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Exploring Who We Are and Who We Aspire to Be

Diversity, Inclusion, and Professionalism in Japanese Language Education

Guest edited by

Junko Mori and Atsushi Hasegawa

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Diversity, Inclusion, and Professionalism in Japanese Language Education: Introduction to the Special Section

Junko Mori and Atsushi Hasegawa

1. Introduction

Diversity and inclusion have become a major concern in academic and professional institutions in recent years. As educators, we are responsible for creating environments where a diverse population of students can communicate beyond differences and learn from each other. The sense of urgency to address this concern has been intensified by a series of recent events that brought the issue of systemic social and racial injustice to the fore. As we finalize this special section in the early summer of 2020, daily news is filled with reports on the disproportionate impact of Covid-19 upon racial and ethnic minorities, the rise of anti-Asian xenophobia symbolized by the repulsive use of the expressions such as "Chinese virus" or "kung flu," as well as the global reach of antiracism demonstrations, fueled by the police killing of George Floyd. As a community of educators, advocacy for justice should be the core of our values. Language education should play a pivotal role in underscoring the importance of embracing differences and take responsibility for developing a younger generation's perspectives and dispositions to fight against injustice. Diversity and inclusion, as we envision here, is integral to such a mission of language education and as such cannot be emphasized enough in the current moment.

While this educational mission is widely recognized, in our opinion, we have not sufficiently examined the extent to which a culture of diversity and inclusion has been fostered and actually practiced within our professional community. For instance, according to the Japan Foundation survey conducted in 2015, 77.3% of Japanese-language instructors in North America were "native speakers" of Japanese (Japan Foundation 2017a).[1] This is the largest percentage of all the world regions. What kinds of factors might have contributed to this disproportional representation of

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"native speakers"? And what kinds of consequences might result from such a demographic composition? Are we creating an inclusive professional community where educators from diverse backgrounds can support each other and grow together? Are we demonstrating the kinds of dispositions and practices that we aim to instill in our students in our own everyday conduct? The exploration of these questions is needed as we consider ways to enhance diversity and inclusion in our classrooms.

As an initial step forward, we—along with Kimiko Suzuki (Haverford College) and Jisuk Park (Columbia University until December 2019)—organized a roundtable discussion at the 2019 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) with the sponsorship of the American Association of Teachers of Japanese (AATJ). Prior to this roundtable, we had conducted an online survey in the fall of 2018 to better grasp Japanese-language teachers' perspectives on diversity, inclusion, and professionalism, and asked a panel of four Japanese-language educators with diverse academic and ethnic backgrounds to comment on the survey results and to share their views on the current state of Japanese language education in North America.[2] The roundtable generated numerous proposals and suggestions for future courses of action, including the development of this special section, which aims to further our discussion on this topic. Overarching questions posed throughout this special section are as follows:

- What are the goals of language education in today's globalized world? And what kinds of qualifications are required for language educators in order to attain these goals?
- What kinds of unconscious biases may be observed in our profession, and what are the challenges and obstacles that may arise in overcoming such biases?
- How can we foster diversity and inclusion among peers and prospective peers?
- How can we, as a group of Japanese-language users and educators, present a model of global citizenship to our students?

This introductory article provides a brief overview of the backgrounds and motivations for this special section and outlines its organization.

2. Why This Now?

Owing to increased mobility and technological advancements, our world is more connected than ever. This current trend, however, has also generated an adverse reaction from those in fear of losing traditional

structures and of diminishing borders. As a result, we are witnessing instances of xenophobia towards minorities and immigrants, as well as divisive policies that may inflame chauvinism. In such a polarized climate, diversity is often at the center of public discourse, along with other related topics such as equality, equity, access, and inclusion. Many educational associations have responded to this momentum and articulated their stances on this issue. For example, as the leading organization of world language education in America, ACTFL released a position statement in May 2019, in which diversity and inclusion are emphasized as the core of the organizational mission:

> ACTFL believes strongly in equal access to world language study and equitable opportunities for all individuals to develop linguistic and cultural competence and pedagogical knowledge. No individual should experience marginalization of their contributions or talents because of their unique attributes. Among others, these attributes include age, belief system, disability status, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, gender expression, language identity, national origin, race, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and any other visible or non-visible attributes. At the heart of this commitment is the recognition that the richness of diversity within ACTFL's membership and the language education community at-large is beneficial to both the individual and the global community. (ACTFL 2019)

Diversity is discussed here not only in terms of racial and gender matters but is extended to encompass any attributes that people possess. This statement also highlights that diversity in all its forms contributes to rich and dynamic experiences of people involved in teaching and learning. While diversity is often upheld as a corrective measure to counter imbalance and discrimination (cf., Modern Language Association 2005), its educational merits and impacts are also recognized and celebrated.

The organizational commitment to diversity and inclusion is also matched by recent discussions among applied linguists who espouse the transformative and cross-bordering nature of language and language use (e. g., Canagarajah 2013, Hawkins and Mori 2018, Li 2018, Pennycook and Otsuji 2018). Translingualism, metrolingualism, and other similar concepts have been explored enthusiastically in recent journal publications and academic conferences. As Kramsch (2019) recently wrote, these trans-/multi- perspectives evoke a renewed goal of language education:

> Our ecological times call for a greater attention given not to citizens or consumers, but to denizens of a language ecology that demands sensitization to the workings of language as symbolic power and an ability to respond to its abuses. (13)

Kramsch's concern about the future directions of language education acutely reflects recent political and cultural divides among the American public, which is ironically boosted by the very nature of globalization. The metaphor of "denizen" is proposed here to denote plasticity and multiplicity of membership subsumed in the globalized world. With the world becoming smaller and smaller, boundaries will cease and blending and symbiosis will accelerate. Clearly, the rise of attention to diversity and inclusion in public and academic discourse is a direct consequence of the sociocultural and political climate surrounding us.

Meanwhile, as a super-aged society, Japan is currently facing imminent social changes. In an effort to circumvent the ever-growing workforce shortages, the Japanese government decided to increase the volume of incoming foreign workers in Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2019). The increase of foreign-born immigrants in Japan may gradually transform the monoethnic and monolingual ideology, which appears to be still prevalent in Japanese society (Moody 2014, Tsurutani 2012). It is also expected that this policy will have direct impacts on Japanese language education. Most prominently, in June 2019, the Diet passed the Japanese Language Education Promotion Bill, which aims to secure opportunities for foreign immigrants to receive adequate training in Japanese language. Various aspects of Japanese language education, including teacher certification, proficiency assessments, and instructional guidelines, will likely be reexamined and reformed under this new law (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2019).

These recent developments in Japan inevitably alter the broader context in which Japanese language education is delivered in North America as well. In fact, it is well documented that our students' populations and their interests have changed over time, reflecting sociocultural, economic, and political dynamics of the relationship between Japan and North America and other nations (e. g., Japan Foundation 2017b, Miura 1990, Noda 2014). After World War II, Japanese Studies programs began to be established at major universities and the language was taught in the context of the area studies tradition. While the population of Japanese-language learners grew steadily in the

1950s–1970s, the first boom in Japanese language study occurred in the 1980s through the early 1990s, the era of the Japanese bubble economy. During that time, students motivated to learn Japanese for its perceived instrumental value for their career paths in business, technology, and beyond started to populate the classroom, and Japanese language began to be more commonly offered in K–12 settings as well. While a decline in enrollment was observed in the late 1990s upon the burst of the bubble economy, with the rise of global circulation and consumption of Japanese popular culture, the 2000s and on have seen a surge of students with new sets of interest and affinity with Japan. The rapid increase of international students from Asia (China, in particular) to North America observed in the 2010s has also changed the context of Japanese language education, especially in higher education. The ongoing transformation of Japan today will surely impact how we envision the world for which we are training our students, as well as ourselves.

The historical development briefly summarized above also appears to have some implications for the current and future make-up of our professional community. Miura (1990), for instance, discusses how the Japanese language study boom in the 1980s triggered a shortage of qualified instructors. Likewise, Samuel (1987) introduces the following quote of one of the respondents to a survey on Japanese language education in North America she conducted with her colleague in the mid 1980s: "If we had any near-native non-Japanese with training and/or experience, we would hire them as first priority. But there are no such instructors here" (135). To meet the demand of the rapid enrollment growth during the period, it appears that a number of Japanese, who were also interested in studying and working abroad in North America, were brought into the newly created positions, especially those in higher education. Three decades later, we again face a teacher shortage. According to the survey conducted by the Japan Foundation in 2015, for example, the number of Japanese-language teachers in North America—U. S. A. and Canada combined—has decreased by 8.2% from that in 2012, despite the steady enrollments in our classrooms (Japan Foundation 2017a). How can we overcome the challenge this time, given the current sociocultural, economic and political dynamics?

It is indeed eye-opening to read Samuel (1987), who reports the outcomes of a panel entitled "Issues confronting non-native teachers of Japanese and their colleagues" held at the 1985 Association of Teachers of Japanese conference.[3] Many of the issues raised in the article, including

"instances of prejudice and discrimination against non-native instructors," "hiring policies and practices," "status of TJFL as an academic discipline," and "distribution of teaching responsibilities," continue to persist today, according to the results of our 2018 survey. The percentage of "native speakers" in the profession today (77.3% according to the 2015 Japan Foundation survey) is in fact higher than what Samuel reports as the results of their mid-1980 survey, i. e., 64.4%, although we must acknowledge the difference in how these numbers were generated by the two surveys. Of course, the perceived lack of diversity among teachers is also recognizable in other personal attributes such as gender, sexual orientation, race, and so forth, and the intersectionality of these attributes also complexifies our understanding of the power dynamics. Needless to say, the situation is multidimensional and cannot be attributed to a single cause.

Given all these issues, why this now? This special section resulted from a collaborative endeavor among those concerned about the future of our profession. We believe that keeping a thriving and healthy professional community is not a matter of luxury. It is a necessity for the profession to survive and continue providing service to our society. Despite the surge of public interests in diversity and inclusion, to the best of our knowledge, there have been no concerted efforts in our professional community, up until now, to reflect on our practice and beliefs concerning this very issue. Probing our community and our professionalism is not a straightforward task, for it may potentially expose our negligence and oversight. Nonetheless, it is important to be reminded that critical self-reflection is the very first step toward systematic changes that are needed to move forward (Bhattacharya, Jiang, and Canagarajah 2019; Kubota and Miller 2017). Such changes may take various forms, including re-specification of instructional goals and curricular targets, education of future teachers, professional development of in-service teachers, revisions to teaching materials, structural/institutional reforms, scholarly research, and clarification of the vision, mission and governance of a professional association such as AATJ. In the end, the issues at hand are consequential not only to the quality of teaching and learning but also to the lives of our teachers and our students.

3. The Organization

This special section consists of an article that summarizes the results of the online survey and twelve commentaries authored by individuals who

have engaged in Japanese language education in North America in different capacities and contexts.

The anchor article reports the quantitative and qualitative results of the online survey to which more than 350 Japanese-language educators from North America submitted their responses (approximately 79% of them are female; 73 % first language speakers of Japanese; 63% M. A. holders; 50% with teaching experience of more than sixteen years; 60% working in higher education). The results illuminate converging and diverging perspectives on instructional goals, contradictions or dilemmas between aspirational ideals and mundane practices, as well as fundamental societal and institutional conditions that impact the professional lives of language educators. The majority of the survey participants shared their understanding that the field is lacking in diversity, especially in regard to ethnic/cultural backgrounds, gender/sexuality, and age/generation. The report also introduces several open-ended comments submitted by the survey participants in order to illustrate how the lack of diversity manifests itself in day-to-day professional experiences. The episodes shared by these participants invite the readers to consider how our unconscious biases, or reluctance to take an action on an issue that one is aware of, may lead to the perpetuation of reduced inclusivity and diversity in the Japanese language educator community.

To initiate open dialogs, we asked the twelve commentary authors, who represent diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, areas of expertise, institutional affiliations, and stages of their careers, to review the survey results, critically reflect on the current state of Japanese language education in North America, and discuss future actionable items from their various viewpoints. The contributors consist of the original members of the AAS roundtable, the audience of the AATJ keynote session or the AAS roundtable session who shared their responses to our presentations, and others who were recommended to us because of their research on a related topic, or the leadership roles they have assumed in the field. We are grateful for these contributors who accepted our invitations. The twelve commentaries indeed complement each other and offer many opportunities for us to reflect on our own thinking and actions.

The commentaries are clustered together based on the common themes identified among them. The first four address the central issue of our profession—how we should conceptualize the object of instruction and what kinds of qualifications are necessary to deliver the instruction. The survey results indeed reveal that while the participants share the

understanding that we must facilitate students' development of flexibility and sensitivity towards diverse cultures, they vary in their emphasis on standard Japanese and native-like accuracy as targets of language instruction. In response to the native-speakerism expressed by some of the survey participants, Mahua Bhattacharya reviews how language ideologies established through Japan's modernization process continues to impact our teaching materials and practices today. To change the course, she explores possibilities for altering our approaches in the classroom to deemphasize idealized native-speaker models and to showcase successful second language (L2) speakers of Japanese instead. Drawing on the findings of her own research, Jae Takeuchi also discusses how the ideology that associates Japanese language competence with Japanese ethnicity or nationality is still pervasive in everyday interaction and how it affects even highly proficient L2 speakers of Japanese and makes them feel unconfident about using Japanese in its full complexities. Based on these findings, she advocates for the importance of language pedagogy that facilitates the development of our students as legitimate and "fearless" speakers of Japanese. Shinsuke Tsuchiya, on the other hand, sheds light on the challenge of establishing a balance between celebrating diversity and identifying a so-called target language. Tokyo-based standard Japanese has been introduced as the model to aspire to because of its symbolic power and linguistic capital, but in practice the strict enforcement of "correctness" can induce anxiety for students and in effect endorse the standard language ideology. He shares his conundrums and approaches to this issue as a teacher and teacher-trainer who faces an increasingly diverse group of graduate teaching assistants. Similarly, Etsuyo Yuasa shares her experiences and perspectives as a faculty member who is responsible for training future Japanese-language instructors. Beyond the ability to use Japanese language, language-teaching professionals must be equipped with the understanding of how the system of Japanese language works and the ability to incorporate such knowledge while weighing in the consequences of favoring particular variants over others.

The next four commentaries remind us that although the native versus non-native dichotomy tends to attract attention in the field of language education, that is not the only critical factor when discussing the issue of diversity and inclusion in our professional community. In fact, the language-based categories also often intersect with various other social categories in forming oppression and discrimination in different contexts.

Ryuko Kubota, for instance, directs our attention to issues of race that are manifested in some of the open-ended comments submitted by the survey participants. They include cases of self-identified white teachers of Japanese facing students' disbelief that they can speak and teach Japanese, as well as native Japanese-speaking K–12 teachers of Japanese marginalized in their school districts due to their limited English proficiency and non-citizen status. Describing different layers and forms of racism observed in such incidents, Kubota encourages Japanese-language educators to engage in antiracism as a step towards the advancement of diversity and inclusion in the field. Jotaro Arimori, on the other hand, discusses the issue of diversity and inclusion by focusing on sexual orientation and gender identity. While this special section is primarily concerned with the diversity of Japanese-language educators, Arimori cautions that the promotion of the visibility of sexual/gender diversity in the profession should not be the end goal of this project, given that it is up to an individual how one identifies and represents themselves in workplace. Instead, as educators, we should strive for creating an inclusive learning environment where LGBTQ+ students will feel comfortable studying Japanese, and critically examine how our instructional materials and practices are contributing to the reinforcement of heteronormativity. Like Arimori, Arthur Mitchell also emphasizes that the alteration of representation currently seen in the field should not be considered a solution for the creation of an inclusive classroom. For instance, curtailing the presence of female L1 speaking Japanese teachers and introducing more white male L2 speaking teachers can actually end up contributing to the perpetuation of larger structures of oppression. Instead, he proposes our attention should be directed to the promotion of a teaching culture that fosters the critical evaluation of patriarchy, national chauvinism, and racial/gender hierarchy dictating the current conditions. Brian Dowdle also considers the intersectionality of various social categories by highlighting how academic identity shaped by our disciplinary training adds another dimension to this discussion. By sharing his experience as an "accidental language teacher" who was originally trained in Japanese literature but has been teaching Japanese language courses in addition to English-medium content courses, he calls attention to the possible distance, alienation, or marginalization sensed by "generalists" in "language educator" communities, which are dominated by those trained in Japanese language pedagogy. A transdisciplinary, rather

than an insular, mindset is called for in order to achieve a successful reevaluation of goals and curricula.

Finally, the last four commentaries explore ideas for the cultivation of the next generation of Japanese-language educators and the maintenance of a thriving and healthy professional community. Jessica Haxhi begins her discussion by aptly introducing the metaphor of a "funnel"—as opposed to a "pipeline"—to describe how only a small fraction of students can find a pathway for and sustain interest in becoming a Japanese-language educator. She then introduces a series of can-do statements to illustrate possible obstacles for diverse populations of students to consider Japanese language teaching as a career option and encourages each reader to consider how a "can't do" be changed into a "can do." In fact, Amy Ohta's piece can be seen as a direct response to Haxhi's call—it showcases what she and her colleagues are doing at their university to increase the students' awareness of and enthusiasm for language teaching as a possible career path. Concrete ideas shared by Ohta include enhanced career advising, guest lectures by local Japanese-language teachers, a teaching internship program, and development and incorporation of instructional units or courses on language teaching and learning. Yo Azama, on the other hand, addresses how professional development can be sustained throughout the career of educators. He reports how eight Japanese-language teachers in his school district with diverse backgrounds practice inclusivity by forming a professional learning community where members are encouraged to exercise deep listening skills by withholding their own beliefs and creating space for other perspectives. The key elements of their practice shared in this commentary are deemed transferrable for the creation of synergetic collaborations among Japanese-language educators at local, state, and national levels. In the final piece, Suwako Watanabe shares her perspectives based on her experience of serving the Association of Teachers of Japanese (ATJ) and the National Council of Japanese Language Teachers (NCJLT), as well as AATJ, which was formed in 2012 as a result of the merger of ATJ and NCJLT. She critically evaluates the historical development of these associations and proposes several possible actions for AATJ to consider in order to address diversity and inclusion issues and to help enhance professional excellence for its membership.

4. What is Next?

Through this special section, we hope to encourage each reader to engage in critical reflection on their beliefs and professional practices. We also

hope that this forum will continue into the future, taking different formats and involving a growing number of people. There are numerous actions that can be taken at different levels and by different entities. At the organization level, for example, we hope to see concrete action plans discussed at national and international associations, such as AATJ and the Canadian Association for Japanese Language Education (CAJLE), as well as at regional organizations. Such plans may include a revision or creation of a position statement that clearly lays out organizational resolutions with regard to diversity and inclusion. They may also involve offering spaces and opportunities for continuing dialogs and professional development through conferences and symposia. At the institution level, each program through K–16 may reflect on and rectify their potentially undue practices in hiring, staffing, program coordination, curriculum development, and other mundane practices. Each program may have particular institutional cultures and structures, which may hinder systematic changes, or some programs may not have a sufficient number of Japanese-language specialists to work together for this cause. Rather than being discouraged, however, we should continue working on this reflection process and exploring possible changes by incorporating many of the important ideas discussed in the commentaries. For instance, the sharing of challenges and best practices with other programs on campus or within a district, as well as at regional and national meetings of the field mentioned above could yield some breakthroughs. Programs that offer teacher-training education may review their curricula and other training components that may be impactful to the preparation of future Japanese-language instructors. Finally, as individuals, we all can continue this conversation with our colleagues and students. It is from everyday practice that transformations begin in our classrooms and beyond. We sincerely hope that this forum serves a step toward this end.

NOTES

[1] In order to clarify the term "Japanese-language instructors," not to be confused with "language instructors who are Japanese," we used hyphenation. We used hyphenation for other similar terms, as well, such as "Japanese-language specialists" and "Japanese-language learners" in this essay. Contributors to this special section were also encouraged to follow this style as deemed appropriate.

[2] A brief summary of the survey results was also shared at the conclusion of AATJ 2019 spring conference.

[3] We thank Brian Dowdle for calling our attention to this article.

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On Goals of Language Education and Teacher Diversity: Beliefs and Experiences of Japanese-Language Educators in North America

Junko Mori, Atsushi Hasegawa, Jisuk Park, and Kimiko Suzuki

1. Introduction

The current article reports the results of an online survey on Japanese-language educators' beliefs and experiences concerning their profession. This survey was developed as part of the preparation for a roundtable discussion on diversity, inclusion, and professionalism in Japanese language education, proposed by the authors of this article, sponsored by the American Association of Teachers of Japanese (AATJ), and held at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in March 2019. The aim of the roundtable was to foster candid and constructive discussion on the topic involving four invited panelists with diverse academic and ethnic backgrounds (Mahua Bhattacharya, Kimberly Jones, Ryuko Kubota, and Suwako Watanabe), as well as the audience participants. In order to facilitate this discussion, we considered it essential to present some concrete information relevant to the topic as a point of departure. Thus, the purpose of the survey was to solicit Japanese-language educators' perspectives on the Japanese language and culture and its teaching, as well as issues concerning diversity and inclusion seen in our professional community. We also thought that the survey could provide space for interested members and potential members, who might not be able to attend the roundtable session, to share their views and concerns.

As mentioned in the introduction to this special section, several recent developments point to the significance of the topic and the timeliness of conducting this sort of survey. Diversity and inclusion have become a major concern in academic and professional institutions in recent years. It is believed that creative solutions to challenging problems are better engendered by groups of people with diverse backgrounds and views

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(Page 2007), and as educators, we are responsible for creating environments where a diverse population of students can communicate beyond differences and learn from each other. In addition, world language educators are uniquely positioned to make important contributions for the enhancement of students' competence "to communicate effectively and interact with cultural understanding" (ACTFL 2015) and ability to grasp and mediate "differences in meaning, mentality, and worldview as expressed in American English and in the target language" (MLA 2007: 238). While these educational missions appear to be widely recognized, in our opinion, we, as a professional community of Japanese-language educators, have not sufficiently examined how we are modeling these goals set for our students, or whether a culture of diversity and inclusion has been fostered and practiced within our professional community. In the meantime, the results of the 2015 Japan Foundation survey on Japanese language education abroad (Japan Foundation 2017a) indicated a disproportionately high percentage of "native-speaking" Japanese-language teachers as well as a recent decline and shortage of Japanese-language teachers in North America. These results also add a sense of urgency for critical self-assessment.

While language proficiency has long been considered an essential component of subject knowledge required of world language teachers, globalization and information technology have drastically changed how languages are used in contemporary society, and accordingly conventional approaches to classroom instruction have been reevaluated in recent years (Douglas Fir Group 2016, Kramsch 2014). Kramsch (2014), for instance, states, "In the last decades, [that] world has changed to such an extent that language teachers are no longer sure of what they are supposed to teach nor what real world situations they are supposed to prepare their students for" (296). The knowledge, skills, and qualifications expected of language educators must also be reconsidered under the circumstance. While this search of elements that define the profession continues, a growing number of applied linguistic studies have also examined how language teacher identities interact with macro-level ideologies, such as native-speakerism or heteronormativity, as well as how teacher identities constitute a crucial component in shaping sociocultural and sociopolitical dynamics in the language classroom (e. g., Braine 2010; De Costa and Norton 2017; Kubota and Lin 2009; Nelson 1993, 2009; Varghese et al. 2005; Varghese et al. 2016).

Although the number is still small, some studies have examined how non-native speaking Japanese-language teachers have worked through their identities as second language learners, users, and teachers of Japanese in Australia (Armour 2004), or in Hong Kong (Nomura and Mochizuki 2018). The increasing diversity of student populations observed in the Japanese language classroom has also been a topic of several recent studies (e. g., Moore 2019; Mori and Takeuchi 2016). As far as we know, however, there has not been any extensive investigation comparable to the current one that looks directly into Japanese-language educators' beliefs and experiences regarding diversity, inclusion, and professionalism. As detailed below, we received more than 350 responses from the target population in North America. The number of responses, we believe, also indicates the level of interest in this topic.

In the following, we will first discuss the survey design, the methods of distribution and recruitment, and the demographics of survey respondents (Section 2). Subsequently, the results of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the responses will be introduced (Section 3). We conducted the analyses with the following questions in mind:

1. Do the survey participants share common views on the Japanese language and culture and its teaching? Are there any significant differences among subgroups defined by their demographic profile?
2. Do the survey participants consider that the Japanese language educator community in North America is a diverse one? If not, in what respects do they think it is lacking in diversity?
3. What do the survey participants consider to be contributing factors for the limited diversity of the Japanese language educator community?
4. How does the lack of diversity manifest itself in the field of Japanese language education? What kinds of discrimination or bias have the survey participants experienced or observed?

Finally, Section 4 offers our concluding remarks, including the limitations of the current survey and future activities that we hope will be prompted by this article.

2. The Survey

2.1. Survey Design

In order to investigate the perspectives of Japanese-language educators in North America, we developed an online survey comprising the following four parts:

I. Demographic information
II. Beliefs about Japanese language and culture
III. Beliefs about teacher qualifications
IV. Perspectives/experiences about teacher diversity

Part I asked respondents' personal attributes, such as gender and first language (L1), as well as their educational and professional backgrounds, including the highest degree earned, type of affiliated institution, and years of teaching experience. We included these items as independent variables for subsequent statistical analysis.

Part II delved into teachers' attitudes toward language and culture, which presumably underlie their day-to-day teaching practice. With these items, we hoped to identify the goals and values that teachers hold for Japanese language education. When designing this section, we referred to the trial version of *The Global Englishes Orientation Questionnaire (GEO-Q)*, developed by Rose, Funada, and Briggs (2018), which contained fifty-seven statements on English language learners' attitudes toward global Englishes. As shown below, the themes covered in the GEO-Q are pertinent to the discussion of diversity and inclusion. GEO-Q's emphasis on these issues is the primary reason for our decision to base our questionnaire on it. We changed the wording of the original questionnaire to suit our context (i. e., Japanese-language teachers) and serve the current purpose (i. e., diversity, inclusion, and professionalism). We also decided to cut down the number of items in order to make the survey manageable for respondents. To this end, we first identified seven broad themes covered in the GEO-Q. Then, we selected (or created) two statements to fall into each category, which led us to have a total of fourteen statements. The themes and the statements are listed below.

a. Attitudes toward Japanese varieties

#1. A good Japanese teacher provides opportunities for learners to learn about different varieties of Japanese (dialects, etc.).
#2. Awareness of different varieties of Japanese (dialects, etc.) will enable students to learn about a greater range of Japanese speakers.

b. Attitudes toward standard Japanese

#3. Standard Japanese is more correct than other varieties of Japanese, including regional dialects.
#4. Good Japanese language instruction focuses on preparing students to use standard Japanese.

c. Attitudes toward native speakers of Japanese

#5. The true owners of Japanese are anyone who uses Japanese.
#6. When I think of a Japanese speaker, I imagine a speaker from Japan.

d. Attitudes toward accuracy (grammar, intonation, etc.)

#7. Only grammatically correct Japanese should be taught in Japanese language classes.
#8. One of the goals of learning the Japanese language is to speak with a native-like accent.

e. Attitudes toward Japanese culture

#9. Good Japanese teachers help students appreciate unique aspects of Japanese culture in their teaching.
#10. In order to be accepted by Japanese society, students have to understand the language and culture.

f. Attitudes toward goals of Japanese learning

#11. I would like my students to use Japanese in a multilingual community.
#12. Learning Japanese will help my students develop flexibility and sensitivity towards cultures / societies with which they are not familiar.

g. Attitudes toward Japanese-language teachers

#13. Being a native speaker is not an important characteristic of a good Japanese teacher.
#14. The role of the teacher is to help students develop native-like proficiency.

As a project aiming to bring the issues of diversity and inclusion into focus, we fully acknowledge the controversial nature of expressions used in the survey, such as "native speakers," "native-like proficiency," and "the true owners of Japanese." We nonetheless decided to include them because these terms and statements are something that can be observed in mundane discourse in our profession and we hoped to evoke the survey participants' reactions to such ideas. Respondents were instructed to indicate their beliefs with each statement with a 6-point sliding scale.[1] With the statistical analysis, we aimed to elucidate the overall patterns of beliefs held by Japanese-language educators in North America.

Part III gathered information about the survey participants' perspectives on teacher qualifications, which relate to professionalism as espoused in our community. We asked respondents to select the five most important criteria that they would consider when hiring a new teacher in their programs. We initially planned to run statistical tests and examine

patterns of teacher beliefs according to their demographic backgrounds. However, after consulting the statisticians, we learned that there was no valid analysis available because of the relatively small number of response counts that fall into each rank, and therefore, we did not include the results of this section in this report.[2]

Part IV, on the other hand, is devoted to open-ended comments, through which we hoped to get at teachers' perceptions on diversity and inclusion, as well as specific episodes that bring to light particularities of individual situations and experiences. The following were posed:

1. Do you believe the Japanese language educator community in North America is a diverse one? If not, in what respects is it lacking in diversity?
2. What factors do you think contribute to limit the diversity of the Japanese language teaching community?
3. What are the consequences of a lack of diversity? Please describe any episode(s) you have observed or experienced below, including any attitudes, utterances, or actions that may point to bias.

The survey participants were instructed to write their answers either in Japanese or English for this part of the survey.

By gathering both quantitative and qualitative information, we hoped to understand general tendencies concerning the survey participants' views on the Japanese language, culture, and its teaching and possible gaps among subgroups, as well as more nuanced narratives and specific instances experienced by the participants. As shown below, the statistical information generated by Part II was used to address the first question posited in the introduction, whereas narrative responses to Part IV were qualitatively analyzed to respond to the remaining three questions. Finally, it should be kept in mind that this questionnaire was intended to gather real and unheard voices of our community in order to facilitate a constructive discussion. We did not conduct any pilot study to refine the instruments used in this survey, a typical protocol for conducting a survey-based research study. Thus, the results below should be read as a summary report of the membership survey rather than the findings of a research study.

2.2. Distribution and Recruitment

The survey was administered in the fall of 2018, using the Qualtrics survey software. We sent invitations to participate in the survey to the email

listservs of the American Association of Teachers of Japanese (AATJ), the Canadian Association for Japanese Language Education (CAJLE), and SenseiOnline (an online community for those interested in Japanese language/culture education). Although AATJ and CAJLE are the major professional organizations that serve Japanese-language educators in North America, and SenseiOnline is an extensive online community with many subscribers, we realize that the members that can be reached through these channels might not necessarily exhaust individuals who are engaged in Japanese language education in various ways.

2.3. Demographics of Survey Respondents

A total of 392 respondents were recorded in the Qualtrics survey database. Out of these responses, we excluded from our count those who did not go beyond Part I (demographic information) and those living outside of North America. As a result, 355 remained as valid respondents. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the respondents by gender. As shown here, nearly 80% of the respondents were female whereas only 17% were male respondents. One may see this imbalance as a skewed representation of population, but this disproportionate gender balance indeed corresponds with the survey participants' perceptions concerning the gender imbalance in the field, which will be discussed in Section 3.2.

Table 1. Respondents by Gender

Gender	*n* = 355	100%
Female	281	79.2%
Male	59	16.6%
Prefer not to say	15	4.2%

Table 2 shows the breakdown of the respondents by their first languages (L1). Out of the 355 respondents, 261 (73.5%) indicated their L1 as Japanese. The number roughly corresponds to the one reported by the Japan Foundation (2017a) and also parallels the survey participants' perception concerning the predominance of L1 Japanese teachers in the community, to be discussed in Section 3.2. Approximately 24% of the respondents were L1 speakers of English. Other languages mentioned include German, Polish, Spanish, and Korean, while some people wrote that they speak multiple L1s.

Table 2. Respondents by L1

L1 language	*n* = 355	100%
Japanese	261	73.5%
English	84	23.7%
Other	10	2.8%

Table 3 shows the respondents' highest degrees earned. Master's degree holders make up the majority (63.4%), followed by doctorate degree (25.1%) and bachelor's degree (9.8%). Others—although only 10 people—wrote associate degree, post-bachelor (including certificate), or post-master.

