

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN: *Nihonjinron* and native-speakerism in a Japanese lower
secondary school English language textbook

Mai Shirahata

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Abstract</p> <p>More and more scholars have been advocating the intercultural approach to language education, which is based on plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and interculturalism. However, in the Japanese school context there are ideological impediments to this approach: <i>nihonjinron</i> and native-speakerism. <i>Nihonjinron</i> is an attempt to construct a cultural and national identity of the Japanese; native-speakerism is linguistic stereotyping, which gives privileges to certain speakers of a particular language over other speakers. The aim of this study is to illustrate how <i>nihonjinron</i> and native-speakerism are reconstructed through stereotypical portrayals of people in different nationality/ethnic groups within a Japan’s lower secondary school English language textbook. Images and texts in the chosen textbook were analyzed with the use of Critical Discourse Analysis. This study revealed that: People with particular characteristics consistent with <i>nihonjinron</i> and native-speakerism appeared in the textbook; the ingroup/outgroup status of a nationality/ethnic group in the textbook was consistent with the status of the group in terms of <i>nihonjinron</i> and native-speakerism; <i>nihonjinron</i> and native-speakerism coexisted in the textbook. The findings indicate that <i>nihonjinron</i> and native-speakerism were sophisticatedly reconstructed within the textbook by selecting particular nationality/ethnic groups to appear and depicting them in particular ways. Furthermore, it is implied that native-speakerism may have been reinforcing <i>nihonjinron</i> in the textbook. This study suggests that school English teachers in Japan should critically look at cultural stereotypes embedded in textbooks for practicing intercultural language teaching in their classrooms.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In today's rapidly globalizing world, intercultural competence is acknowledged to be one of the key competences for the creation of a society where people with different cultural backgrounds peacefully live together. It is assumed that intercultural competence enables us to deeply engage with others (Dervin & Gross, 2016, p. 4). In this milieu of interculturalism, each individual, as a global citizen, is expected to develop this competence throughout his/her lifetime.

Many scholars in the field of language education have been emphasizing the importance of the intercultural dimension of language teaching and learning and thus advocating the intercultural approach to language education (Byram, 1997, 2008, 2014; Corbett, 2003; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Liddicoat, Papademetre, Scarino, & Kohler, 2003; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). They see the development of intercultural competence as a crucial element for language learners becoming more sophisticated plurilingual speakers. Intercultural language learning is indeed one form of intercultural learning. The intercultural approach has a more humanitarian nature than other approaches, in that the plurilingual speaker's unique language ability and identities are acknowledged in this approach. In recent years, the intercultural approach has been gaining increased support in the field. Japan is no exception to this intercultural trend. More and more researchers have been disseminating the importance of intercultural learning in Japan's school foreign language education (e.g., Inda, 2010; McConachy, 2011; Nakayama & Kurihara, 2015).

In Japan, compulsory foreign language education begins in earnest in lower secondary school (LSS) under the current national curriculum by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) (see MEXT, 2010). Secondary school foreign language education in Japan is practically English language education, in light

of the fact that only the English language is taught at almost all secondary schools nationwide. This is due to the policy in the national curriculum standards regarding the choice of foreign languages to be taught: English should be selected in principle (MEXT, 2010). In terms of the use of the English language in Japanese society, people do not need to be able to speak English in order to live a decent life there. The number of Japanese speakers is large enough to provide abundant jobs and entertainment in the Japanese language; as a consequence, most people do not feel the urgent need to acquire additional languages, in other words, to become plurilingual speakers. In such an environment, many LSS students study English for academic purposes, such as preparing for upper secondary school entrance examinations and English proficiency tests, rather than for communicative purposes. The intercultural dimension of language learning is often marginalized in Japan's foreign language education.

In addition to the aforementioned environmental factors, Bouchard (2017) identifies *nihonjinron* (discourses of Japaneseness) and native-speakerism, ideologies prevalent in Japanese society, as ideological impediments to intercultural language education in the Japanese context. In short, these ideologies are stereotyping of the Japanese and speakers of the English language, downplaying ingroup diversity. By nature, the ideologies contradict plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and interculturalism, which are the fundamental concepts of intercultural language teaching and learning. Prior research has found that *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are reflected in Japan's school foreign language education policies and are affecting various aspects of classroom teaching and learning (see Bouchard, 2017; Liddicoat, 2007). School English language textbooks are also subject to the influence of these ideologies as all the textbooks for public schools in Japan are screened and approved by MEXT. This means that school English language teachers need to become aware of, question, and challenge *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism embedded in textbooks for teaching English in the intercultural approach. The problem here is that many English language teachers in Japan

may not be sensitive to issues of ideology in language education as they are not trained to become “language lecturers as ethnographers” (Roberts, Byram, Barro, Jordan, & Street, 2001). Hence, I am motivated to conduct this textbook analysis in order to invite their attention to ideology issues in language education. Regarding the dissemination of findings of this study, grassroots distribution methods will be considered since the target audience is school teachers in Japan, most of whom do not have access to academic sources.

Research has shown that particular ideologies are reflected within Japan’s government-approved LSS English language textbooks through stereotypical portrayals of particular cultures and individuals in particular cultural groups (e.g., Kawamata, 2013; Tajima, 2011; Yamada, 2010). Given that particular ideologies are loaded onto stereotypes, stereotypes as such should be scrutinized; nevertheless, in the literature there has been little research done on stereotypes, particularly contents of stereotypes. In addition, previous studies did not necessarily focus on *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism. This study addresses these research gaps.

1.2 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to illustrate how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are reconstructed through stereotypical portrayals of people in different nationality/ethnic groups within a Japan’s government-approved LSS English language textbook. Based on this aim, the following research questions are formulated:

RQ1: Which nationality/ethnic groups are represented within a government-approved LSS English language textbook currently used in Japan?

RQ2: What kinds of cultural stereotypes are being evoked?

In order to answer these questions, a qualitative case study utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to be designed. First, I will investigate representations of nationality/ethnic groups appearing in a chosen textbook. Subsequently, I will examine stereotypes of those

groups using the stereotype content model (SCM) (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 2010), a framework from the field of social psychology. I believe this study will help school English language teachers in Japan realize the importance of resisting *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism for practicing intercultural language teaching in their own classrooms.

1.3 Structure of the Study

This paper consists of four major sections: literature review, methodology, findings, and discussion. The literature review section is divided into two chapters. In the first literature review, major defining features of stereotypes for intercultural communication studies are mapped out, and subsequently the principles and applicability of the SCM are explained. In the second literature review, the overview of language education within the intercultural orientation is provided in terms of its fundamental theoretical framework and learning goal. In addition, *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism and their impact on school English language education in Japan are explained. The research design of this study, data source, and methods of data analysis are described and justified in the methodology section. The findings section presents information collected for this study in an organized manner. Lastly in the discussion section, findings are interpreted and discussed, and the research questions are answered. The section concludes with the evaluation of the study.

2 STEREOTYPES

2.1 Defining Features of Stereotypes

The term *stereotype* frequently appears in academic literature on intercultural communication; however, its definition is not always provided by researchers. As Fant (2012) criticizes, the concept of stereotype is often taken for granted as a fundamental concept in intercultural communication research but needs further examination for its meaningful use. Hence, it would be worthwhile to review existing definitions and descriptions of characteristics of stereotypes for this study.

Walter Lippmann, an American journalist, first started using the term *stereotype* in the modern social psychological sense in his book *Public Opinion* published in 1922. Since then, many scholars have proposed different knowledge of stereotypes from different perspectives—for example, the cognitive, psychodynamic, and sociocultural perspectives (see Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981/2015); the cognitive and social perspectives (see Fant, 2012; Tajfel, 1981); the social cognitive and cultural perspectives (see Stangor & Schaller, 2000). As with other complex concepts, there is no single definition of *stereotype* that is accepted among scholars. However, there are several characteristics of stereotypes that have been commonly discussed by many scholars: simplified cognitive beliefs, representations of social categorizations, value and ideology, shared and individual beliefs, rigidity and variability, and potential causes of social behavior/actions. In this section, those features will be reviewed in search of major defining features of stereotypes for intercultural communication studies.

2.1.1 Simplified cognitive beliefs

Back in the day, Lippmann argued (1922) that one of the functions of stereotypes is to simplify complex realities for human beings to be able to manage. Lippmann viewed stereotypes as “cognitive structures that help individuals process information about the environment” (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981/2015, p. 2). Fant (2012) explains human

cognition: Human beings categorize objects and people for creating concepts about the world, which allow them to perceive certain objects and people for a longer period of time, not just at a moment (p. 273). Many social psychologists (e.g., Allport, 1954; Andersen & Klatzky, 1987; Andersen, Klatzky, & Murray, 1990; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981/2015; Fiske, 1989; Fiske & Taylor, 2010; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994), focusing specifically on social cognition, understand that stereotypes function as energy-saving devices that simplify information processing about the social environment.

