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研究課題名(和文)日本の高等教育における「ネイティブスピーカー」の概念の規定要因

研究課題名(英文)The Representational Parameters of the Native Speaker in Japanese Higher Education

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研究成果の概要(和文)：Non-Japanese nationality teachers (native speakers) are positioned to perform to a fixed burden of representation related to occidental stereotypes further fueled by various native-speaker fallacies. This burden regulates workplace interactions, experiences and expectations and promotes inequity.

研究成果の概要(英文)：Overall, Japanese higher education shows "an enduring reluctance to tackle issues of 'native-speaker' based employment, conflation with nationality, and the racialized assumptions underpinning both" (Rivers & Ross, 2013: 328). Non-Japanese nationality teachers labelled as "native speaker" are positioned to perform to a fixed burden of representation related to occidental stereotypes further fueled by various native-speaker fallacies. This burden provides the structure to regulate workplace interactions, experiences and expectations in a way which promotes differential treatment and inequity. The consequences of such practices being normative have been shown to include unstable employment, marginalization and exclusion within the workplace, anxiety and poor mental health, unresolved frustration and cynicism, poor or non-existent relationships with colleagues, and difficulties in establishing a professional identity on the basis of earned rather than unearned criteria.

研究分野：Education

キーワード：Native Speaker Native-Speakerism Representation Higher Education Employment

日本の高等教育における「ネイティブスピーカー」の概念の規定要因

THE REPRESENTATIONAL PARAMETERS OF THE
“NATIVE SPEAKER” IN JAPANESE HIGHER
EDUCATION

1. 研究開始当初の背景

Despite theoretical shortcomings (Musha-Doerr, 2009) and roots within the politics of nation-state affiliation (Bonfiglio, 2010; Hutton, 1999), the term **native speaker** has remained a stable point of reference within linguistics and foreign language education for over half a century (Coulmas, 1981; Houghton and Rivers, 2013). However, the past three decades have given notable rise to increased expressions of dissatisfaction with the centralized language models which **native speakers** are wrongly seen as being innately bound to and by. Evidence of this discontent is reflected in the rise of World Englishes (Kachru, 1985, 1992) and other more contemporary evolutions such as English as an International Language (Jenkins, 2000) and English as a Lingua Franca (Seidlhofer, 2005, 2011). But, these progressive approaches to language use and appraisal—as *reactions against centralized cores of language use and political power*—continue to make reference to the concept of the **native speaker**. This vague referential act works to legitimize an illegitimate linguistic and semiotic point of reference and insists on dividing speakers of English into those who have (i. e., **natives**) and those who do not have (i. e., **non-natives**) the desired attributes. Such divisions continue to also exist within linguistic studies where such fabricated groups are used as comparative referent points without clear or data-based validation to support their existence. Such divisions also

hinder the development of more organic varieties of English language use (see Holliday, 2005). Indeed, within peripheral English-language contexts such as Japan, widespread use of the term **native speaker** works to undermine and restrict the evolution of Japanese-English (Hino, 2013). The mistaken principle being that all **native speakers** of English are assumed by way of myth to hold “perfect competence and therefore right to ownership” thus further connecting “linguistic identity and political membership by the way of the nation” (Hackert, 2009: 306). The starting position of the proposed project is that continued use of the term **native speaker** within employment advertisements, institutional employment categorization and curriculum design relates to Japanese sociohistorical constructions of a bounded homogenous nation-state with a fixed language and fixed speech community (Befu, 2001; Lie, 2001). When the term **native speaker** is casually used within the Japanese context—without formal definition or validating research evidence (Rivers, 2013a, 2013b)—powerful links between the individual, nation-state membership and supposed language competency are reaffirmed (Hackert, 2012; Rivers, 2010b, 2012d). As a scientist concerned with improving the theoretical integrity/quality/equity of foreign language education in Japan, this situation is unacceptable and should be challenged.

2. 研究の目的

In allowing the term **native speaker** to remain empirically undefined certain socio-semiotic associations are able to formulate around the concept. In other words, when an individual is referenced as a **native speaker** of a

particular language, certain cognitive constructions are activated concerning the characteristics that the person is believed to possess on exclusive account of being referred to as a **native speaker**. These socio-semiotic associations are inherently multifaceted, are context-specific and have the potential to encourage prejudice and discrimination either on an individual basis or—in cases where certain associations have been left relatively unchallenged for an extended period of time (i.e., within the Japanese sociocultural context)—on a societal basis (Rivers, 2011b; Rivers and Ross, 2013a, 2013b). This project therefore offers an empirical documentation concerning how Japanese institutions of higher education and Japanese students cognitively construct, define and rationalize the continued use of the term **native speaker**.