Table 3. Respondents by Highest Degree Earned

Highest degree earned	*n* = 355	100%
Master's	225	63.4%
Doctorate	89	25.1%
Bachelor's	35	9.8%
Other	6	1.7%

Table 4 below presents the breakdown of the respondents by types of institution at which they were teaching. We divided the institution type as 4-year higher education institutions (e. g., university, liberal arts college), 2-year higher education institutions (e. g., community college, vocational college), K–12 institutions (e. g., kindergarten, elementary school, middle school, high school), and others. 54.1% of the respondents were teaching at 4-year higher education institutions, constituting the majority, followed by K–12 institutions (34.1%) and 2-year higher education institutions (5.6%). Others included weekend school, adult education, and so forth.

Table 4. Respondents by Institution Type

Institution type	*n* = 355	100%
Four year	192	54.1%
K–12	121	34.1%
Two year	20	5.6%
Other	22	6.2%

Table 5 shows the respondents' teaching experience, divided into 1–5 years, 6–10 years, 11–15 years, 16–20 years, and more than 20 years. The group with the longest experience (i. e., more than 20 years) was found to be the majority, making up almost one third of our respondents. The mid-range career groups (i. e., 6–10 years, 11–15 years, 16–20 years) each comprise similar proportions (i. e., 16.6–20.0%). Teachers with 1–5 years of experience constitute the smallest group. As will be discussed in Section 3.2, this distribution also corresponds with some of the survey participants' perception that the field is dominated by the older generation of teachers.

Table 5. Respondents by Teaching Experience

Experience	*n* = 355	100%
More than 20	113	31.8%
10–15 years	71	20.0%
6–10 years	64	18.0%
16–20 years	59	16.6%
1–5 years	42	11.8%
No answer	6	1.7%

These demographic profiles were set as independent variables for the statistical analysis to be discussed in Section 3.1. Not all of the 355 survey participants, however, answered the open-ended questions in Part IV, as will be discussed in the later sections.

3. The Analysis and Results

3.1. Teacher Beliefs on Goals of Japanese Language Education

This section addresses the first questions presented in the introduction by summarizing the results of Part II of the questionnaire in which we asked

about teachers' attitudes toward Japanese language and culture as they relate to day-to-day teaching practice. In addition to the examination of overall response patterns, we ran a series of statistical tests to identify if there are any differences in perception according to respondents' demographic profiles. As explained above, the following five variables were included as independent variables.

a. Gender (2 levels: male, female)
b. L1[3] (2 levels: L1 Japanese, L2 Japanese)
c. Institution type (2 levels: K–12, college)
d. Degree (3 levels: bachelor's, master's, doctorate)
e. Teaching experience (3 levels: 1–10 years, 11–20 years, more than 20 years)

For the two-level variables (i. e., gender, L1, institution type), we used the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, which allows for comparing two related samples with non-parametric data. For the three-level variables (i. e., degree, teaching experience), we ran the Kruskal-Wallis test, which can deal with more than two groups. The p value was set at 0.01 for all the statistical tests.

In order to give an overview of response patterns, agreement rates for each of the fourteen statements—calculated as the sum of the percentage of respondents who chose "strongly agree," "agree," or "somewhat agree"—are presented in Table 6. The number denoted by # corresponds with the statement number introduced in Section 2.1, but the statements are reorganized in descending order from the highest agreement rate to the lowest. The asterisks on the leftmost column indicate the items that yielded statistical significance with certain variables.

A cursory examination of the items ranked high in the table brings up an interesting observation. For example, the most-agreed statement (#12) and the item ranked third (#11) were both statements included in the category of *Goals of Japanese Learning*. Presumably, these statements are aligned with the recent debate on the goals of language education, such as global competence (ACTFL 2015) and translingual/transcultural competence (MLA 2007). Judging from the close-to-unanimous agreement rates (with 99.7% and 94.9%, respectively) and the absence of statistical difference for these statements, we can confidently assume that these goals are widely shared and accepted among Japanese-language educators.

Table 6. Agreement Rate for Part II

Significance	Statement Item	Agreement Rate
	#12. Learning Japanese will help my students develop flexibility and sensitivity towards cultures/societies with which they are not familiar.	99.7%
*	#2. Awareness of different varieties of Japanese (dialects, etc.) will enable students to learn about a greater range of Japanese speakers.	96.2%
	#11. I would like my students to use Japanese in a multilingual community.	94.9%
*	#9. Good Japanese teachers help students appreciate unique aspects of Japanese culture in their teaching.	94.3%
*	#13. Being a native speaker is not an important characteristic of a good Japanese teacher.	90.7%
	#10. In order to be accepted by Japanese society, students have to understand the language and culture.	89.2%
	#1. A good Japanese teacher provides opportunities for learners to learn about different varieties of Japanese (dialects, etc.).	88.8%
	#5. The true owners of Japanese are anyone who uses Japanese.	81.0%
*	#4. Good Japanese language instruction focuses on preparing students to use standard Japanese.	75.7%
	#6. When I think of a Japanese speaker, I imagine a speaker from Japan.	72.6%
	#14. The role of the teacher is to help students develop native-like proficiency.	62.7%
*	#8. One of the goals of learning the Japanese language is to speak with a native-like accent.	59.1%
	#7. Only grammatically correct Japanese should be taught in Japanese language classes.	50.8%
*	#3. Standard Japanese is more correct than other varieties of Japanese, including regional dialects.	29.3%

In contrast, other items that are ranked high in the table (i. e., over 90% agreement rate) yielded statistically significant differences among subgroups of respondents. For example, #2 (96.2%), which was concerned with *Japanese Varieties*, #9 (94.3%) with *Japanese Culture*., #13 (90.7%) with *Japanese-Language Teacher*, were all found to be statistically significant. This means that there was a systematic interaction between certain demographic variables of the respondents and the ways they responded to these items. Given that these statements achieved high agreement rates (more than 90%), it is particularly significant to see how certain subgroups of teachers responded differently. This issue will be further explained with the results of the statistical analysis.

Correspondingly, the items ranked low in the table also show an intriguing pattern. The four least-agreed items (#14, #8, #7, #3) all concern the correctness of language to be taught in class. More precisely, these statements point to the profound value attached to standard Japanese, correct grammar, and native-like proficiency as the legitimate goal of Japanese language instruction. Considering that the respondents agreed less (which also means they disagreed) with these items overall, we can infer some awareness of the controversial nature of monolingual, native-speakerism ideology embedded in these statements (Lowe and Pinner 2016). However, given that these statements were not unanimously declined, either, there might be some discrepancies among the teachers on this issue.

In order to examine where such discrepancies exist, we present below the results of the statistical tests we ran for these items. Of the fourteen statements asked in Part II, six generated statistically significant difference with one or more of the independent variables measured. Table 7 summarizes the distribution of statistical significance ($p \leq 0.01$) found across different independent variables (i. e., demographic backgrounds) and the theme categories.

As evident, only certain theme categories and demographic backgrounds were responsible for the statistically significant differences. With regard to the independent variables, for example, L1, institution type, and highest degree affected the response patterns, but the other variables, namely, gender and teaching experience, did not. Likewise, only certain themes—namely, *Japanese Varieties*, *Standard Japanese*, *Accuracy*, *Japanese Culture*, and *Japanese-Language Teachers*—were affected by these independent variables. In what follows below, we discuss the instances that are particularly noteworthy in relation to our current

discussion on Japanese-language educators' beliefs on the goals of Japanese language education.

Table 7. Distribution of Statistical Significance for Part II

Themes	Gender	L1	Institution type	Highest degree	Experience
Japanese Varieties			#2		
Standard Japanese		#4	#3, #4	#3, #4	
Native Speakers of Japanese					
Accuracy		#8	#8	#8	
Japanese Culture		#9	#9	#9	
Goals of Japanese Learning					
Japanese-Language Teachers		#13			

Attitudes toward Standard Japanese

The two statements included in this category are both concerned with the legitimacy of setting standard Japanese as the primary target of Japanese language instruction and yielded significant difference with similar variables, including L1, institution type, and highest degree. Tables 8–10 show the distribution of responses for #4 (Good Japanese language instruction focuses on preparing students to use standard Japanese) with these variables. In order to highlight the differences between the groups, the cells with top three highest percentages in each group are shaded.

Table 8. Distribution of Responses for Statement #4 by L1

Response	L2 Japanese	L1 Japanese
Strongly agree	13 (15.5%)	14 (6.2%)
Agree	36 (42.9%)	50 (22.2%)
Somewhat agree	28 (33.3%)	93 (41.3%)
Somewhat disagree	4 (4.8%)	33 (14.7%)
Disagree	2 (2.4%)	24 (10.7%)
Strongly disagree	1 (1.2%)	11 (4.9%)

Table 9. Distribution of Responses for Statement #4 by Institution Type

Response	K–12	College
Strongly agree	18 (16.7%)	6 (3.3%)
Agree	31 (28.7%)	48 (26.2%)
Somewhat agree	39 (36.1%)	79 (43.2%)
Somewhat disagree	10 (9.3%)	24 (13.1%)
Disagree	8 (7.4%)	17 (9.3%)
Strongly disagree	2 (1.9%)	9 (4.9%)

Table 10. Distribution of Responses for Statement #4 by Highest Degree Earned

Response	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctorate
Strongly agree	9 (29.0%)	15 (7.5%)	3 (4.1%)
Agree	10 (32.3%)	55 (27.5%)	20 (27.0%)
Somewhat agree	8 (25.8%)	84 (42.0%)	28 (37.8%)
Somewhat disagree	2 (6.5%)	25 (12.5%)	8 (10.8%)
Disagree	1 (3.2%)	13 (6.5%)	12 (16.2%)
Strongly disagree	1 (3.2%)	8 (4.0%)	3 (4.1%)

The overall trend observable here is that L2 Japanese teachers, K–12 teachers, and teachers with a bachelor's degree are more inclined to agree with the idea of emphasizing standard Japanese in class. Noticeably fewer teachers in these groups indicated disagreement, as compared with the teachers in the other groups (i. e., Japanese, college, master's, doctorate). As for the highest degree variable, the higher the degree, the more inclination for disagreement is observed. In fact, a similar pattern is observed with the other statement in this category (#3).[4] K–12 teachers and teachers with a bachelor's degree have a stronger tendency to agree with the idea that standard Japanese is more correct while their counterparts are prone to show disagreement with this item. The discrepancy is generated particularly by those who hold a doctoral degree as they tend to disagree with this statement more than the other groups. Over 90% of them disagreed with the statement. Given that this item (#3) received a low agreement rate (29.3%), as compared with #4 (75.7%), the

teachers are generally aware of the controversial nature of this statement. As discussed above, an emphasis on standard Japanese is suggestive of the ideology on the legitimacy and illegitimacy of particular language variations to be considered as the goal of language education (Kramsch 2012). Such an ideology is also observed in the attitudes toward accuracy, which we explain below.

Attitudes toward Accuracy

Tables 11–13 show the results for statement #8. The same set of independent variables (i. e., L1, institution type, and highest degree) are found to be affecting the response patterns in similar ways as discussed above. More precisely, L2 Japanese teachers, K–12 teachers, and teachers with a bachelor's degree tend to agree with the emphasis on a native-like accent as the goal of Japanese language instruction—more so than their counterparts with different characteristics. In the case of highest degree, the higher the degree one holds, the less inclined respondents are to agree.

Table 11. Distribution of Responses for Statement #8 by L1

Response	L2 Japanese	L1 Japanese
Strongly agree	11 (13.1%)	9 (3.9%)
Agree	28 (33.3%)	33 (14.4%)
Somewhat agree	29 (34.5%)	75 (32.8%)
Somewhat disagree	7 (8.3%)	41 (17.9%)
Disagree	6 (7.1%)	45 (19.7%)
Strongly disagree	3 (3.6%)	26 (11.4%)

Table 12. Distribution of Responses for Statement #8 by Tnstitution Type

Response	K–12	College
Strongly agree	8 (7.4%)	9 (4.8%)
Agree	33 (30.6%)	23 (12.3%)
Somewhat agree	30 (27.8%)	69 (36.9%)
Somewhat disagree	16 (14.8%)	29 (15.5%)
Disagree	10 (9.3%)	40 (21.4%)
Strongly disagree	11 (10.2%)	17 (9.1%)

Table 13. Distribution of Responses for Statement #8 by Highest Degree Earned

Response	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctorate
Strongly agree	7 (21.9%)	8 (3.9%)	5 (6.8%)
Agree	9 (28.1%)	45 (22.2%)	6 (8.1%)
Somewhat agree	6 (18.8%)	72 (35.5%)	24 (32.4%)
Somewhat disagree	4 (12.5%)	29 (14.3%)	15 (20.3%)
Disagree	5 (15.6%)	31 (15.3%)	15 (20.3%)
Strongly disagree	1 (3.1%)	18 (8.9%)	9 (12.2%)

59.1% of the respondents agreed with Statement #8 overall, which, by itself, shows a weak consensus among the Japanese-language educators on this item. The other statement in this category (#7) also shows a similar degree of disparity in teacher response (50.8%). Therefore, the teachers have varied perspectives on the importance of accuracy—be it accent or grammar—to be underscored in instruction. It is, then, remarkable to find the statistically significant gaps in the perspectives on native-like accent according to different subgroups of L1, institution type, and highest degree backgrounds. It should be emphasized that both items in the *Accuracy* category are explicitly indexing a reference with the native-speaker yardstick. This kind of belief is closely tied into how "native speaker" is conceptualized and venerated in language education, whether consciously or unconsciously, which we will discuss below.

Attitudes toward Japanese-Language Teachers

Statement #13 in this category generated a statistically significant difference. Again, although the majority agreed with this statement that emphasizes the insignificance of the native-speaker status as a qualification for Japanese-language teachers (90.7%), the extent to which it is agreed or disagreed with by each subgroup yielded a statistically significant difference as shown in Table 14. 61.9% of the L2 Japanese teachers strongly agreed with this statement, whereas only 34.1% of the L1 Japanese group did so. Correspondingly, more L1 Japanese teachers indicated disagreement overall (10.9%) than L2 Japanese teachers (4.8%).

Table 14. Distribution of Responses for Statement #13 by L1

Response	L2 Japanese	L1 Japanese
Strongly agree	52 (61.9%)	78 (34.1%)
Agree	20 (23.8%)	80 (34.9%)
Somewhat agree	8 (9.5%)	46 (20.1%)
Somewhat disagree	2 (2.4%)	17 (7.4%)
Disagree	0 (0%)	6 (2.6%)
Strongly disagree	2 (2.4%)	2 (0.9%)

The fact that L2 Japanese teachers are inclined to agree with this statement more strongly than L1 Japanese teachers, and that the difference was statistically significant, is worthy of note. As we have examined above, the majority of L2 Japanese teachers support standard Japanese and native-like accent as an instructional target. However, when it comes to teacher qualifications, they clearly depreciate native-speakerism. In contrast, L1 Japanese teachers showed a less clear stance on these issues. That is, they neither strongly support nor reject the statements that point to native-speakerism, as compared with L2 Japanese teachers. It seems of great importance to understand how the gaps between these groups come to be and what they mean in terms of diversity and inclusion.

Attitudes toward Japanese Culture

Statement #9, which asked whether unique aspects of Japanese culture should be emphasized in instruction, generated an interesting result. Clearly, most teachers agreed with the idea depicted by this statement (94.3% agreement rate). The overall importance of culture learning in current pedagogy is apparently discernible from the strong leaning toward agreement here. However, the degrees to which agreement was expressed differ significantly across subgroups. While a majority of L2 Japanese teachers chose “strongly agree” (72.4%), less than a half of L1 Japanese teachers did so (46.5%). On the other hand, some L1 teachers indicated disagreement (7.5%), but few L2 teachers disagreed with this statement (1.1%). Similar discrepancies were also observed for the subgroups of institution type and highest degree with a higher percentage of college teachers and doctorate holders showing disagreement with this statement than their counterparts. This statement may evoke a static and monolithic

view of Japanese culture, which counters the widely acknowledged goals of language education discussed earlier, including the global orientation and the sensitivity and flexibility towards other cultures. Thus, as it appears, the overstated uniqueness of Japanese culture probably resulted in some discord among the teachers.

Summary of 3.1

Overall, the general goals of Japanese language teaching, which lead to the education of world-ready multilingual individuals with flexibility and sensitivity towards diverse cultures/societies, are shared by the majority of the survey participants. Considering that we did not find the same level of consensus with the other items (either agreement or disagreement), the high agreement rate on these goals is particularly remarkable. Moreover, a clear pattern emerged out of the discrepancies among different subgroups. L2 Japanese teachers, K–12 teachers, and teachers with a bachelor's degree tend to support standard Japanese and native-like accuracy as legitimate targets of language instruction more actively than their counterparts. At the same time, L2 Japanese teachers tended to depreciate the native-speaker attribute as a characteristic important for good Japanese-language educators more than L1 Japanese teachers. The contrasting results on native-speakerism as instructional targets as opposed to teacher qualifications adds further complexity to the situation. As stated earlier, these findings should be read as general tendencies according to different demographic backgrounds and be complemented by narrative responses that provide specific details. In the sections that follow, we present the narrative responses.

3.2. Perceived Diversity in the Japanese Language Educator Community

This section reviews the results of 248 responses submitted to the first set of the open-ended questions: "Do you believe the Japanese language educator community in North America is a diverse one?" "If not, in what respects is it lacking in diversity?" Nearly 60% of the survey respondents (144 out of 248) indicated that they believe the Japanese language educator community in North America is not diverse, whereas approximately 20% (49 out of 248) believe it is. The remaining respondents indicated "neither" or provided no direct response. A higher percentage of K–12 teachers (approximately 30%, or 31 out of 105) provided an affirmative response to this question than college teachers (a little over 12%, 18 out of 143).

Open-ended responses to the second question covered a wide range of topics and themes. In order to identify salient and repeated ideas and present them in a logical and consistent manner, we employed a thematic analysis approach (Braun and Clarke 2006; Maguire and Delahunt 2017). In the coding process, key ideas (nouns) that capture the topics discussed in each response were extracted and grouped into categories to form distinct themes, which were then used to find patterns, including frequency and interrelationship (Saldaña 2014). Coding was done by all four authors, divided into two teams, with one team responsible for initial coding and the other checking and verifying it. The most frequently discussed themes were ethnic/cultural background, gender/sexuality, and age/generation. We will explicate each of these themes below.

Ethnic/Cultural Background

Most respondents who believe that the Japanese language educator community in North America is lacking in diversity discussed the imbalance of ethnic/cultural background. This theme subsumes a number of ideas expressed by the respondents. For example, many referred to the skewed representation of L1 and L2 Japanese speaking teachers (e. g., "They are mostly native speakers"). These comments appear to reflect the reality mentioned at the beginning of this essay that North America has the highest percentage (77.3%) of L1 Japanese teachers of all the world regions (Japan Foundation 2017a). The terms "native" and "non-native," however, were not always used to refer to teachers' L1 in the respondents' open-ended responses. They were also used to express the ideas of ethnicity or cultural upbringing.

Besides the "native" versus "non-native" divide, some respondents explicitly referred to a particular nationality, ethnicity, race, or color, either as dominating, or being underrepresented in the field. For instance, the scarcity of African American, Black, Brown, Caucasian, Latino, *Zainichi* Koreans, or mixed heritage was mentioned. Yet others described teachers' limited experience or exposure to other cultures without using any particular label (e. g., "Those I know are often people who grew up in Japan"). A few even noted the limited range of cultural backgrounds represented among Japanese-language teachers in North America (i. e., Japanese, American, Korean, Chinese) in comparison to the current diversity of our student population.

Gender/Sexuality

Approximately 70 percent of the respondents noted that the community is lacking in diversity in gender/sexuality. Many of them discussed that this

field is dominated by female teachers. Indeed, this is also implied by the gender imbalance of the current survey participants (see Table 1). Some people also commented on the underrepresentation of various sexual orientations and gender identities (e. g., gay, transgender, LGBTQ, etc.). With regard to this, some comments discussed that the community is primarily dominated by heterosexual teachers.

Age/Generation

Compared with the first two themes, age and generation were discussed less frequently. Still, many of those who mentioned age/generation (approximately 14 percent of the respondents) agreed that the field—dominated by older generations—is short of younger teachers. Although "old" and "young" are relative and equivocal concepts, this issue is particularly crucial because it concerns the sustainability of the field. In fact, 31.8% of the current survey participants have more than 20 years of teaching experience and 16.6% of respondents have 16-20 years of teaching experience (Table 5). Combined with the fact that the teacher shortage in North America was noted by the Japan Foundation (2017a) survey, cultivating new generations of teachers is a matter of urgent concern.

Other Themes

Besides the three main themes above, there were other concerns in regard to diversity and inclusion expressed by the respondents. For example, with regard to diversity among Japanese, some people pointed out the skewed representation of different regional accents and dialects. Similarly, some discussed that many teachers seem to be from the *Kanto* region or urban areas of Japan, or from the middle to upper-middle class. These comments appear to correspond to the critical reflection on the traditional emphasis on the idealized native speaker of standard Japanese as a model, discussed in Section 3.1. Other comments touched on the lack of diversity in academic/professional training, as well as the lack of communication among subgroups of teachers formed based on the sense of comradeship (仲間意識) or common teaching philosophy or methodology. Even the term "faction (派閥)" was used to describe the phenomenon.

Summary of 3.2

As we discussed in this section, the majority of the respondents believe that the field is lacking in diversity. Ethnic/cultural backgrounds, gender/sexuality, and age/generation were the three most notable areas in

which the lack of diversity was recognized by the respondents. These observations, by and large, appear to reflect the reality of the situation. That is, L1 Japanese, female, and teachers with long-term experience make up the preponderance of community members while other groups are presumably underrepresented. In the next section, we will delve into the causes of such an imbalance as perceived by the survey participants.

3.3. Contributing Factors for the Limited Diversity

This section addresses the third question explained in the introduction, which was concerned with the perceived causes of the limited diversity. We analyzed the responses using the same procedure described above and extracted the most recurrently discussed factors: unappealing working conditions, lack of teacher training programs and a decline in the number of Japanese language learners, native-speakerism, and heteronormativity. Interestingly, some of these factors are relevant across different themes concerning the lack of diversity identified above.

Unappealing Working Conditions

One of the most recurrent factors mentioned by the respondents concerned the precarious working conditions of this profession as perceived by current and future Japanese-language educators: these may include excessive teaching loads, instability of employment (often part-time), and inadequate compensation. The issues of job stability and security were brought up constantly in relation to all the three areas where diversity was considered lacking. For example, quite a few respondents talked about the gender imbalance in the field resulting from non-competitive salaries that are unattractive to men, who are often considered to be the primary earners of the household. The lack of competitive compensation is also perceived as resulting in a significant strain in recruiting and retaining younger generations, as well as competent L2 Japanese speaking professionals. Additionally, the hurdle of obtaining a teaching license for K–12 teachers, which requires a tremendous amount of time and financial resources, keeps people from considering teaching as their career.

In addition to the financial instability and job insecurity, the perceived low status of language teaching positions, especially at the college level, is also believed to keep prospective teachers with a minority background (male, L2 Japanese speaking, young) away from the field. In research-oriented institutions, language courses are primarily taught by non-tenure track (and often part-time) instructors, whereas so-called "content courses" are covered by tenure-track/tenured faculty members. The "bifurcation"

inherent in area studies/language-literature programs across U.S. institutions has been recognized and critically discussed (e. g., MLA 2007). This structural issue, pointed out more than a decade ago, has not seen much improvement. In fact, the financial pressures felt by universities and colleges in recent years appear to have worsened the situation in some contexts (Chronicle of Higher Education 2019).

While the financial insecurity and the low-status perception often associated with language teaching positions are largely the results of societal and institutional functions, it is also teachers themselves who may contribute to the creation of the "unappealing" image of the occupation through their working style, especially for their students who may otherwise be aspired to be future teachers. One respondent particularly discussed how current learners of Japanese may not find Japanese teaching jobs appealing as their future career because they see their teachers working tirelessly under seemingly difficult work conditions, having meetings on weekends and working long hours, etc. This comment, while derived primarily from personal contacts, points to an ironic circle in which teachers' "hard" work ethic, translated to their students, ends up discouraging future teachers. This circumstance, along with the low salary, may lead competent language learners to turn to other occupations.

Overall, the disadvantages of the Japanese teaching profession are perceived as limiting the pool of potential teachers to individuals with certain profiles (e. g., female L1 Japanese speakers). Although these comments appear to make intuitive sense, we need to interpret them with caution. The situations surrounding diversity differ considerably across different languages despite presumably similar "working conditions" to those depicted above. The predominance of L1 speaking teachers in the Japanese language educator community is particularly remarkable, as it is not seen in other commonly-taught languages, such as Spanish, French, and German. Therefore, as much as these factors are surely contributing to the dynamics of diversity, they are not solely responsible for the particular situation of Japanese language education.

Lack of Teacher Training Programs and Decline in Enrollments

The lack of teacher training programs is perhaps one factor that may vary depending on the particular situation of different languages. Some respondents pointed out the scarcity of graduate programs or teacher licensure programs in Japanese as the cause for diminishing younger generations of teachers. According to the Japan Foundation (2017b), as of

2015, only sixty-five institutions in the United States offered some kind of teacher training programs. The same survey also reports that the number of teachers and institutions in North America have decreased from 2012 to 2015 and attributes the decline to the diminishing federal support for foreign language education and the shortage of candidates for Japanese language teacher positions, especially in K–12 institutions. The financial pressure tends to motivate institutions to discontinue existing positions upon the retirement or departure of current teachers, or to downgrade them from tenure-track to non-tenure track, or from full-time to part-time. This situation continues to pose a challenge for younger generations to enter this field.

Further, some people also discussed low and declining numbers of Japanese language learners as a possible cause for the situation, especially the generational imbalance. As a matter of fact, the survey results by the Modern Language Association (2019) and the Japan Foundation (2017a) both report a slight increase in Japanese language enrollments in North America. However, these reports only show the aggregated data without separate numbers by institution types or regions. Therefore, it is noteworthy that some respondents, who presumably have experienced a decline in enrollments, brought up this issue as a possible factor for the generation imbalance. In reality, the lack of teacher training programs, available positions, and available teacher candidates (e. g., learners of Japanese) are likely be intertwined, and most of the issues are financially determined both at the federal/national and state/local levels.

Native-Speakerism

While the two factors discussed above are more or less pragmatic matters, there are also ideological aspects that are less delineable but surely prevalent and ubiquitous. Native-speakerism has been defined—originally in the context of English language teaching—as a "belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday 2006: 385). It is a stereotype that favors or values the native speaker. In the survey, for example, some respondents commented on the perceived language superiority of native speakers as a contributing factor that characterizes the current state of community membership imbalance. Examples of bias and prejudice discussed by the respondents include:

- Japanese language is too difficult for L2 speakers to reach an advanced level.
- L1 Japanese speakers are better language teachers.
- Correct or native-like Japanese should be taught in class.

These comments give context to how native-speakerism is prevailing as a form of validation for teacher qualifications, which can also be translated into the preference of L1 Japanese teachers in hiring. It should be reminded that, as we discussed in Section 3.1, there were statistically significant gaps between L1 and L2 teachers in their views on instructional targets and teacher qualifications. That is, whereas L2 teachers underscore the importance of native-like accent yet depreciate the native-speaker attributes in teaching, L1 teachers maintain a less clear stance in both respects. Therefore, biases toward native speakers are held differently by L1 and L2 speaking teachers.

Heteronormativity

Another ideological element brought up in the survey was related to the limited representation of diverse sexual orientations in the teacher community. As described by some respondents, due to the pervasive idea that heterosexuality is the norm in society, LGBTQ teachers may feel vulnerable or alienated, which hinders them from being open about their sexuality. There are some people who even feel insecure about their employment opportunities. In fact, one respondent particularly described the difficulty of revealing their sexual orientation because they heard of incidents in which employment might be rejected due to sexuality. While these are presumably extreme and possibly illegal cases, these comments clearly reflect the heteronormativity prevalent in the community.

It should be noted that heteronormativity is not limited to Japanese language education or academic communities, but it exposes the problem omnipresent in society at large. For example, some respondents pointed out that the heteronormative ideology is widely retained without critical apprehension in Japanese society, where the Japanese government has only recently begun discussing the possibility of proposing a bill that allows same-sex marriage. While the number of respondents who discussed this theme was smaller than the other three themes discussed above, their voices remind us of an important aspect of diversity beyond native versus non-native, gender, and age/generation, especially given the number of LGBTQ students studying Japanese. We will further discuss some comments on this topic in the next section.

Summary of 3.3

This section discussed the factors that led to the limited diversity of the Japanese language educator community, as perceived and experienced by the respondents. These factors are personally, institutionally, and societally constructed and intricately related. Hence, it is hardly possible to explicate them as discrete elements. In essence, we can summarize these causes as pragmatic constraints, on the one hand, and ideological issues, on the other. In our eyes, neither are easily resolvable. Nonetheless, the recognition of these issues at least leads to a step forward. In the next section, we will present concrete episodes in which the lack of diversity is manifested in mundane experience.

3.4. Biases and Discrimination Experienced or Observed by the Survey Participants

This section introduces specific episodes that exemplify varied issues concerning diversity (or rather lack thereof), inclusion, and professionalism experienced or observed by the survey participants. In this section, we decided to share some actual excerpts of the survey respondents' open-ended responses rather than presenting the results of a thematic analysis as we did in Sections 3.2 and 3.3. This is because we believe that by introducing the respondents' actual voices, we can share some of the nuances that may be otherwise lost and also offer readers an opportunity to develop their own interpretation. To reiterate, the purpose of this survey was to gather beliefs and experiences of Japanese language educators from diverse backgrounds and to use the information as a starting point of our dialogs.

Among various topics discussed in the 195 responses to the third open-ended question, we selected examples that seem to best illustrate recurrent themes found in episodes shared by the respondents. We also tried to include perspectives of respondents from diverse backgrounds, especially of those who are deemed the minority in this particular community vis-a-vis the results of this survey. By no means was the selection an easy process, but we ultimately decided to highlight the following issues: native/non-native divide, professional qualifications and candidates' lingua-cultural backgrounds, an idealized monolithic image of the Japanese, and heteronormativity observed in the profession. All the responses are original, but apparent grammatical mistakes or typos are corrected in brackets. Comments written in Japanese were translated by the authors. The respondents' backgrounds are noted in parentheses.

Native/Non-Native Divide

In the previous section, we discussed how pervasively native-speakerism can be observed in mundane discourse, in some cases taking the form of bias against L2 teachers. In this ideology, Japanese people are portrayed as "legitimate users" of the language. The following excerpt illustrates how such biases are manifested in everyday interaction.

> Excerpt 1
> I have worked with Japanese teaching professionals who have expressed disbelief that non-native speakers can ever really gain a high level of proficiency in Japanese, and who doubt competency of Japanese teaching colleagues who are not native speakers. (College, Female, L2, Doctorate, 11–15 years)

From this statement, it is not clear to whom the Japanese teaching professionals mentioned in this excerpt addressed this disbelief, but it is apparent that this respondent, who is herself an L2 Japanese speaker, was present at the scene when such an explicit comment that discriminates against L2 speaking teachers was made. In Section 3.1, we discussed how L1 Japanese teachers maintain more or less an equivocal stance toward native-speakerism, as compared with their L2 teacher counterparts. However, this does not preclude the fact that certain individuals overtly present discriminatory remarks and attitudes. The next excerpt offers another example that depicts the bias against non-native speakers.

> Excerpt 2
> Another thing that I have heard teachers discuss is whether non-native speaking teachers should teach pronunciation or not, and an often-expressed idea is that it would be bad for students to imitate the accent of a non-native speaker. When I hear these kinds of comments, it seems to me that people have an overly narrow idea of what "counts" as acceptable Japanese pronunciation. (College, Female, L2, Doctorate, 6–10 years)

The comment described in this excerpt reflects the assumption that only L1 speakers can present the model pronunciation. It should be reminded that the statistical analysis in Section 3.1 presented the mixed responses on Statement #8 concerning whether a native-like accent should be set as a pedagogical goal (59.1% agreement rate). This incident precisely points to the presence of individuals who believe in the native-speaker supremacist ideology (Kadoya 2012; Kubota 2008), which gives L1 teachers the authority and excludes L2 teachers as legitimate language

owners. In fact, this respondent later expressed, "the comments imply that my Japanese ability is subject to, or vulnerable to, the judgments of others" and "the comments single me out as different, and this feels othering."