Research in the field of cognitive neuroscience elaborates the explanation above on the links between functions of human cognition and stereotyping. Some studies suggest that activation of particular areas of brain is associated with stereotyping (Contreras, Banaji, & Mitchell, 2012; Shkurko, 2013). According to Contreras et al., “stereotyping shares more in common with representing mental states than with semantic knowledge of non-social categories. . . . knowledge about social categories is not like other forms of semantic knowledge” (2012, p. 768). Hence, stereotypes should be considered consequences of cognitive mechanisms specific to social categories, different from those associated with non-social categories. Furthermore, a particular gene may be partially responsible for shaping intergroup bias (Cheon, Livingston, Hong, & Chiao, 2014). All in all, it is reasonable to conclude that stereotypes are products of human cognition about the social environment.

2.1.2 Representations of social categorizations

Social relations among groups in a society and perception of group memberships shape human cognition on categorizations of people (Tajfel, 1981). In the intergroup approach, stereotypes are seen as reflecting social categorizations of people, which are based on categorizations of self and others at the social level: self into ingroup and others into outgroup (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981/2015; Cheon et al., 2014; DiDonato, Ullrich, & Krueger, 2011; Fant, 2012; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Reynolds, 1997; Miller, Maner, & Becker,

2010; Shkurko, 2013; Tajfel, 1981). Particularly important to note here is that, stereotypes are often treated as unreal, but they are real in a perceiver's view. Haslam et al. (1997) claims, "stereotypes are not inferior representations of social reality that are used as a basis for perceiving, judging and acting only when superior, more accurate individualized representations are unavailable" (p. 208), rather "stereotypes generally serve to represent group-based realities apprehended from the perspective of a perceiver's own salient group membership" (p. 208). This may be why stereotypes have a great impact on social group relations. By viewing stereotypes as representing social categorizations of people in a society, researchers have shed light on social functions of stereotypes.

2.1.3 Value and ideology

Self- and other-categorization is of particular importance in the discussion of stereotypes in intergroup relations because these social categories usually carry particular values (Fant, 2012; Scollon, Scollon & Jones, 2012; Tajfel, 1981). Self- and other-categorization establishes group identity, which is usually part of individual identity. An individual's group membership may be referred to by others through the use of negative or positive categorization in reflection of intergroup relations in a society (Fant, 2012, p. 276). Likewise, Scollon, Scollon, and Jones note:

The difference between stereotyping and simple overgeneralization is that stereotyping carries with it an ideological position. Characteristics of the group are not only overgeneralized to apply to each member of the group, but they are also taken to have some negative or positive value. These values are then taken as arguments to support social or political relationships in regard to members of those groups. (2012, p. 271)

Stereotypes are not mere categorizations of objects and people. Rather, stereotypes are value- and ideology-loaded concepts.

For many years, stereotypes have been associated with prejudice towards particular

groups of people (Allport, 1935, 1954; Crandall, Bahns, Warner, & Schaller, 2011; Katz & Braly, 1935). Prejudice is considered to be bad; as a consequence, a stereotype is usually considered to be bad by definition (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981/2015, p. 10). However, in recent years, stereotypes are understood as carrying not only negative but also positive value (e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; DiDonato et al., 2011; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 2010), for example, as seen in positive stereotypes towards others (see Czopp, Kay, & Cheryan, 2015; Kay, Day, Zanna, & Nussbaum, 2013) and ingroup favoritism (see Fiske & Taylor, 2010; Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999; Montoya & Pittinsky, 2016; Tajfel, 1981). Given that stereotypes represent social categorizations, stereotypes are not free from social hierarchies with values. Different values would evoke negative, positive, or mixed attitudes towards particular groups of people in a society (see Allport, 1935; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 2010) and lead to the generation of particular ideologies.

2.1.4 Shared and individual beliefs

Whether stereotypes are shared beliefs or not has been controversial among researchers (see Hamilton, Stroessner, & Driscoll, 1994; Haslam et al., 1997; Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999; Stangor & Schaller, 2000). Some researchers take an extreme stance on this issue, asserting that stereotypes are individual beliefs, not shared beliefs (e.g., Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981/2015; Judd & Park, 1993). As Tajfel (1981) pointed out, the problem of this individual approach is that it cannot satisfactorily explain social functions of stereotypes and the links between social functions and the diffusion of stereotypes. Contrary to the individual approach, Haslam et al. (1997) investigated stereotype consensus and concluded, “stereotype consensus is a product of self-stereotyping processes which under conditions of social identity salience lead people first to perceive and expect homogeneity within a relevant ingroup and then to work actively to achieve it” (p. 216; see also Haslam et al., 1999; Jetten & Haslam, 2016). In a similar vein, recent studies on the maintenance of stereotypes (e.g., Bratanova &

Kashima, 2014; Kashima, Lyons, & Clark, 2013; Lyon & Kashima, 2003; Zhao, Zhao, & Zhang, 2016) seem to endorse sharedness of stereotypes, in that these studies illustrated how stereotypes spread in a community via interpersonal communication.

Sharedness is the very essence of stereotypes from the intergroup perspective although viewing stereotypes as shared beliefs does not necessarily deny treating stereotypes as individual beliefs. In Stangor and Schaller's words, "although stereotypes exist 'in the head of the society's perceivers,' they exist also in the 'fabric of the society' itself" (2000, p. 68; see also Lippmann, 1922).

2.1.5 Rigidity and variability

Stereotypes serve as frames of reference when one tries to understand the world. Lippmann states, "for the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see" (1922, p. 81). A frame of reference will be rigid to a certain degree as it should be stable for its function. In fact, rigidity appears to be one of the features of stereotypes on which there is a general agreement among researchers. In many cases, established stereotypes are likely to be maintained in a community (Bratanova & Kashima, 2014; Kashima, Lyons, & Clark, 2013; Lyon & Kashima, 2003; Zhao, Zhao, & Zhang, 2016), and they are also difficult to eliminate (Fant 2012). This does not imply, however, that stereotypes are unavoidable by default. Fiske (1989) argues, "the idea that categorization is a natural and adaptive, even dominant, way of understanding other people does not mean that it is the only option available" (p. 277; for further information, see Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

Stereotypes are rigid as described above, but at the same time they are variable. Given that stereotypes represent social categorizations in a society, stereotypes should change with the times, reflecting changes in social categorizations over time: Social categorizations are constructed and reconstructed through social interactions (Fant, 2012, p. 275; see also Fiske et al., 2002; Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Likewise, Haslam et al. (1997) note that social

categorizations are profoundly negotiable. Rigidity and variability are contradictory natures of stereotypes.

2.1.6 Potential causes of social behavior/actions

Stereotypes may lead to particular social behavior/actions (see Fant, 2012; Stangor & Schaller, 2000). Fant indicates that self- and other-categorization can often be motives for social action such as war (see also Saleem, Prot, Anderson, & Lemieux, 2017; Sides & Gross, 2013).

According to Cuddy et al. (2007), emotions unique to stereotypes of particular social groups mediate between stereotypes and behavioral tendencies towards stereotyped groups (see also Seate & Mastro, 2017). That is to say, stereotypes of social groups indirectly predict behavioral tendencies towards stereotyped groups. Nonetheless, stereotypes do not necessarily always cause social behavior/actions. Stereotypes can be potential causes of social behavior/actions only when stereotypes are shared by large numbers of people (Stangor & Schaller, 2000).

Based on the major defining features of stereotypes summarized above, in this study stereotypes are considered as follows: Stereotypes are socially shared cognitive representations of social group categorizations; stereotypes are not free from values and ideologies that are associated with each social group in a given society; stereotypes are rigid and variable at the same time; lastly, stereotypes can be potential causes of social behavior/actions. In the next section, the stereotype content model (SCM) by Fiske et al. (2002) is to be featured for a better understanding of what constitute stereotypes.

2.2 The Stereotype Content Model (SCM)

The SCM is a theory of intergroup cognition and emotion, which helps identify origins of stereotype content and predict its changing patterns (Fiske et al., 2002). The SCM hypothesizes that qualitative differences among stereotypes are captured by perceived warmth and competence (Cuddy et al., 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske &

Taylor, 2010). In their work, Fiske et al. (2002) provided a brief summary of stereotype content research prior to their development of the SCM. According to their summary, for many years social psychologists viewed stereotypes within an us/them (ingroup/outgroup) framework (see Allport, 1954). In this dichotomic view, only negative stereotypes of outgroups denote prejudice. Positive stereotypes presumably target ingroups, as seen in ingroup favoritism; when targeting outgroups, they denote compunction. Alternatively, the SCM provides a consistent explanation of outgroup stereotypes: All outgroup stereotypes denote prejudice. In the SCM, positive stereotypes on one dimension can simultaneously be on the other dimension negative stereotypes, which denote prejudice. Stereotypes do not always have to be either positive or negative: They can be mixed. The SCM made it possible to provide a theoretical explanation of mixed stereotypes. In this respect, the SCM has made a significant contribution to the literature. The principles, development, and applicability of the SCM are explained below.

