization. The message void can be combined in the processes of deciding a purpose and a theme and of narrowing a topic of a speech, which is the message present. Therefore, instructors do not necessarily have to give a lecture of rhetorical contextualization. They can explain what the void is and why their students have to think of it with additional five to ten minutes per each void.

Contribution to the Field of Communication Studies

This research contributes to the field of communication studies because Japanese international students' attitude toward the public speaking course in the U.S. is little known. Previous research studies aim to measure levels of their motivation and speaking anxiety from a social scientific perspective. However, this research analyzes

the relationship between their motivation and the power structure from a critical
-qualitative perspective and aims to go beyond the surface of motivation by considering
the large contexts of the global capitalism, history, popular culture, and gender issues.
This will provide communication scholars and public speaking instructors with insights
of their minority students' attitudes toward the public speaking course.   In addition, my
suggestions for the public speaking curriculum to raise students' critical awareness will
complement a focus on efficiency of public communication which is constructed mainly
for business purpose.   Engaging rhetorical contextualization, students can critically
examine their and others' rhetoric and the relationship between them and their society.

<div align="center">Limitations and Implication for Further Study</div>

First, I cannot simply state that a single element caused Japanese international
students' motivation toward learning English and public speaking.   Plural elements may
constitute my interviewees' motivation and these elements are interconnected, for
example, global capitalism and the modernized view of Japanese women.   Mohanty
(1988) criticizes that Eurocentric feminism neglects complex hybridity of classes, races,
and religions and classifies them into the same category of women in the Third World.   I
did not discuss the hybridity of their motivations.   In Chapter Three, I explained that
Yoshiko and Shizuko were in the identity crisis in the Japaneseness discourse in relation
to the West.   In Chapter Four, I argued that they were also in the dilemma between the
new and old view of Japanese female identities.   Therefore, Yoshiko and Shizuko are
struggling with the plural stereotypical discourses in Japan.   One is rooted in the
Japanese unique communication style emphasized relation to the West in the

Japaneseness discourse and the other is the "mother/wife/daughter-in-law" discourse in relation to the gender marginalization for Japanese women.

I analyzed and wrote about the sources of their motivation one by one relatively in the linear cause-effect manner and failed to discuss how these elements or motivations were interconnected and influenced each other. I am afraid that I described my interviewees and their motivations as passive and static, especially in Chapter Three, by focusing on what structures influence their motivations and how. An analysis of relationships and hybridity of the sources and motivations will reveal how Japanese international students are negotiating their motivations and identities. The deeper analysis of one source and of hybridity of plural sources will be necessary for the further research to discuss how fluid or rigid my interviewees' motivations are and to make more specific suggestions to the public speaking curriculum.

Second, I need more interviewees. The number of my interviewees is thirteen. I need more data from interviews in order to discuss how their background constitutes their motivations such as their gender and age. Not so many Japanese international students take a public speaking course in a semester. I mainly asked for Japanese international students who taking a public speaking course this semester and completed it last semester. There was zero to, at maximum, three Japanese international students in a class during these semesters. Therefore, I should have traced more interviewees and waited for new students in order to get more interviewees.

Especially, the number of male interviewees is three. If I had more male interviewees, I could analyze gender differences of the sources of motivations. I argued

that female students had sources of motivation in relation to the gender marginalization in the Japanese masculine society. There may be specific sources for male students related to the discourse of what Japanese men are like, too. This will enable me to clarify the relationships between gender issues and motivations.

Third, other minority students' motivation should be examined, too. San Jose State University is proud of its cultural diversity on campus. There are many other minority students, for example, Taiwanese, Chinese, Korean, and Thai international students as well as Vietnamese and Chinese American students. They have their own economic, cultural, and historical backgrounds. Their motivations may be diverse, too. It is worthy to learn what types of expectation students bring to the public speaking course because the Department of Communication Studies and university can develop the public speaking curriculum with students' need and can even explore students' perception of their need beyond the social need such as business speaking.

Fourth, future study should focus on directions to develop the public speaking curriculum with students' contextualized motivations. Considering students' view of public speaking and English which are now widely used in the world, the Department of Communication should reconsider its view of public speaking. I raise questions for this discussion: Is public speaking in the course viewed as the local American public speaking or internationally used public communication? If it is the latter, to what extent do instructors have to correct non-native students' accents and how can instructors appreciate non-native students' own rhetoric which is different from the U.S. business speaking? These questions will promote to rethink the public speaking curriculum and

go beyond the traditional speech instruction which focuses on efficiency of speaking skills. The departmental and university views of public speaking should be contextualized and examined as well as students' motivation in order to develop the curriculum.

Ending

After I learned rhetorical contextualization, I reflected my E.S.S. days. I was glad to express my opinions. I often quoted from newspapers, books, and governmental publications in my speeches. However, I was not sensitive about the politics of data. Who was not allowed to write and talk? Who was excluded from readers and audience? What was not said in the data for whose benefit? Without asking these questions, I viewed that the data was neutral and used them in order to support my claims. I simply believed that the published data were authoritative enough to use in my speech. I did not have self-reflexive attitudes toward my claims and supporting material. In addition, I did not consider my attitudes toward English because I liked it. I learned English speaking skills but did not pay attention to the history of English, contexts of the diffusion of English, and its impact to Japan. E.S.S.s activities are extracurricular. They have no predetermined textbooks and curriculum. Students can manage their activities as they want to. If the Japanese education does not emphasize critical thinking of public speaking in the regular curriculum, E.S.S. activities can be important opportunities to raise students' self-reflexivity with notions of rhetorical contextualization.

I appreciate my learning public speaking and English because it expanded my

worldview. However, I had never considered what constituted my motivation toward learning public speaking and English and what characters they had before I learned a critical perspective. I simply focused on efficiency of public speaking and English viewing them as skills of communication. However, I currently believe that learning public speaking and English can frame learners' worldview to certain directions and provide learners with the opportunities to critically reconsider themselves and the relationships between them and their society. Throughout the processes of this thesis project, I recognized the importance of learning public speaking and English.

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From: Nabil Ibrahim,
        AVP, Graduate Studies & Research

Date: May 24, 2002

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"Critical-Qualitative Examination of Japanese International Students' Motivation toward Speaking English and its Influence on their Identity."

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D. immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma, and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval for the human subjects portion of your project is in effect for one year, and data collection beyond May 24, 2003 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services that the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (408) 924-2480.