Unlike the instances introduced above, some people highlighted some positive aspects of having L2 teachers.

> Excerpt 3
> I remember a student I taught in 102 at the university. He had taken 101 from a native speaker. He was spell bound by the fact that I could speak Japanese and his comment was, "I now know I can learn Japanese." My response was, "Why?" "Because you aren't Japanese and I have only every [ever] seen Japanese speak Japanese and my previous teacher told me I would never be able to learn it." (College, Female, L2, Bachelor's, more than 20 years)

Not only does this example suggest that L2 teachers can serve as role models for students, but also it alerts that having exclusively L1 teachers may negatively impact their motivation. While a few respondents, including the author of the excerpt above, mentioned some positive influences of L2 teachers, the overwhelming number of responses discussed negative treatment experienced by L2 teachers that points to the prevailing native-speakerism ideology. In addition, such an ideology is adhered to not only by teachers but also students. In fact, the same respondent added another episode, in which she recounted her somewhat negative experience with students' reaction to her: "When I walked into another class on [one] evening the students started to leave. I wrote my name on the board and turned around and started speaking Japanese. The students couldn't believe a white person was the teacher or so they told me later." The episode above supports the notion that native-speakerism ideology is widely held by students as well.

The perceived linguistic hierarchy between L1 and L2 teachers can also be manifested in their professional encounters more covertly, or perhaps even innocently, as shown in the following example.

> Excerpt 4
> I left a working group which had met for multiple months in which I was the only non-native instructor, and for which the meetings were conducted entirely in Japanese.… The other members of this working group repeatedly expressed astonishment at the fact that I can communicate in Japanese, and every time that there was a linguistic or other specialized term used in Japanese in the meetings which I admitted to not understanding, it was

> another leap backwards to explaining words like (literally! with gestures!) *unten suru* ('to drive') to me. My master's degree in education is from XX [name of a well-known university in the United States]. I know a fair bit about educational theory and second language acquisition terminology in English. (K–12, Female, L2, Master's, 11–15 years)

The respondent's frustration is derived from the ways in which her L1 Japanese colleagues treated her by constantly questioning her Japanese competence (at least so it seemed from her point of view) and not giving credit to her other academic competence. It seems that the L1 Japanese colleagues may not realize how their way of accommodating the L2 colleague can be received by the addressee.

Excerpt 5, written by an L1 college teacher, also presents an episode of innocent action that resulted in the exclusion of a minority member. She recalls an instance in which an L2 speaking teacher left a group because Japanese was used as an exclusive medium of communication.

> Excerpt 5, translated by the authors
> It is efficient and convenient to communicate via emails and so forth in Japanese when the majority of a group are Japanese people. However, having one person who is not accustomed to written Japanese impedes the flow of communication. At one time, a group of about ten people were exchanging emails on a conference for Japanese language education. One person there was American. The formal Japanese writing style was difficult for her, and she never replied to any of the emails. In the end, she didn't participate in the online conference. I assume she may have considered us exclusivist. It would be possible for Americans to teach at high schools, but I think it would be fairly difficult for them to communicate in writing with Japanese about education or conferences. I understand how she feels since I myself am still struggling to communicate in English. (College, Female, L1, Master's, 11–15 years)

This American teacher left the group because of the language barrier, as assumed by the respondent. She acknowledges that using the L1 of the majority in the group, Japanese in this case, would be efficient and convenient. Although she expresses some empathy for the L2 teacher who left the group by acknowledging her own limited proficiency in English, what is not explicitly recognized and reflected upon in this comment is the consequence of selecting Japanese as the only medium innocently and uncritically without considering the risk of alienating L2 speakers. Some may interpret this episode as a covert form of bias against L2 speakers,

while others may wonder if the L2 teacher should have acted differently to remain engaged to be part of the community. As discussed in Section 3.1, the majority of the current survey participants appear to share the goals of language education that emphasize the development of world-ready multilingual individuals with flexibility and sensitivity, but these episodes do not paint a favorable picture of who we are as models for our students.

A dilemma between efficiency/convenience and inclusion, as implied in this episode, may be a common concern experienced by many members of the Japanese language educator community. Presently, the fields of education and applied linguistics have begun to embrace the idea of *translanguaging*—"the development of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy, Garcia, and Reid 2015: 281)—to support the learning of multilingual youth, or *translingual practices* (Canagarajah 2013) to acknowledge multilingual professionals' resourceful use of multilingual and multimodal resources. Given these developments, the practice of uncritically selecting one particular language as a default language of communication should be reevaluated, especially if it deepens a division between "native" and "non-native" speakers in the community.

Professional Qualifications and Candidates' Lingua-Cultural Backgrounds

As mentioned in Section 3.2, the terms "native/non-native" are concerned not only with linguistic competence but also with sociocultural knowledge. Some respondents shared their experiences in which their professional qualifications were questioned because of their lingua-cultural backgrounds. Excerpt 6 is one such example from the context of higher education.

> Excerpt 6
> One specific example was a job interview where I was asked how I would handle correspondence with a Japan-based grant funding agency. The question was clearly aimed at the perception that I would not have the cultural and linguistic skills necessary to successfully navigate professional relationships with funding agencies. I do not know if native-speaker candidates were also asked this question, but I very much doubt that they were. (College, Female, L2, Doctorate, 11–15 years)

This respondent explains that the question from the hiring committee implies their doubt in L2 Japanese candidates' cultural and linguistic competence to adequately perform expected duties. Needless to say, not every L1 Japanese speaker would have the ability to succeed in negotiation with Japan-based grant funding agencies. If such an understanding existed among the hiring committee members, they might have asked all candidates—regardless of their native/non-native status—the same question, contrary to this respondent's assumption. The kind of doubt felt by this respondent, which likely stems from the predominance of L1 Japanese teachers in the field, is interconnected with the prevailing tendency to make an immediate association between one's native language/culture and ability to perform everything well in the language/culture.

While the excerpt above, as well as other results reported in the previous sections, suggests that positions in higher education tend to emphasize high proficiency in Japanese (indeed expressions such as "near-native" or "superior-level" were often included in position announcements), K–12 settings present different kinds of dynamics and demands. In Excerpt 7, for instance, an L1 teacher shared her observations as to how the lack of English competence and shared educational background can present a challenge for L1 Japanese teachers who moved to the United States after receiving a bachelor's degree from a Japanese university.

> Excerpt 7, translated by the authors
> Japanese native speakers teaching in America seem to lack the ability to persuade and advocate on their own behalf. Especially in K–12 programs, they will face difficulties when they appeal to taxpayers, local politicians, and boards of education because 1) they cannot vote, 2) they do not have enough English linguistic competence to promote proposals, and 3) they will be considered ethnocentric. Comparing teachers from Japan who were educated in Japan up to secondary education and in the United States for post-secondary (along with American teachers) with teachers from Japan who went to school in Japan up to college, it appears that the former group of people are accepted by their colleagues and administration and are assigned jobs that require responsibility. (K–12, Female, L1, Master's, 16–20 years)

This excerpt demonstrates how much K–12 teachers are expected to function as part of the local community. The lack of adequate English competence or of sufficient knowledge of the U.S. education system similarly affects college Japanese-language teachers' work performance.

However, the work of college instructors, especially in larger programs, tends to be more specialized or compartmentalized, and, moreover, international faculty can be valued as contributors to the internationalization of campuses in higher education institutions that are facing global competition. On the other hand, many programs at K–12 institutions are run by one teacher, which adds additional responsibilities in their daily administrative work and outreach activities that involve surrounding communities.[5] Thus, the qualifications expected of Japanese-language teachers at these levels and the issues concerning diversity and inclusion experienced by L1 and L2 teachers in the respective contexts are likely quite different from each other.

Idealized Monolithic Image of the Japanese

While the issues discussed above concern how the "native" versus "non-native" statuses affect communication and hiring practices, the idealized monolithic image of the Japanese, which has often served as a model to emulate, poses a divide among native speakers as well. As discussed in Section 3.1, many respondents indicated their understanding of standard Japanese as legitimate and accurate Japanese. In the following excerpts, respondents shared similar instances of speakers of regional dialects being devalued in the community.

> Excerpt 8
> I have heard Japanese language teachers make negative comments about the accents of teachers who are not from Tokyo, and I have heard teachers say that if someone usually speaks with a non-Tokyo accent (e. g., Kansai, Tohoku etc.), then that person should "hide" their accent and adopt a Tokyo accent when teaching. (College, Female, L2, Doctorate, 6–10 years)

> Excerpt 9, translated by the authors
> I have heard that one of the teachers, who used non-standard Japanese, was told his/her Japanese is inaccurate. (College, Female, L1, Master's, more than 20 years)

These examples add another layer of prejudice in addition to the "native/non-native" hierarchy. Further, the following excerpt points out that the emphasis on standard Japanese is not simply a matter of personal preference but it is also the consequence of pedagogical training.

> Excerpt 10
> When going through teacher training, we were told to use the Tokyo standardized accent, forcing people with dialect to adjust to the Tokyo accent. (K–12, Female, L1, Bachelor's, 6–10 years)

In this fashion, the superiority of standard Japanese is reinforced in the process of professional development. As discussed in Section 3.1, many of the current survey participants agreed with the appreciation of varieties of Japanese language (#2) and disagreed with the idea that standard Japanese is more correct (#3). However, the comment above makes us wonder whether and how such beliefs actually translate into their language teaching and teacher-training practices.

In addition to the practices that elevate standard Japanese as the target language, some respondents noted how the idealized normative behaviors of Japanese are discursively constructed and reaffirmed.

> Excerpt 11, translated by the authors
> A good number of Japanese language teachers in the older generation maintain a purist image of Japanese language and culture with a sense of pride and try to teach it. This ideology is exemplified in such utterances as "Japanese people wouldn't say such things," "Japanese people don't behave that way," and "we don't say or behave in such a way in Japanese culture." (College, Male, L1, Master's, 6–10 years)

The "purist image of Japanese language and culture" (日本語・日本文化に関する純粋主義) in this comment represents the essentialized and ethnocentric view of Japanese or so-called *nihonjinron*. In Section 3.1, we discussed the gaps in emphasizing the uniqueness of Japanese culture according to the profiles of institution type and the highest degree. This comment also alludes to the possibility that such a belief is held differently across different generations.

Heteronormativity Observed in the Profession

In the remaining part of this section, comments concerning LGBTQ teachers will be presented in the hope of adding another dimension to the issue of diversity and inclusion in the field.

> Excerpt 12, translated by the authors
> Personally, I think the proportion of gay teachers in the field is large. In that sense, we can say there is diversity. Many of them are open about their sexual orientation in their personal space, but not at work. After all, heterosexual perspective and logic are considered the norm, and the homosexual ones are not reflected in educational settings. For instance, I remember seeing a vocabulary quiz like this: "Last week ( ) got married to an American man" and the correct choice was "sister" (because

> this person married to a man) (I don't remember the exact detail, but something of this nature.) (College, Male, L1, Master's, 6–10 years)

As discussed in this comment, the presence of LGBTQ teachers is probably recognized by many but has not been openly discussed in the professional context. The heteronormativity is pervasive and often reinforced in daily practice. As pointed out by this respondent and some other respondents, materials used for language teaching often contribute to the reinforcement of heteronormativity as well. Some teachers may be reluctant to address these issues, assuming that the question of sexuality has nothing to do with language learning and LGBTQ issues should be dealt with by LGBTQ teachers themselves (Nelson 1993). Nonetheless, some comments emphasize the significance of diversity as a benefit to students in various respects.

> Excerpt 13
> The lack of diversity means that students miss out on the diverse perspectives that teachers could bring to the classroom. Also, students may be more motivated when they have teachers who are more like themselves – so an LBGT teacher may be a source of encouragement for an LGBT student; a non-native speaker may be a source of encouragement for a learner; an African-American teacher may be a source of encouragement for a student of color…. (College, Female, L2, Doctor, 6-10 years)

As suggested in this excerpt, having diverse representations of people of different backgrounds is certainly a significant step forward. However, appreciating the difference alone will not likely change the fundamental ideological structure that obstructs the development of a truly inclusive community. What is equally important is to engage with the reality of discourse that creates biases and evaluate the values and ideologies attached to the differences.

Summary of 3.4

This section introduced selected excerpts that illustrate four salient issues and demonstrated how the lack of diversity manifests itself in day-to-day professional lives and what kinds of discrimination and bias the survey respondents have experienced or witnessed. The voices that we shared here reveal how our unconscious biases, or reluctance to take action on an issue that one is aware of, may lead to the perpetuation of reduced inclusivity and diversity in the Japanese language educator community. Of course, the excerpts introduced here describe particular incidents only

from the respondent's perspective. Given the anonymity of the submission, we have no way of knowing exact details of the situations, or how the same incidents were experienced by others involved. However, the fact that the respondents were compelled to share their stories in this particular form, we believe, has some significance in its own right and gives us a chance to reflect on our own conduct.

4. Conclusion

This report presented the quantitative and qualitative results of the fall 2018 survey on Japanese-language educators' beliefs and experiences concerning the goals of language education and teacher diversity. Together, the results illuminate converging and diverging perspectives of the survey participants, contradictions or dilemmas between aspirational ideals and mundane practices, and fundamental societal and institutional conditions for language educators that are considered to be a cause of the current lack of teacher diversity.

As mentioned earlier, we originally developed this survey as a prompt for the AATJ-sponsored AAS roundtable discussion and not as a research study. We are aware of the limitations in our method of data collection and survey design. For instance, although we received a large number of responses, our method of recruitment may not have effectively reached all educators who teach Japanese language along with literature, culture, and history, given the nature of AATJ and CAJLE, and the SenseiOnline listserv. The inclusion of a broader set of voices might have changed the results. In this sense, the term "the community of Japanese-language educators" used in the survey and the current article is worth questioning. Further, this survey only solicited the participants' perceptions on limited topics within this complex subject. The selection of the statements in Part II, for example, might have directed the survey participants to focus on the native versus non-native dichotomy. The wordings of the open-ended questions might have also encouraged the participants to share episodes of their negative experiences more than self-reflection of their own unconscious biases or possible solutions to the current situation.

Despite these limitations, however, we believe that the current survey created an important opportunity to learn more about the perspectives and experiences of Japanese-language educators in North America. We hope that this report will stimulate further discussion among all who contribute to Japanese language education and motivate future quantitative and qualitative research on the issues identified here.

In closing, we would like to underscore that the diversity in attitudes and beliefs observed in the survey results itself should not be viewed negatively. Imposing one's own views upon others without acknowledging different perspectives goes against the spirit of inclusion. In our opinion, what is critical is to embrace the idea that there are, and should be, peers who have diverse backgrounds, experiences, and viewpoints, and continue to engage in dialogue with an open mind to explore common ground. As an educator, it is also important to engage in critical reflection on how our words and actions in the classroom and other professional contexts serve either to challenge or to reinforce the types of ideologies that go against the spirit of diversity and inclusion. In addition to such efforts at an individual level, the expansion of advocacy activities by associations such as AATJ is also necessary to promote our profession to prospective future educators with different backgrounds and to improve the overall conditions of our profession that support diversity and inclusion.

NOTES

[1] The scale consists of "Strongly agree," "Agree," "Somewhat agree," "Somewhat disagree," "Disagree," and "Strongly disagree."

[2] We consulted with Statistics Lab at the University of Kentucky for all statistical analysis conducted for this project.

[3] In this article, we use "L1 Japanese" and "L2 Japanese" to refer to the teachers who speak Japanese as their L1 and those who speak Japanese as their L2, respectively.

[4] Due to space limitations, tables with the actual counts and percentages are not reproduced in this article.

[5] 66% of the K–12 respondents indicated that their program is run by one teacher, whereas only 13% of the college respondents did so.

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Language Ideology and Its Manifestations: Exploring Implications for Japanese Language Teaching

Mahua Bhattacharya

1. Introduction

A recent roundtable discussion sponsored by the American Association of Teachers of Japanese took as its starting point the results of an online survey of over 350 Japanese-language educators regarding their perspectives on Japanese language and its culture and teaching (Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki, this volume). The survey elicited statements about language use, including some that express overt bias towards native-speakerism, that reflect what is called, in linguistic anthropology, *language ideology*. Language ideology refers to a set of beliefs or feelings held by people in a particular culture, whether explicit or implicit, about language. This commentary will examine how a particular language ideology has affected the quality of foreign language education in general and Japanese language education in particular.

Contemporary Japanese language pedagogy is steeped in the ideological construct of nation building that Japan has been engaged in since the Meiji period. The effects of this ideology can still be felt today. This ideology can be discerned in essentialist images of Japan that are replete in the *nihonjinron* literature and in Japanese language textbooks that promote a monolithic, static view of the language. Postmodern perspectives have been critical of such texts and stress the need to present a more dynamic view of culture that takes diversity within a culture to be the norm. We might benefit from a paradigm shift in foreign language pedagogy that makes the learner the center of the process. It should be the learner who ultimately determines what or how the skill that they possess should be used in whatever shape they manage to acquire it.

Research on language ideology entails several areas of inquiry. These include language use and its basic structure—i. e., what constitutes "the Japanese language"; the ethnography of language use, which is connected

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with how Japanese is spoken; and language contact and multilingualism, which relate to the variety of Japanese language that is used. Each of these areas is relevant to the results of the abovementioned survey. In the following, I would like to explore these issues by focusing on the impact of standard language ideology upon Japanese language teaching.

2. Language Ideology and Japanese

Governmental policies often negotiate between two different types of language ideology: ideologies that see language as a commodity, problem, or right, and ideologies that see languages as intrinsically diverse. The language-related policies that eventually emerge often reflect the compromise reached between these two types of ideology, as seen in many European societies that pick a language to equate with their nation-state, often connecting it with the name of their country. This is called "homogenism." This term refers to the belief that a nation-state should have a uniform language, with little or no internal variation.

This homogenistic line of thinking has also resulted in the discourse connected with linguistic purism, where languages purge themselves of influences seen as "threatening" to the ideology that supports the structure of a particular language. The idea that there is a standard language is based not on the realities of language use, but on ideas about what language should be. Standard language ideologies often negatively affect the ability of minority language speakers to succeed in educational settings, because a teacher's perception of what constitutes proper language could be biased against the language or dialect spoken by the student. Similarly, the ideas behind language "development" and identifying what a "standard" language should be, also involve the inclusion of certain components that are ideologically motivated by a certain group's ideas of "identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology," and processes of exclusion that "erase" deviations from the "norm" (Woolard 1998:3).

These linguistic ideological issues affect Japanese language in general and Japanese language pedagogy in particular. Let us first begin by defining "the Japanese language." The Japanese government uses two terms for it: *kokugo* and *nihongo*. *Kokugo* literally means "language of our country," a term used by Japanese people to refer to the language they speak, which is different from *nihongo,* the variety of Japanese that foreigners speak. Gottlieb (2005:15) indicates how the Japan Foundation, in its promotion of Japanese around the world, used the term *nihongo*

instead of *kokugo,* although it was the latter that was taught in the pre-war colonies of Taiwan and Korea.

However, many scholars have tried to promote the internationalization of *kokugo/nihongo* and have argued for doing away with this false dichotomy, stating that many varieties of Japanese should be considered "legitimate," just as Japanese English should be "recognized" as a variant of the international English language. Kato (2000), who is cited by Gottlieb, for instance, argues that since Japanese is no longer a minority language spoken only by those born and raised in Japan, the time has come to re-evaluate earlier attitudes towards it: to "liberate" it from the preserve of a small, select group of scholars. This means that the ownership of the Japanese language should be spread to all those who learn it, and not just the native speaker. This also means that the onus of communication should rest with the native speaker, who should decipher what is meant by the nonnative speaker in the context of the communication event without being judgemental about it, just as native speakers of English are generally expected to do with nonnative speakers.

This then brings us to another site of language ideology, which is the notion of speakers of the Japanese language. Identifying who is a "typical Japanese" person is rife with ideological problems. Sugimoto (2003:185–188), in his influential analysis of the *nihonjinron* discourse, concludes that a typical Japanese is "a female, non-unionized and non-permanent employee in a small business *without a university education*" (emphasis mine) and not the "white collar male with a university degree." While this definition goes against the grain of a popular image of a typical Japanese person, it excludes at least seven other categories of people who live in Japan and use Japanese regularly but are not considered Japanese. Fukuoka (2000:xxix–xxxiv) lists them as "first-generation Japanese migrants"; Japanese raised abroad; "naturalized Japanese"; "third-generation Japanese emigrants and war orphans abroad"; "zainichi Koreans with Japanese upbringing but who have not taken Japanese citizenship for which fluency in Japanese is mandatory"; "the Ainu"; and the *gaijin* or the "pure non-Japanese." This then makes it clear that the ideology that promotes the idea of a native speaker of Japanese, or any other language for that matter, privileges a certain variety of the language and rests on a foundation of inclusionary and exclusionary policies. Gottlieb also argues that not only do these "non-Japanese" people use Japanese on a daily basis in Japan, but that the in-group that is considered

"typical Japanese" "speak and write Japanese different from the standard language, depending on age, gender and education" (Gottlieb 2005:3).

The concept of a "native speaker" also involves the Japanese language ideology regarding what these speakers are expected to speak. The erasure of language varieties, and consequently, of the peoples who speak them, has enabled a long evolutionary process towards a standard Japanese language. This happened in four stages in Japan's history according to Doerr (2015). The encounter with the Western countries in the Meiji period led to the first wave of the suppression of language varieties that Japan felt were incompatible with its goals of modernization and the promotion of a unified Japanese state. These attempts at standardization led to the imposition of the Tokyo dialect on the rest of the country through strict government educational policies that included measures such as *hōgen kyōsei* (correct the dialects) and *hōgen bokumetsu* (eradicate the dialects) (Ramsey 2004). In the post-war period, where attempts were made to "democratize" Japan, these repressive measures disappeared, but the desire to maintain national unity manifesting in the standardized linguistic structure continued to stay strong, especially after the devastating psychological blow that Japan experienced after its loss. It was only in the 1970s, when rural revitalization processes seemed to emerge as one of the national goals, that linguistic varieties and their acceptance became mainstream. This continues till the present day, where dialects are no longer seen as being "backward" and are even promoted in the media and the internet as marks of one's heritage and not as something to be ashamed of. However, the power dynamics of the standard language and dialects hasn't been erased, which has resulted in many Japanese being speakers of "dual languages"—standard in public and dialect in private (Doerr 2015, Heinrich 2012, Okumura 2016, Twine 1988). It is this Tokyo-based standard Japanese that forms the basis of Japanese language teaching materials used in Japan and overseas. This very practice has also reaffirmed the linguistic capital associated with the standard language.

3. Language Ideology and Pedagogy

Japanese language pedagogy is also replete with ideological issues. One of the areas in which these issues manifest is the educational context in which this pedagogy is carried out, both in the United States and Japan.

In U. S. foreign language departments, we see a privileging of monolingualism, as argued persuasively by Valdés and others (Valdés et al. 2003). Foreign language instruction is carried out in an all-pervasive

ideological atmosphere that emphasizes the study of English and an ambivalence Americans have felt towards the study and teaching of foreign languages (Lambert 1986; Tucker 1990, 1991, cited in Valdés et al. 2003). Foreign language learning and teaching is carried out in the context where citizens have imagined themselves to constitute a nation that is Christian and monolingual, and immigrants are expected to give up their old identities and assimilate (Anderson 1991). Valdés et al. (2003:7) describe the context as follows:

> Popular and scholarly beliefs about monolingualism and bilingualism in the US context are part of a multilayered linguistic culture that brings together ideologies of nationalism (one state, one language), standardness (a commitment to linguistic purity and correctness), and monolingualism (assumptions about monolingualism as the normal human condition).

This discourse directly condemns the public support of non-English languages and supports the view that the bilingualism of indigenous and immigrant groups is problematic. This is also institutionally reflected in structures of foreign language teaching, where inadequate time is spent in teaching the language (4–5 hours per week, compared to the hours that students spend in science, music, theatre, etc.), the relatively low linguistic competencies of foreign language teachers, and a lack of agreement about effective pedagogies (Valdés et al. 2003). As a result, students typically do not become proficient in foreign languages.

The dominant monolingual ideology has also been evident in how foreign languages are taught in the United States by setting idealized native speakers of the standard language as models to follow (Kramsch 1997, Valdés et al. 2003). In the context of Japanese language education, it is important to note that since the "native speaker of Japanese"' is defined by the discourse of *nihonjinron* discussed above, only those who conform to the concept of a native speaker defined by this ideological norm are hired by departments promoting the study of Japanese. Japanese language pedagogy is still surrounded by the aura of the ideology of the theories of *nihonjinron* that privilege the knowledge and intuition of native speakers of Japanese. Gottlieb (2005) and Heinrich (2005) along with Kubota (2003) and Matsumoto and Okamoto (2003) give an excellent description of what this *nihonjinron* ideology entails in discourses that explain what Japanese language is and how Japanese people use it. Such ideological orientations bleed over to the Japanese language textbooks that

then make essentialist claims about the Japanese people. According to Gottlieb (2005:4):

> [T]he ethnocentrist Nihonjinron literature … has portrayed the language as being static and as somehow uniquely different in important functions from all other languages. Within the Nihonjinron framework, Japan is portrayed as linguistically homogenous (i.e., Japanese is the only language spoken there) and the Japanese language itself as a uniquely difficult barrier even for Japanese themselves, let alone others.

Gottlieb debunks this image by giving examples of people like Dhugal Lindsay, who won the prestigious Japanese language haiku prize, or the Swiss born author David Zopetti, who won Japan's Subaru literary award for a novel written in Japanese.

The diversity in how Japanese is used in Japan and elsewhere and by whom has not been highlighted in the context of language education. Therefore, learners of Japanese also privilege the native speaker model and often discredit the competencies of nonnative speakers of the language. According to Valdés et al. (2003:8), learners tend to feel that they have been "deprived" of something valuable that they are owed if they are "relegated" to being taught by nonnative speakers, even if the latter may have spent a considerable amount of time mastering and teaching the language. This observation seems applicable to the case of Japanese as well.

4. Language Ideology and Japanese Language Textbooks

Another area in which the language ideology manifests itself is the content of the pedagogy itself. Japanese language textbooks meant to promote the study of this seemingly "impenetrable" language also perpetuate this essentialist mythology. Heinrich (2005), who analyzes various textbooks used widely in Japanese language teaching institutions, argues persuasively that ideological orientations toward the Japanese language create barriers that make it difficult for foreign learners. His analysis looks at the content of some popular textbooks in use at that time and show how they promote the essentialist idea of a Japanese speaker who manifest qualities that are hard to understand and emulate. While the textbooks that Heinrich analyzes might be considered slightly dated, newer texts also abound in stereotypes that create a picture of the Japanese people typical of the *nihonjinron* discourse.

For instance, in the latest edition of *Genki* (Banno et al. 2011a, 2011b) or *The First Japanese Textbook for Foreigners in English* (Miyazaki, Kurita, and Sakamoto 2009), or in *Japanese for Young People* (AJALT 2012) and *Kyō kara hanaseru! Nihongo daijōbu* (Sun Academy Nihongo Center 2015), we see statements that perpetuate a distorted image of the Japanese people. To begin with, all these texts have a very singular depiction of the Japanese people that does not indicate any variation. Even when they are talking about family, it is usually a heterosexual family or an idealized family with grandparents, parents, and children all living together. While it is necessary to know the terms for different family members, it is important to depict varieties in Japanese family structure, such as single parent families, same-sex families, or even families that have no children, etc., to avoid misconceptions of what a traditional Japanese family is and that they do not vary all that much from the American norm.

Similarly, Kubota (2003) discusses the National Standards of 1999 along with Peterson's *Adventures in Japanese* (1998, 1999, 2000), and Matsumoto and Okamoto (2003) analyze Jorden and Noda's *Japanese: The Spoken Language* (1987), Miura and McGloin's *An Integrated Approach to Intermediate Japanese* (1994), Mizutani and Mizutani's *An Introduction to Modern Japanese* (1977), Tohsaku's *Yookoso* (1994), and Tsukuba Language Group's *Situational Functional Japanese* (1991), all of which promote stereotypical depictions of the Japanese people.

We also observe that these texts abound in stereotypical pronouncements about how Japanese people use their language. Heinrich (2005:218) gives some great examples of these *nihonjinron* statements, such as *Nihongo Journal* that states "Japanese often avoid directness in making requests" or discusses how the Japanese people are more prone to using the passive voice.

Matsumoto and Okamoto's 2003 article, through similar examples, shows that Japanese textbooks abound in statements that essentialize and exoticize the Japanese. They also include counter examples to show that there is variety in the way Japanese use their language and stress the need to include these alternatives as well.

5. Towards Critical Pedagogy

As we can see, Japanese language pedagogy is steeped in an ideology that conceives of Japan as a monolithic culture: an ideology that does not reflect the realities of life in Japan. In order to move away from such

essentialist images of Japan, texts which incorporate postmodern perspectives critical of essentialism, and which take diversity within a culture to be the norm, might enable a paradigm shift in foreign language pedagogy (Kramsch 1997:1). This shift, as mentioned earlier, makes the learner the center of the language-learning process. This would mean developing a critical approach by both native and nonnative pedagogues to concepts such as *target language, native* and *nonnative speaker, Standard Japanese, accent* and *error* (Tollefson 2007:32) and adopting sensitivity to what the learner manages to accomplish within the limited time that she has in the classroom and outside of it.

By way of solution, we might consider, for instance, a pointer for the English language classroom suggested by Cook (1999:199–200). Cook proposes that one could reverse the roles of the ignorant L2 learner and omniscient native speaker frequently seen in the textbooks by making the native speaker the ignorant one being educated in the sights and customs of the home country by L2 learners. In this way, L2 learners do not feel denigrated by their portrayal in the textbooks. This approach can be applicable to Japanese language pedagogy as well.

For instance, in chapter 9 of *Genki 1* (Banno et al. 2011a), we might want to replace the dialogues of Takeshi with those of Mary, who would be telling Takeshi all about *kabuki*, since it is she who is majoring in Japanese (208). This might be closer to what the reality is in Japan, where foreigners are the ones who throng to sites of traditional arts and sports even more than the Japanese themselves. Similarly, in chapter 14 of the *First Japanese Textbook for Foreigners in English* (Miyazaki et al. 2009), we can have Sean take Nikolas to Akihabara and show him the sights, since Japanese pop culture has become increasingly popular amongst foreigners (162).

In textbooks and in class one could present famous L2 speakers who have overcome difficulties learning the language and have been respected as bilinguals in their own right, rather than actors and movie stars of the target culture who are not known for their linguistic skills. For instance, in chapter 24 of *Kyō kara hanaseru! Nihongo daijōbu* (Sun Academy Nihongo Center 2015) we can depict a nonnative speaker, who mirrors the composition of the L2 learner, making the presentation in Japanese rather than a non-human character with the appearance of a penguin (177). Or, in chapter 19 in *Genki 2* (Banno et al. 2011b), we can replace the "Boss" with a wide variety of characters who reflect L2 learners of diverse backgrounds, who are meeting their Japanese junior employee (164). This

would allow L2 learners feel that they do not have to be in a subordinate position in a Japanese learning environment.

Finally, one could treat nonnative speaker teachers as equals in foreign language classrooms. Nonnative speaker teachers can be deployed in all of the various levels of the language learning process in the classroom so students will not feel that mastering the language is out of their reach, a feeling fostered by the prioritization of the native speaker as instructor. It might help if nonnative speakers' input were more widely used in the design and structure of textbooks rather than relying heavily on native speaker authors' judgments. The nonnative speakers' perspectives on what language structures might be easier for learners and in what order these structures should be introduced, as well as how nonnative speakers should be represented in the textbooks, I believe, will help improve the outcomes.