2.2.1 Theoretical principles

The two trait dimensions of the SCM—warmth and competence—are derived from previous research on interpersonal and intergroup perception/interactions as well as person perception (Fiske et al., 2002). Perceived warmth (whether the target social group is perceived as warm and nice or cold and unkind) and competence (whether the group is perceived as competent or incompetent) respectively account for (dis)like and (dis)respect for stereotyped social groups. Perceived lack of warmth leads to dislike; perceived lack of competence to disrespect (Cuddy et al., 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 2010). The predictor of warmth stereotypes is competition over societal resources between groups (whether the target group is perceived as a friend or foe, whether the group's goals are perceived as the benefit or harm to the reference group). The predictor of competence stereotypes is social status of groups (whether the target group is perceived as having high or

low status and ability to enact its goals effectively) (Cuddy et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 2010).

The SCM systematically explains relationships between perceived social status, competition, competence, and warmth of different social groups, and resulting emotions and forms of prejudice towards each group. Table 1 is the visual representation of the model. The SCM looks simple. Nevertheless, this simple model seems to reflect one of the major characteristics of stereotype: oversimplification. As shown in Table 1, there are four clusters of competence-warmth combinations (stereotypes): three outgroup clusters and one ingroup cluster. These stereotypes are differentiated by distinct emotions (pity, envy, admiration, and contempt; pity, envy, pride, and disgust in the updated SCM, as shown in Table 2) (Fiske et al., 2002). Fiske et al. argue that many stereotypes are ambivalent about ascriptions of warmth and competence: high warmth with low competence or high competence with low warmth.

Table 1

Four Types of Out-Groups, Combinations of Status and Competition, and Corresponding Forms of Prejudice as a Function of Perceived Warmth and Competence

Warmth	Competence	
	Low	High
High	Paternalistic prejudice Low status, not competitive Pity, sympathy (e.g., elderly people, disabled people, housewives)	Admiration High status, not competitive Pride, admiration (e.g., in-group, close allies)
Low	Contemptuous prejudice Low status, competitive Contempt, disgust, anger, resentment (e.g., welfare recipients, poor people)	Envious prejudice High status, competitive Envy, jealousy (e.g., Asians, Jews, rich people, feminists)

(Fiske et al. 2002, p. 881)

The SCM principles were tested in a series of studies by Fiske et al (2002) as well as in some preliminary studies by Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, and Glick (1999). All the studies were conducted in the U.S. context. Since the principles were more thoroughly examined in the series of studies (Pilot Study, Study 1, 2, 3, and 4) by Fiske et al (2002), a brief summary of these studies is provided here. Participants were undergraduate students at University of Massachusetts and University of Colorado and nonstudent residents in Massachusetts, Colorado, and Wisconsin, most of whom were students' friends or families. A pilot study was conducted to select social groups representative in the U.S. society for subsequent studies. Study 1, 2, and 3 were conducted to investigate relationships between perceived competence, warmth, social status, and competitiveness. Lastly, Study 4 was conducted to examine affective reactions (emotions) to competence–warmth combinations (stereotypes). In each study, participants were given a questionnaire about the U.S. society's perception, not their perceptions. Since the SCM principles were examined in the U.S. context, the example outgroups in the model are social groups representing the U.S. society. Types of social groups being recognized as outgroups or ingroups differ depending on the society being analyzed.

2.2.2 The behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes (BIAS) map

The behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes (BIAS) map (Cuddy et al., 2007) is a framework that “systematically links discriminatory behavioral tendencies to the contents of group stereotypes and emotions, as rooted in structural components of intergroup relations” (p. 631). The BIAS map was evolved from the SCM, and it was later incorporated into the SCM.

According to the BIAS map, perceived warmth determines active behavioral tendencies towards stereotyped groups, while perceived competence determines passive behavioral tendencies. High warmth stereotypes attenuate active harm (harassing) and elicit active facilitation (helping); high competence stereotypes attenuate passive harm (neglecting)

and elicit passive facilitation (associating) (Cuddy et al., 2007). These behavioral tendencies are predicted more strongly by emotions towards stereotyped groups than by stereotypes as such: The links between stereotypes and behavioral tendencies are mediated by emotions (Cuddy et al., 2007).

The BIAS map illustrates causal relations between emotions unique to stereotypes of particular social groups and intergroup behaviors. Figure 1 is the visual representation of the map. Cuddy et al. (2007) understand that warmth information has greater impact on behavioral tendencies than competence information as the costs in dealing with cold people (foes) are greater than those in dealing with incompetent people. Hence, perceived warmth leads to active behaviors (active facilitation and active harm); in contrast, perceived competence leads to passive behaviors (passive facilitation and passive harm). All in all, the warmth dimension of stereotypes and resulting emotions play significant roles in determining behavioral tendencies towards stereotyped groups.

To develop the BIAS map, Cuddy et al. (2007) conducted a series of studies (a preliminary Study, Study, 1, 2, 3, and 4) in the U.S. context. Participants included English-speaking adults and undergraduate students at Princeton University and Rutgers University. At the outset, a preliminary study was conducted to develop scales to measure

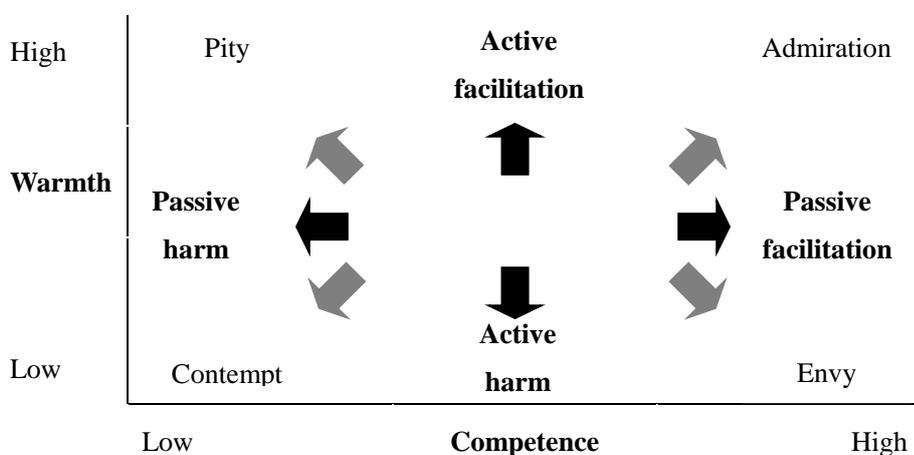


Figure 1. Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes map (Cuddy et al, 2007, p. 634)

behavioral tendencies (active facilitation, active harm, passive facilitation, and passive harm) towards social groups representative in the U.S. society. In Study 1, relationships between stereotypes, emotions, and behavioral tendencies were investigated. Subsequently, Study 2 was conducted to test causal relations between stereotypes and behavioral tendencies. Likewise, Study 3 tested causal relations between emotions and behavioral tendencies. Lastly, Study 4 was conducted to integrate prior research on intergroup emotions into the BIAS map framework. The emotions included in the BIAS map—admiration, contempt, envy, and pity—are secondary emotions (emotions unique to humans). However, prior research focused on anger and fear, primary emotions (emotions not necessarily unique to humans). Hence, the roles of anger and fear in the BIAS map were examined in the study. In each study, participants were given a questionnaire about the U.S. society's perception, as with the series of studies conducted by Fiske et al. (2002) for the development of the SCM.

2.2.3 The updated SCM

In their book on social cognition, Fiske and Taylor (2010) presented the updated SCM (see Table 2), which incorporated the BIAS map. This later version of the SCM systematically illustrates relationships between cognitions about social groups (warmth and competence stereotypes), resulting emotions, and behaviors towards stereotyped groups. Since this version is the finished look of the model at the moment, a brief description of each cluster in the SCM is provided below:

- 1) Social groups in the top left cluster (outgroup) are stereotyped as high in warmth due to low perceived intergroup competition and low in competence due to low perceived social status. They receive pity and sympathy (mixed emotions) and active help and passive harm as behaviors corresponding to the emotions. In the U.S. society, people with disabilities and older people are classified into this cluster.
- 2) Social groups in the bottom right cluster (outgroup) are stereotyped as low in warmth due

Table 2

Stereotype Content Model: Examples

SUTRACTURAL VARIABLES: STATUS			
↓(+)			
<i>Stereotype: Competence</i>			
	<i>Low</i>		<i>High</i>
SUTRACTURAL			
VARIABLES:			
COMPETITION			
↓(-)			
<i>Stereotype: Warmth</i>			
<i>High</i>	Groups	Disabled, older people	Middle-class, ingroup
	Prejudice	Pity	Pride
	Discrimination	Active help, passive harm	Active help, passive support
<i>Low</i>	Groups	Poor, homeless, drug addicted	Rich, Asians, Jews
	Prejudice	Disgust	Envy
	Discrimination	Active harm, passive harm	Active harm, passive support

(Fiske & Taylor, 2010, p. 286)

to high perceived intergroup competition and high in competence due to high perceived social status. They receive envy and jealousy (mixed emotions) and active harm and passive support as behaviors corresponding to the emotions. In the U.S. society, rich people, Asians, and Jews are classified into this cluster.