3. 研究の方法

From April 1st FY2014 to March 31st FY2016 all ENGLISH and JAPANESE LANGUAGE employment advertisements posted on the JREC-IN website under the sub-section of “human science-linguistics” were collected and analyzed. This data was inclusive of all full- and part-time positions and for all target language teaching positions. This approach produced between 300–500 individual advertisements. Within each employment advertisement the focus was placed upon discourse references to language competency within the respective lists of desired qualifications. While many advertisements used the exact term **native speaker** other advertisements made reference to language competency through other terms. This variety in terminology was of significant interest to the project. Each employment

advertisement was initially analyzed through discourse analysis. The entire sample of employment advertisements were then subject to a descriptive statistical analysis and additional quantitative procedures where appropriate. As all employment advertisements featured email contact information for applicant questions, each institution was contacted via email to ask how the terminology used is officially defined by the hiring institution.

Between April 1st FY2016 and March 31st FY2017 a standardized survey was administered (in JAPANESE) to 342 Japanese university students. The survey instrument assessed how Japanese students cognitively construct, define and rationalize the term **native speaker**. The survey addressed issues of language competency, teaching ability and other documented socio-semiotic associations (i.e., race, country of origin, role etc.). The survey data was initially analyzed through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Directly informed by the outcome of the analyses conducted on the survey data, a variety of post-survey experimental control procedures were implemented (e.g., Rivers and Ross, 2013b; Rivers, 2011b). In preparation for the dissemination of the final results and the compiling of an edited book on the, the final year of the project focused on drawing together all of the project outcomes.

4. 研究成果

Overall, the results gathered across the curation of project continue to support the belief that Japanese higher education maintains “an enduring reluctance to tackle issues of ‘native-speaker’ based employment,

conflations with nationality, and the racialized assumptions underpinning both” (Rivers and Ross, 2013: 328). Across the majority of workplace contexts, non-Japanese nationality teachers labelled as **native speaker** (on criteria that are neither upheld by data or consistently applied across different institutions) are positioned to perform to a fixed burden of representation related to occidental stereotypes further fueled by various native-speaker fallacies. In other words, the way in which the **native speaker** is imagined within the workplace continues to be a potential source of prejudice and discrimination. The current project found sufficient evidence to support problematic conflations between; **native speaker and race** (see Appleby, 2013; Hayes, 2013; Houghton, 2013; Kelly, 2008; Kubota, 2002; Kubota and Fujimoto, 2013; Kubota and McKay, 2009; Seargeant, 2013), **native speaker and country of origin** (see Hashimoto, 2011; Hatori, 2005; Honna, 2008; Houghton, 2013; Kubota 2002; McVeigh, 2002; Oda, 2007; Seargeant, 2009; Yamanaka, 2006), **native speaker and assumed competence** (see Chiba et al., 1995; Breckenridge and Erling, 2011; Hino, 2009; McKenzie, 2004, 2008; Toh, 2013; Tsuneyoshi, 2013), and **native speaker and fixed professional identity** (see Appleby, 2013; Bailey, 2007; Bueno and Caesar, 2003; Hicks, 2013; Kiernan, 2010; Kobayashi, 2002; Kubota, 2011; Simon-Maeda, 2004).

The conflations identified or the myths and stereotypes which underpin the idea of the native speaker provide a structure which regulates workplace interactions, experiences and expectations in a way which promotes and maintains differential treatment and inequity for **native speakers** of English. The

consequence of such practices being normative have also been shown through this project to include unstable employment and living conditions, marginalization and exclusion within the workplace, increased anxiety and poor mental health, unresolved frustration and cynicism at work, poor or non-existent relationships with Japanese colleagues, and various other difficulties in establishing a professional identity on the basis of earned rather than unearned criteria. In summary, the continued use of the term **native speaker** within Japanese higher education should be discouraged and avoided as a first step toward creating a more research-based, equitable situation for the benefit of institutions, teachers and students.

Native-speakerism is prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a **native speaker** of a particular language... Its endorsement positions individuals from certain language groups as being innately superior to individuals from other language groups. Therefore native-speakerist policies and practices represent a fundamental breach of one’s basic human rights. (Houghton and Rivers, 2013: 14)

As the above definition indicates, the continued demarcation and deployment of teachers drawn along the lines of **native speaker** (i.e. non-Japanese nationality) versus **non-native speaker** (i.e. Japanese nationality) promotes a human-rights situation in which **native-speakerism** is acceptable, something which will continue to

draw negative attention to Japanese higher education when appraised by the international community.

5. 主な発表論文等

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6. 研究組織

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