6. Conclusion

The dominance of the native speaker discourse has been so pervasive that it is hard to imagine a paradigm change in which we move from a teacher-centered perspective to a learner-centered one. The illusive target of trying to reach what a native speaker is able to do in a limited period is a daunting one. Not only is the math difficult, the absence of a political will makes it harder. However, if the abovementioned recommendations were to be incorporated in Japanese language pedagogy, it would be a modest step toward making the Japanese language classroom a more inclusive space for all involved.

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Diversity, Inclusivity, and the Importance of L2 Speaker Legitimacy

Jae DiBello Takeuchi

1. Introduction

Findings from the Japanese-language educators' diversity survey (Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki, this volume) confirm that our profession has work to do to improve diversity of Japanese-language educators and become more inclusive. In particular, they indicate that native speaker bias, something extensively studied and criticized in other foreign languages, clearly exists in Japanese-language education and must be addressed. As a profession, we must make a commitment to overcoming native speaker bias with regard to our colleagues, and especially with regard to our students. Creating a professional climate which recognizes the legitimacy of teachers of all backgrounds, irrespective of "native speaker" status, is a necessary and important step. At the same time, it is important to note that this may be insufficient to ensure speaker legitimacy for our students as speakers of Japanese.

In this commentary, I consider the questions raised by the diversity survey in light of what I have learned through my research on native speaker bias, language ownership, and speaker legitimacy. I argue that understanding the role that native speaker bias plays in delegitimizing the speakerhood of second language (L2) speakers is of crucial importance for what should always be our central focus: the students we teach, the classroom experiences we create for them, and how well we prepare them for future Japanese language encounters beyond our classrooms. I strongly believe that our goal as Japanese-language educators should not be merely to improve the Japanese language competence of our students, but rather, to facilitate the development of our students as legitimate speakers of Japanese. We will not succeed in this endeavor if we do not recognize and address native speaker bias in the profession and in ourselves. An

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important extension of that, which this survey and special issue make possible, is to consider how we can become models for our students. We must be mindful of the power of ideological notions such as native speaker bias. If our students are to avoid the trap of thinking of themselves as "second-class" speakers, we in the profession must afford each other the same courtesy in recognizing the speaker legitimacy in each of us, regardless of national, racial, ethnic, or linguistic background—and we must extend that recognition to our students as well.

2. Speaker Legitimacy and Linguistic Ideologies

Linguistic ideologies often emerge as "commonsense" or taken-for-granted notions (e. g., Rumsey 1990, Woolard 1992), and are created and reinforced "in discourse at micro and macro levels, and in institutional as well as everyday practices" (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2002:122). Two ideological concepts that play a significant role in "othering" certain speakers are native speaker bias and language ownership, which function as barriers to legitimate speakerhood. Legitimate speakerhood (Bourdieu 1991) refers to beliefs about who has the right to speak and the right to have the content of their utterances heard, and, conversely, who has the right to evaluate, critique, or censure the linguistic production of others (e. g., Liddicoat 2016; Takeuchi 2018, 2019c). One result of the ideological privileging of native speakers is that legitimate speakerhood is not derived from some neutral linguistic competence or linguistic knowledge, but instead is based on the speaker's identity and such features as racial, ethnic, or national background (e. g., Kubota 2009, Smith 2015). While legitimate speakerhood is desirable for all speakers, in practice it is restricted to native speakers and denied to non-native speakers, who are continually compared to a native speaker model.

There is an extensive body of work that criticizes the practice of measuring L2 competence according to biased and idealized notions of "native speaker" competence and numerous researchers argue against viewing non-native speakers as "deficient communicators" (e. g., Cook 1999, 2016; Davies 2003; Doerr 2009; Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007; Holliday 2006, 2014; Rampton 1990). Although the vast majority of this research focuses on English as a second language (ESL), with a particular emphasis on L2-speaker teachers of ESL, there is growing attention to the role native speaker bias plays in languages other than English and beyond the experience of teachers (e. g., Doerr 2009, Takeuchi 2018). Findings tend to be fairly consistent across studies and linguistic contexts: First,

native speaker bias is not based on actual differences between native and non-native speakers but is instead based on assumptions about speakers and languages that do not hold up to close inspection (e. g., Cook 1999; Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007). Second, and crucial for this commentary, researchers have found ideological linkage of citizenship and native speaker status (e. g., Doerr 2009, Pennycook 1994/2017) as well as the linkage of ethnicity and native speaker status (e. g., Okubo 2009).

A related concept is language ownership, described by Wee (2002:283) as "a metaphor for reflecting the legitimate control that speakers may have over the development of a language." Native speakers are the de facto owners of a language, and questions of who counts as an "authentic" or legitimate speaker can lead to struggles over language ownership (O'Rourke and Walsh 2015). These researchers demonstrate ways that non-native speakers seek out ownership of their L2. Conversely, Parmegiani (2010, 2014) describes self-imposed limitations by L2 speakers who adhere to the belief that "speakers can only be considered legitimate owners of *only one* language that is established once and for all at birth" (2014:686, emphasis in original). Parmegiani's solution is to advocate for "a notion of language ownership that is much more open, fluid and decentered" (2014:686) and she argues that an "inclusive understanding of language ownership" is most appropriate for multilingual speakers. In Parmegiani's view, language ownership should be based on "a linguistic repertoire that can always be expanded" (2010:376). The take-away here is clear: multilingual speakers can and should be owners of each and all of the languages they speak.

3. L2 Speakers of Japanese

My research focuses on L2 speakers of Japanese and how they describe their beliefs about Japanese speech styles. My research participants include L2 speakers of Japanese who live and work in Japan (generally long-term) and L1 speakers of Japanese who are the coworkers, friends, significant others or family members of L2 speakers (Takeuchi 2015, 2018, 2019a, 2019c). [1] More recently, I have examined the beliefs and perceptions that Japanese-language teachers hold about *keigo*, the system of Japanese polite language (2019b). A primary motivation in each of my projects is to develop a better understanding of linguistic ideologies about Japanese language and how those ideologies impact L2 speakers. The L2 participants in my research are no longer involved in educational contexts, but any of our students could follow similar paths after they graduate and

leave our classrooms. Thus, I have come to believe that findings from these participants have important implications that can be incorporated into Japanese-language classroom practice. To that end, I introduce some findings from my work that are particularly relevant to the question of speaker legitimacy.

A common theme in my findings has been L2 speakers' lack of confidence in their Japanese language abilities and in their right to make use of the various speech styles Japanese offers. Their concerns are particularly notable because most of them speak Japanese at a high level and have been using Japanese daily in their professional and private lives for ten or even twenty years. Nevertheless, they report uncertainty about their speech style choices, their ability to implement those choices, and also about their accents when speaking Japanese. In addition, several L1 participants are similarly critical of L2 accents, and I have come to believe that this hyper-critical attention to accent adds to L2 speakers' uncertainty and acts as a deterrent to their language use, with negative impacts on their Japanese language interactions.

I also see a tendency (in both L1 and L2 participants) to associate language competence with nationality, similar to that found in the research described above. One way language competence is connected to nationality is revealed in the view of some L2 participants that they do not have the "right" to use certain speech styles, including regional dialects, slang, highly casual speech and highly honorific expressions. It might be easy to think of this as a learning issue (e. g., to conclude they just need more practice), or to assume that these more complex features are not important if the speaker is still able to communicate the intended message. However, it is in the use of just these kinds of speech styles that speakers begin to express their identities and to use Japanese in ways that go beyond transactional message-exchange. In short, these complex features and varieties are crucial to speakers being and becoming themselves in Japanese. Perhaps this is why many of my L2 participants report that they want to be able to use Japanese in all of its complexities and varieties. For many L2 speakers, it is that very complexity that drew them to Japanese in the first place. However, the persistence of ideas that "Japanese is spoken by Japanese people" acts as a barrier to acquiring and using fluent Japanese: When L2 speakers who do present a measure of fluency are told, as many of my participants are, 日本語が日本人より上手 (you speak Japanese better than a Japanese person) or 日本人より日本人らしい (you are more Japanese than the Japanese), it sends the message that one cannot

be a fluent speaker of Japanese while also being (visibly) non-Japanese. Such comments are almost surely intended to be complimentary. Notwithstanding good intentions, negative consequences arise from such comments because they focus on the form of the utterance and call attention to perceived gaps between the linguistic form and the speaker's identity. Such attention comes at the expense of the speaker's communicative and interactional intent. The L2 speaker is thereby positioned as someone whose speech is vulnerable to comment and assessment, while the L1 speaker is positioned as someone with the "rights and privileges" to comment on and evaluate the speech of L2 speakers. The experience can be deeply othering.

The act of commenting on someone else's speech is something we in the profession do as a matter of course in our roles as Japanese-language educators. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the power imbalance that is brought to the forefront when one speaker corrects or otherwise comments on the speech of another. There is an inherent tension between the aims of language instruction and the goals of advocating for speaker legitimacy. Language educators evaluate and correct the language production of our students, and learners naturally rely on that important feedback to improve their language skills. However, our goal should not be only to correct or evaluate learners' linguistic output, but also to affirm their speaker legitimacy. Moreover, students begin learning Japanese because of their interests in the language and cultures of Japan and they persist in learning when they see the possibilities for their own Japanese-language selves. Our job as language educators is to foster their efforts, not to "put them in their place" as non-native speakers.

4. Conclusion: Imagining the Absence of Native Speaker Bias

We may not expect students to master all aspects of Japanese right away, or perhaps ever, but we need to ensure that students get the message that they *can* speak Japanese and have every right to do so. The Japanese-language teacher is often the first Japanese-speaking interlocutor that a student has. We set the expectations that learners have for themselves and their Japanese development and, crucially, for how they see themselves as speakers of Japanese. We must see in each of our students a legitimate speaker of Japanese. If we do not, students are less likely to see themselves that way. Essential to the goal of speaker legitimacy for our students is for L1 Japanese-language teachers to recognize L2 colleagues as legitimate speakers. At the same time, L2 Japanese-language teachers must see

ourselves as legitimate speakers. In short, all Japanese-language teachers can act as models for our students, demonstrating the legitimation of speakers regardless of linguistic background. In doing so, we will also begin to address another concern raised in the diversity survey, namely the shortage of Japanese-language teachers – when students see themselves as speakers of Japanese and are ratified as such, they are more likely to want to make Japanese language a part of their professional lives as well.

We must also consider how we can best encourage the positioning of L2 speakers as legitimate speakers of Japanese without tying legitimacy to linguistic competence based on an idealized native speaker. One way to do this is to ensure that we represent the diversity of Japanese language varieties and speakers in the linguistic examples we include in our teaching materials; this will help counter the tendency to measure correctness against that idealized native speaker model. Similarly, it is important to ratify students' communicative attempts and to be careful about how correction and feedback are handled. For example, we should always approach students with kindness and treat linguistic mistakes as something that occurs as a matter-of-course, rather than as a language failure. We can also lessen native speaker bias by avoiding correction that is based on assessing the degree to which students' output is "native-like." Such adjustments to correction and feedback practices will facilitate another goal I have for my own teaching, namely, to help our students become "fearless" so that their Japanese language use will not be inhibited by lack of confidence or uncertainty. L2 Japanese-language teachers can and should strive for fearlessness with our Japanese in all kinds of contexts, including some mentioned in the diversity survey such as emails with colleagues, academic presentations and so on. If L2 teachers can embody this fearlessness and L1 teachers can affirm it, together we can model legitimacy for our students.

In thinking about my goals for my own research and teaching, I often wonder: what would it look like for L2 speakers to be legitimate speakers of Japanese? What would the absence of native speaker bias look like? In imaging the answers to these questions, we can begin to see a way forward, for the profession, for ourselves, and for our students.

NOTE

[1] L2 speaker participants were L1 speakers of English. More than half were from the U.S. while the rest were from other English-speaking countries. Most were

white, with a smaller number of African-American and Asian-American participants. Participants' ages ranged from twenties to fifties, and their Japanese abilities ranged from lower intermediate to advanced. Almost all L2 participants were long-term residents of Japan and many had been living in Japan for ten years or more.

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Finding a Balance between Diversity and Target Language: A Case of a Japanese Language Program in a Private University

Shinsuke Tsuchiya

1. Introduction

One of the challenges that language professionals face in our increasingly diverse communities is establishing a balance between diversity and identifying a so-called target language. While Standard Japanese can be used as a common language to interact with most Japanese speakers who may not be accustomed to non-native speech (ACTFL 2012), the strict enforcement of Standard Japanese may disregard the validity of multilingual speakers, including non-Tokyo dialect speakers. An increasing number of researchers suggest that it is critical for language professionals to rethink or even resist the practices that reinforce the ideologies of standard language that may be entirely disregarding diversity (Sato and Doerr 2008, Tanaka 2013).

Yet a 2019 survey conducted by Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki (the results of which appear in Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki, this volume) indicated that the primary target for instruction, and policies that support the sole use of Standard Japanese are still commonly implemented. While such ideology and practice help ensure the quality of language instruction suited for imagined monolingual settings, the imposition of Standard Japanese as the primary target may also discourage variations among speakers. This is important to consider for language programs like that of Brigham Young University where more than half of the population of teaching assistants (TAs) are *hāfu* "a person with one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent" or L2 Japanese speakers who did not grow up in a Japanese community. The changing dynamics in teacher population requires that we address diversity and inclusion in the language programs' objectives to validate the unique identities of multilingual speakers on personal and professional levels.

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In the following sections, I will first discuss the issues of upholding "native speakers" as the goal of language programs by presenting the findings of my own studies (Tsuchiya 2016, 2018). Then, I will delve into the complexity of setting instructional targets in light of diversity. Lastly, I will briefly share what I do to acknowledge and ensure diversity while keeping certain expectations of linguistic competence as I hire, train, and supervise TAs at BYU.

2. The Native Speaker Fallacy

The language of native speakers is often treated as the target to emulate in many language programs, partly because of the native speaker fallacy, the faulty assumption that native speakers are more effective and more qualified as language teachers than nonnative speakers (Phillipson 1992). This fallacy may be especially common when most of the teacher population is composed of native speakers, such as in Japanese-language programs in Japan and the United States. However, what constitutes the idea of "native" is rather complex. Further, not all "native speakers" may be perceived as equal. In addition to linguistic background, the perception of the legitimacy of native speakers as language teachers is influenced by other factors such as ethnic and racial background, social class, gender, and age (Creese, Blackledge, and Takhi 2014; Flores and Rosa 2019; Tsuchiya 2018; Vélez-Rendón 2010). As a result, the native speaker status of individuals with unique backgrounds, such as speakers of dialects other than the Tokyo dialect, *nikkeijin* "people of Japanese descent raised outside of Japan," and *hāfu*, has been questioned because they do not fit the "typical" category of native speakers of Japanese (Doerr 2009, Sato and Doerr 2008).

My research on manifestations of the native speaker fallacy in the Japanese and Chinese language programs at a large public U.S. university (Tsuchiya 2016) is one of the few studies that provides a glimpse of the current state of the native speaker fallacy outside the context of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (Braine 2010). In the following, I will share relevant findings from the quantitative and qualitative data I collected from 2014 to 2016 through surveys (n = 594), interviews, and more than eighty hours of observation sessions that included teacher training and teaching experiences of the program's Japanese and Chinese language teachers.

The quantitative analysis of the survey data collected from language students and teachers of Japanese and Chinese showed a strong preference

for native speakers as language teachers and their idealizing characterizations of native speaker. For example, many participants associated native speaker status with that person's competency in a variety of subjects and situations (77%), reading and writing ability (73%), pronunciation without foreign accent (60%), and ability to use grammatical patterns without mistakes (55%). Moreover, some respondents also associated native speaker status with the ability to teach their native language to second language learners (30%), with reception of education in the target culture (26%), as well as with socioeconomic status (21%).

Interestingly, the survey also revealed that Japanese-language students, in comparison to Chinese-language students, showed more preference for native speakers and less preference for non-native speakers. The difference is small yet statistically significant. There are a number of possible factors that might have affected the result at a macro level such as how Japanese and Chinese people are perceived in general in the U.S. as well as the perception of the standard dialect in Japan and China. However, the following potential sources of influence particularly from the language program should be noted: (1) the seemingly stricter enforcement of the standard dialect pronunciation in the Japanese program, (2) the fact that more non-native-speaking faculty are involved in teacher training in the Chinese program, and (3) the type of teaching assignments given to native speakers of Japanese and Chinese. The attention to the standard variety pronunciation and pitch accent patterns seemed to be more emphasized in the Japanese department, perhaps because native-speaking faculty outnumbered the lone non-native in the Japanese department among those who engaged in language teacher training at the time of this study. The emphasis on pronunciation made some Japanese-language teachers, especially those who were L2 speakers of Japanese, feel insecure about their pronunciation in terms of modeling the pitch accent in Standard Japanese. On the other hand, non-native teacher training faculty in the Chinese department outnumbered native speakers, and interestingly, none of the L2 Chinese teachers reported feeling guilty about their pronunciation. For the most part, native speakers of Japanese were assigned to exclusively teach speaking and listening classes taught in Japanese. On the other hand, native speakers of Chinese were occasionally assigned to teach grammatical and cultural concepts in English. Many of these native speakers of Chinese found this task challenging and language learners saw them struggle. These differing

distributions of teaching assignments might have influenced the formation of the Japanese-language students' preference for native speakers as presenters of models to follow, and Chinese-language students' relatively lower appreciation of native speakers of Chinese as instructors.

The qualitative analysis of the survey response further revealed that language students frequently made use of factors such as name, appearance, and citizenship, along with linguistic ability, to determine the native speaker status of their teachers (Tsuchiya 2018). In interview sessions, teachers and selected students were asked whether and why they thought of themselves or their teachers as a native or non-native speaker of the target language. Teacher participants were further asked to talk about how they prepared lessons, corrected errors, graded, and interacted with students in and outside of class. Interestingly, the qualitative analysis showed that participants had a mixed response regarding those who did not fit the typical dichotomy of native and non-native speakers. For instance, a few students decided to judge their L1-speaking teachers of Japanese as non-native for lacking confidence and for being too "Americanized" or fluent in English. In contrast, based on their Asian appearance and behavior, L1 Chinese-speaking teachers of Japanese in the Japanese program were sometimes regarded as native speakers of Japanese, especially by beginning-level learners. Many language students could not decide whether two biracial *hāfu* Asian and white teachers of Japanese were native or non-native. Some decided to label them as native while others labeled them as non-native. Though both teachers grew up speaking Japanese with one of their parents, one of them identified herself as a native speaker of Japanese and tried to communicate with her students exclusively in Japanese, while the other identified himself as a non-native speaker of Japanese to align himself with students.

The qualitative analysis of teacher training showed how teacher trainers encouraged new language teachers to use the standard variety as described in the textbook and to follow the "No English" rule during speaking/listening classes. The emphasis on pronunciation made some Japanese teachers feel insecure about modeling the pitch accent pattern in Standard Japanese. One of the non-native-speaking Japanese teachers shared that while she thought the emphasis on pronunciation was good and helpful, it also made her feel guilty. She said that certain aspects of the teacher training were incredibly stressful, especially when one of her colleagues, an L1 Japanese speaker, overly criticized her pitch accent in

front of other trainees. She also shared that one of her male students had openly expressed doubts in class about her ability to teach the language.

Some language teachers spent a good amount of time striving to improve their Japanese, especially in the area of modeling the pitch accent, whereas others did not care as much. In one case, a non-Tokyo dialect speaker of Japanese struggled to model certain pitch accent patterns as described in the textbook. To remedy this problem, during her lesson planning she paid close attention to the models in media resources and transcriptions provided in the textbook. While this is usually considered a good habit of language teaching, there was an interesting incident regarding the word *chika* "underground" in one of her observed teaching sessions. Intuitively, she pronounced the word as *CHIka* (with the high pitch assigned to the capital letters), which is listed as the pitch accent pattern in a relatively recent pitch accent dictionary along with the other variation, *chiKA* (NHK 2000). However, remembering that the word was only transcribed as *chiKA* in the textbook, she tried to guide her students to pronounce the word in the "correct" way as *chiKA*.

Language is always changing, and some information presented in textbooks could be wrong or outdated such as the pitch accent pattern of the word *chika* in this case. It is important for language teachers to not blindly accept such information, but instead develop the ability to critically analyze the language by using multiple resources (e. g., dictionaries, other speakers of Japanese with varying backgrounds, etc.) as part of their lesson planning. Native speaker fallacy is a prevalent problem in language programs, and on top of it, the perception of what counts as "native speakers" makes the situation even more complex. In the next section, I will expand on this issue in relation with the linguistic targets of language education.

3. Pros and Cons of Setting Idealized Target Linguistic Models

Many language teachers and students would agree that certain target linguistic models are essential in language programs to ensure the quality of language instruction. Target models are found in the type of dialect used in the textbook and in the language program's instruction, the rubrics used to assess language proficiencies, the perception and treatment of errors in the language program (i. e., error corrections), and the classroom rules such as the "No English" rule.

Though what is perceived as target models varies depending on different factors such as speakers' background characteristics (e. g., age and gender), upbringing and experiences, and the formality of the setting,

to my knowledge, Standard Japanese, which is often associated with the language spoken in Tokyo, is set as the primary target language of modern Japanese-language programs and found in most textbooks used for those programs. This is probably because the cultural capital of the Tokyo dialect is well established and well maintained by the Japanese education system. However, endorsement of Standard Japanese as the sole instructional goal may cause local dialects to decrease their legitimacy in L2 Japanese-language instruction. Indeed, an increasing number of researchers suggest that we should rethink or even resist the roles Japanese-language educators play towards the perpetual promotion of Standard Japanese (Doerr 2009, Sato and Doerr 2008, Tanaka 2013).

Error corrections are often provided to help learners effectively communicate with native speakers who are unaccustomed to non-native speech (ACTFL 2012). Many language teachers and students would agree that having good pronunciation is an important aspect of language learning, but the practice of teaching "correct" pronunciation can be regarded as a way to counter the promotion of nonstandard language varieties as it effectively endorses the power of the standard variety (Creese et al. 2014). In fact, the task of modeling in Standard Japanese, especially in the areas of pronunciation and pitch accent patterns, poses a challenge for non-Tokyo dialect speakers and L2 Japanese speakers, as mentioned in the previous section. Indeed, the strict enforcement of adherence to the models can become a common source of foreign language anxiety among "high achiever(s) who both recognize and magnify small imperfections in target language productions" (Horwitz 1996:367).

Moreover, a strict enforcement of one variety of a language (e. g., Standard Japanese) reproduces and promotes the monolingual ideology, which appears to be prevalent in various aspects of our language programs. One such manifestation can be found in the "No English" rule in the language classroom, the intended purpose of which is to provide opportunities for learners to practice speaking in L2 by encouraging them to communicate exclusively in their L2. If done effectively, this can help boost language learners' confidence in L2 as they learn to deal with confusion without relying on their L1. However, prohibiting the use of L1 or non-Tokyo dialects in class can contribute to the recreation of the monolingual ideology and the supremacy of Standard Japanese, which seems to counterpart the trends of globalization and multilingualism. While not all possible variations are equally as acceptable as language models, a strict imposition of the "No English" rule or requirement to

communicate in Standard Japanese in and outside of class may disregard the unique linguistic identities of multilingual speakers. It discourages multilingual practices such as translanguaging or the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertories as an integrated system (Canagarajah 2011:401). The target-language-only policy can also cause difficulties for language teachers to provide emotional support for and build rapport with students.

Determining target linguistic models is an important aspect of foreign language education. However, there is a danger of having consequences of unintentionally endorsing the monolingual ideology and the supremacy of Standard Japanese, which may be contrary to the intended aim of foreign language education or the promotion of globalization and multilingualism.

4. Diversity and Target Language at BYU

As mentioned, more than half of the TAs in the Japanese program at BYU are L2 speakers or *hāfu* or simultaneous bilinguals who spoke Japanese and English growing up. Translanguaging (Canagarajah 2006) is second nature to them and their upbringing experience with the language is different from those who grew up speaking only Japanese. L2 speakers of Japanese are different from L1 Japanese teachers in that their interlanguage often shows some influence from their L1 (i. e., English), but they can act as successful models of learners who can use their learning experience to relate to students. Simultaneous bilinguals' Japanese also shows some influence from English in many cases, and unlike the L2 speakers of Japanese, they may lack the experience of formally learning Japanese. However, they can take advantage of their fluency in Japanese and English as language teachers, and critically bring in diverse perspectives into the language program with their unique upbringing experiences and relation with Japanese culture.

Despite having TAs with various backgrounds, TAs are currently only assigned to teach speaking/listening classes with the expectation that they will use Standard Japanese and follow the "No English" rule in class in BYU's Japanese program. While it may take some time to revise a language program's objectives to integrate diversity and inclusion to address both monolingual and multilingual situations, here are five ideas that I incorporate to set a balance between diversity and target language at BYU. Please note that these suggestions are not meant to provide a one-size-fits-all solution.

1. Assigning TAs. I hire TAs with different language varieties. When assigning TAs to classes, I rotate them to expose students to different types of competent speech styles.
2. Setting different expectations for TAs. As professionals in every field need to continue to improve, I encourage my TAs to take advantage of the prevalence of Standard Japanese and use it as a model to improve their language ability. However, I do not require non-Tokyo dialect speakers and non-native-speaking TAs to strictly model their pronunciation and pitch accent patterns in Standard Japanese. This is to prevent them from becoming too cautious about their language use and spending undue time preparing for class in an attempt to eliminate any perceived imperfections (Horwitz 1996). It is also to prevent some of the L1 Japanese TAs from becoming too critical of others.
3. Assigning teaching tasks that do not come easy. I often assign my prospective TAs to practice explaining in English difficult concepts of the Japanese language such as the difference between Japanese particles *wa* and *ga*, and the concept of *uchi* and *soto*, etc. This often helps L1 Japanese TAs understand the difficulties and complexities associated with various aspects of instruction.
4. Setting goals. I help my TAs and prospective TAs set achievable goals that are appropriate for their respective levels to improve their Japanese and pedagogical skills. As necessary, I share my own shortcomings as a language teacher (e. g., lack of experience in business settings, difficulty explaining challenging grammatical concepts, etc.) and the learning strategies I use to improve my proficiency (e. g., listening to news, using multiple resources to figure out certain linguistic phenomena, etc.).
5. Holding debriefing sessions. Finally, as part of language class, I make time to have "debriefing sessions" in which students can share their concerns in English. These sessions provide emotional support for those who may be experiencing foreign language anxiety in their speaking/listening classes. I also use this time to explain when it is appropriate to translanguage, to provide guidance on study habits, and to offer deeper analysis of the language (e. g., discussing difficult grammatical concepts, the shifting nature of language, etc.). As needed, I also hold debriefing sessions with TAs to have an open discussion on sensitive topics such as the native speaker fallacy, racism, and power harassment.

5. Closing

In this commentary, I have shared relevant findings from my research about the native speaker fallacy and discussed the complexity of setting the target linguistic models. I also provided pedagogical suggestions to set a balance between diversity and target language. It is my hope that the

perspective I have shared can be a springboard for discussing and refining language instructors' approach to diversity, inclusion, and professionalism in Japanese-language education in the coming years.

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Pedagogical Linguistics Training for Graduate Students

Etsuyo Yuasa

1. Introduction

How can we foster diversity and inclusion among peers and potential peers in Japanese language education? This commentary tries to address this question based on my experience with providing pedagogical linguistics training to graduate students at The Ohio State University. Pedagogical linguistics training aims to instill future Japanese-language instructors with the knowledge of how the Japanese language works and to foster their ability to incorporate such knowledge into teaching. The training covers wide-ranging topics, such as Japanese pronunciation, predicates and predicate-related expressions, particles, politeness, and discourse structures. It closely examines the difficulties Japanese-language learners could encounter due to the inherent complexity of the Japanese language and the differences between Japanese and learners' base languages. It draws findings and insight from linguistics, but the main focus of the training is to have future instructors develop analytical skills to provide effective instruction based on a sound knowledge of Japanese (and learners' base languages), not to teach theoretical linguistics. The training of graduate students is an enormous topic. I can only scratch the surface in this short commentary as I attempt to tie such training to the theme of this special section; namely, diversity, inclusion, and professionalism. However, I would like to propose that pedagogical linguistics training can be a powerful tool to help individual teachers achieve their potential regardless of their prior experiences and backgrounds.[1]

The rest of this commentary is organized as follows: In section 2, I will discuss the importance of pedagogical linguistics training and how it empowers future Japanese-language instructors. In section 3, I will discuss issues in pedagogical linguistics training. To train future Japanese-language instructors, we use linguistic rules and analyses in pedagogical

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linguistics training. However, if such rules and analyses are not treated sensibly in pedagogical linguistics training, it can interfere with our efforts to promote diversity and inclusion. Therefore, I will examine considerations that pedagogical linguistics training needs to take. In section 4, I will summarize the main message and conclude this commentary.

2. Importance of Pedagogical Linguistics Training

My department has M. A. and Ph. D. programs in Japanese language pedagogy, linguistics, and literature. Between 2000 and 2019, sixty-three M. A. students (excluding those who moved on to our Ph. D. program) and thirty-four Ph. D. students completed their degrees. Of the sixty-three M. A. graduates, 43% (27) were native speakers of Japanese, and 57% (36) were non-native speakers. Of the thirty-four Ph. D. graduates, 38% (13) were native speakers of Japanese, and 62% (21) were non-native speakers.[2] In my experience of teaching both native and non-native speakers of Japanese in our graduate program, pedagogical linguistics training empowers *all* future Japanese-language instructors regardless of their prior experiences or backgrounds. Different teachers bring different strengths to the table, but neither native speakers nor non-native speakers have all the skills they need to teach Japanese effectively without additional training. In this section, I would like to illustrate how pedagogical linguistics training helps future instructors of all backgrounds effectively utilize what they already know and equips them with enough knowledge to succeed as Japanese-language teachers.

First, although native speakers of Japanese have a lot to offer, we all know that just being a native speaker of Japanese is not enough to be a good Japanese-language teacher. This is because native speakers of Japanese may know how to use Japanese, but they do not necessarily know consciously how the Japanese language works. Schools in Japan do not provide adequate instruction on colloquial Japanese grammar (Yamada 2009). Therefore, without proper training, native speakers often cannot explain how the Japanese language works (Fujita 2000). For example, I see that while native speakers of Japanese can catch English-speaking learners of Japanese placing high pitch on the penultimate mora, as in *yamaMOto* or *waTAshi*, they do not always know why English-speaking learners pronounce these words this way. If the role of Japanese-language teachers is to help learners of the Japanese language master instructional targets (whatever they may be) and apply those skills to a wide variety of

contexts, Japanese-language teachers need to go beyond merely noticing what learners are doing.

In her investigation of how to teach pronunciation to Japanese-language learners, Katagiri (2002) points out that what English-speaking learners of Japanese do is often systematic and is influenced by English phonology.[3] In English, a group of Latin origin words has stress on the penultimate syllable:

(1) **clus**-ter de-**ter**-mine de-**ve**-lop in-**her**-it

In *yamaMOto*, high pitch is placed on a penultimate mora. Therefore, it is possible that English-speaking learners of Japanese are unconsciously transferring their knowledge of the English penultimate stress rule and waiting to place high pitch toward the end of the word. In contrast, in Japanese (Tokyo dialect), the pitch of the first and second morae is always different, as in *I-ku-ra* (HLL), *wa-TA-SHI* (LHH), *ko-RE DE-su* (LHHL) (Tanaka and Kubozono 1999).

Another rule of English that is useful to be aware of when teaching English-speaking learners of Japanese is that words or phrases in English normally have only one primary stress on a single syllable (Katagiri 2002). However, in many Japanese words and phrases, high pitch continues across multiple morae (e. g., *waTASHI, oMOSHIROkatta*). This difference between English and Japanese can affect the pronunciation of English-speaking learners of Japanese, such as with *waTAshi,* and makes it harder for English-speaking learners to retain high pitch across multiple morae.