3) Social groups in the bottom right cluster (outgroup) are stereotyped as low in warmth due to high perceived intergroup competition and low in competence due to low perceived social status. They receive contempt and disgust (less mixed but more awful emotions) and active harm and passive harm as behaviors corresponding to the emotions. In the U.S. society, poor, homeless, drug addicted people are classified into this cluster.

4) Social groups in the top right cluster (ingroup) are stereotyped as high in warmth due to low perceived intergroup competition and high in competence due to high perceived social status. They receive pride and admiration as resulting emotions and active help and passive

support as behaviors corresponding to the emotions. In the U.S. society, middle-class people and people in reference groups (ingroups and prototype groups in the society) are classified into this cluster.

2.2.4 Applicability across contexts

With a set of studies, Cuddy et al. (2009) examined the applicability of the SCM in ten non-U.S. contexts: seven EU member European countries (Belgium, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and UK) and three Asian contexts (Hong Kong, Japan, and South Korea). The researchers concluded that the SCM can be used as a tool for predicting stereotypes of particular social groups in a society across contexts. However, they would get criticism for the lack of variety of contexts and participants in their studies. The chosen research contexts were only several European and a few Asian contexts. One of the Asian contexts was specifically Hong Kong, a region of China. Also, participants were mostly female university undergraduate students across the contexts.

Social group categorizations would differ from context to context; accordingly, stereotypes of particular social groups would vary depending on contexts. Furthermore, an individual's demographic characteristics may affect how he/she perceives particular social groups in the society where he/she lives. In order to make their argument more convincing, Cuddy et al. should examine the SCM in various contexts with various participants. Nevertheless, perceived warmth and competence will be regarded as major determinants of stereotypes across contexts, given that warmth and competence, which stem from competition and social status, are universal dimensions of human social cognition (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). In this respect, the high applicability of the SCM in non-U.S. contexts would gain adequate support.

As well as cross-cultural similarities regarding the SCM principles, Cuddy et al. (2009) revealed a cultural difference on group perception: "The more collectivist cultures do

not locate reference groups (in-groups and societal prototype groups) in the most positive cluster (high-competence/high-warmth), unlike individualist cultures” (p. 2). The researchers concluded that collectivist cultures do not form reference-group (ingroup) favoritism (see also Ma-Kellams, Spencer-Rodgers, & Peng; 2010). This finding indicates that outgroup derogation occurs without reference-group favoritism; that is, perceptions of self (ingroup) and other (outgroup) is enough for derogating outgroups in a society (Cuddy et al., 2009). Japan was recognized as a collectivist culture in their study; correspondingly, ingroup favoritism did not occur among their Japanese sample. Cuddy et al. (2009) grounded their argument on Hofstede’s cultural dimensions theory (Hofstede, 1980; see also Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010), which has been subject to broad criticism (see Mead & Andrews, 2009). Without relying on the problematic theory, they should have just explained that ingroup favoritism is not a universal phenomenon across cultures. This explanation is sufficient for their claim.

Other than the study by Cuddy et al. (2009), several studies have investigated stereotypes among Japanese using the SCM; for example, studies on suppression of stereotypes (Tadooka & Murata, 2010; Tadooka, Ishii, & Murata, 2015), a study on consumers’ perceptions of nation brand personality and product evaluation (Ishii & Watanabe, 2015), and a cross-cultural study on perception of the U.S. (Glick et al., 2006). These studies adequately support that the SCM is applicable to the Japanese context.

To my knowledge, no study has been done on stereotypes in English language textbooks using the SCM framework. In fact, textual analysis is not a widely used research method when researchers use the SCM as a theoretical framework in their stereotype studies; questionnaires or interviews are chosen in most cases. However, it should be possible to explore stereotypes embedded in texts using the SCM, as long as the researcher can gain sufficient information from texts for analysis of warmth and competence stereotypes. Similar

to the present study, Tikkanen (2016) analyzed stereotypes in Finnish primary school geography textbooks with the SCM in her Master's thesis.

3 INTERCULTURAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

3.1 Intercultural Language Teaching and Learning

In the field of language education, new approaches come into and go out of fashion with the times. Today, the significance of the intercultural dimension of language teaching and learning is widely acknowledged (Byram, 1997, 2008, 2014; Corbett, 2003; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Liddicoat, Papademetre, Scarino, & Kohler, 2003; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013); accordingly, the intercultural approach to language education is growing in popularity (e.g., Lawrence, 2013; Rothwell, 2015; Truong & Tran, 2014). School English language education in Japan cannot stay away from this trend although in Japanese society there seem to be ideologies inconsistent with interculturality. At the outset, language education within the intercultural orientation is briefly reviewed in terms of its essential theoretical framework and learning goal.

3.1.1 Theoretical framework

In many approaches (e.g., grammar translation method, audio-lingual method, direct method, communicative language teaching, etc.), culture has been treated as static, or culture as well as interculturality has been marginalized (Corbett, 2003; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Kramsch, 1995; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). In contrast, the intercultural approach places interculturality in the center of language teaching and learning, giving attention to the interrelationship between language and culture (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1999; Kramsch, 1995; Liddicoat, 2014). Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) emphasize the interpretive nature of language, culture, and learning. The researchers identify an expanded view of these three concepts as the essential theoretical framework for intercultural language teaching and learning as follows:

In relation to language, learning language within an intercultural orientation requires an understanding of language as word, as a structural system, and as social practice, highlighting not only the practice itself but also the reciprocal process of

interpretation of the language and the person. In relation to culture, it requires an understanding of culture as facts, artifacts, information, and social practices as well as an understanding of culture as the lens through which people mutually interpret and communicate meaning. In relation to learning, it requires the acquisition of new concepts and participation in the use of these concepts as well as an understanding of learning as learners becoming aware of how they themselves interpret their world through their own language and culture. (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 46)

It is this broadened view of language, culture, and learning that makes the intercultural approach a distinctive new approach to language education. Intercultural language learning, in essence, is intercultural learning rather than a mere activity of acquiring additional languages.

An important point here is that intercultural learning is fundamentally different from cultural learning within a traditional orientation. Whereas cultural learning in a traditional approach mainly focuses on knowing and understanding other people and cultures, intercultural learning involves enhancing knowledge and understanding of oneself and one's own culture as well as other people and cultures (Byram & Wagner, 2018; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Through intercultural learning, learners are expected to confront their existing values, beliefs, and worldviews, and thereby transform their identities (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Holmes & O'Neill, 2012). In intercultural language education, both teachers and learners are required to engage with interculturality through language teaching and learning, as facilitators of learning and active agents of their own learning respectively.

The premise of intercultural language education is plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and interculturalism (see Council of Europe, 2001, 2017). These concepts acknowledge and respect the plurilingual speaker's complex and unique language ability, worldview, and identities. In theory, any speaker of a particular language can claim the ownership of the language on his/her own right. Correspondingly, the intercultural approach to language education abandons the native speaker norm that has been persistent in the field of language education until recently (see Byram & Wagner, 2018). No one needs to modify his/her

language use to that of so-called native speakers when a particular language is used as a lingua franca for intercultural interactions (Byram & Wagner, 2018). In English language teaching, the rise of the concepts above has brought about the paradigm shift from English as a second/foreign language to English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Baker, 2015; Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2005). Within the ELF paradigm, the English language is no longer tied to specific cultures (Baker, 2015; Jenkins, 2015). Rather, any ELF user can be a legitimate English speaker regardless of cultural backgrounds, although the degree of capability to make use of multilingual practices would vary from person to person (see Jenkins, 2015). Potentially, intercultural language education contributes to rectifying linguistic power inequalities that have long been unchallenged.

3.1.2 Learning goals

In the intercultural approach to language education, language learners are not becoming imitators of monolingual speakers of the target language being learned; they are not expected to achieve an illusionary native-like proficiency in the target language. Rather, language learners are becoming “intercultural speakers” (Byram, 1997, 2008) with multiple languages in their language repertoire, who are plurilingual speakers and at the same time intercultural mediators. Through intercultural language learning, learners are expected to improve their intercultural competence as well as their unique language ability (Byram, 1997, 2008; Byram & Wagner, 2018; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2015; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; see also Council of Europe, 2001, 2017).