Each word has a distinct accent pattern. Not everything will be predicated or explained by rules. However, even in pronunciation that appears to be highly random, there are patterns that can be incorporated into Japanese language instruction. If we understand how the Japanese language works and which aspects of it may pose difficulties to learners (whether they concern pronunciation, grammar, or pragmatics), then language teachers can zero in on what is going on with learners' performances. In sports, top athletes do not necessarily become great coaches. Effective coaches are the ones who see what each player needs in order to be better and stronger and know how to guide players through the process. In Japanese language pedagogy, if teachers are analytical and caring and pay attention to details with the knowledge of how the Japanese language works and how to teach it, they will become effective coaches of learning Japanese. With strong knowledge and expertise, native teachers

will be able to go beyond simply noticing and correcting what learners are doing. With enough training, non-native teachers will know exactly what they should look for and where they should direct learners' attention. Furthermore, non-native teachers who know the sources of learners' challenges clearly will understand not only why learners struggle but also how hard it is to not be influenced by the patterns of a base language. Such an understanding attitude will make them sympathetic teachers who can support Japanese-language learners both academically and emotionally.

Pedagogical linguistics training not only fosters sound knowledge of how Japanese language works, but also creates a learning space in which individuals with different experiences and backgrounds can think about how to help students learn Japanese better together. For example, a graduate student whose native language is Chinese and who conducted brief research on this topic shared with us that Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese tend to have the particle *no* between an adjective and a noun, as in **ōkii no kyōsitsu* "large classroom," because in Chinese, *de* (的) needs to be used between an adjective and noun.[4] In another case, after reflecting on his own experience, an English-speaking graduate student studied several linguistics papers on Japanese conjugation mistakes and reported why some conjugations, such as the past tense of *ōkii* "is big," are particularly difficult for English-speaking beginning learners of Japanese, who tend to produce a wrong form, **ōkii deshita,* instead of *ōkikatta desu* "(it) was big": (a) English adjectives do not conjugate (i. e., it is the copula that conjugates) but Japanese adjectives do (e. g., *ōkii* "is big" vs. *ōkikatta* "was big"); and (b) *desu* in *ōkii desu* "is big" is a politeness marker, whereas *desu* in *Tanaka-san desu* "(it) is Ms. Tanaka" is the copula in the non-past affirmative polite form, which alternates with past tense *deshita*.[5] Non-native speakers have recent memories of encountering problems in learning the Japanese language themselves. If non-native speakers are trained to utilize their experiences and analyze them, they will bring to light the aspects of the Japanese language that may pose difficulty to learners of Japanese. Likewise, if native speakers are trained to articulate their linguistic intuitions and analyze the Japanese language in relation to other languages, they will be able to develop observations and insights that they can share with others to understand where problems may lie for Japanese-language learners and how to help learners overcome these problems. Therefore, pedagogical linguistics training prepares both non-native and native speakers to contribute and exchange ideas. Above all,

such a collaborative learning space will enrich the entire field of Japanese language pedagogy.

3. Issues in Pedagogical Linguistics Training

I believe in providing pedagogical linguistics training to the future generations of Japanese-language educators. However, this idea can be a double-edged sword in dealing with diversity and inclusion in Japanese language education: Such training empowers teachers with different backgrounds, but if we uncritically identify linguistic rules and analyses in pedagogical linguistics training and apply them to Japanese instruction, we can reinforce "the traditional emphasis on the idealized native speaker of standard Japanese as a model" (Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki, this volume, 286) and hinder our efforts to promote diversity and inclusion. Therefore, in this section, I will briefly discuss how we should treat linguistic rules and analyses in pedagogical linguistics training, in the context of the theme of this special section.

First, we should be aware that the rules discussed in pedagogical linguistics training may have hidden biases. For example, the accent rule on the first and second morae discussed earlier (e. g., *I-ku-ra* [HLL], *wa-TA-SHI* [LHH], *ko-RE DE-su* [LHHL]) is a rule of the Tokyo dialect. There are many Japanese dialects that do not follow that pattern (e. g., *i-ku-ra* [LLL], *wa-ta-shi* [LLL], *ko-re de-su* [LLLL] in the Fukushima dialect) (Shibatani 1990). To teach pronunciation, the first and second morae accent rule will be useful, but future teachers should be informed clearly that the rule is specific to the Tokyo dialect.

Second, as the survey respondents in Mori et al. (this volume) point out, we need to train future teachers not to blindly adhere to the rules and analyses of standard Japanese.[6] Because learning and teaching a dialect (e. g., the Tokyo dialect) alone can already be taxing for Japanese-language learners and teachers, especially at the beginning level, it may still be necessary to delay introducing other dialectal variations until after standard Japanese is introduced. However, to treat the rules and analyses of standard Japanese in a sensible manner, it will be important to train future teachers to understand the social context that surrounds standard Japanese and what the rules and analyses used in pedagogical linguistics training enable learners to accomplish. For example, Takeuchi (2015) examines what benefit (i. e., linguistic capital) standard Japanese and dialects bring to native and non-native speakers. The incorporation of such studies into pedagogical linguistics training will allow future teachers to evaluate and treat linguistic rules and analyses more critically and fairly.[7]

Third, to expose Japanese learners to dialectal variations beyond standard Japanese (perhaps at the intermediate or advanced level), pedagogical linguistics training may provide opportunities for future teachers to examine how dialects are understood so that they can explore ways to introduce dialects into Japanese instruction. For example, in the Kyūshū dialect, the sentence-final particle *ne* behaves like *no* in standard Japanese:

(2) *Konomae-no* *kanpōyaku,* *tameshitemita* *ne?*
before-GENITIVE herbal.medicine try NE

"Did you try the herbal medicine (that I gave to you) before?" (Yoshida 2009:151)

Proficient readers of Japanese will recognize that the use of *ne* in (2) is different from that of standard Japanese in this context by picking up on a variety of cues: (a) This dialogue takes place in Kyūshū; (b) the participants in this conversation use vocabulary unique to the Kyūshū dialect (e. g., *ken* "so") in other utterances, as shown below; and (c) this is a context in which the speaker is merely asking a question, not requesting a confirmation.

(3) *Ashita* *ni* *demo* *Yūichi-ni* *ikaseru* *ken.*
tomorrow at or so Yuichi-DATIVE make go so

"I will make Yuichi go tomorrow or so, so…." (Yoshida 2009:151)

Just as we analyze the linguistic rules of standard Japanese, we can examine what information enables Japanese-language learners to understand dialects, such as the *ne* in the Kyūshū dialect. If done properly, the analytical skills that future teachers develop in pedagogical linguistics training will be useful to guide learners to comprehend dialects that appear in novels, dramas, manga, or anime that they have not learned in their textbooks or classrooms, as well as to appreciate the features unique to different regional dialects.

Finally, for us to cherish diversity and inclusion and move forward, there is a lot that we can do when we train future teachers. At the same time, we do not always know how we should train graduate students *a priori*. Therefore, merely providing the knowledge of established linguistic rules and analyses will not be enough. In fact, the reality is that the limited time available for pedagogical linguistics training does not

allow us to teach everything that future teachers need to know. Mizutani (2005) says that teachers need to acquire the ability to analyze the conditions of Japanese on their own. Thus, if we do not have time to teach everything, and if the linguistic rules and analyses that we should address in pedagogical linguistics training change as our expectations for Japanese instruction change, what we need to do for future teachers in pedagogical linguistics training is introduce elements of basic knowledge of Japanese as building blocks, train future teachers to become able to find more information about the Japanese language on their own, and equip them with the ability to identify and evaluate appropriate linguistic rules and analyses. Importantly, it is crucial to make them aware of the power dynamics associated with standard Japanese and the roles that language teachers play in re-creating that ideology.

4. Conclusion

In this commentary, I discussed how pedagogical linguistics training could empower graduate students regardless of their prior experiences and backgrounds. To provide this training to graduate students, however, we need to properly identify the linguistic rules and analyses that we are conveying. As discussed in section 3, such rules and analyses can have hidden biases and interfere with our efforts to promote diversity and inclusion. Therefore, we need to start paying attention to such biases and develop ways to treat the linguistic rules and analyses in a sensible manner.

Finally, how we train future Japanese-language teachers intricately intertwines with the expectations of the Japanese-speaking community. Toki (1994) claims that to truly promote diversity and inclusion, Japanese society needs to change its attitude toward linguistic variations, and Japanese-language teachers can help promote such a change:

> Some people say that foreigners only need to be able to convey basic meaning and other things do not matter. This statement would be fine only if such ways of communication are widely accepted. However, in reality, I do not think many people are that forgiving in the Japanese society. … To support learners of Japanese, we must promote a better understanding of the Japanese language with a foreign accent among ordinary Japanese people. … Ultimately, the goal is to realize a society where people listen to a variety of Japanese in an equitable manner. (80; my translation)

Well-trained Japanese-language teachers know the difficulties that non-native speakers encounter in acquiring and communicating in Japanese. If

we want to make our field diverse and inclusive, we will need to share our expertise not only with learners but also with members of the Japanese speaking community, so that everyone who is involved in Japanese communication can make the community more diverse and inclusive together.

NOTES

[1] Although I focus on pedagogical linguistics training in this commentary, it constitutes only part of the training that language teachers need. For discussions of comprehensive teacher training, see Christensen and Noda (2002).

[2] The division into "native" and "non-native" is a false dichotomy. While I acknowledge the problematic nature of the terms, for the sake of simplification, in this paper I will tentatively use native speakers to refer to those who received secondary education primarily in Japan and non-native speakers to refer to those who did not.

[3] Although the current discussion focuses as an illustration of what English-speaking learners do, the same ideas and methodology can be applied to learners from other base-language backgrounds.

[4] See Hara (1986) and Mizuno (1993) for discussions of the typical mistakes that Chinese-speaking learners of Japanese make with Japanese structure.

[5] For a good summary of typical mistakes in the conjugations of Japanese adjectives, see Ichikawa (2005) and Trevor (2012).

[6] The survey by Mori et al. (this volume) reports that 88.8% agree with the statement that "a good Japanese teacher provides opportunities for learners to learn about different varieties of Japanese." Most respondents (96.2%) agree that "awareness of different varieties of Japanese (dialects, etc.) will enable students to learn about a greater range of Japanese speakers."

[7] While it is important not to be dogmatic about standard Japanese, this does not mean that knowledge of standard Japanese is not necessary. For example, Iori (2013) claims that when Japanese learners desire to acquire the standard Japanese pronunciation, Japanese teachers should be able to respond to their needs. Iori quotes the following words of Satoshi Toki, who promoted the diversity of the Japanese language (and who is a speaker of the Tōhoku dialect himself): "Accent is not something that everybody must master. However, if a learner wants to acquire the correct accent of Japanese, Japanese teachers must have enough knowledge and skills to accommodate such a request" (40; my translation)

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Fostering Antiracist Engagement in Japanese Language Teaching

Ryuko Kubota

1. Introduction

Japanese language teaching (JLT) is currently situated in a globalized society with an increased amount of diversity of various kinds. Although diversity has always existed historically in human society, the postmodern trend of scholarly work in various disciplines has problematized the assumption that all speakers of a certain language share the same background in terms of race, nationality, culture, sexuality, and other attributes. This also applies to the characteristics of Japanese language speakers. Nonetheless, as demonstrated in the survey results presented by Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki (this volume), these forms of diversity are not always reflected in JLT.

One facet of diversity is racial difference. While linguistic difference, as represented by regional dialects or native/non-native speakerness tends to be noticeable in language teaching, issues of race are often swept under the rug. However, the idea of race is closely linked to language teachers' and learners' beliefs and experiences. To pursue the current project's goal of identifying unconscious biases and exploring how to foster diversity and inclusion in JLT, this paper will focus on issues of race. It will provide some observations of the survey data presented by Mori et al. (this volume), introduce some key concepts regarding issues of race, apply these concepts to the understanding of the data, and address possibilities for antiracist engagement in JLT.

2. Observations

In language education, issues of language—linguistic forms, practices, and acquisition—tend to attract teachers' and scholars' attention. While

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this focus seems natural, communication in a new language requires not only skills to manipulate the target language but also cultural awareness, intercultural communicative competence, and attitudes to negotiating difference. Clearly, language education is concerned with not only language but also diversity of language users. Just as forms of language are multiple, language users come from diverse backgrounds and shape complex realities of human communication. These facets of diversity are manifested in the open-ended comments written by some respondents of the survey.

The fact that many of these survey respondents did not disclose their racial background requires us to only speculate about the link between race and their professional experiences or views. Nonetheless, the following two comments clearly demonstrate problematic instances related to race, language, and nationality.

The first example comes from a self-identified white non-Japanese non-native Japanese-speaking teacher, perhaps teaching in an American university, who recounted own experience of receiving a flabbergasted reaction from a student who could not believe that this teacher was a Japanese speaker (Excerpt 3 in Mori et al., this volume). Another reaction came from an entire class on the first day of the semester, when students failed to recognize that the person who entered the classroom was actually their teacher. These comments illustrate how students held a fixed idea of who is a legitimate Japanese person or Japanese speaker.

The second example is what might be seen as an opposite case, where non-native English-speaking and native Japanese-speaking K–12 teachers of Japanese educated in Japan are marginalized presumably in the United States (Excerpt 7). The commentator points out that they are disadvantaged when advocating their Japanese program since they are perceived as non-American citizens and thus non-voters, lacking English proficiency, and self-promoting the program with ethnocentric motivation. Compared to the first case of a white non-native Japanese-speaking teacher, the problems described here appear to be opposite, but the underlying ideology of language and race is regarded as similar.

3. Issues of Race in Language Education

In contemporary society, race is a topic typically avoided in everyday discourse due to its negative association with racism—an act of immoral disgrace. However, the field of language education, especially teaching English to speakers of other languages, has begun to explicitly explore

issues of race since the 2000s (e.g., Flores and Rosa 2015; Jenks 2017; Kubota 2002, 2015, 2019; Kubota and Lin 2009; Motha 2014). In understanding how issues related to the idea of race affect language education, several concepts need to be clarified. Below, the following topics will be discussed: (1) the concept of race and ethnicity, (2) the concept of racism, (3) intersectionality, and (4) new racism. The understanding of these topics provides us with a conceptual foundation for promoting diversity in JLT.

3.1. Race and Ethnicity

Scientists agree that almost no racial difference exists among people in biological terms since most human genes are shared in common (see Kubota and Lin 2009). However, perceived racial differences based on bodily appearances and associated characteristics of groups of people have a social reality (Bonilla-Silva 2018). In this sense, race is a socially constructed category that not only constructs everyday beliefs and discourses but also deeply affects social structures in which people live, work, and study. A notion that often overlaps with race is ethnicity. Whereas the socially constructed idea of race evokes phenotypical difference, ethnicity, typically understood as a sociological construct, distinguishes groups of people based on cultural characteristics, including ancestry, language, religion, lifestyles, and customs (Kubota and Lin 2009).

While the identification of socially constructed racial or ethnic groups appears to be simple according to the above explanation, it is much more complex in reality. One's racial background is sometimes a matter of individual identity, especially in the cases of multiracial people or cross-racial adoptees. The same complexity applies to ethnicity. To take the example of *nikkei* as an ethnicity, *nikkei* Americans may view Mexican or South American *nikkeijin* living in the United States as culturally different, even though they may share the same *nikkei* ethnic heritage (Tsuda 2012). Racially identifying people based only on physical appearance is problematic. Similarly, ethnically categorizing people merely in terms of perceived cultural heritage is problematic as well.

3.2. Racism

Racism can be understood as "discourse, knowledge, and social practices that, by means of inferiorization, denigration, marginalization, and exclusion, construct and perpetuate unequal relations of power between

groups of people defined by perceived racial difference" (Kubota 2019:1–2). In everyday experience, racism typically evokes individual denigration, which can be called individual racism. This is often observed in racial microaggressions, defined as intentional or unintentional verbal or behavioral indignities that communicate hostility and insults to a racialized individual or group (Sue 2010). For instance, a comment intended as a compliment—"You speak Japanese very well"—can be taken as condescending or offending by a fluent non-native speaker of Japanese from non-Japanese background. This resonates with Excerpt 4 in Mori et al. (this volume), in which a non-native Japanese-speaking teacher was offended by her peer teacher's (well-intended) explanation of *unten-suru* with gestures.

Racism is also observed in systemic inequalities at an institutional level. Examples include underrepresentation of people of color among elected officials or overrepresentation of children of color in special education classes. The underrepresentation of racially and ethnically non-Japanese teachers in Japanese language programs exemplifies institutional racism. The field of JLT in North America obviously needs to overcome this problem.

Yet another form of racism is epistemological racism—biases deeply ingrained in our knowledge system, influencing which perspectives are considered to be more legitimate than others in history, literature, art, and other academic knowledge (Kubota 2019). The mainstream knowledge and perspectives taught in North American schools and universities are typically dominated by the Eurocentric perspective, reflecting settler colonial hegemony. Epistemological racism in the JLT context is represented by the perceived superiority of Japaneseness as seen in *nihonjinron,* a discourse underscoring the uniqueness of Japanese culture (Mouer and Sugimoto 2009).

These three forms of racism are interrelated with each other, reproducing systems of injustice, including hierarchies among racialized groups, unequal relations of power, and mechanisms of domination and subordination.

3.3. Intersectionality

Racism negatively affects groups of people who are viewed as racially inferior, while it perpetuates the privilege of the racial majority group. However, social injustices are not produced only by racism; rather, sexism, heterosexism, classism, ableism, and other prejudices intersect with each

other to produce complex patterns of discrimination, significantly influencing individual experience, public discourse, and social structures. In conceptualizing intersectionality, Hancock (2011) argues that social categories such as race, gender, language, class, sexuality, and nationality do not compete with each other to form oppression but they intersect. Yet, the way in which they intersect is not like physically fixed streets but rather like rivers that flow through a canyon, representing the dynamic interactions between the social statuses of different groups.

To apply intersectionality to JLT, non-native Japanese speakerness in North American Japanese classrooms, for instance, typically signifies inferiority. However, non-native speakers do not always experience exclusion, discrimination, and marginality; rather other social statuses—gender, institutional position, and race—may offer privilege. This also implies that a certain category, such as whiteness or Japaneseness, does not have a fixed universal status of power. Its power may or may not be recognized in a particular relation of power. For instance, a white non-native Japanese-speaking American citizen may be a more preferred candidate for a Japanese teaching position at an American high school due to her English proficiency, teaching credentials (ability to teach another subject), and citizenship (Kubota 2009). In JLT, Japaneseness or whiteness as a racial category intersects with other categories, such as native speakerness and nationality, and exercises its power differently in specific contexts.

3.4. New Racism and Cultural Racism

In everyday discourse, people tend to avoid being constructed as racist by denying that they are or that their intentions are racist. This is seen recently in the U. S. President Donald Trump's public denial of being racist regarding his tweets, in which he demanded four progressive congresswomen of color go back to their own country if they did not like the United States.[1] This denial is a rhetorical strategy to shield one's prejudice while allowing its expression (Bonilla-Silva 2018; van Dijk 1992). Not only is the contemporary discourse of racism characterized by such denial of racism, it also justifies racial inequalities by avoiding racial explanations altogether, which in effect becomes color-blindness. For example, claiming that everyone is equal in our society and thus the inability to access higher education is due to one's lack of effort, without recognizing enduring systemic inequality among different racial groups, signifies a color-blind view. Bonilla-Silva (2018) considers this to be *new*

racism as opposed to old-fashioned overt expressions of racism. The avoidance of labeling racial injustices as racism is performed by replacing the racial explanation of human difference with cultural difference, leading to *cultural racism* (Bonilla-Silva 2018; van Dijk 1992).

Cultural racism is observed in the past-present continuity in the case of Japan. In short, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century under Imperial Japan, the discourse of Japanese superiority over the colonized Asian subjects exploited the notion of ethnicity with a cultural undertone. Specifically, describing the Japanese in terms of pure "Japanese race" was not tenable due to the historical mixed-blood heritage of the Japanese people (Oguma 1995; Sasaki 2013). Thus, the claimed superiority of Japanese ethnicity functioned to maintain the racist order by legitimating the assimilation of the colonized, while restricting the colonized people's legal rights to be naturalized as Japanese. Today's racism, as seen in hate speech against people of Korean heritage, and even the discourse of *nihonjinron,* seems to carry a legacy of this cultural racism.

It is important to note that the flip side of Japanese racism against Asian people is a higher recognition granted to white people and culture from Euro-American heritage. This is observed, for instance, in the preference for white native speakers of English for teaching English in Japan. The critique of teaching *eikaiwa* (English conversation) as a racist practice, offered by Lummis (1976) more than 40 years ago, still applies to many institutional practices today (Kubota 2011; Rivers and Ross 2013; Yamada 2015).

4. Race in JLT

JLT is typically founded on an essentialist understanding of Japanese language and culture (Kubota 2003, 2009, 2014). The kind of Japanese language to learn is usually considered to be the standardized variety based on Tokyo dialect, while the Japanese culture to learn tends to be stereotypical and superficial cultural products, practices, and communication styles, which are to be explained through cultural values and perspectives, such as *uchi/soto*, a group orientation, and strict adherence to social hierarchy. Also essentialized is who the "owners" of the language and culture are. The following formula represents a general belief: Japanese people (race and nationality) = Japanese language = Japanese culture. Underlying the essentialist concept of Japanese language and culture is racial difference.

Clearly, this formula excludes non-native Japanese speakers from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, as exemplified in the case of the white American teacher of Japanese in Excerpt 3. The American student's misrecognition of the legitimacy of this teacher as a Japanese language professional also implies their denial of their own legitimacy as L2 speakers of Japanese, causing symbolic violence—a form of power that normalizes oppression to the extent that it becomes an unchallenged reality for the oppressed (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Their reaction—perhaps unintentional and thus so ingrained—also reflects institutional racism as observed in the underrepresentation of non-native Japanese-speaking teachers from diverse racial backgrounds, as well as the epistemological racism that excludes Japanese learners' linguistic and cultural practices and perspectives as equally legitimate to Japanese native speakers'.

Conversely, deep-rooted racism in North America positions Asians, including people of Japanese heritage, as the racialized Other. Especially in K–12 schools, where the majority of teachers are white native speakers of English, Japanese-language teachers from Japan are often institutionally disadvantaged not only in racial and linguistic terms but also with regard to credentials (Kubota 2009). To borrow Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), the cultural capital (one's socially and culturally valued knowledge, skills, and dispositions) held by a native Japanese-speaking teacher is recognized in a certain field (e.g., an institution of higher education with an established Japanese program) but not in another field (e.g., white dominant American K–12 schools). The examples from the survey mentioned earlier appear to show contradictory experiences for Japanese and non-Japanese teachers in North America. However, they share an underlying ideology of linguistic and cultural essentialism which intersects with racist assumptions about legitimate language users and cultural bearers.

5. Toward Antiracist Engagement in JLT

In globalized society, where not only linguacultural diversity but also human diversity (e.g., race) has become the norm, foreign language education can no longer cling to the traditional approach that assumes the homogeneity of language, culture, and language users. Promoting diversity in JLT means critical engagement in not merely language and culture but also antiracism, which acknowledges different forms of racism and the intersectionality of race with other human attributes that form

context-dependent relations of power. Below, I offer suggestions for antiracist engagement.

First, JLT professionals should recognize that institutional and epistemological forms of racism exist and make efforts to eradicate them. Institutionally, the racial diversity of instructors, along with the diversity of other categories such as language, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, should be affirmed and promoted. To achieve this goal, preconceived ideas about the legitimacy of a teacher—the aforementioned ideological formula equating race/nationality with language and culture—need to be challenged. The requirement for employment should prioritize professional qualifications and integrity, as well as linguistic competence, not measured by native speakerness which indexes Japanese race/ethnicity/nationality, but rather professional competence. Epistemologically, instructional contents and materials must be diversified to foster students' broader understanding of Japanese language, culture, and language users. Focusing only on mainstream Japanese people, culture, and perspectives silences the histories of oppression, resistance, and resilience shared by Ainu, Okinawans, *zainichi* Koreans, and other minoritized groups in Japan, as well as those belonging to the Japanese diaspora overseas. JLT for fostering intercultural competence in the globalized world should raise learners' critical awareness of how power dynamics reproduce a taken-for-granted national narrative about Japan and how it can be challenged.

Second, teachers should exercise hyper self-reflexivity (Kubota and Miller 2017), a genuine and sustained form of critical reflexivity to constantly question their own shifting status of marginality and privilege within such power dynamics. This is especially important with the growing racial and linguistic diversity of students in North American classrooms. The teacher's dispositions and approaches to diverse groups of students either perpetuate or challenge dominant ideologies and power hierarchies. For instance, as a native Japanese-speaking professional originally from a Japanese mainstream background, I ponder my varied contextual status in relation to diverse groups of students and colleagues from different racial and linguistic backgrounds within a historically shaped power hierarchy. Moreover, the status of JLT as a profession in the settler colonial society of North America requires us to critically understand the ideological construction of Japanese people in North America as "immigrants," instead of "settlers" who, together with other settlers, have exploited native people's land and resources to socially and

economically thrive (Kosaka 2008). Just like Koreans under Japanese imperialism were deprived of their rights to choose citizenship, Native people under North American colonialism were not given a choice for their citizenship. Antiracism in North American JLT must naturally question the power relation between native speakers and non-native speakers, which indexes Japanese versus non-Japanese. However, it should also challenge the broader issue of settler colonialism and scrutinize the complicit role of Japanese language, culture, and people.

To conclude, JLT as part of a broader educational project to promote knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for engaging various kinds of difference must invite students and teachers to explore the notion of difference critically. This includes recognizing the complexity of race and racism and critically engaging in antiracism. Such engagement would contribute to the advancement of equity, diversity, and inclusion in JLT.

NOTE

[1] https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/16/us/politics/trump-tweet-house-vote.html.

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Toward More Inclusive Japanese Language Education: Incorporating an Awareness of Gender and Sexual Diversity among Students

Jotaro Arimori

1. Background

Many educational institutions in North America have declared a commitment to enhancing the diversity of their students and employees, and to providing a learning and working environment free of discrimination. Almost universally, this diversity includes sexual orientation as well as gender identity and expression, and we teachers are naturally expected to play a role in fulfilling this commitment by working effectively with students and coworkers of diverse gender and sexual identities. Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki (this volume) present the voices of Japanese-language teachers concerned about the limited representation of gender and sexual diversity within this community of educators, as well as the reinforcement of heteronormativity and cissexism in teaching materials. Although I agree that the presence of visible LGBTQ teachers may have a positive impact on learners, as one respondent to the survey suggested, it is important to understand that many teachers are concerned that coming out in class/at work could potentially arouse negative reactions from students, colleagues, and/or administrators, putting their job at risk (Gray 2013; Jaspal 2015; Nelson 2009; Wadell, Frei, and Martin 2011). Furthermore, whether or not to come out is thoroughly up to each individual, not something that LGBTQ people should be pressured to do. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is not to promote the visibility of sexual/gender diversity within the Japanese teaching community per se, but rather to promote an inclusive learning environment in which all students feel comfortable studying Japanese—regardless of their gender and sexuality. Thus, while the theme of this

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special section is "teacher diversity," this paper primarily addresses issues concerning learners of diverse genders and sexualities.

Although scholars such as Maree (2011) have previously drawn attention to this issue, research on gender and sexual minorities in Japanese language education has begun only recently (Arimori 2017; Moore 2019; Sall Vesselényi 2019a, 2019b). In the field of English language education, however, a number of informative studies have been published. For example, it has been pointed out that both teachers and students tend to believe that the entire class is heterosexual (Jaspal 2015, Nelson 2009), and many LGBTQ students hide their gender/sexual identities for fear of homophobia (Kappra and Vandrick 2006, Nelson 2009) or transphobia. Further, Norton (2013) argues even highly motivated learners may have little investment in language study if a given learning environment is homophobic. Also, it has been argued that the absence of LGBTQ representation in teaching materials can create an environment in which LGBTQ learners feel underrepresented and unsafe, preventing them from learning English effectively (Gray 2013, Snelbecker and Meyer 1999). Thus, hetero- and cisnormativity in a classroom can clearly have a negative impact on gender/sexual minority learners. Although these studies focus on English language education, these issues need to be addressed in Japanese language education as well in order to create an inclusive learning environment. To this end, I will address issues that may create challenges for LGBTQ learners, paying special attention to heteronormativity in Japanese teaching materials and linguistic norms and ideology regarding gendered expression in Japanese, and suggest ways teachers might deal with these issues.

2. Creating an Inclusive Learning Environment

Based on interviews with ESL students who identify as LGBTQ, Kappra and Vandrick (2006) argue that teachers have a strong ability to influence the establishment of a classroom atmosphere in which students feel accepted, safe, supported, and empowered, but many teachers fail to do so. As a member of a sexual minority group myself, I have encountered uncomfortable moments in and outside the classroom regarding diverse gender and sexual identities. Most of these moments originated in the teaching materials themselves and in the mishandling of problematic content by teachers, including myself. In order to improve the situation, I analysed five popular Japanese textbooks for beginners used in Canada—textbooks which are also widely used in the U. S.—by applying the notion

of queer pedagogy to identify potentially problematic contents for learners who are gender or sexual minorities (Arimori 2017).[1] Queer pedagogy is an approach to educational praxis and curricula which emerged from queer theory and critical pedagogy. It seeks to both uncover and disrupt hidden curricula of heteronormativity and cissexism, as well as to develop classroom landscapes and experiences that create safety for queer participants (Thomas-Reid 2018). In that paper, these five textbooks were examined regarding the absence within the textbooks of LGBTQ representation, the presence of exercises premised on heteronormativity, and the textbooks' explanation of gendered expression. This section summarizes and expands upon my findings, as well as providing suggestions to teachers about how—even when saddled with imperfect teaching materials—to create an inclusive learning environment for all students regardless of their gender and sexuality.

2.1. LGBTQ Representation in Japanese Language Teaching Materials

Japanese textbooks for the beginner's level typically have dialogues by regularly-appearing characters through which target expressions are introduced. While these characters appearing in the textbooks analysed in Arimori (2017) were diverse in terms of nationality and ethnicity, there was no diversity in terms of gender and sexual identity. To the best of my knowledge, no mainstream Japanese textbooks include LGBTQ characters or address LGBTQ-related issues. This sort of LGBTQ invisibility in teaching materials has also been an issue in English-language education. Previous studies report that the lack of LGBTQ representation in teaching materials often makes LGBTQ students feel silenced or un(der)represented, resulting in negative consequences for their learning (Gray 2013, Snelbecker and Meyer 1999). Thus, LGBTQ representation needs to be given consideration in both the development and the selection of Japanese teaching materials. In so doing, however, we need to be careful not to induce homo- and transphobic reactions rooted in the diverse backgrounds and beliefs of students as well as, potentially, teachers.

With this in mind, I would like to offer a lesson within *Marugoto Japanese Language & Culture Intermediate 2* (Japan Foundation 2017a) as an example of how teaching materials can offer teachers openings in which to judiciously introduce LGBTQ issues. In a dialogue about marriage, Yosuke, a male speaker, refers his partner as his *aikata*. *Aikata* is a gender-neutral term meaning a partner, originally used to describe someone with whom the speaker has a professional relationship. In recent

years, it has also been used for romantic relationships, and its use is quite common among same-sex couples. Although no explanation of the word's usage is provided in the textbook, it is noted in the teacher's manual that, since *aikata* can be used for same-sex partners, the gender of Yusuke's partner is "intentionally blurred" (Japan Foundation 2017b:4). Such inclusion of (potential) LGBTQ content allows teachers to control the degree of details they want to provide, from simply stating that the word is gender neutral to utilizing it as an opportunity for respectful discussion of issues related to gender and sexual identities, depending on the classroom climate.

By contrast, in *Genki II* (Banno et al. 2011) there is a pair work activity to practice the evidential modal *mitai* (look/seem like) in which the students look at an illustration of an androgynous person and one is prompted to state, *Watashi no tomodachi desu. Otoko desu*. (This is my friend. This is a man.) The other is prompted to respond, *Onna mitai desu ne*. (He looks like a woman.) In *Nakama 2* (Hatasa et al 2017), another evidential modal, *yōda* is introduced with the sentences *Onna no yōna otoko* (a man who acts/looks like a woman) and *Otoko no yōna onna* (a woman who acts/looks like a man). Because of norms regarding masculinity and femininity, phrases such as *onna mitai* and *otoko no yōna* are inherently negative. There is also the possibility that some students might laugh at the gender nonnormativity presented in the illustration or direct these expressions at others in the classroom in a mocking way. Thus, depending on how these materials are handled by teachers, such activities may make LGBTQ students feel unsafe. I have seen teachers using these materials despite their awareness of such problems, simply because these contents are in the textbooks. But, of course, we do not teach textbooks, we use them to teach. We can choose not to use such materials by skipping or replacing them. Alternatively, we may use them as an opportunity for a discussion of how such expressions can be discriminatory as an approach to creating a more inclusive classroom.

2.2. Heteronormative Textbook Exercises

Moore explains that "heteronormative assumptions…can have a profoundly debilitating effect on LGBT[Q] students in class" (2016:99) and presents cases wherein a heteronormative learning environment was a factor in LGBTQ learners quitting their English classes. The *Genki* and *Nakama* series have exercises in which students ask their partners about their daily lives and opinions. Such exercises enable learners to engage in

authentic or semi-authentic interaction, thereby helping them develop communicative skills. At the same time, however, those questions require potentially burdensome disclosure of some aspects of learners' private lives. As most textbooks assume everyone is heterosexual, it can be particularly trying for LGBTQ learners to engage in certain activities using those materials. For example, in *Genki II*, there is an exercise that leads students to ask their partners, *Kare/kanojo to ii tomodachi to dochira ga hoshii desu ka* (Which do you want, a boyfriend/girlfriend or a good friend?), using the cues provided. If their partner is a female, most students are likely to choose the pronoun *kare* (boyfriend) over *kanojo* (girlfriend) without thinking about the sexual orientation of their interlocutor. If the questioner's partner is a lesbian or asexual/aromantic, for example, the question may put her in a situation in which she is forced to either lie or to come out. Similarly, in *Nakama 2*, there is an exercise that leads students to ask their partners what they want to do before getting married. While same-sex marriage is now legal in Canada and the United States, that does not mean everyone supports it. Perhaps partly as a result of potential opposition LGBTQ learners may anticipate from their interlocutors, some may feel discomfort in talking about marriage at all. Some teachers might think it is just an exercise and learners can just make up a story. While there is no need for learners to tell the truth all the time, especially talking about their private lives, feeling forced to lie about one's identity can be distressful, particularly given that identity itself is constructed in part through language.

To circumvent such problems, teachers can modify questions at their discretion. In the case of the question in *Genki II*, teachers can introduce words and phrases such as *koibito* (boyfriend/girlfriend) and *sukina hito* (a/the person I like/love) as gender neutral expressions, for example. If there are multiple questions in an activity, teachers can instruct students to choose only half, for instance, or tell them they may skip up to a certain number of questions, thus enabling students themselves to avoid potentially problematic ones if they so choose.

2.3. Gendered Expression in Japanese Language Education

2.3.1. Gender norms and linguistic ideology

Japanese is considered a gendered language in the sense that there are distinctive speech styles used according to speakers' gender. Typically, these differences are said to be observed in the usage of personal pronouns, sentence endings, word choice, and so on. These differences are introduced in teaching materials, which generally explain in a gender

binarist fashion that certain language is used by either men or women (Arimori 2017, Kinoshita-Thomson and Iida 2007, Siegal and Okamoto 2003, Suzuki 2007). Analyses of naturally occurring conversation, however, have revealed that gendered expression is not necessarily used in a manner fixed to a speaker's gender, but, rather, is used to express and negotiate one's gender(ed) identity in a given context (Abe 2004, Miyazaki 2004, Sturtz Sreetharan 2004).[2] Nevertheless, deviation from normative usage for both men and women often becomes the target of criticism, reflecting pervasive sexism, gender binarism, and heteronormativity. This gender normative linguistic ideology can also be found in Japanese pedagogical materials. In their grammar reference book for Japanese-language teachers, Iori et al. remark that "it is especially unnatural for men to use the female-only form, so we need to call learners' attention to it" (2000:329). Similarly, *Tobira: Gateway to Advanced Japanese through Content and Multimedia*, aimed at intermediate Japanese learners, explains gendered speech as follows:

> Especially in informal speech, there are differences in the way men and women speak…. The intonation is also very different. When talking to friends, romantic partners, or family, men call themselves "*boku*" or "*ore*," and women usually use "*atashi*." In recent times, the gap between men and women has narrowed, and the number of women who use "*wa*" or "*wayo*" at the end of sentences and men who use "*ze*" or "*zo*" at the end of sentences as in the example above have decreased. However, if women say "*ore mo hara hetta*" [a masculine expression of "I'm hungry too"], or men say "*iyayo*" [a feminine expression of "No!"], their interlocutors will be surprised. Please be aware that there are some expressions that you shouldn't use, even though the difference in speech styles [between women and men] has decreased. (Oka et al. 2009:28–29)

Thus, both authors assert that nonnormative usage of gendered expression should be avoided. Some may argue that such statements are both reasonable and useful for learners since they might otherwise face situations wherein their usage of gender nonnormative speech would provoke negative reactions from others. I myself have felt this way sometimes. Nevertheless, let us consider the impact of this attitude on learners. Hosokawa believes this "paternalistic sense" is rooted in teachers' egocentric sense of being the expert—the one with "the right answer"—with the right to control the learning space and "to impose their own sense

of correctness, norms, and impressions" of how the language should be used (2016:23).

Further, since gendered expression is utilized to express one's gender identity, imposing a certain speech style on learners based on their gender is clearly problematic especially for those who identify as gender/sexual minorities. Sall Vesselényi maintains that if a teacher brings such a heteronormative attitude into the classroom, it becomes a training ground for self-concealment and preparation for participation in a cisgender-centred society (2019a:36–37). Given that language learning is not preparation for life but, rather, a part of life (Benson 2012) through which learners' identities are negotiated and established, I believe it is teachers' role to support this process rather than impose hetero- and cisnormativity on them.

2.3.2. Teaching gendered expression

The discussion in the previous section leads us to how gendered expression might best be taught. As noted above, gendered expression is not exclusively used by one gender or the other but utilized to express and negotiate each individual's gender identity. Suzuki (2007) maintains that, in order for learners to become able to express their gender identity through language, it is necessary for them to understand the linguistic ideology shared in society. When doing so, as Kinoshita-Thomson and Iida (2007) suggest, rather than a grammatical/discourse rule, gendered expression can be presented as an "abstract norm" which can be utilized as a tool to send a variety of messages by adhering to or opposing it. Further, when discussing gendered expression and identity, the concept of *gengo-shigen* (Nakamura 2007), or language resource, is useful. This language resource is an aggregate of various speech styles from which an individual chooses a certain way to speak depending on the identity they want to express in a given situation. For example, in everyday practice the same individual speaks differently as a parent, a friend, a customer, a professional, and so forth. Nakamura extends this concept of language resource to gendered expression and regards male language and female language as elements of *gengo-shigen* to which everybody, regardless of gender, has equal access. While the essentialist view of language assumes men and women speak differently because of their sex/gender, this social constructivist concept enables us to detach language from gender and to utilize the resource to express our diverse identities. By introducing the concept of *gengo-shigen* into the classroom, we can provide space for

learners to explore, negotiate, and establish their gender and sexual identities in Japanese.

Introducing the concept of *gengo-shigen* can take various forms according to students' proficiency level. Similar to Siegal and Okamoto's (2003) suggestions for teaching gendered expression at lower levels, for example, we can first draw learners' attention to diverse speech styles by reflecting on their own language use, and have them observe how the same person speaks differently in relation to their interlocutor or situation through, for instance, TV dramas, and discuss what kind of impression they get from different speech styles. By changing the focus to difference by factors such as age, gender, and regional background, we can help learners strengthen their own ability to access to this language resource. As their proficiency increases, we can have students put this ability into use through creating skits, dramas, short videos, and the like, performing as a character with any identity learners wish to explore.

3. Conclusion

This article discussed various challenges for LGBTQ learners of Japanese stemming from pervasive heteronormativity and cissexism—including specific norms and ideology regarding gendered expression—and made suggestions to mitigate the lack of training regarding gender/sexual diversity in Japanese language education. As I explained, teaching materials often presuppose everyone in the classroom is heterosexual and cisgender, and some exercises in textbooks create situations in which LGBTQ students are forced to either lie about their identity or come out. Further, some textbook exercises can even arouse homophobia or transphobia. Although not all teachers have the freedom to choose teaching materials, how they use these materials is often up to the teachers' discretion. There are many things teachers can do to create an inclusive learning environment, some of which were suggested. Another issue discussed was how to teach Japanese as a gendered language without reinforcing gender norms. Given that language use is a key part of expressing one's gender, it is vital to create space in which learners can explore their identities as Japanese speakers. To that end, I proposed introducing the concept of *gengo-shigen*, which detaches language from one's gender and enables learners to use various speech styles as a resource to express their identity. It is my hope that this article will help teachers make their Japanese language classrooms safe spaces in which all

students are able to learn and express themselves freely regardless of their gender and sexuality.

NOTES

[1] The table below shows the textbooks examined in Arimori (2017).

Textbook	Publisher	Year of publication
Genki I & II, 2nd edition	The Japan Times	2011
Japanese for Busy People I–III, 3rd edition	Kodansha USA	2006, 2007
Minna no Nihongo Beginner I & II, 2nd edition	3A Corporation	2011, 2013
Nakama 1st, 2nd, and 3rd edition	Heinle & Heinle	2014, 2017
Situational Functional Japanese 1–3, 2nd edition	Bonjinsha	1991–1996

[2] For example, Miyazaki (2004) revealed that both female and male junior high students use various first-person pronouns, including those of the opposite gender in order to express and establish their identities, create a sense of solidarity, and empower relationships among peers within their classroom community. Further Abe (2004) examined language use at lesbian bars in Tokyo and concluded various personal pronouns and gendered speech styles were used by speakers to constantly negotiate their identities in relation to others. Furthermore, Sturtz Sreetharan (2004) analyzed the usage of sentence final particles by men and found that masculine endings are used infrequently in actual conversation.

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Toward Exhilarating Classrooms: Representation vs. Inclusion in Japanese Language Education

Arthur M. Mitchell

1. Introduction

Faculty diversity is currently a major avenue through which many teacher-scholars are exploring the work of diversity and inclusion within Japanese language education. Many in the field have begun to look critically at the large number of Japanese (L1 Speaker) teachers within the field and consider its relationship to the native speaker fallacy (Kubota 2008), or the prevalence of biases against non-native speakers. The survey, "On Goals of Language Education and Teacher Diversity," by Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki (this volume) reports that of 355 Japanese-language teacher participants, 79% identified as female and 73% understood themselves as first-language speakers of Japanese (273). This leads to concern that the dominance of this intersectional identity group may lead to discrimination within the workplace, but, even more importantly, that it fosters a lack of diversity and inclusion in the classroom and in the curriculum.

The need to create environments where a diverse population of students can communicate beyond differences and learn from each other is urgent. This self-interrogation of group dominance, which moreover has been driven and supported in large part by the dominant group, is highly laudable, and there are certainly valid concerns to be addressed. Nevertheless, pursuing inclusivity by altering representation in this case has the potential to perpetuate larger structures of oppression and allow us to shirk the responsibility of doing the truly difficult work that inclusivity requires of each of us. Focusing too narrowly on representation, moreover, misses the opportunity that the work of inclusivity presents us with of re-envisioning the potential of our classrooms and integrating our values with the way that we teach. In what follows, I would like to first consider what

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a truly inclusive language classroom could look like, and then discuss its implications for the debate on teacher diversity.

2. Inclusivity vs. Representation

In the work of inclusivity that I have undertaken on my own campus thus far, I have come to differentiate between two types of diversity initiatives: representation vs. inclusivity. The work of representation is in essence a drive to hire more faculty and staff of color so that the significant population of students of color on campus are able to "see themselves" in the people that teach and guide them. It looks to address the problem of diversity by bringing a wider array of identities onto campus, and usually the focus is on race and gender. The work of inclusion is fundamentally different. To begin with, it can be done by anybody. It is rooted by contrast in self-reflection on the part of the individual faculty/staff members with regard to the privileges they carry – primarily around gender, race, social class, and nationality, though there are other facets to consider – and how those privileges perpetuate cultures of exclusion.

The nature of privilege is that those who carry it do not necessarily know that they do. Exclusion occurs when privilege is unacknowledged for, in the absence of acknowledgement, that privilege and its assumptions become understood as natural, i.e., the hidden norm. Take, for example, a first year Japanese-language student from a working-class family who is unable to afford the trip home over a fall break. On the first day after break, the teacher, seeking to refresh students on recent vocabulary, asks the class where they traveled over the break and whether they took a train or an airplane to get there. (I have been guilty of asking these very questions myself.) A student happily talks about a family vacation in Singapore, while another references their flight back from Colorado. This seemingly innocent dialogue contains implicit assumptions about a level of economic means that is not available to everyone. And those students who do not tend to feel tacitly excluded, as if they do not really belong there, or are somehow in the wrong place. This is to say that a multitude of assumptions about race, gender, and class *already* exist in our teaching and within our classrooms. If we do not address them, they threaten to become the invisible norm that implicitly and subtly excludes those who do not share those contexts. If we are able to address them, however, we disrupt the power these hierarchies hold within our social spaces and create room for differences to exist and co-exist.

Inclusivity targets the nature of the space of learning and the assumptions that exist there. The teacher, who is the individual with the most power in the room, has the ability to name those assumptions and prevent them from becoming the invisible norm. If I were teaching a first year Japanese class, for example, inclusive teaching would involve me talking openly about my race/ethnicity (mixed Japanese and light-skinned African American), nationality (US, but born in Japan), gender (cis, male), sexuality (heterosexual), class upbringing (upper-middle-class), as well as my elite education and how all of these social identities impact my relationship to Japanese, the reasons I teach it, and the way that I teach it. This transparency would be sustained throughout the semester through an openness in discussing these aspects of social identity as they come up within the class content.

This openness could occur in a number of ways. I might share with students that my deep familiarity with Japan comes not from my mother per se but from yearly summer trips to Japan throughout my childhood, trips that were made possibly by my father's economic status. For that reason, I teach Japanese culture as if it is something I know despite the fact that I was raised in the US. With regard to actual lessons, I might point out the way certain dialogue scenarios in the textbook assume that everyone goes to a four-year college, which is a norm for me, but not for everyone. This openness could involve me explaining ways my social identities have shaped my own relationship to the Japanese language. For instance, in introducing the issue of gendered speech, I might share the way, growing up without male Japanese speakers in my vicinity, I had to be shamed into adopting male speech by outsiders just around the time I became a teenager. Or I could talk about the way I was absolutely determined, during college, to learn Japanese because of an acute desire to claim my Japanese identity, or "become" Japanese. (Depending on the context, I might also relate how I would discover, years later, that this was a fool's errand, given the very strict definition of national identity in Japanese culture.) Such a story could open up a very interesting conversation about language ideology and how our racial background can inform the way we approach the language. It must be understood that the power that privilege has to exclude is mostly dependent upon its invisibility, or its ability to establish an invisible norm against which students feel either implicitly validated or disavowed. The willingness to be transparent about privilege disrupts this power. By making privilege visible, we reverse the process of exclusion, enabling those students who

lack that privilege to recognize themselves and be recognized by others within the classroom space. Being willing to share personal experiences, moreover, opens up the possibility of deeper conversations that can more fully integrate the individuality of the student into the language learning process.

Inclusivity does not require that we learn to anticipate the needs of the myriad intersectional identities and experiences in the classroom. Certainly, more education on difference is desirable, and preparation for how to teach topics of race when they come up more explicitly in the upper level language classrooms is also important. But inclusivity asks us to examine ourselves and the spaces we immediately inhabit, to recognize the way dynamics of difference and power saturate our teaching materials (of all levels) and the space of our classroom. It demands that we examine the relationships within that classroom amongst students but also perhaps most importantly between teacher and student(s). Because of our positions of power, teachers are uniquely positioned to expose the structures of privilege within a classroom. By being able to talk openly about ourselves and our positions within social hierarchies, an act of vulnerability in itself, we have an ability to make those invisible hierarchies explicit within the classroom space. This is not an egotistical gesture. Being explicit about one's own context allows students, from all backgrounds, to have and feel comfortable having their own contexts within that space as well. If implicit rules and hidden contexts are what breed exclusion, inclusivity seeks to publicly identify those rules and contexts as they occur within the spaces we currently inhabit, thereby neutralizing their exclusionary power.

Unlike representation-based initiatives, which largely focus on race and gender, inclusion-based initiatives address a much broader array of social identities and engages them directly through the lens of power and discrimination. But unlike representation, the work of inclusivity also requires more personal courage. It necessitates the willingness and ability to be strategically vulnerable in the classroom. While both representation and inclusivity are essential and can be pursued in tandem, representation does not necessarily lead to cultural change. Not all people of color, for instance, are interested in or are intentional about diversity work themselves. Inclusivity on the other hand addresses the ills of racism/classism/sexism/etc. head on and carries the potential for ground-up transformation.

3. Ramifications for the Debate on Teacher Diversity

So, what does this mean for the issue of the predominance of L1 female-identifying speakers in the Japanese teaching community? First, one should be aware that the work of inclusivity is first and foremost about fighting the oppressive power dynamics of society at large. This lens permits us to counterbalance the needs of representation within the smaller society of Japanese-language teachers with the need to counter forces of oppression within our broader society. I empathize with the experiences of discrimination described by many of my white colleagues as I myself have been in institutional spaces pervaded by the assumption that white or non-Japanese teachers are at a decided handicap when dealing with issues of Japanese language pedagogy. I have encountered the vexing prejudice that we, as non-native speakers, are somehow always and already at a one tier remove from the authentic ability to teach the material. Yet, without gainsaying the validity of the needs that spring from these situations, there is nonetheless a rich irony in the call for an affirmative action-type correction of representational balance for white, and especially white male, faculty.

Perhaps the goal common to all of us is an institutional environment in which each teacher is understood to have the same potential for powerful and rich language teaching, whatever their social identity might be, Japanese or non-Japanese, male, female, transgender and/or gender non-conforming, upper-class, middle-class, or working class, etc. But attempting to achieve this goal by somehow tipping the scales to introduce more non-L1 speakers of Japanese into our teaching ranks not only fails to address the problem directly (who is to say that the newly hired white male Japanese teacher does not himself faithfully subscribe to native speaker supremacy), but it also ignores the larger structures of oppression in which these conditions are created.

Unfortunately, one of the reasons there are so many women in this field to begin with is because of its low pay, its instability, and its "low-status perception." As quite a few respondents of the survey pointed out, the gender imbalance in the field results in part from "non-competitive salaries that are unattractive to men, who are often considered to be the primary earner of the household" (Mori et al. this volume: 287). For Japanese women living in the U. S., Japanese-language teacher may be one of the very few jobs that are open to, welcoming of, and demanding of them. The link between (Japanese) women and (Japanese) language teaching is also a product of patriarchal ideology. Under patriarchal

thought, women are understood as caregivers, educators and nurturers of the young generation. One perception of language teaching is that it is a part and parcel of this child-rearing labor. No doubt this perception is one of the sources of that discriminatory bifurcation between language course teachers and content course teachers mentioned in the survey as a worsening divide in colleges and universities (Mori et al., this volume, 287–288). No doubt this is also why the job is so often low-paying and unstable. In Tokyo today, Japanese-language teachers can hardly earn a living wage teaching Japanese, no matter what their qualifications.

But because Japanese teachers of Japanese language are understood to teach non-Japanese students, that patriarchal thought is further augmented by national and racial hierarchies. Japanese women are expected to become embodied ambassadors of the ideals of Japanese culture, most immediately manifested in their vocal expression. They perform the Japanese language in order to cultivate the foreign student into a proper, socially acceptable, Japanese speaker/subject. There are some female Japanese teachers who assimilate this nurturing/rearing role so completely that they are never able to break out of a mothering tone and diction, even after the beginning levels when simple diction is to some extent appropriate, ultimately infantilizing their non-Japanese students.[1] When female Japanese teachers tell or suggest to their foreign students that they can never master Japanese (anecdote reported in Mori et al. this volume), it is possible that they are channeling the cultural ideology that non-Japanese people can never become Japanese. But it is also possible that the teachers feel the need to keep their students in a position of childlike dependence. Alternately, it could be understood as a reaction of displaced resentment toward the servile position in which they are placed. To be clear, these tendencies do not describe all female Japanese teachers; individual stories are always, of course, varied, unique, and often resistant. But I describe here the pressures within the teaching culture generated by the dictates of patriarchy, national chauvinism, and racial/gender hierarchy that female Japanese teachers in particular confront.

Instead of calling for more "diversity" in the ranks of Japanese teachers, implicitly suggesting to female Japanese teachers that their presence needs to be curbed, it seems far more productive to promote a teaching culture in which the dictates of patriarchy, national chauvinism, and racial/gender hierarchy are called out and openly defied. Being able to name these hierarchies would be a way to create an inclusive classroom *and* stage a deeper and more authentic engagement with the Japanese

language. What if a given female Japanese teacher were to begin a language course by pointing out the ways she fits into expectations that the students may have for what their teacher should look like? What if she then called attention to the way authority regarding the language is given to her by the students much more readily than it would be to a non-Japanese colleague as way to start a discussion or at least instigate a consciousness about the deeply rooted link in Japanese culture between language and national/racial/gender identity. To do so could be very empowering for the many students who have implicitly received the message that as non-Japanese they can never really master the language. Through this self-initiated vulnerability, the teacher would enable the students to name the source of that lie. If she were able to call attention to the racial and gendered paradigm that implicitly undergirds Japanese language education, she would empower students to be able to identify and separate themselves from the way this dynamic is reflected back to them within the textbooks that they learn from. It would permit the Hispanic girl who has some Japanese heritage, or the transgender Hmong student to feel recognized all of a sudden, simply by dint of exposing the lie of racial, sexual, and gendered expectations.

In carrying out their roles as ambassadors of Japanese culture, Japanese teachers often end up suppressing aspects of their identity (socio-economic class, region, ethnicity) as well as experiences that run against the grain of the official image of Japanese culture: uniformly and homogeneously middle class, cisgendered and heterosexual, highly educated, technologically literate, polite and deferent, tolerant and apologetic, historically knowledgeable, aesthetically sophisticated, slim and/or petite with mild to non-existent hand gestures. Native Japanese teachers are not simply supposed to present this version of Japan, they are expected to embody it. What if native Japanese teachers made a concerted effort to identify, emphasize, and explain the various ways in which they ran aground of these stereotypes, stood out, and/or struggled both externally and internally because they diverged from this very elaborate and extremely stringent standard of being Japanese? What if Japanese teachers were willing to talk about their relationship to the Japanese language itself, and how *that* relationship was mediated by gender, socio-economic class, and all of the different facets of identity we possess? There are many female L1 speaking teachers who are already doing this type of courageous work. These teachers need to be supported and looked to as pioneers of inclusive teaching, not replaced in order to fulfill an abstract

standard of balance.

This change in method and mentality would be the surest path to the creation of the type of equitable institutional spaces described above, where L2 speaking teachers are recognized for their potential in the same way that L1 speaking teachers are. If the goal is to teach Japanese language in a context that constantly identifies how the ideologies of nationality, race, gender, class, sexuality, etc. mediate the speaking, teaching, and learning experience, then teachers of all social identities will be on the same plane. But this would also have a direct and definitive impact on our classrooms and our students. The discussions and consciousness this type of teaching could foment has potentially very powerful implications for language learning and cultural literacy. Such lessons would be forceful, memorable, and exhilarating not just because they would offer critical insights into the culture, insights that create ways for students of various backgrounds and contexts to imagine they actually have a place within Japan and Japanese culture. But these stories and lessons would also be rooted in the real-life experience of the human being standing in front of the classroom. Inclusive teaching does not just humanize the students, but also humanizes the teachers, allowing them to be more themselves and experience the deep pleasure of alignment between who they are and what they are teaching. These are the great benefits we stand to gain from doing the difficult work of creating diverse and inclusive spaces in our classrooms.

NOTES

[1] Noriaki Furuya has discussed the use of "*ano ko* (that kid/child)" amongst Japanese teachers to refer to their foreign students as indicative of a "paternalism" latent in Japanese language education and how Japanese-language teachers can often form a sense of identity based on this stance (2012). The article has stirred a lively debate within the field. Yōhei Arakawa has a chapter devoted to what he refers to as "The Mode of Treating [Students] Like Children" in his book on Japanese people talking to foreigners, especially foreign students (2012).

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The Generalist's Dilemma: How Accidental Language Teachers Are at the Center of Japanese Pedagogy

Brian C. Dowdle

1. Introduction

In this age of increasing specialization in Japanese language teaching, being a generalist may feel akin to educational malpractice. Specialists with advanced training in Japanese language pedagogy often teach at large research universities (R1) with a bevy of faculty members, each of whom focuses on a single level or year of the Japanese language program. Generalists, in contrast, teach at smaller schools (regional universities/liberal arts colleges/community colleges) and must cover large swaths of both the Japanese- and English-based curriculum. Generalists may feel spread thin, trying to balance multiple teaching responsibilities. They may personally worry their students are getting a less than ideal language instruction compared to that provided by specialists.

This is not to imply that generalists are incompetent or unable to teach the Japanese language effectively; rather, I wish to argue the opposite—that they are powerful and invaluable. Generalists are important to the field and should be incorporated further into the archetype of Japanese-language educators. Rather than feeling like second-class citizens, generalists should feel celebrated. As I show, however, an examination of the generalist's dilemma provides a window into larger problems in Japanese language instruction and its relationship to Japan studies, more broadly.

2. The Nature of Generalism

2.1. The Academic Job Market and Generalists

As the academic job market continues to evolve, it is increasingly common to see advertisements for positions seeking generalists who teach all levels of Japanese from beginning to advanced, offer culture

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courses on Japan (or even China, Korea, and Asia more broadly), grow the program, provide outreach to the campus and community, and maintain a progressive research agenda. Needless to say, such positions are beyond the training capacity of even the longest graduate program. Yet, these are the highly coveted positions sought after by an ever-growing number of freshly minted Ph. D.s.

Overall, programs with generalists are actually more common than those at large institutions (those with six or more faculty members), although the exact divide is hard to determine. It is safe to anticipate that at universities offering four-year degrees in Japanese, the smaller the program, the greater the diversity of courses each faculty member would be expected to teach. Hence, smaller programs depend more on generalists who can wear a myriad of hats. It is well known that the budgets for humanities have stagnated or decreased. This has increased pressure on departments and individuals to do more with less, which, in turn increases the desirability of and pressure to be a generalist.

2.2. Academic Identity

Many generalists, especially those not initially trained as applied linguists, however, find themselves working as "accidental" Japanese-language teachers. Originally, they were trained in literature, film, or cultural studies, but due to the nature of the job market, they teach Japanese language courses along with so-called "content" courses. In their minds, they are first and foremost teachers of literature, film, or cultural studies. For instance, they might feel more at home at conferences such as AAS or the MLA and not participate in ACTFL or AATJ. As a result, they may not even have an academic identity of being a Japanese-language teacher, per se.

For "native-"speaking, L1 generalists, who likewise may have been trained in a field other than applied linguistics, the role of language teacher is also often as unexpected as it is unavoidable. The assignment or expectation to teach language is often the product of essentialist assumptions that being "native"-speaking alone qualifies one to teach that language. One would be hard pressed to find "native" English-speaking scholars of British literature or American film who are expected to teach ESL courses merely because they are "native" speakers. Yet, this idea retains currency, even as it is not new. Samuel made a similar observation in 1987: "Native speakers suffer from the myth, commonly embraced by students and even by some colleagues and administrators,

that they can teach the language efficiently simply because they are native speakers" (135).

Apart from finding themselves "accidentally" teaching Japanese, a further reason why generalists may choose to eschew the label of language teacher may be their experience in graduate school. Most if not all of the universities that granted their terminal degrees utilized a two-tiered system of faculty members. On the first tier were the tenure-track professors with Ph. D.s and on the second, lower tier were the non-tenurable language teachers without terminal degrees. Perhaps as students they picked up on micro-aggressions against "mere" language teachers by tenure-track faculty who privileged "content" courses as the sign of a successful academic career at a research university.

3. Larger Field Issues and Generalists

The demands faced by generalists point to two interrelated issues: the continued rewarding of "content" over language courses in tenure, teaching loads, and salary and the false dichotomy between language courses and so-called content courses.

3.1. Teaching Loads

The teaching loads of generalists are often skewed higher than their counterparts in non-language teaching positions, even when they have the same degrees. Not only is the number of courses taught per year higher (often 3/2, 3/3, 4/3, or even 4/4) but the total number of credit hours is normally higher since language courses continue to be four or five credits at the lower division. Hence, even when the number of courses is the same, language-teaching generalists are in the classroom for more hours than their non-language teaching counterparts in literature, film, or cultural studies departments. Despite more teaching responsibilities, salaries are often lower. (Such structural disincentives against generalists are still less than those faced by specialized language teachers, who are often on non-tenure track career paths working as adjuncts or for fixed terms, with far lower salary scales and limited job security.)

3.2. "Content Courses" vs. Japanese Language Courses

One advantage of embracing the generalist perspective is that it calls into question the divide between English-language "content courses" and Japanese language courses. Although the language classroom may have once been imagined as void of content, filled only with pure "content-

free" grammar, content-based language instruction (CBLI) is increasingly the norm after the intermediate level (See Douglas 2017 for a discussion of CBLI). But, the knowledge and facts of other disciplines have always been woven into language instruction. Generalists recognize the utility of language instruction to help expand cultural, historical, and literary studies. Their critical training may also help them avoid the temptation to teach caricatures of Japanese society and culture, which were a staple of *nihonjinron* heavy textbooks of yesteryear. Unwilling to abandon their fields of expertise, generalists embed literature, media studies, social science, linguistics, and history into their advanced language courses.

Being a generalist poses separate problems for so-called "native" (L1) and non-"native" (L2) speakers. I bracket the term "native" to highlight two things. First, although the term may be used to indicate proficiency in the language, it also is used to signal nationality as well. Even in 2019, jobs frequently list "nativeness" as a job requisite. Compare how much more welcoming verbiage requiring a "a deep knowledge of Japanese language and culture" is than that requesting "native or near-native proficiency in Japanese and English." It should be noted that both phrases are from different job postings at the same university. This lingering preference for "native"-speaking teachers and prejudice against non-"native" speakers needs to be looked at in a larger conversation about the broader structure of Japan studies and the role of language instruction.

3.3. Marginalization of Generalists

Non-"native-"speaking generalists may feel doubly marginalized within the field of Japanese language pedagogy. Not only is their academic identity often something other than that of language teacher, but also, they do not match the dominant image of Japanese language educators. Considering that in North America 77.3% (and in Western Europe 74.6%) of all Japanese language teachers are "native" speakers of Japanese, this feeling of isolation makes sense (Japan Foundation 2017; see also Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki, this volume, for a broader discussion of these figures within the context of diversity.)

Rather than becoming less marginalized, non-"native" educators in 2019 seem to make up a smaller percentage of Japanese language teachers than they did forty years ago in 1981, when a similar survey was conducted (Samuel 1987). Then, only approximately sixty-five percent

(64.5%) were "native" teachers (133). Today's numbers appear too high, and one contributing reason may be identity—namely, non-"native" teachers choose not to identify as language teachers and, thus, may have avoided answering the survey, causing their numbers to be under counted. But verifying this would require a more nuanced survey, which does not rely on self-identification.