Referring to Kramsch’s “multilingual subject” (Kramsch, 2009), Levine describes the plurilingual speaker’s uniqueness as follows:

A person with multiple languages has multiple avenues for navigating, constructing and channeling their sense of self, and further, that language as a symbolic system takes on particular meanings for language users in different contexts, and differently than they do for monolingual users of language . . . , though even monolingual users

of language possess multiple linguistic and discursive repertoires akin to multilingualism. (2013, p. 424)

In short, the interplay of plural languages and cultures contributes to the uniqueness of the plurilingual speaker's language ability, worldview, and identities (Byram, 1997; Kramsch, 2009; Levine, 2013, 2014). The plurilingual speaker constantly moves across languages and cultures within him-/herself. Interculturality indeed permeates through the plurilingual speaker's mind. Considering that plurilingual speakers are often involved in intercultural communication, they need to be able to negotiate interculturality with their interlocutors, as well as balancing interculturality within themselves. In the intercultural approach, therefore, language learners are expected to enhance their intercultural competence so as to become more sophisticated intercultural/plurilingual speakers through language learning. Indeed, the development of intercultural competence is the key element of intercultural language education.

There are as many definitions and models of intercultural competence as there are intercultural scholars (see Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009 for a comprehensive review of intercultural competence research). That being said, there appears to be general agreement among scholars on the fundamental understanding of the competence. Many influential scholars define intercultural competence as a set of knowledge, skills, and attitudes crucial for the appropriate and effective management of intercultural interaction, or successful intercultural communication (e.g., Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009; Bennett, 2004, 2009; Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2004, 2006, 2009). Dervin and Gross (2016) criticize this mainstream understanding of intercultural competence for being potentially Western-centric, not reflexive, highly success-oriented, and thus unrealistic (see also Dervin, 2010).

Dervin and Gross (2016) warn that the discourse of interculturality is highly political in itself, along with discourses of other social phenomena; intercultural competence is apt to

impose morality or political correctness prevalent in contemporary Western societies upon the rest of the world. Furthermore, most definitions of intercultural competence focus on only the person whose competence is in question, almost ignoring the influence of the interlocutor and the contextual factors on the outcome of intercultural interaction (Dervin, 2010).

Communication, however, is a reciprocal process. The person influences his/her interlocutor and the context; likewise, he/she is influenced by his/her interlocutor and the context.

Dervin and Gross (2016) also problematize the current over-emphasis on success in dealing with intercultural interactions; failure, which provides opportunities for learning and critical self-reflection, is missing in the discussion of intercultural competence. After all, intercultural competence does not promise successful intercultural communication.

Intercultural competence will just help us “question our solid ways of ‘appropriating’ the world and the other” (Dervin & Gross, 2016, p. 4) for a deeper engagement with others.

To conclude, language education in the intercultural approach meets the needs of the time of plurilingualism in the globalizing world (see Byrd Clark & Stratilaki, 2013).

Language learners today should be encouraged to improve their intercultural competence so that they can deeply engage with their interlocutors by negotiating interculturality with their interlocutors. Hence, language education should provide learners plenty of intercultural learning opportunities. In the following section, ideologies prevalent in Japanese society that would hinder school English language education within the intercultural orientation are to be explored.

3.2 Ideologies and the Intercultural Approach to English Language Education in Japan

Japan has been keeping up with the changing worldwide trend of approaches to language education. Throughout the 2000s, more and more researchers have been advocating the need of the intercultural perspective on English language education in Japan (e.g., Inda, 2010; McConachy, 2011; Nakayama & Kurihara, 2015). However, it seems highly challenging to

radicate intercultural language teaching and learning in Japan. Lately, Bouchard (2017) has called *nihonjinron* (discourses of Japaneseness) and native-speakerism two major ideological impediments to Japanese LSS English language education within the intercultural orientation. In this section, these two ideologies and their impact on school English language education in Japan are briefly examined.

3.2.1 *Nihonjinron*

Nihonjinron is an attempt to construct a cultural and national identity of the Japanese (Burgess, 2012; Liddicoat, 2007; Manabe & Befu, 1993; Rudolph, 2016). Within the *nihonjinron* discourse, Japanese people are assumed to share the same set of cultural values, which constitutes Japaneseness (Sugimoto, 1999, p. 82). *Nihonjinron*, as an ideology, has been prevalent in Japanese society for many years; however, its content has kept changing in order to sustain its uniqueness in the changing society (Ko, 2010, p. 11).

Japaneseness is usually constructed by comparing the Japanese with other groups of people. Japan's cultural and national identity is established by highlighting cultural differences between Japan and other nations and simultaneously by demonstrating Japan's cultural uniqueness (Manabe & Befu, 1993; see also Kobayashi, 2011; Hambleton, 2011). Inevitably, *nihonjinron* entails creating a distinctive group labeled as Japanese for the sake of comparison with other groups, ignoring the diversity of people and cultures in Japanese society. As a consequence, *nihonjinron* presents a stereotypical view of Japanese people and culture. Liddicoat (2007) notes that the Japanese are assumed to be linguistically and culturally homogenous within the *nihonjinron* discourse. Furthermore, Sugimoto (1999) indicates that racism lies at the core of *nihonjinron*:

Nihonjinron defines the Japanese in racial terms with *Nihonjin* comprising most members of the Yamato race and excludes, for example, indigenous Ainu and Okinawans as groups who are administratively Japanese, but not 'genuinely' so. Furthermore, when *Nihonjinron* analysts refer to Japanese culture, they almost

invariably mean Japanese *ethnic* culture and imply that the racially defined Japanese are its sole owners. (1999, p. 82, emphasis in original)

Race is tied to ethnicity within *nihonjinron*, and consequently this ideology creates an oversimplified view of Japanese. The two concepts—ethnicity and race—should be carefully distinguished from each other because each concept deals with different matters: Ethnicities, belongings to social/cultural groups; races, biological characteristics. It is inappropriate to classify people into groups based on their biological characteristics, which have nothing to do with the nature of humans as social beings. In relation to language education today, *nihonjinron* becomes a problematic ideology as it is incompatible with plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and interculturalism, which are essential concepts for language education within the intercultural orientation.

Nihonjinron has been criticized for its essentialist view (e.g., Manabe & Befu, 1993; Rudolph, 2016; Sugimoto, 1999). However, this type of discourse is not particularly unique to Japan; discourses of cultural and national identity can also be found in other places around the world (Burgess, 2012). Any nation would try to establish a high level of cultural uniformity in order to strengthen ties among its nationals by differentiating its culture from other cultures. In this regard, Sugimoto articulates a dilemma between inter- and intra-societal cultural relativism as follows:

The more we emphasize inter-societal cultural differences, the more cultural homogeneity we would have to presume, thereby siding with the assumption of internal cultural imperialism. The more we stress the significance of intra-societal cultural variety, the more we tend to play down the threat of external cultural domination and ethnocentrism. (1999, p. 94)

Cultural homogeneity and intracultural diversity appear to be two ends of the same spectrum. Likewise, regarding the interaction among Global Englishes, globalization, and national identity, Kobayashi (2011) argues: “[On the one hand,] Global Englishes would forge the

linkage among all the ‘world citizens’, and [on the other hand,] the globalisation process would exacerbate the issue of Othering” (p. 13). To date, Japan, as with other countries, has been promoting English language education at the national level, as one of the key strategies to globalize its citizens. Contrary to expectations, this strategy seems to have been contributing to the maintenance and even reinforcement of Japaneseness (Kobayashi, 2011) and the growing xenophobic nationalism (Kubota, 2016) among the Japanese, rather than cultivating a global mindset.

Nihonjinron is problematic because of its essentialist nature; nevertheless, it will be impossible to fully reject this ideology, in light of the fact that it is a discourse of cultural nationalism. Hence, what school English language teachers and students can/should do would be to become aware of and to cope with this ideology so as to deal with its negative consequences to their English language teaching and learning.

3.2.2 Native-speakerism

Native-speakerism classifies language users of a particular language into imaginary native and nonnative groups based on their linguistic affiliations. It is language-based stereotyping.

Houghton and Rivers define native-speakerism as follows:

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, which can form part of a larger complex of interconnected prejudices including ethnocentrism, racism and sexism. 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. (2013a, p. 14, emphasis in original)

Native-speakerism entitles only certain speakers to language ownership. That is to say, authenticity of language use is reserved for so-called native speakers: Native speakers’ language use is the norm, and nonnative speakers’ is deficient (Holliday, 2006; Houghton &

Rivers, 2013a). In such a view, only certain speakers are recognized as legitimate language users. This attitude becomes problematic when it comes to language education within the intercultural orientation. Within plurilingualism and pluriculturalism, an individual is viewed as having varying degrees of proficiency in multiple languages and experience of multiple cultures (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168).