Nevertheless, as Samuel pointed out in 1987, even today some schools "give priority to a native speaker of Japanese. A perception shared by these schools is that it is more beneficial for students to study the language under native educators. There is also an indication that some students share this view and exert pressure on departments to hire native teachers" (Samuel 1987:134). This pressure can make non-"native" generalists feel unwanted by students seeking an "authentic" teacher. (Unfortunately, anecdotally at least, it remains equally true that unfair preference is given to "native" English speakers in hiring faculty for culture courses. "Native" Japanese language ability is valuable for conducting research, but since teaching, mentoring, and administrative work is done in English, non-"native" English speaking candidates appear often discriminated against.)

Each of these two forms of marginalization (non-"nativeness" and lacking an academic identity as being a language teacher) invites a risky response. Attempting to counter marginalization, non-"native" teachers may feel pressure to conform to or even act out prescriptive Japanese cultural norms. This may be an attempt to prove their "nativeness." However, they should not be expected to perform such idealized "Japanese-ness," primarily because it does not exist. In contrast, "native" teachers may feel undue pressure to represent the entirety of Japanese people. In both cases, the diversity of acceptable behaviors and speech styles in Japan defy reduction into a singular stereotypical form of correct behavior and language to be modeled in the classroom. Moreover, it sets an unreasonably narrow depiction of what it means to be a Japanese speaker.

Non-"native" teachers potentially show students that they can be "themselves." Both "native" and non-"native" teachers should be encouraged to model a range of speech styles to help students discover who they could be while speaking Japanese (see Gyogi 2016 for a larger discussion on speech style instruction). Allowing non-"native" educators to be themselves also models inclusivity and provides hope that the umbrella of Japanese speakers is inclusive enough to accommodate

students as non-"native" speakers. The narrow, overly prescriptivist, and Tokyo-centric view of Japanese language presented in many textbooks already is too limited to expect teachers to further reduce the spectrum of acceptable options. Instead, the models of generalists can help present the diversity of Japanese-language speakers. Non-"native" teachers can model for students more than just proper grammar; based on their own learning experiences—success and failures—they can advise students how and what to study to learn the language. Their encouragement, based on having "been there," is often invaluable.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to address briefly the question of what the diversity of generalist teaching models to our students. On the one hand, from a negative perspective, it can create a false image of universal expertise. Students seeing generalists teach a wide range of courses might assume it reasonable that any one person could be an authority on everything from the sociolinguistic nuances of *keigo* in the workplace, to the literary depictions of the rise and fall of the Taira clan in the late-Heian period, to the intricacies of the modern tea ceremony as practiced by housewives of Tokyo in the 1960s. Not only are these levels of knowledge too specialized for expertise by any one individual, but also this is not how knowledge is structured and produced in the field. Although the basics of these areas may be learned through reading a few articles, expertise is the product of years of specialized training.

On the other hand, from a more positive perspective, diversity of instruction can also model patterns of learning that we want our students to learn. Generalists provide models of excellence in language as well as cross-cultural competencies. They show the values and skills of a liberal arts education with broad exposure to ideas and methodologies from across the fields comprising Japan studies. In fact, many of the most interesting research is interdisciplinary and generalist teaching fosters the making of connections in our students and for us as researchers.

Finally, generalists are connected to students across their entire educational experience, unlike faculty at large universities who may only meet students in literature or culture classes or at the upper levels in the language classes, if they even teach language. It is a pleasure seeing the full range of students' growth as they evolve from struggling first-year students into more fluent and knowledgeable seniors.

Generalists face a dilemma: are they language teachers or are they teachers of another field? The answer is that they are both. Rather than feeling like second-class citizens, generalist should be celebrated and celebrate themselves. Generalists need to accept that they are a key contingent of Japanese-language educators. They should be encouraged to embrace their dilemma because it is part of the future of Japanese pedagogy and Japan studies in North America.

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"Can-Do" Statements for a Diverse Japanese Teacher Pipeline: Let's Widen the Funnel!

Jessica Lee Haxhi

ACTFL's Position Statement expresses its commitment to "Diversity and Inclusion in World Language Learning" through goals such as supporting access to equitable learning opportunities for all, reflecting diverse perspectives within and beyond the language field, and developing a teacher workforce that reflects the students in our classrooms today (ACTFL 2019). The survey by Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki (this volume) and subsequent discussion at the Association for Asian Studies roundtable begins to connect the Japanese language education field and the American Association of Teachers of Japanese (AATJ) to these important goals. The survey results and summary provide us with an enlightening look into the beliefs and experiences of 355 current Japanese-language educators. Their responses highlight realities, perceptions, and some misconceptions which we can and should address both individually and as a field. For this article, I would like to focus on the lack of diversity among Japanese-language educators and how we might begin to address it.

In the United States, there are already recognized issues with diversity in the teaching profession. The U. S. Department of Education (2016:1) reported that as of 2011–12, 82% of teachers in K-12 education were white, although only 51% of their students were white. By 2024, 56% of students are projected to be students of color; however, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) notes that only 25% of those earning undergraduate degrees and certificates from colleges of education as of 2018 were people of color (2018:4). The ACT, one of the two common college entrance exams in the United States, published "The Condition of Future Educators 2015" report. According to ACT (2016:4), of the 1.9 million students taking that college entrance test in 2015, only

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5% were interested in becoming future educators, 70% of them white; only 783 students in total intended to major in a foreign language (2016:10). In each of these reports, we see small percentages of students on their way to educational careers and even fewer pursuing language education. Of those, very few will actually become Japanese teachers. The road to becoming a teacher in the United States is often referred to as a pipeline, ideally one allowing a constant flow of teachers into the profession. The pipeline for L2 Japanese teachers, however, more closely resembles a funnel. The large, diverse population of U. S. students entering our elementary schools each year funnels down to a tiny trickle of L2 Japanese teachers by the time they arrive in the workforce.

As Mori et al. (this volume) note, the issues specifically related to the lack of diversity among Japanese-language educators include "pragmatic constraints, on the one hand, and ideological issues, on the other" (291); solving either set of issues presents challenges. Moreover, in the survey, the opinions expressed are from a small portion of the tiny percentage of the population who have already overcome the hurdles to becoming Japanese-language educators. It would be a fascinating, albeit impossible, task to survey *every* student in the United States as they progress from kindergarten to college graduation in order to determine their reasons for not pursuing careers in education, world languages, and Japanese teaching in particular.

There is obviously much work to do, but there is much we *can do* to improve the situation. Many factors influence the number of L2 students who ultimately become Japanese educators. We are not able to address all of these factors, of course, but, as a field, if we identify the factors we *are* able to influence and begin to target those, we can make a difference. The teachers surveyed by Mori et al. (this volume) were clearly affected by opportunities presented to them as they pursued teaching positions and by their perceptions and experiences once they were hired. Similarly, opportunities, perceptions, and experiences influence our future potential Japanese teachers in the K–16 funnel right now. We must address each of these areas in order to begin to widen the pool of potential Japanese teacher candidates.

I have attempted to capture those opportunities, perceptions and experiences in a list of "can-do statements" from the perspective of the student, beginning in kindergarten and continuing along the K–16 continuum. The National Council of State Supervisors of Foreign Languages (NCSSFL) and the American Council on the Teaching of

Foreign Languages (ACTFL) collaborated on the NCSSFL-ACTFL Can-Do Statements (2017) in order to illustrate the path to language proficiency for learners. In that same spirit, the "can-do statements" below illustrate the path to becoming a Japanese teacher. A negative answer to any one of these statements might cause a student to leave the potential L2 Japanese teacher pipeline. A preponderance of negative answers is the reason for the tiny trickle of teachers coming out of the current funnel.

This exercise is not meant to be a discouraging one. For each "can-do statement" below, there are actions that we can take as individual teachers, as schools, as groups of colleagues, or as the Japanese-language field as a whole to impact a more positive outcome. As you read, consider how each of us could change a "can't do" into a "can do" for the students who are our potential future Japanese L2 teachers.

I can take Japanese.

- I can start Japanese in kindergarten (or very early) in my urban/suburban/rural elementary school.
- If not in elementary school, then I can start taking Japanese in middle school or at least in my high school.
- I am allowed to take Japanese (or any language), even if my grades/test scores, etc., are not so good.
- I believe that Japanese would be easy, interesting, and worthwhile for me to learn, and so do my parents.
- I have heard that Japanese classes are interesting and fun and that you really learn to *speak* Japanese.

I can succeed in learning Japanese.

- I can sense that my teacher believes I can learn Japanese, regardless of my race, gender, sexual orientation, or native language.
- I can relate to the materials used in the class because people who share my background are represented in the clipart, pictures, and examples my teacher uses.
- I can participate successfully in Japanese class because the teacher supports Japanese language use with rich visuals, gestures, and contexts.
- I can get the gist of authentic Japanese texts, videos, etc. even though I don't understand every word because my teacher has given me strategies to do so.
- I can share my interests in Japanese class (music, sports, etc.).

- I can use real-world Japanese in lots of different contexts and have many opportunities to practice in class.
- I can use Japanese with native/heritage speakers and I have had opportunities to try.
- I can read and write in Japanese because my teacher uses many different methods to help me learn characters.
- I can always improve in Japanese because my teacher gives me feedback that helps me learn.
- My Japanese teacher has a good relationship with my family; they support my learning together.
- I have "fallen in love" with Japanese language and culture by the time I finish the equivalent of high school Level 2 (after this, I'll need lots of motivation to stick with it and learn all that *kanji*!).

I can continue to upper levels, study Japanese in college, and even become a Japanese Teacher.

- My teachers have helped me to believe I can attain high levels of proficiency.
- There is an AP Japanese class at my school and I believe I can pass the test.
- I can see a path to studying Japanese in college and my teachers have shared it with me.
- I can see a path to becoming a Japanese teacher (upper levels at the school, higher education opportunities) and my teachers have shared it with me.
- I can see a path to studying abroad in Japan and my teachers have shared it with me.

I can succeed in college-level Japanese and study abroad.

- I can find a college or university within my budget that offers Japanese.
- When I arrive in college, I can receive credit for the Japanese that I have already studied; therefore, I am already on my way to upper levels.
- I am supported and encouraged to continue my study of Japanese, including assistance and resources if I am struggling at the upper levels.
- I can access paths to study abroad in Japan, with timing and costs that are manageable for me.

- When I study abroad, I have a positive experience that motivates me to continue studying.

I can become a Japanese teacher.

- My state has a pathway to licensure in Japanese (Mori et al., this volume, 287).
- I can be supported in pursuing K–12 licensure through my college or university.
- I can see a path to becoming a Japanese-language professor at the university level.
- I believe that becoming a Japanese-language educator would be a fulfilling profession.
- I can support myself at a reasonable level on the salary offered to Japanese teachers (Mori et al., this volume, 287).

I can get a job as a Japanese teacher.

- There are positions available teaching Japanese at the level(s) at which I am interested.
- My educational experience and licensure (if applicable) have prepared me for the positions that are offered.
- The administrators and colleagues doing the interviewing and hiring believe that L2 Japanese teachers can be as effective as L1 Japanese teachers.

I can keep a job as a Japanese teacher.

- There is support for me as a new L2 Japanese teacher, such as mentoring, professional development opportunities, etc.
- There is support for me as a new L2 Japanese teacher among the other faculty at the school.
- My L1 colleagues recognize and respect my Japanese ability as an L2 speaker. (Mori et al., this volume, section 3).

Let's take a few of these statements and consider how we might effect a more positive outcome for students. For example: *I believe that Japanese would be easy, interesting, and worthwhile for me to learn, and so do my parents.* As teachers, we can convince students and parents that Japanese is not so difficult as they might imagine by inviting them to observe lessons or participate in a class themselves. We can spark their interest by offering *anime* nights, *origami* clubs, etc. and introducing them to English

speakers who have learned to speak Japanese. As a professional organization, we can produce posters, videos, and websites that promote Japanese language learning as fun, interesting, career-building, and absolutely do-able.

Let's practice with another statement: *When I arrive in college, I can receive credit for the Japanese that I have already studied; therefore, I am already on my way to upper levels*. As high school teachers, we can ensure that the next teacher has accurate information about the students he/she is receiving, even if it means a personal phone call or letter to the university Japanese professor. At high schools, we can promote the use of tests such as AAPPL, STAMP, Advanced Placement (AP) as well as the Seal of Biliteracy to ensure that colleges and universities are aware of students' abilities. As a professional organization, we can provide conference sessions and virtual chat spaces to encourage vertical articulation of K-16 and promote recognition of standardized language assessments and the Seal of Biliteracy at higher education institutions.

Each of these statements should be unpacked, as in the examples above, to determine where we might flip a *can't do* to a *can do*. Teachers may do this exercise alone or, ideally, with groups of colleagues, local stakeholders, and local, state, and national Japanese educator organizations. As these "can-do statements" illustrate, there are multiple points at which students may fall out of the L2 Japanese teacher pipeline. Elimination of these obstacles will require time, effort, planning, and collaboration. We can draw inspiration from the knowledge that addressing these obstacles will widen the funnel of L2 students who may become Japanese teachers and have a positive impact on diversity in our field. We *can do* it, and we must.

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Increasing Diversity of Japanese Language Teachers: Approaches to Teaching-Related Professional Development for College Students in North America

Amy Snyder Ohta

How can we increase the diversity of Japanese language teachers? This is an important question. While people from Japan provide a substantial resource in North America for Japanese foreign language teaching, people who have learned Japanese themselves and developed high proficiency are an excellent model and resource for language students. Promoting language teaching, especially Japanese language teaching, as a potential future career has been something I have worked on since my early days at the University of Washington. I have partnered in this process with colleagues in my department, where we offer a Japanese major and minor. We have a diverse population of students in our Japanese program, including students from Japan whose language skills are such that they don't take any of our language courses, foreign language learners, and heritage learners who may take some of our language courses. Many of our students are already multilingual before embarking on their Japanese language studies, as immigrants or heritage speakers of languages besides Japanese. What our students have in common is a love of the Japanese language and a strong interest in Japanese culture; many also long for a career where they can use their Japanese. This population of students provides a natural group among whom to incubate interest in Japanese language teaching. Some of our graduates have gone on to become teachers, whether EFL teachers in Japan, JFL teachers in the U. S., or ESL teachers in the U. S.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of practical ways that colleges and universities with Japanese programs can help undergraduate and graduate students to consider Japanese language

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teaching as a possible career. I will share approaches that I take in my work, as well as activities conducted by and with colleagues. I will discuss a range of approaches to increasing teacher diversity by promoting language teaching as a possible career. The University of Washington has comparatively well-resourced Japanese studies and Japanese language programming compared to other universities in our area, which may allow us to implement more strategies than universities with smaller programs. To be maximally useful to faculty from Japanese programs of various sizes and with various faculty specializations, I will organize these according to the nature of resources needed to implement these strategies, beginning with strategies that are the easiest and cheapest to implement. The strategies I will present include (1) advisement, (2) guest lectures, (3) instructional units related to foreign teaching and learning, (4) teaching-related internship programs, and (5) courses on Japanese second language acquisition and teaching methods, where I will present a new course on teaching JFL in North America and teaching English in Japan.

1. Advisement

Student advisement is a natural place to begin in helping students to consider teaching as a possible future career. Students welcome conversations about career possibilities. We cannot direct their career choices, but we can mention teaching-related careers and provide information about K–12 and higher education teaching, depending on their skills and interests. I have found that students and community members who are exploring teaching as a career often begin with very little knowledge of what is involved. They need to understand the job qualifications required for different sorts of teaching positions, including the language skills that are required, the types of training required for different sorts of positions, and the level of academic skill needed for different kinds of teacher-training programs. For example, some students think that if they get an M. A. in Japanese linguistics they can get a job as a K–12 teacher (not realizing that what they need is to be certified to teach a language, which is not a function of Japanese M. A. programs); that with an M. A. in Japanese in hand, they will be able to get a full time job teaching Japanese in their city of preference; or that a Ph. D. is a vocational degree that, once obtained, assures them a job as a university professor. Students also need guidance regarding the availability of full-time openings commensurate with their language skills and planned educational path.

I often direct students and community members to two resources: (1) the Japan Foundation Los Angeles' (JFLA) webpage "Becoming a Japanese Language Teacher" and (2) the "Jobline" website of the American Associations of Teachers of Japanese (AATJ). While somewhat oriented toward people from Japan, the JFLA page offers information that is both helpful and realistic (for example, pointing out that college teaching positions for those with M. A. degrees are often term-limited appointments), along with giving an orientation to the process of becoming a K–12 teacher, which is unfamiliar to many. For students interested in college/university teaching, the AATJ Jobline is a place to see the kinds of openings that are available as well as the qualifications required for different types of positions. Looking over these resources is helpful for those considering teaching in deciding if they want to continue by taking next steps toward a particular type of career.

2. Guest Lectures

Our connections with local Japanese language teachers are very helpful to students. Of course, our in-house university/college teachers can give talks about their own career paths to becoming college faculty. Local Japanese teachers, including alumni who have become Japanese teachers and work nearby, are also excellent resources to invite to give guest lectures. Figure 1 shows a flyer for a recent talk that we sponsored. The speaker is an example of a home-grown teacher and a University of Washington graduate who has a heritage language background in Japanese (Figure 1).

Another way of promoting language teaching as a career for U. S. citizens and permanent residents is to promote the JET Program. Because we live in a city with a Japanese consulate, each year a JET representative comes to campus to talk to students. In addition, we invite returnee JET participants to come and talk about their experiences. The JET Program provides teaching experience and is a common first step toward a teaching career for those learning Japanese in college. JET also provides the student committed to the work of immersing themselves in Japanese-speaking communities in Japan with opportunities to develop their Japanese language and cultural skills, providing them with the strong language skills necessary to become a Japanese language teacher. Figure 2 depicts a flyer from an event where we invited three local JET alumni to talk about their experiences with students.

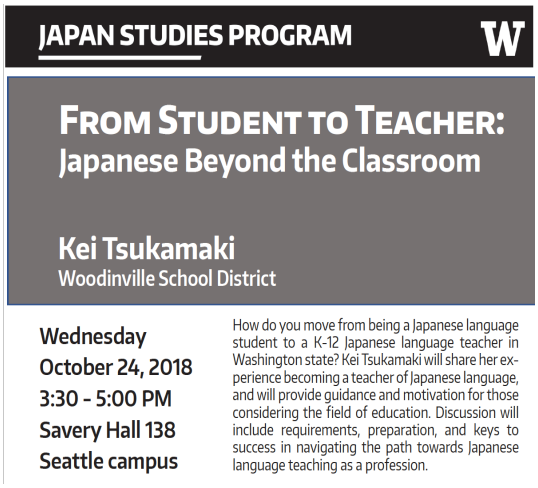

Figure 1. Flyer for a recent talk by a local JFL teacher who graduated from our university. Used with permission.

Figure 2. Flyer for a Recent Talk by JET Program Alumni. Used with Permission.

3. Instructional Units Related to Japanese Teaching or Learning

Teaching a unit in a language class or content class about Japan that relates to second/foreign language development or language teaching and learning can open conversations about teaching as a possible career. In my course on minority languages in Japan, I have a unit on bilingual development and a unit on English in Japan, for example. In the latter, I include research on the JET Program. In my Japanese discourse analysis class, I cover interlanguage pragmatics and discuss research on pedagogical applications of the findings of discourse analysis. Might a literature course touch on L2 writers? Might a social sciences course consider Japanese diaspora and education issues, or touch on language policy? In language courses we can coach students to be teachers for one another, have students take turns as "teacher," or connect with local schools where Japanese is taught to provide classroom volunteers. Japanese faculty can also share their own career path stories during informal moments, which encourages future conversations with students about their own Japanese-related career paths. Students who are working to envision their own future careers find stories from role models to be helpful, and such conversations can lead to more formal advisement opportunities related to career development to help students who might be interested in teaching to consider various possibilities.

4. Teaching-Related Internship Program

Since Spring Quarter 2018, we have been offering a teaching internship course that I developed in order to give students an opportunity to explore language teaching as a possible career. Catalog copy for the course is shown in Figure 3. Our course offers students the possibility of interning in university courses for any of the languages that we teach.

ASIAN 491 Internship in Teaching Asian Languages and Cultures (1-2, max. 5)
Teaching internship in a language course (undergrad or grad students are eligible) or a disciplinary course (graduate students only), as arranged with the supervising instructor. Faculty permission required. 3 hr/week internship earns 1 credit, 6 hr/week internship earns 2 credits. Credit/no-credit only. Offered: AWSpS.

Figure 3. Catalog Copy for Internship in Teaching Asian Languages and Cultures

Both undergraduate and graduate students may intern in language courses. I developed an explanation of how the course works for students in the form of a "frequently asked questions" page, displayed in Figure 4.

Asian 491: Internship in Teaching Asian Languages & Cultures
FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

What is "Asian 491?"
Asian 491 provides, with faculty permission, an opportunity for a registered UW student to be an intern in a UW Asian Languages and Literature course. For undergrads with strong language skills, internships would be in a language course. For graduate students, internships could be in a language course or in a literature, linguistics, or culture course. Exchange students from abroad who are registered UW students are also welcome to apply. The approval of the faculty in charge of the course is required in order to enroll.

Can anybody take Asian 491?
Asian 491 is arranged between a student and a faculty member who advises the internship. It is available with faculty permission.

What would I do as an Asian 491 intern?
That depends on what you propose, what the faculty supervisor suggests, and what is mutually agreeable. In a language class, an intern might help in the classroom (i.e., as partners during pair or group work), develop or revise instructional materials, lead a "language conversation table" or "reading lab," or doing tutoring outside of class. In a literature, culture, or linguistics course (graduate students only), an intern might assist in class, lead a discussion, teach a portion of a lecture in an area of expertise, consult with students on papers, etc.

Are Asian 491 interns "TAs?"
Interns are not TAs. They are not paid, and are not responsible for classroom instruction, grading, or other duties that TAs have. Their work does not replace that of a TA or instructor.

How do I sign up for an Asian 491 internship?
Registration is only with faculty approval. To propose an internship, consider what kind of internship you would like. Then, contact the appropriate faculty member, by email or in person, to ask about an Asian 491 internship. If the faculty member is willing to consider having an intern, arrange a meeting. Take along your filled out "Proposal and Internship Agreement" form, and have a conversation about your and their ideas related to a possible internship. If the faculty member agrees to supervise you in an Asian 491 internship, take the signed (by you and the faculty member) form to the Department office to register for the course.

What if an instructor isn't interested in having me an intern?
Internships are only available with faculty permission for enrollment. Without this, you cannot register for an Asian 491 internship.

How is Asian 491 graded, and how much credit will I receive?
The course is credit/no-credit only. To receive credit, a 75% or higher attendance rate, appropriate completion of duties, and a reflection paper submitted by the first day of final exams week, or earlier, is required. A one-credit internship involves 3 hours per week, with 6 hours of work required for a two-credit internship.

Can I arrange through Asian 491 to do an internship in a class in a different department, or in a high school, community college or some other organization?
No. Asian 491 is only available for courses taught in the Asian Languages & Literature department.

Figure 4. FAQ for Internship in Teaching Asian Languages and Cultures

Students can do a one credit or a two-credit internship, for three or six hours per week. Interns do not replace the duties of faculty or teaching assistants but work as supplementary helpers. To sign up for an internship, a student meets with the faculty member who teaches the course where they would like to intern to discuss possible duties. If the faculty member agrees to have the student as an intern, they together plan student duties, which are shown on an agreement form, and the student then enrolls in the course (Figure 5). The course also requires students to submit a written reflection paper describing their experience.

Asian 491: Internship in Teaching Asian Languages & Cultures

Proposal and Internship Agreement

Name, Student Number, and Email Address: _____

Quarter/year of proposed internship: _____

Major/minor (proposed or declared): _____

Proposed site of internship (course number, title): _____

Proposed supervisor of internship (faculty member teaching the course above): _____

Proposed credits for internship: ___1 credit (3 hours/week (30 hours total) ___2 credits (6 hours/week (60 hours total)

Student status:

___undergraduate student ___UW direct exchange student from _____

___graduate student ___UW International English programs exchange student from _____

___matriculated student ___non-matriculated student

Why you would like to be an intern? Explain what you would like to contribute and what you hope to learn.

The following is a list of possible duties. Mark those which interest you. Actual duties will be confirmed/revised in consultation with the faculty advisor prior to enrollment.

____ Attending classes, ____ hours per week

____ Participating in in-class pair/group work student discussions

____ Helping the teacher with demonstrate conversations, or conduct other presentations to the class

____ Organizing and leading a "conversation table" or "reading lab" for the class, ____ hours/week, _____ times/quarter

____ Creating instructional materials or activities to be used in class, as mutually agreed with the instructor

____ Teaching a mini-lecture in an area of academic expertise (graduate students only)

____ Leading discussions in an area of academic expertise (graduate students only)

____ Assisting in instructional planning in an area of academic expertise (graduate students only)

____ Observing meetings with instructional staff

____ Other (please describe):

Internship Agreement:

- I understand that interns are not TAs, and that I will neither receive payment nor be expected to do work that would replace the work of a course teaching assistant.
- I will submit a reflection paper describing what I learned from this internship by the first day of Final Exams week, describing, analyzing, and reflecting upon my learning experiences.
- Within the agreed upon internship hours, I will perform my duties to the best of my ability.
- I will be helpful to students enrolled in the course, will seek opportunities for feedback with my internship supervisor, and will notify my supervisor and Asian Languages & Literature advising if problems arise that I'll need assistance in resolving.
- I understand that faculty permission is required to enroll; if a faculty member agrees to supervise my internship in his/her course, the faculty member and I will meet together about form and make revisions based on that conversation.
- I understand that I will not have access to private student records, that my duties will not relate to grading/evaluating students.
- I understand that the internship graded on a credit/no-credit basis only, and that a minimum of 75% attendance PLUS constructive engagement in internship duties are required to earn credit.
- I agree to complete the agreed upon hours. If this becomes impossible, I will notify my supervisor and contact Asian Languages & Literature academic advising immediately.

Student signature:_____ Date:_____

Faculty Supervisor: I agree to supervise this student's internship in the above-named course, of which I am the instructor, and give the student permission to enroll in _____ credits of Asian 491

Faculty name:_____ Signature:_____ Date:_____

Figure 5. Proposal and Internship Agreement for Internship in Teaching Asian Languages and Cultures

As of Winter Quarter 2020, twenty students have enrolled, eleven interning in Japanese language courses. An article in our newsletter features this course (Asian Languages and Literature 2019). One intern noted that the internship "really made me question my own baseline

language skills.… I had forgotten why certain grammar points exist the way they do" (8). She also enjoyed watching students develop and considers teaching to be a possible career option. Another intern said that his experience sparked his interest in applying for the JET program and that "it was a great experience both in lesson planning and testing the limits of my own Japanese language capabilities" (8).

Helping in a foreign language classroom, doing tutoring, or materials development may prompt deeper consideration of language teaching careers. An internship also provides stronger qualifications for teaching language in Japan, where students can further develop their linguistic and cultural competence, which is prerequisite to becoming a Japanese language teacher.

We are at early stages of including a service-learning opportunity for students studying Japanese and other Asian languages. Few resources are required to do an in-house internship such as this, which is supervised, onsite, by the faculty member in whose course the student interns. I have been thinking of how we might expand our course to reach more students by providing opportunities for teaching-related internships in a broader range of settings. Fitzgerald (2010) describes including an optional service-learning component in an undergraduate course, connecting students with outside agencies. Carnegie Mellon University (CMU) offers a foreign language teaching internship course that places undergraduates in local K–12 public school classrooms as tutors or classroom assistants (Polansky 2004, Polansky et al. 2010). CMU's course goes beyond ours in including a syllabus of readings, assignments and journaling designed to promote tutor reflection and development. The faculty supervisor also does site visits as the main instructor supervising the internship course. I am exploring possibilities related to expanding service-learning opportunities for our students.

5. Courses on Japanese Second Language Acquisition and Teaching Methods

Since I am an applied linguist, teaching in my own field provides a natural avenue for raising issues related to Japanese language development. In this section I will introduce two undergraduate courses, one on Japanese second language acquisition (SLA), and a new course in development on teaching/learning foreign language in the Japan context.

5.1. The Acquisition of Japanese as a Second or Foreign Language

This course provides many opportunities for students to think about how Japanese language skills develop. I also include a unit on language

acquisition in JFL classrooms. The catalog description is shown in Figure 6.

JAPAN 441 The Acquisition of Japanese as a Second or Foreign Language (5)
Focuses on how Japanese is acquired or learned by non-native speakers in North America and Japan. Includes study of how Japanese is learned in both naturalistic settings such as study abroad and in foreign language classrooms.

Figure 6: Catalog Copy for The Acquisition of Japanese as a Second or Foreign Language

Because the students are Japanese majors/minors and students who know Japanese because they are from Japan or grew up using Japanese at home, I teach SLA by connecting to their own language-learning experience by focusing on topics such as language learning motivation, classroom interaction, study abroad, and language and emotion. For their term paper, students do an interview project; as part of the course, I teach interview research methodology. Each quarter, some students decide to interview language teachers, while others interview learners of Japanese. Seeing the course's success in nurturing interest in language teaching among some students, I wondered how to help students to develop further in this area.

5.2. A Japanese-Focused Teaching Methods Course for Undergraduates

I have recently designed a new course entitled "Foreign Language Teaching in the Japanese Context: English in Japan and Japanese in North America." The catalog description is shown in Figure 7.

JAPAN 344 Foreign Language Teaching in the Japanese Context: EFL in Japan and JFL in North America (5)
Teaching methods course focused communicative, 4-skills, approaches for teaching foreign language in Japan (English as a foreign language) and in North America (Japanese as a foreign language). Includes portfolio development and job-seeking strategies. Prerequisite: either a minimum grade of 2.0 in JAPAN 203, or a minimum grade of 2.0 in JAPAN 213.

Figure 7: Catalog Copy for Foreign Language Teaching in the Japanese Context: EFL in Japan and JFL in North America

The goal of this course is to provide a practical and hands-on overview of foreign language teaching methodology, to prepare students for careers teaching Japanese as well as for EFL jobs in Japan. Teaching English in Japan provides an immediate career option for new college graduates with native or near-native English skills. Completing a college course on the

topic of foreign language teaching will distinguish students who have taken this course as compared to typical college graduates without such training. Meanwhile teaching in Japan can move motivated students toward the advanced proficiency and cultural competence needed to teach Japanese professionally. In searching for models to inspire course design, I found examples of Japanese foreign language teaching courses for undergraduates at Portland State University and Australian National University, for example, where undergraduates and graduate students enroll in a course that can be taken for either undergraduate or graduate credit; I did not find any offerings that were only for undergraduates, or that combined foreign language teaching methods with a focus on JFL and EFL.[1]

For the main course text, I have chosen Johnson (2018), *An Introduction to Foreign Language Learning and Teaching* (see Swan 2010 for a review). Johnson covers foreign language teaching methods and considers how languages are learned, interactionist SLA theory, learner characteristics and individual differences, contexts for language teaching/learning, syllabus construction, lesson planning, language skills, and assessment. I plan to supplement Johnson with articles covering content specific to the North American JFL and Japanese EFL contexts, as well as to introduce sociocultural theory as an approach for understanding and guiding classroom foreign language development. I will also supplement Johnson with information on ESL (English as a second language) teaching in North America, to raise awareness of differences between foreign and second language instruction and the nature of these different sorts of careers. Table 1 presents a possible organizational arrangement of textbook chapters and supplementary readings. Additional details are given in the Appendix.