In recent years, native-speakerism has been the subject of criticism among researchers in the field of English language teaching (Choi, 2016; Hodgson, 2014; Holliday, 2005, 2006; Houghton & Rivers, 2013b; Kabel, 2009; Lowe & Pinner, 2016). Back in 1980's, Kachru (1985) suggested that the distinction between native and nonnative speakers of English became irrelevant due to the rapid globalization of the English language. Piller (2001) further argues that the notion of the native speaker is a mere abstraction; therefore, it is of little use in describing an individual's linguistic affiliation. Nevertheless, native-speakerism is still influential in society as it is a political ideology (Armenta & Holliday, 2015; Houghton & Rivers, 2013a; Kabel, 2009; Liddicoat, 2016; Rivers, 2010). In many cases, from recruitment of language teachers (Holliday, 2005, 2006; Lowe & Pinner, 2016) to everyday interactions (Liddicoat, 2016), individuals who are perceived as native speakers are placed in an advantageous position; individuals who are perceived as nonnative speakers in a disadvantageous position. There are recipients of privileges in the discourse of native-speakerism, and they would not easily give up their advantageous position for the sake of rectification of power inequalities. Indeed, the issue of language authenticity cannot be separated from the issue of power (Lowe & Pinner, 2016; Piller, 2016). Liddicoat (2016) indicates that power inequalities between native and nonnative speakers—native speakers' authority over language—are co-constructed by both parties through their interaction. In other words, native-speakerism is unquestioned by not only those who benefit from the ideology but also those who suffer from it. Since native-speakerism unreasonably imposes inequalities

on certain people, which is against humanity, the ideology needs to be questioned and challenged

Native-speakerism is widespread across Japanese society, especially in policies and practices of school English language education (Houghton & Rivers, 2013b; Rivers, 2010; Yamada, 2010). In terms of intercultural relations, Rivers warns about the prevalence of native-speakerism in Japan as follows:

The role of patriotism and nationalism in terms of appraising the vitality of English-speaking nations and the intercultural appeal of English-speaking people and communities is something which should be of central interest to those language learning contexts which continue to rely on the native-English speaker as a model of ideal teaching practice and pedagogy. Within such contexts there exists a real possibility that language learning practices may be contributing more to the formation and maintenance of a sense of Japaneseness, one associated with increased patriotism and nationalism, rather than to the sustained intercultural competency and proficiency development of the students. (2010, p. 333)

Fundamentally, native-speakerism emphasizes differences between imaginary native and nonnative speakers and thereby encourages the self/other dichotomy (Holliday, 2005), which often becomes detrimental to interculturalism. In Japan, it might be the case that inequalities associated with native-speakerism is disguised with the discourse of uniqueness of the Japanese.

Native-speakerism is an impediment to the intercultural approach to language education; however, this undesirable ideology will not be removed easily as it has a political dimension. Again, as with the case of *nihonjinron*, teachers and students should become aware of and to cope with native-speakerism for teaching and learning English interculturally in the context of Japan.

Both *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are stereotyping of people and cultures; in fact, the defining features of stereotypes summarized in Chapter 2 apply to these ideologies.

Fundamentally, *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are inconsistent with language education from the intercultural perspective. Nonetheless, since these ideologies are political discourses, they have a great impact on school English language education in Japan, where its education system is centralized by the government. In such an environment, people and cultures appearing in English language textbooks would be stereotypically depicted. Teachers and students need to become aware of, question, and challenge stereotypes woven into the fabric of Japanese society. In doing so, they can make their teaching and learning intercultural.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

A qualitative case study was employed for this study. The qualitative approach works well with exploration and interpretation of the meaning of a social phenomenon or human behavior; the researcher analyzes data, such as texts and images, and proposes the meaning of the data (Bell, 2005; Creswell, 2014). The research questions in this study—1) Which nationality/ethnic groups are represented within a government-approved LSS English language textbook currently used in Japan? 2) What kinds of cultural stereotypes are being evoked?—were unlikely to be explained with statistical data. Rather, the researcher's interpretation of data needed to be proposed; therefore, the qualitative approach was taken in this study.

Case studies enable researchers to conduct an in-depth analysis of one aspect of a research problem in a given situation within a limited time frame (Bell, 2005; Creswell, 2014). I found a case study to be a reasonable choice for this study as collecting qualitative data from multiple textbooks and analyzing the whole data appeared to be unrealistic due to time constraints and complexity of data analysis. A case study was expected to reasonably limit the amount of data to a manageable level and to allow the researcher to conduct a finer examination of data. Furthermore, Flyvbjerg (2006) notes that case studies offer researchers concrete and context-dependent knowledge, which at times may be more valuable than predictive theories and universal generalizations.

More specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was selected for data analysis in this study. CDA aims to achieve a better understanding of the complex relationship between power relations and discourse (van Dijk, 1993). Fairclough elaborates the aim as follows:

To systematically explore often opaque relationship of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts

arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (1995, pp. 132-133; see also Bowe & Martin, 2007, p. 86)

Unlike other types of discourse analysis, CDA is sociopolitical as its contribution is social change through critical understanding of social problems; researchers in CDA are motivated to emancipate those who suffer from existing social inequalities (van Dijk, 1993). Due to such a sociopolitical goal, researchers need to explicitly clarify their aims, principles, perspectives, and point of view, within society at large as well as within their discipline (van Dijk, 1993). Since social problems are complicated, CDA is interdisciplinary and its methods of analysis are diverse (van Dijk, 1993).

CDA appeared to be the most appropriate data analysis method for this study, in light of the research aim: To illustrate how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are reconstructed through stereotypical portrayals of people in different nationality/ethnic groups within a Japan's government-approved LSS English language textbook. Furthermore, CDA was practically necessary to be employed in this study, considering the core principle of the SCM. This theoretical framework of stereotypes explains that stereotypes are combinations of perceived warmth and competence of stereotyped social groups. Warmth and competence are determined based on the relationships between the ingroup and outgroups in a given social context. Hence, critical analysis of discourses of intergroup power relations is necessary for exploring stereotypes utilizing the SCM. Some previous studies (Kawamata, 2013; Tajima, 2011) succeeded in revealing ideological messages hidden in Japanese LSS English language textbooks, with the use of CDA.

4.2 Data Source

Regardless of the subject, all textbooks used in Japanese LSSs are based on the Courses of Study for LSS published by MEXT, and textbooks are also screened and approved by MEXT.

For the academic year 2017, a total of six English language textbook series were published by six different publishers (see MEXT, 2016). Anyone can purchase school textbooks in Japan; however, textbooks are on sale during a certain time of the year, which was already over at the time when I started collecting data for this study. Only *Sunshine English Course* published by Kairyudo, which was used in my local area schools, was available for reading at the city central library. I did not have access to other textbook series. According to MEXT, *Sunshine English Course* is the second most popular textbook series nationwide with a 24.8% share; the most popular series is *New Horizon English Course* by Tokyo-shoseki with a 33.8% share, the third is *New Crown English Series* by Sanseido with a 24.2% share (“Sanseido no eigo kyokasho ha bigen,” 2015).

Sunshine English Course consisted of three volumes: Volume 1 for Year 7, Volume 2 for Year 8, and Volume 3 for Year 9. This series has some leading characters appearing throughout the series; students are supposed to study English with those characters for three years. Since *Sunshine English Course 1* (Adachi, et al., 2016) is the first LSS English textbook for students, the textbook is assumed to have a greater impact than the latter volumes on students’ perceptions of English language learning, English speakers, situations where they use English, etc. Hence, *Sunshine English Course 1* was chosen among the three volumes as the data source for this study.

Sunshine English Course 1 had ten programs (Program 1-10) in total with some additional units, but not all the programs and units were suitable as the data source for this study. Data should have been information about human characters with contextual information. For this reason, Program 1 (an introductory section), Program 10 (a children’s story about an old lady and animals), and all the additional units were excluded. Eventually, images and texts for the analysis were collected from eight programs (Program 2-9) as well as the character introduction page. Each program had a theme and consisted of 2-3 scenes with

texts and scene illustrations. In most cases, texts were scripts of dialogue/conversation among characters. The type of English was American colloquial English throughout the textbook.

4.3 Data Analysis

The first step of the analysis included a close examination of the chosen images and texts.

Based on this examination, a list of characters in the textbook (Program 2-9) was created.

Subsequently, information about each character was collected from the chosen images and texts. Information about characters' physical features, clothes, facial expressions, behavior, contexts they were in, etc. were collected from the images such as scene illustrations.

Information about characters' names, nationalities/ethnicities, social status, roles, languages, interest, knowledge, abilities, ways of speaking, attitudes towards their interlocutors, contexts they were in, etc. were collected from the texts.

In the second stage of the analysis, nationalities/ethnicities of characters were identified based on information such as descriptions of their nationalities/ethnicities, their appearances and names, and contexts they were in. Next, how different nationality/ethnicity groups of people were depicted in the textbook was explored in terms of what physical features they had, how they dressed, what kinds of names they had, what languages they spoke, etc. Subsequently, warmth and competence of characters were estimated from the collected information such as their facial expressions, behavior, social status, roles, interest, knowledge, abilities, ways of speaking, attitudes towards their interlocutors, contexts they were in, etc. Finally, warmth and competence stereotypes of people by nationality/ethnicity were elicited by putting estimated warmth and competence of characters appearing in the textbook into the SCM.

With the use of CDA, not only characters in the textbook as such but also why they were depicted in certain ways were explored in every phase of the analysis, in relationship to Japanese society's perception of nationality/ethnic groups.