Class will be taught in a workshop style, emphasizing practical application and creative development of skills. Students will create language teaching materials and do teaching demonstrations in small groups during class sessions. Since the students in the class are language learners themselves, I also plan to have students try out some innovative learning activities themselves, such as Koyama's (2016) dubbing activity, so they can reflect on the impact of different types of activities and assignments. The course includes a required service-learning component of teaching/tutoring as language class volunteers on our campus or in the community, or as 1:1 volunteer tutors, with students keeping a journal of their experiences. There will also be field trips, such as a visit to the University of Washington Library's Japanese *Tadoku* (extensive reading,

Week	Topic	Johnson	Articles
1	Brief overview of teaching methods. What are EFL in Japan and JFL in N. America?	1–2	Japan Foundation 2019j, Leachtenauer 2015e
2	How languages are learned	3–4	Bialystock 2018, Yoshida 2010j
3	Second language acquisition theories and understandings of language learning	5–6	Chan and Wong 2017j, Taguchi 2014j
4	Sociocultural approaches, pragmatics		Eun and Lim 2009, Ohta 2017j, Chou, Lau, Yang and Murphey 2007e
5	The Learner	7–8	Shintaku 2019j, Thomas 2014j
6	Methods and contexts	9–10	Yamada 2010e, Furuhata 2002j; Koyama 2016j
7	Syllabi and implementation	11–12	Okumura 2017e, Oga-Baldwin and Nakata 2014ej, Mori 2005j
8	Skills and lessons	13, 15	Tabata-Sandom 2017j, Nishi 2019e
9	Assessment	14	Pellowe 2015e, Iwashita 2010ej
10	Professional development for language teachers		Marchesseau 2014e

Key: e, j, or ej after a date indicates focus on teaching English (e) or Japanese (j) or both (ej).

Table 1. A Tentative Schedule for "Foreign Language Teaching in the Japanese Context"

see, for example, Tabata-Sandom 2017) collection where they will look at the collection and prepare to write or co-author a book for the *Tadoku* library. And, by offering the class late in the day, the schedule will permit inviting guest speakers—local JFL teachers, those who have taught EFL in Japan or are currently teaching ESL, and graduate students whose research closely relates to teaching JFL or EFL. Finally, to develop a stronger understanding of the job market and prepare students for job applications, students will do online research, collecting resources on applying for jobs in Japan, creating resumes, and tailoring resumes and cover letters to create an application.

6. Conclusion

College and university faculty who teach Japanese are in a unique position to promote diversity in our shared field of Japanese language teaching. This paper has introduced a range of strategies, including student advisement, guest lectures, internships, instructional units, Japanese SLA courses and teaching methods courses, that can be harnessed to guide students to consider Japanese language teaching careers. These strategies, individually or in combination, can lay groundwork for interested students to think about and prepare for future teaching careers. As Japanese faculty, our fields of specialization, program curricula, and expertise vary, as do our opportunities to introduce JFL teaching careers to diverse students. Each of us can think creatively about how we can help to guide students in their career development. We can choose strategies that fit with the scope of our own positions and teaching responsibilities, each considering the resources we have and what it is that we, personally and in our academic programs, can do to promote JFL teaching as a possible career path to our diverse student communities.

Will these strategies result in increased diversity among Japanese language teaching professionals? Only time will tell. Our work is one of planting seeds, tilling soil, watching students grow, and cheering for them in their career journeys. Where will they go? I know that we will, as always, follow their development with interest.

APPENDIX

Topical areas and potential supplementary readings for a course on teaching JFL in North America and EFL in Japan:

- Teaching positions and qualifications needed to teach Japanese in the U. S. (Japan Foundation 2019) and English in Japan (Leachtenauer 2015)
- Bilingual and immersion education in the U. S. (Bialystock 2018)
- Japanese L2 pragmatic development—Taguchi (2014) on incomplete sentences
- K–12 EFL instruction in Japan: “Lesson study” as teacher development (Rupp 2015), language policy and the JET Program

(Marchesseau 2014), "English activities" in the elementary school (Okumura 2017), a response card teaching technique for Japan EFL (Pellowe 2015)

- Japanese and popular culture in the classroom—teaching Japanese with *anime* and popular media (Koyama 2016; Wong and Chan 2017) and video games (Shintaku 2019).
- Sociocultural theory (SCT) and concept-based instruction (CBI) —overview of SCT (Eun and Lim 2009), and Japanese concept-based instruction (Ohta 2017)
- Classroom corrective feedback—student and teacher perceptions (Yoshida 2009)
- Learner-created content (Chou, Lau, Yang and Murphey 2007)
- Japanese reading development: Teaching *kanji*—air-writing (Thomas 2014); Extensive reading (Tabata-Sandom 2017)
- English loanwords as a source of vocabulary teaching for EFL in Japan (Nishi 2019)
- JFL teaching methods in the US—survey of US teachers about preferred Japanese teaching methods (Furuhata 2010) and "new language" and "own language" in teaching children's EFL and JFL (Oga-Baldwin and Nakata 2014)
- EFL textbooks in Japan—multicultural contexts in English language textbooks, including the concepts of inner/outer/ expanding circles as related to world Englishes (Yamada 2010)
- Oral proficiency for EFL and JFL (Iwashita 2010)
- Naturalness in language teaching materials—how *dooshite* is used in Japanese as compared to how it is presented in textbooks (Mori 2005)

NOTE

[1] See, for example, see Australia National University's course information at https://programsandcourses.anu.edu.au/2020/course/JPNS3014.

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Leveraging Diversity and Inclusivity in Japanese Teacher Community in an American High School District

Yo Azama

1. We Teach Who We Are

In *Courage to Teach*, renowned educator and author, Parker Palmer (1998) states: "Teaching, like any truly human activity, emerges from one's inwardness, for better or worse. As I teach, I project the condition of my soul onto my students, my subject, and our way of being together." For a teacher as a technician, teaching requires subject knowledge and techniques to teach the content and skills. In addition, good teaching commands us to show up fully as who we are; our authentic selves. Finding our authentic selves depends on our will and courage to look inwardly. The condition of the community in which such a treacherous journey takes place matters to the development of a teacher. It is understood that in order for us to show up fully first we must create a community where each member feels safe to express, attends to listening to truly understand others, and seeks common ground. How is our Japanese language teaching community practicing inclusivity? How can we move forward not in spite of but because of diversity? In this section, I am going to share my perspectives on diversity and inclusion from the viewpoint of a secondary school Japanese-language teacher, address the need for building an inclusive professional teacher-learner community, and finally offer elements to consider when establishing such a group. First, in order to establish the context, I will describe the Japanese Language Professional Learning Community (PLC) in Salinas. Then, I will share the key elements for building a successful PLC with diversity. Lastly, I will end this section with how such a practice impacted teachers' beliefs and attitudes.

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1.1. A Case Study of Japanese Programs at Salinas Union High School District

1.1.1. Brief background

Salinas Union High School District is located in Salinas, California, an agriculture-rich area just one-hour drive South from Silicon Valley. The district includes five comprehensive high schools, three alternative high schools, one vocational school, and three middle schools. All five comprehensive high schools offer thriving Japanese programs with eight full time teachers catering to over 1000 students yearly in a predominantly Hispanic and low-income community. Japanese language instruction in the district has grown from one program to five programs between 1999 and 2019. The Japanese teachers organize numerous cultural events together throughout the year as an extension of students' learning and the events are well attended by community members. It is seen as a model program in the district.

Demographics of the teachers are the following:

- Total number of Japanese teachers in Salinas Union High School District: 8
- Female: 5; Male: 3
- Non-native Japanese speaking teachers: 4; native Japanese speaking teachers: 4

Among eight teachers, seven teachers speak with Standard Japanese, and one teacher speaks with a Kansai dialect.

Experiences and professional development of the teachers are the following:

- Teaching experience: less than 5 years: 4; between 6–10 years: 2; more than 20 years: 2
- Two teachers currently serve as department chairs at their schools.
- All teachers spent more than 50 hours in professional development in 2019–2020.
- Five teachers have presented at state and national conferences and are also leaders of state organizations such as the California Language Teachers Association and the California Association of Japanese Language Teachers (CAJLT).
- Three teachers are team leaders of Monterey Bay World Language Project, a local professional organization that provides professional development opportunities for world language teachers in Monterey County.

In summary, while the eight teachers come from diverse backgrounds, they share the common understanding and value of proficiency and performance-based instruction. The development of such "common language" in the diverse group grounded in a strong foundation while advancing teaching practices with new instructional foci. As a result, the group is recognized as a strong cohesive team that is constantly adapting and evolving.

1.1.2. Instructional foci as common ground

One of the important reasons for a strong PLC is the district's provision for weekly collaboration time. All teachers are provided time to collaborate once a week on a topic the PLC selects as a focus throughout a semester or year. This teacher-driven approach encourages teacher autonomy and sets the tone of the meetings. In our case, we Japanese teachers first analyze various data points to identify our strengths and areas for improvement in our instruction as our focus areas for the year. The key element here is that the team makes the link between their actions and outcomes explicitly. Setting goals that are evidence-driven, instructionally sound, relevant to our community, and attainable is a crucial first step in establishing a culture of teacher learners. As this process of establishing learning foci by the teachers begins by merely "noticing" strengths of the current instructional practices and areas for growth, we were able to see elements more objectively rather than emotionally or with the potential for personal bias. This had an effect of promoting the team's curiosity. As a result, the desire to explore possible remedies emerged. For example, in 2017 the Salinas Japanese Teachers PLC decided on exploring a Social Justice theme in the curriculum in an effort to address the current social environment and meet our students' needs closely. As these are not areas traditional textbooks cover, the team's desire to bring learning opportunities for students to explore the topics on equity, fairness, and diversity through the lens of Japanese society prompted the group to revise the existing curriculum. This illustrates that in order for us to bring inclusion in our lessons, we must practice inclusion in our professional learning communities.

1.2. Professional Learning Community: Beyond the Safe Zone—Establishing an Active PLC

How we run a PLC becomes very crucial in its effectiveness and productivity. How can we ensure members' voices are accurately heard? What are some of the possible obstacles faced by our team members as we

ask them to "show up as who they are"? What can we do to promote equity of voice during the meetings? Mindful facilitation is essential for creating not only a safe zone but also a "brave zone" where all participants can express their diverse opinions in a respectful manner. Our team adapted the Collaborative Norms known as the "Seven P's" in addition to a facilitation format developed by Adaptive Schools (see Thinking Collaborative website).

Seven Norms of Collaboration

(1) Pausing
Pausing before responding or asking a question allows time for thinking and enhances dialogue, discussion, and decision-making.

(2) Paraphrasing
Using a paraphrase starter that is comfortable for you—"So…," "As you are…," or "You're thinking…."—and following the starter with an efficient paraphrase assists members of the group in hearing and understanding one another as they converse and make decisions.

(3) Posing Questions
Two intentions of posing questions are to explore and to specify thinking. Questions may be posed to explore perceptions, assumptions, and interpretations, and to invite others to inquire into their thinking. For example, "What might be some conjectures you are exploring?" Use focusing questions such as, "Which students, specifically?" or "What might be an example of that?" to increase the clarity and precision of group members' thinking. Inquire into others' ideas before advocating one's own.

(4) Putting Ideas on the Table
Ideas are the heart of meaningful dialogue and discussion. Label the intention of your comments. For example, "Here is one idea…," "One thought I have is…," "Here is a possible approach…," or "Another consideration might be…."

(5) Providing Data
Providing data, both qualitative and quantitative, in a variety of forms supports group members in constructing shared understanding from their work. Data have no meaning beyond that which we make of them; shared meaning develops from collaboratively exploring, analyzing, and interpreting data.

(6) Paying Attention to Self and Others
Meaningful dialogue and discussion are facilitated when each group member is conscious of self and of others and is aware of what (s)he is saying and how it is said as well as how others are responding. This

includes paying attention to learning styles when planning, facilitating, and participating in group meetings and conversations.

(7) Presuming Positive Intentions
Assuming that others' intentions are positive promotes and facilitates meaningful dialogue and discussion and prevents unintentional put-downs. Using positive intentions in speech is one manifestation of this norm.

The norms help all members to pay attention to their own feelings as well as to others. In addition, they become more metacognitive about their own way of being as they engage in group dialogues. Without all members developing the same understanding and value of such norms and committing to their practice in group discussions, we are not able to practice true inclusion—resulting in a high chance of failure in seeking diverse ideas. For this reason, a Japanese teacher community at any level must establish a PLC that promotes inclusivity and diverse ideas by establishing clear common goals and providing opportunities and tools to communicate with one another. A high functioning PLC builds efficacy among all team members; collective efficacy.

2. Self and Collective Efficacy

What contributes to a group's effectiveness and confidence to improve? A renowned psychologist on human motivation, Albert Bandura defines collective efficacy as "a group's shared belief in its conjoint capability to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given levels of attainment" (1997:477). In a strong PLC, each member demonstrates deep listening skills, the ability to suspend his or her own belief to create space for other perspectives and presume positive intentions in others. As a teacher with high self-efficacy is a valuable asset in the classroom, collective efficacy in a PLC yields more results and creates a synergetic collaborative environment. John Hattie and Klaus Zierer's Visible Learning research on more than 1,500 meta-analyses further confirms collective teacher efficacy as the most predictable indicator of student achievement by far (2017:26). As we may not have control over certain conditions such as creating more diverse or less diverse communities or equal representations of various types of cultures, we do have control over how we can bring diverse perspectives and experiences together in a community with common goals with mindful facilitation. The example used in this section is a small one at a given school district. However, this model suggests important key elements as we build Japanese language

teacher communities that leverage our diversity at local, state, and national levels.

3. From Who We Are to Who We Aspire to Be

I'm certain that our vision for "who we aspire to be" in the future can only emerge from PLCs whose aims are to promote deep dialogues and experiences which lead to collective efficacy of the community. Teacher leadership trainings must address the needs for developing skills to facilitate effective meetings, promote equity in voice, welcome diverse viewpoints, suspend our own disbeliefs to allow possibility, communicate meaningful realistic outcomes, reflect on our own thinking and ways to interact in groups, and seek common ground among the team. Establishment of effective PLCs is the foundation for creative solutions we desperately need to address the challenges faced by our complex learning and teaching environments in the modern world. Aside from developing as more skillful teachers, the most valuable outcome from the PLC has been development of the disposition to approach our learning, ways to relate to others, and finally the ability to build self and collective efficacy among individuals with diverse views. The German philosopher and poet, Goethe famously wrote, "What you can do or dream you can, begin it. Boldness has genius, power and magic in it" (1867:14). In this fast-paced world, it becomes challenging to carve out time for collaboration. However, if we are to elevate ourselves to the next level, we must remind ourselves of the power and magic of effective collaboration.

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AATJ's Role in Diversity and Inclusion: An Opportunity to Transform into a Well-Integrated Organization

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1. Introduction

According to the survey results, 57% of the survey respondents said no to the question, "Is the Japanese language educator community in North America diverse one?" (Mori, Hasegawa, Park, and Suzuki, this volume). This result suggests that the American Association of Teachers of Japanese (AATJ) as a professional organization needs to improve diversity within the field. What is a more important question is whether or not our organization and its membership as a whole embrace the value of diversity and put it into practice in every aspect of their profession on a daily basis. The survey results make it clear there is disparity and division among our members according to varying language background and instructional levels. Now that we have the results and can see the kinds of issues being raised, we need to reflect on these issues and try to understand how they arose. Based on my experience of having served three national organizations (ATJ, NCJLT, and AATJ) as an officer and on the boards of directors, I will first elaborate on these issues and point out that AATJ has missed the opportunity to integrate the two organizations, the Association of Teacher of Japanese (ATJ) and the National Council of Japanese Language Teachers (NCJLT) after they merged. In order to improve the current situation, I suggest that AATJ transform into a full organization of well-integrated members by (1) reevaluating the current mission and bylaws in order to have a common goal or vision adopting the spirit of diversity and inclusion as a core value, (2) strengthening its commitment to fostering a climate conducive to open and respectful exchange of ideas, and (3) articulating what it aims to instill in students.

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2. Issues of Disparity and Divisions in Japanese Language Education

2.1 History and Context: Consolidation without Integration

Before their merger in 2012, the Association of Teachers of Japanese (ATJ) and the National Council of Japanese Language Teachers (NCJLT) had been in existence with separate systems of governance. According to the AATJ's website (www.aatj.org), ATJ was founded in 1963, and the membership was mainly comprised of college level scholars and instructors from academic units such as "Far Eastern Languages" and "[Department] of Chinese and Japanese" (Association of Teachers of Japanese 1963). In the editorial notes in the ATJ's inaugural publication of its journal, Viglielmo (1963:2) states, "the publication stimulates … discussion of the many problems concerning Japanese language teaching," thus it is inferred that initially the ATJ's primary concerns were specifically related to Japanese language teaching. Two decades later, in the wake of Japan's economic success in the 1970s, many K-12 schools started to offer Japanese, which resulted in a rapid increase in numbers of both learners and instructors of Japanese at the K-12 level in the United States (Miura 1990:29). According to the Modern Language Association's (MLA) census data, there were 2,718 learners of Japanese in 1963, which increased to 11,516 in 1980 (MLA census data). Remembering how NCJLT was formed, Kazuo Tsuda, one of the founding directors, recounts that the National Foreign Language Center in Washington D.C., ATJ, and the Japan Foundation language center "organized the first conference for Japanese secondary teacher" where Hiroshi Miyaji, then president of ATJ asked Tsuda to create an organization for secondary teachers in 1991 (National Council of Japanese Language Teachers 2011). In the following year, 1992, K-12 Japanese instructors founded the National Council of Secondary Teachers of Japanese (NCSTJ), which later changed its name to National Council of Japanese Language Teachers (NCJLT). Subsequently, the burst of Japan's economic bubble resulted in diminished funding resources to support non-profit organizations. In 1999, in order to articulate the two national organizations as well as streamline administrative work especially for financial transaction, a third organization, the Alliance of Associations of Teachers of Japanese, was formed. This three-some infrastructure was maintained for a while although there were some challenges such as scheduling a date for a joint board meeting for approximately twenty officers and directors. In 2008, concerned members of our profession and other stakeholders proposed to

ATJ and NCJLT the idea of merging both organizations with the stated reasons that decreasing resources could be utilized in more effective ways such as cutting back costs for board meetings from two organizations to one, and also trying to simplify office administration.[1] With a little over a year of research on feasibility by a task force, the governing bodies of ATJ and NCJLT voted on the merger. A transition team was formed to solve many issues such as different membership fees, governance structures, integration of the NCJLT's local affiliate associations, and viable ways to host two conferences annually, one with the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and the other with the Association for Asian Studies (AAS). After many discussions and deliberations by the task force, ATJ and NCJLT merged to become the current AATJ in 2012.

Although the issues related to organizational structure and governance were solved, AATJ as an organization has not quite acted in unity, instead working like a patchwork of different subgroups usually divided by factors like instructional level (K-12 and college), language background (L1 and L2), and disciplinary training. Since the merger in 2012, AATJ has offered a variety of programs and activities to serve the needs of both K-12 and college levels, expanding the Nengajo Contest and JNHS (Japanese National Honor Society) programs to the college level. However, it has fallen behind when it comes to nurturing a climate where various subgroups are encouraged to openly exchange ideas. We need more collaborative work across borders of instructional levels, language backgrounds, and disciplinary fields under a common vision in order to advance the field of Japanese studies.

2.2 Divisions Between Levels and Language Backgrounds

The division between K-12 and college levels within the field of Japanese language education seems to have remained unsolved since the merger in 2012. Some of the comments by K-12 instructors in the survey (Mori et al., this volume) mention lack of articulation because of the divide between K-12 and college levels. The division is clearly reflected in the participation groups of AATJ's two conferences: many K-12 instructors attend the fall conference affiliated with ACTFL while most of the attendees at the spring conference affiliated with AAS are college level instructors.

While articulation across the levels (including between programs) are usually concerned with issues of pedagogical approach and

administrative/operational structure, the predominance of L1 instructors at the college level may have contributed to distorted nature of the articulation issue in the Japanese language education field. According to the survey (Mori et al., this volume), whereas the percentages of L1 and L2 Japanese teachers at K-12 levels are 57.9% and 41.3% respectively, the percentages at the college level are 83% and 13.2%. The predominance of L1 Japanese teachers at the college level is striking. And the highest number of respondents (39.2%) chose "ethnic/cultural background" as the aspect lacking diversity, which is followed by the answer of "gender and sexuality" (24.2%). One respondent commented, "The divide between the secondary and tertiary education contributes to a damaging tacit belief that non-native speakers will never be able to achieve a particularly high level of proficiency." This comment indicates a perception that the college level is equated to the L1 group.

The predominance of Japanese native-speaking teachers at one level poses two issues that L1 Japanese teachers must acknowledge and critically examine. One is a deeply held belief that Japanese is a difficult language, so a non-native speaker cannot master it fully. And the other is the danger of becoming insensitive to multiculturalism. In describing issues in a K-16 articulation project in Colorado in late 1990s, Saegusa (1999:34–35) makes the following point, "Many native-speaking teachers and other native speakers of Japanese are stuck on the notion that a teacher must speak Japanese perfectly in order to teach it. As a consequence, some do not believe that a non-native speaker can be trained to become a Japanese teacher." The same point is indirectly reflected in the survey results on native-speakerism. A high percentage (61.9%) of L2 Japanese teachers strongly agreed with the statement: "Being a native speaker is not an important characteristic of a good Japanese teacher," while L1 Japanese teachers' agreement was split between "Strongly Agree" and "Agree," with 34.1% and 34.9% respectively (Mori et al., this volume). The question of why many of the L1 respondents did not choose "Strongly Agree" remains unknown; however, as pointed out by Saegusa (1999), it is possible that many L1 Japanese teachers hold on to the belief that native-speakerhood is an essential element of a good Japanese teacher.

The second issue is that working in a circle predominated by L1 Japanese teachers runs the risk of getting too dependent on their own language and culture out of convenience, and thereby losing sight of how L2 Japanese teachers feel marginalized. According to the episode introduced as Excerpt 5 in Mori et al., (this volume), an L2 Japanese

teacher participated in an email correspondence group among L1 Japanese teachers in Japanese but gradually withdrew from the group, with the difficulty of the formal Japanese writing style being mentioned as a possible cause for the L2 instructor's withdrawal. The episode prompts us to examine the degree of multicultural sensitivity that L1 Japanese teachers exercise. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, L1 Japanese teachers' group may create invisible barriers that are difficult to break for L2 Japanese teachers who then, as a result, may feel marginalized. Furthermore, what is decisively damaging is that L1 Japanese teachers subconsciously impart a notion of superiority of native-speakerhood to students. Currently, there seems to be the lack of a climate that promotes an honest, respectful, and constructive exchange of different views and perspectives between the L1 and L2 groups and the K-12 and college levels.[2] Regardless of the language and cultural background, any professional is expected to know how to build a working environment that is multiculturally sensitive and inclusive.

2.3 Division Between Language and Content at College Level

Although division between language and content at the college level may not be within the scope of the survey, this issue is relevant to AATJ as its mission and bylaws include Japanese language, literature, linguistics, and pedagogy as disciplinary fields it serves. The language-content divide is closely related to the bifurcated structure in a program pointed out in the MLA report (2007). The bifurcation issue may not be as profound in liberal arts colleges and small programs headed by a few faculty members, but it seems to be an on-going challenge for the field of foreign/second language education in general. Lomicka and Lord (2018:119), delving into the impact of the MLA's 2007 report after ten years, concluded "We still face the need to transform both the structure of our departments and the offerings of our programs." At institutions where the language-content structure is in place, positions for language instructors tend to be non-tenure line and are more vulnerable in a budget crisis, while those for other content areas such as literature, linguistics, history, anthropology, and religion tend to be more secure with a tenure-line status. Sometimes a language instructor needs to teach more hours or accept more students than they could reasonably manage and may be pressured to compromise the integrity of their instruction. These inequal conditions for language instructors can be construed as a reflection of the undervaluing of language teaching and reinforces a hierarchical relationship between language and content areas.

The language-content divide in our field can also be detected in the fragmented ways of participation in the AATJ's activities and governance. At the AATJ spring conference, there are not many opportunities during the conference where members from different disciplinary fields are encouraged to network and engage in intellectually stimulating discussion that lead to collaborative scholarship. Such an opportunity does take place as an AATJ sponsored session during the AAS conference after the AATJ's spring conference is over, but most members in the language education field are gone by then. Moreover, there seems to be a preconception that AAS is for content areas such as political science, history, literature, anthropology, and religion, and there is little space for language education. In terms of the representation in the AATJ's governance, a disproportionate representation can be observed. According to the list of Officers and Directors of AATJ between 2012 and 2019 obtained from the AATJ Office, only two out of twenty-six individuals are from the literature field. I am not criticizing any particular field here, but the seemingly disproportionate representation calls for examination to see if the current representation serves the members' needs properly or it is indicative of problems, such as an unhealthy divide among disciplinary fields.

3. Suggestions for Future Actions: What Should AATJ Do?

As mentioned in 2.1, when the merger of the two organizations took place, we missed the opportunity to develop a common goal that enables members with different backgrounds to work together as a cohesive organization. In order to close the gaps between subgroups of level, language background, and discipline, and to become a well-integrated organization, AATJ needs to reevaluate the current mission and bylaws, find a common ground among subgroups, and set up a vision under which members can collaborate to advance the field toward the shared vision. According to Mcmillan's dictionary, vision is "someone's idea or hope of how something should be done, or how it will be in the future" (Mcmillan). A review of the AATJ's current mission (quoted below) and its bylaws reveals that they lack a vision in terms of (1) what impact the organization wishes to have on society (local, national, and global communities), and (2) what it envisions its students to attain through the study of Japanese. In addition, it lacks a core value that requires the organization to foster a climate for open exchanges and productive collaboration among members throughout the field.

3.1 A Vision, a Common Ground

The following is the mission statement from the AATJ's website.

> The American Association of Teachers of Japanese is a non-profit, non-political organization of individuals and institutions seeking to promote the study of Japanese language, linguistics, literature, culture, and pedagogy, at all levels of instruction. AATJ fosters professional development, the promotion of Japanese and foreign language education, and the exchange of research, and seeks to coordinate its activities with related organizations to promote Japanese studies, including a network of state and regional affiliate organizations. … (American Association of Teachers of Japanese *Mission Statement*)

The purposes of the organization, excerpted from its bylaws, are as follows:

> a. To promote and encourage cooperation and exchange among scholars, teachers, and students of Japanese language, linguistics, and literature, and others engaged in those activities, and to promote academic work and foster research and study in those fields and to broaden and deepen knowledge of Japan and its culture.
>
> b. To promote the exchange of ideas, information, and experience relevant to the concerns of its members through meetings, educational seminars, publications, correspondence, and other such activities.
>
> c. To encourage the development and dissemination of superior methods of teaching Japanese language, linguistics, and literature, and to aid in the attainment of increased teaching expertise, broad competence, intellectual depth, and overall professional excellent.
>
> d. To be engaged with regional, national, and international developments in the fields mentioned above and related areas. (American Association of Teachers of Japanese Bylaws)

As for the purpose statement (a), the scope of Japanese studies is inward-looking, and it does not include how Japanese studies are concerned with the world outside of Japanese studies. In other words, it does not articulate what significance Japanese studies should bring about to members of the surrounding communities. Other professional organizations articulate how they hope to impact the surrounding world. For example, ACTFL views its role as being "uniquely positioned to help bridge the ideological gaps that divide our nation," and describes its vision of the world to be a place where "diversity and intercultural competence

are qualities that must be embraced" (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages 2016). The American Association of Applied Linguistics' (AAAL) vision can be identified in its mission statement, which says that the "mission of AAAL is to facilitate the advancement and dissemination of knowledge and understanding regarding language-related issues in order to improve the lives of individuals and conditions in society" (American Association of Applied Linguistics, emphasis by the author). As members of AATJ, we should ask ourselves what impact our scholarly and educational endeavors should have on the United States as well as the global society. We need to find a common ground to construct a new vision.

One driving force for AATJ to become more cohesive under a shared vision might be the current tendency toward weakening of humanities studies. AATJ should encourage members from various disciplinary fields as well as different levels to work together to make Japanese studies sustainable in US education while keeping its wide accessibility. Recently liberal arts studies are getting weaker due to the strong emphasis on STEM, and it is necessary to reaffirm the value of the humanities disciplines as well as that of language study. Language study prepares undergraduate students to become scholars in other area studies in future or professionals who utilize their linguistic and cultural competence in various sectors.

3.2 Diversity and Inclusion as a Core Value to Foster a Collegial Climate

The purpose statement (a) above states that AATJ encourages cooperation among scholars, teachers, and students, but it does not mention cooperation between levels, institutions, nor among various subgroups. As the survey results show more cases of division than collaboration, systematic collaboration has not been happening across levels, disciplines, and linguistic backgrounds except for some activities such as AP Japanese. AATJ should create a culture where diverse professional backgrounds of members are viewed as strengths that will enable Japanese studies to be sustainable for a long time with no individual member feeling marginalized or inferior because of their attributes such as rank, discipline, or language background.

To promote collaboration within the AATJ, the organization needs to facilitate fora where members of diverse backgrounds are able to exchange information and ideas openly and respectfully on an equal footing. Such a climate can be realized by adopting diversity and inclusion as a core value. Other professional organizations such as AAS and AAAL, recognize the

value of diversity. AAAL views diversity as "an asset within our community and a source of learning and opportunity" (American Association of Applied Linguistics 2013). AAS recognizes diversity as something that "strengthens the community by harnessing a variety of skills, perspectives, talents, and resources to meet new challenges" (Association for Asian Studies).

In the purpose statement (b), AATJ is to promote exchange of information relevant to "the concerns of its members." The concerns should include not only scholarly concerns within individual member's disciplinary field (such as second language acquisition, grammar, and medieval literature) but also issues covering various aspects of professionalism, such as inequity in a work setting and hiring practice as well as an overall climate within the professional field. It is also important to ensure equitable representation in the organizational governance.

Currently AATJ provides various activities and programs such as professional development, the Nengajo Contest, the Japanese National Exam, advocacy, conferences, JNHS, and Special Interest Groups (SIG). The executive officers and each director should examine each activity to see if there are any aspects where diversity is neglected. They should also be proactive in finding ways to promote diversity and inclusion. For example, a workshop on how to incorporate the value of diversity and inclusion in existing curriculum may be offered as an AATJ professional development program. Directors should critically evaluate if any programs inadvertently exclude any students or teachers. When advocating for Japanese studies, we often highlight uniqueness about Japanese language and culture, but we need to make sure that the appeal of uniqueness does not promote exclusiveness and elitism.

3.3 Students

Lastly, we need to include students in our vision, i.e., what we wish to instill in our students and want them to achieve through the study of Japanese. Both ACTFL (2016) and MLA (2007) reiterate that multilingual and multicultural competence is critical for our students to be successful in the increasingly diversified global society. ACTFL issued a clear statement as to what students are expected to attain by saying that it "ensure[s] that language learners become linguistically and culturally competent to succeed in the global economy and develop the ability to interact respectfully with others both here in the U.S. and around the world." The American Association of Teachers of French (AATF) and the

American Association of Teachers of German (AATG) also explicitly state that they aim at preparing students to attain multilingual ability and multicultural understanding (American Association of Teachers of French; American Association of Teachers of German website).

When we develop our vision for our students, diversity and inclusion are vital components. ACTFL links the value of diversity to students in the following statement. ACTFL (2019) will foster "contexts that are inclusive of diverse backgrounds and perspectives by … drawing on its diversity to build teacher capacity, and recruiting and retaining a language teacher workforce more closely aligned with the ever-changing demographics of our student bodies" (ACTFL 2019). Our student bodies today are much more diversified in terms of their ethnic background, learning styles, motivation, and learning purpose. We have no choice but to view diversity as a source of strength and draw on it. Furthermore, diversity among instructors inspires students to become scholars or teachers of Japanese studies in the future. In order to secure a pool of future professionals as well as encourage life-long learning, we need to create a synergy among various disciplinary fields and across levels and schools.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I encourage professionals who are relatively new to the field of Japanese studies to take leadership in overcoming any disparity between disciplines, language backgrounds, and levels and set a new direction for our professional organization to tackle new challenges in many years to come. The issue of diversity and inclusion provides us with a welcome opportunity to generate synergies among various sub-groups within the field and strengthen the organization so that Japanese studies can thrive by becoming accessible to the greatest number and the greatest range of individuals possible.

NOTES

1. This information was obtained from the minutes of NCJLT board meeting on October 4, 2008, the joint meeting of NCJLT, ATJ, and AATJ on October 5, 2008, and NCJLT board meeting on September 25, 2010, owned by this author.

2. AP Japanese is an excellent example of providing a venue where instructors at the secondary and college levels work together every year. However, it is a program directed by the College Board.

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