5 FINDINGS

Twenty-eight characters appeared in total. There were 8 leading characters: Yuki (佐山 由紀/Sayama, Yuki), Mike (マイク), Takeshi (林 武史/Hayashi, Takeshi), Ms. Wood (ウッド先生/Kate Wood), Daisuke (大介), Amit (アミット), Judy (ジュディー), and Matt (マット).

They were introduced on the first page of the textbook as the leading characters (see Figure 2).

The key leading character was Yuki, a Year 7 student in Japan. All the other leading characters were related to her: Mike, Takeshi, and Daisuke were her classmates; Ms. Wood was her teacher; Amit was her friend; Judy was a member of her host family in England; and Matt was Judy's friend. Yuki, Mike, and Takeshi appeared most frequently among all the characters: they appeared in 9-19 scenes in 5-8 programs. Ms. Wood, Daisuke, Amit, Judy, and Matt appeared only in 3-5 scenes in 1-2 programs. Regardless of frequency of appearance, all the leading characters had their own names and played meaningful roles with multiple lines.

There were 6 sub-major characters: Ms. Sasamori (笹森 琴絵/Sasamori, Kotoe), Aiko (Mother), Sam (Son), Meg (Daughter), Jim (Father), and Grandma. Unlike the leading characters, they had no connection with Yuki. They appeared only in 1-3 scenes in 1 program. However, they had their own names or role names and played meaningful roles with multiple lines. In addition to the major characters above, there were 14 minor characters. They appeared only in 1 scene in 1 program. Most of them, except two characters (a Japanese woman and a man) were extras who just appeared in scene illustrations without lines and names or role names.

5.1 Characters by Nationality/Ethnicity

Nationalities/ethnicities of 23 out of the 28 characters were identifiable from information available in the textbook such as descriptions of their nationalities/ethnicities, their appearances and names, contexts they were in, etc. These 23 characters were affiliated with one of the eight nationalities/ethnicities listed in Table 3.



Figure 2. Images of the Leading Characters (Adachi, et al., 2016)

Table 3

Nationalities/Ethnicities of Characters

<u>Nationality/Ethnicity</u>	<u>Leading Characters</u>	<u>Sub-major Characters</u>	<u>Minor Characters</u>	<u>Totals</u>
American	1			1
British	2			2
Canadian	1			1
Indian	1		4	5
Japanese	3	3	3	9
Korean			2	2
part-Japanese individuals from a nonspecific English-speaking country		2		2
unknown		1		1
			5	5
Totals (N=28)	8	6	14	28

All the characters in the textbook were animated human characters (see Figure 2). Pictures of real humans were not used. However, physical features that are stereotypically associated with certain nationals/members of certain ethnic groups as well as cultural identity markers in the real world appeared to be reflected in the animated characters. Based on their appearance, Japanese characters were divided into three age groups: teenage (3 characters), middle-aged (3), and elderly (3). All the Japanese characters had ivory skin, and all the teenage and middle-aged Japanese characters had black hair and eyes. Two elderly Japanese had gray hair and black eyes, and one elderly Japanese character had brown hair. The original hair color of the elderly Japanese with gray hair was assumed to be black, considering that people who have black hair often go gray with advancing age. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the Japanese characters, regardless of age or sex, share similar physical characteristics to a certain degree. As for clothing, they wore casual clothes, formal clothes, school uniforms, or business clothes according to their roles and contexts. In one program, a female Japanese character was changing her clothes from casual clothes to a Japanese

traditional dress for New Year's celebration. Besides the teenage and middle-aged Japanese characters, there were two more characters with ivory skin and black hair. They were two Koreans: one was young, and the other was middle-aged. One of them also had black eyes; the eye color of the other was not identifiable. In spite of the same physical features, it was not difficult to distinguish the young Korean character from the Japanese characters because of her Korean traditional dress. In the case of the middle-aged one, there was no specific Korean identity marker in her appearance as she wore casual clothes with an apron and arm covers for cooking. She was assumed to be Korean from the context she was in.

An Indian family of five appeared in one program. They had different hair colors, but all of them had dark skin regardless of age or sex. Their similar skin tones can be understood as a genetic inheritance effect. In real life, some physical features tend to be shared among members of a family. While three of them wore casual clothes, two of them wore Indian ethnic clothes with *bindi* a red dot on their forehead. The Indian characters match the images of Indians typically prevalent in Japanese media.

The only American character and one of two British characters had ivory skin, blond hair, and blue eyes. The other British character had ivory skin and brown hair and eyes. Similarly, part-Japanese characters had ivory skin, brown hair, and black eyes. The part-Japanese were children of a Japanese mother and a father from an English-speaking country. Their father had ivory skin, orange hair, and black eyes. The American character wore casual clothes or a school uniform depending on contexts. The British and part-Japanese characters wore casual clothes. The American, British, and part-Japanese characters and a character from a nonspecific English-speaking country appeared to have some physical features in common. Since U.S. and England are English-speaking countries, the American and British characters can be recognized as individuals from English-speaking countries. In this regard, the part-Japanese characters can be also seen as individuals from an

English-speaking country, taking their father's affiliation into account. Canada is also an English-speaking country, but the only Canadian character in the textbook did not share similar physical characteristics with the other characters from English-speaking countries. She had dark skin and reddish-brown hair and eyes, and she wore business clothes. The Canadian character may have been symbolizing the diversity among Canadians and people in English-speaking countries. By the same token, the Indian characters may have been representing the diversity among English-speaking countries as it is widely acknowledged that people in India speak English. In addition to the American and British characters, there were two more characters who had ivory skin, blond hair, and blue eyes. Their nationalities/ethnicities were unidentifiable, but one of them spoke English.

There appeared to be a certain degree of relationship between character names and their nationalities/ethnicities. In the case of Japanese and Indian characters, their names were associated with their nationalities/ethnicities. All the Japanese leading and sub-major characters were given Japanese names: Yuki (Sayama, Yuki), Takeshi (Hayashi, Takeshi), Daisuke, Ms. Sasamori (Sasamori, Kotoe), and Aiko. Likewise, the Indian leading character was given an Indian name Amit. In the case of two part-Japanese characters, the combination of their nationalities/ethnicities was reflected in the distribution of names. One of them was given a Japanese name Meg, and the other an English name Sam. The American, British, and Canadian characters were given English names: Mike, Judy, Matt, and Ms. Wood (Kate Wood). These English names as such do not entail enough information to clarify their nationalities/ethnicities. Nevertheless, considering that U.S., England, and Canada are all English-speaking countries, the connection between these countries and the English language would have been illuminated. Furthermore, the connection between some particular physical features and the English language may also have been illuminated, in light of the fact that most of the characters with ivory skin and nonblack hair were given English names: Mike,

Judy, Matt, Jim, and Sam.

According to the character analysis above, the majority of the Japanese characters had black hair; in contrast, all the characters from English-speaking countries had nonblack hair. The Korean characters also had black hair, but they were distinguished from the Japanese characters. Furthermore, all the Japanese characters who had their own names were given Japanese names. In a manner consistent with *nihonjinron*, Japanese national/ethnic identity appeared to be firmly established within the textbook. Likewise, the influence of native-speakerism was evident in the characters from English-speaking countries. Indian national/ethnic identity was built in the Indian characters by giving them an Indian name and distinct appearance. The characters from other English-speaking countries were given English names, and most of them were given particular physical features (ivory skin and nonblack hair). In this way, the characters from English-speaking countries other than India appeared to be more strongly associated with the English language, compared with the Indian characters.

In terms of language use in the textbook, all the characters who had lines were speaking English only. The only American character Mike was supposed to be able to speak Japanese a little as well as English; however, there was no scene where he was speaking in Japanese. Likewise, the only Canadian character Ms. Wood was supposed to speak English and French, but there was no scene where she was speaking in French. Moreover, there was no scene where Japanese characters were speaking in Japanese although the contexts of almost all the programs were Japan. To be specific, a scene illustration indicated that two Japanese teenagers Yuki and Takeshi were Japanese speakers as they were showing a poster written in Japanese to Mike in the scene. Also, there was a scene illustration in which two Japanese teenagers Takeshi and Daisuke might have been chatting in Japanese; however, it was not absolutely certain. Throughout the textbook, the characters' use of languages other than English seemed to be intentionally limited. Regarding the characters' English language

use, all the characters were speaking American colloquial English. Some characters had longer utterances, others had shorter utterances, depending on their roles in the context they were in. Nevertheless, there was no significant difference among the characters in their English proficiency. Simply put, all the character who had lines spoke American English at the same proficiency level, regardless of their cultural backgrounds. American English and its speakers were more valued than other types of English and speakers of those. It was evident that native-speakerism was reflected in the textbook. Linguistic and cultural diversity was not fully valued in the textbook.

5.2 Stereotypes of Characters by Nationality/Ethnicity

Warmth and competence stereotypes of people by nationality/ethnicity were elicited by putting estimated warmth and competence of characters appearing in the textbook into the SCM. As reported in the previous section, 23 characters belonged to one of eight nationalities/ethnicities listed in Table 3. Hence, warmth and competence of a total of 23 characters of eight nationalities/ethnicities were estimated. In the following, estimated warmth and competence of the characters are presented with information on which the estimates were based.

American (high in warmth-high/low in competence)

Mike was the only American character. He was a transfer student from New York to Yuki's school in Japan. He frequently appeared across programs. He was depicted as a nice boy who cares people around him. He was making a compliment to an orca watching tour guide Ms. Sasamori on her pictures of dolphins and to his classmates Yuki and Takeshi on their volunteer spirit. He was showing interest in *origami* Japanese paper crafting after his classmate Daisuke's presentation about it. Moreover, he was sending a letter to Yuki from U.S. during his winter holiday back home and giving her a gift from Washington, D.C. when he came back to Japan. Hence, his warmth was estimated to be high.

His competence was assumed to be high, considering his knowledge about U.S. as an American citizen and his language ability. He was supposed to speak a little Japanese as well as English. That being said, his competence seemed low in terms of Japanese matters since he was depicted as a person being informed of those matters (e.g., recycling in his new community in Japan, *origami*) by his Japanese classmates. In addition, he clarified his novice status in Japan when introducing himself to Yuki, stating that “I’m a new student.”

British (high in warmth-high in competence)

Judy and Matt were teenage British characters. Judy was a member of Yuki’s host family in England, and Matt was Judy’s friend. They were together showing Yuki around London. Judy appeared to be a friendly person who can connect people as she was introducing Matt to Yuki. There was one scene where Judy was accusing Matt of teasing Yuki. Judy appeared to be rescuing Yuki from the situation. However, it seemed that Matt was just trying to be humorous rather than being mean to Yuki. In this scene Judy was depicted as a caring person, and Matt as a friendly person. Overall, both of them appeared to be warm and friendly persons.

Matt’s competence was estimated to be high in terms of knowledge about Sherlock Holmes as he was a Sherlock Holmes fan and knew a lot about him. Similarly, Judy seemed competent enough to give Yuki a tour in London and to provide some information about Sherlock Holmes.

Canadian (high in warmth-high/low in competence)

Ms. Wood was the only Canadian character. She was a young LSS assistant language teacher in Japan. Most Japanese users of the textbook would find her a warm person as she was always smiling, showing interest in Japanese culture (e.g., Japanese food, Japanese *anime*, *origami*), and frankly answering questions about herself from her Japanese students Yuki and Takeshi. Some consideration may have been given not to depict Ms. Wood as a cold person. In the dialogue below between Ms. Wood and Takeshi, she sounded a little cold as clearly

saying “*no*” to someone is usually avoided in Japanese society. However, her subsequent statement canceled out her previous cold reply to Takeshi as she was expressing her interest in Japanese culture.

Takeshi: Excuse me. Do you read *manga*?

Ms. Wood: No, I don't. I don't like *manga*. But I watch Japanese *anime*.

(Adachi et al., 2016, p. 33)

Ms. Wood seemed competent in various things. She was supposed to speak two languages: English and French. She also seemed to have some music ability as she was supposed to play the piano. Moreover, she was good at *origami*. However, she might have been less competent in some contexts in Japan, as she clarified her novice status in Japan when introducing herself in class, stating that “I'm new here.”

Indian (high in warmth-high in competence, high in warmth)

Five Indian characters, Yuki's friend Amit and his family, appeared in one program. In one scene, Amit was explaining about his family to Yuki and Takeshi with a smile, showing them his family picture and a DVD package of a movie that his sister appeared in. He was depicted as a nice and warm boy who loves his family. His family was also depicted as a warm family. All the family members—Amit's father, mother, sister, and grandmother—were smiling in the family picture. In addition, Amit's father was putting his hand on his wife's shoulder, and his sister her hand on her grandmother's shoulder.

Amit was depicted as knowledgeable about not only Indian but also Korean food. His father was a computer programmer, and his sister was a movie star in India. Their competence was expected to be high.

Japanese (high in warmth-high in competence, high in warmth-high/low in competence, high in warmth, high in competence)

Nine Japanese characters appeared in the textbook. Yuki was a Year 7 girl in Japan, and

Takeshi was one of Yuki's classmates. They were depicted as warm caring persons. They were asking Ms. Wood questions about her ("Do you like *sushi*?"; "Do you read *manga*?") after her self-introduction rather than only listening to her. They were showing interest in Indian food when visiting an international food festival with Yuki's Indian friend Amit, and they were showing interest in Amit's family. Yuki was showing interest in Mike's winter holiday and asking him questions about it. Also, she was telling Mike that she loved dolls when he was giving her a doll as a souvenir from Washington, D.C. Takeshi was inviting Mike to go to a recycling event in their community together with Yuki. Yuki and Takeshi seemed to be caring strangers as well as people close to them as they were supporting an NPO which was saving children around the world. In addition, they were smiling in most of the scenes they appeared in. As for their competence, Yuki and Takeshi seemed competent in the context of Japan. They were explaining about recycling in their community to Mike. Yuki was explaining to Mike about Ms. Sasamori, who was a guide of an orca watching tour they were taking. However, Yuki and Takeshi seemed less competent in terms of things non-Japanese. They were being guided by Amit at the international food festival. Yuki was being guided by her British friends Judy and Matt in London. Moreover, she was unsure about whether Edogawa Conan (a detective in Japanese comics) was named after Conan Doyle (a British writer) or not when Judy asked her about it.

Daisuke was a teenage boy, who was one of Yuki's classmates. His competence in *origami* was expected to be high as he was a member of Nippon (Japan) Origami Association and was learning *origami* there every week. In terms of his warmth, Daisuke appeared to be a warm person. He was making a compliment to Ms. Wood on her *origami* skills, and he was smiling in most of the scenes he appeared in.

Ms. Sasamori was the only character that was based on a real-life person among all the characters in the textbook. The other characters were all completely fictional. She was a

middle-aged Japanese woman who was studying cetaceans (e.g., orcas, dolphins, and whales) off the coast of Japan. She was a guide of an orca watching tour which Yuki and Mike joined. Since she was a researcher, her competence was expected to be high, particularly in her research area. In terms of her warmth, Ms. Sasamori was assumed to be a warm person considering her statement: “I love this wonderful ocean and our friends in it” (Adachi et al., 2016, p. 73). In addition, she was always smiling when talking about orcas and dolphins.

Aiko was a middle-aged Japanese female, who was the mother of an international family. Her mother appeared as the grandmother. Aiko appeared competent as a mother, considering her commanding role in handling phone calls when the family was busy getting ready for a New Year’s visit to her parents. Grandma seemed to be a warm person as she was talking with her grandchild smiling over the phone.

An elderly Japanese couple appeared in Ms. Wood’s flashback as customers at a restaurant where she had been working as a waitress. The woman was depicted as a warm person as she was frankly and nicely treating Ms. Wood, who was showing interest in an *origami* crane the woman had made. The man also seemed warm as he was smiling beside them. Later in her life, Ms. Wood was calling the woman her *origami* teacher in front of her students. Hence, the woman’s competence was estimated to be high at least in *origami*.

A Japanese male school teacher appeared in a scene illustration with Ms. Wood. He seemed warm but not competent. He was just smiling and standing beside her while she was introducing herself to her new class.

Korean (high in warmth-low in competence)

Two Korean female characters appeared as salespersons in a scene illustration of the international food festival which Yuki, Takeshi, and Amit visited. One of the Korean characters was middle-aged, and she was cooking Korean food. The other was young, and she was serving Korean food to Takeshi. They appeared to be warm persons as both of them were

smiling and welcoming Yuki, Takeshi, and Amit. In terms of their competence, they seemed not competent as Amit an Indian character, instead of them, was explaining about Korean food to Yuki.

Part-Japanese (high in warmth)

Sam and Meg were young part-Japanese characters. They were children of a Japanese mother and a father from an English-speaking country. Sam was talking with his grandmother smiling over the phone, and Meg was making a compliment to her grandfather on his food. Both of them appeared to be warm persons.

Individuals from a nonspecific English-speaking country (high in competence)

Jim was a middle-aged male from an English-speaking country. He was the father of an international family. He appeared competent as a father since he was exercising his leadership in getting his family members ready for a New Year's visit to his wife's parents.

Characters in each nationality/ethnic group provided information about not only their warmth and competence but also their country and culture. In doing so, they gave more clarification of their nationality/ethnicity.

Table 4 shows the distribution of warmth and competence of the characters by nationality/ethnicity. There was no character with low in warmth in any nationality/ethnic group. In other words, all kinds of people regardless of nationality/ethnicity were depicted as being warm. As seen in the depiction of the Canadian character Ms. Wood (see the above section of Canadian for detailed description), depicting characters as cold may have been intentionally avoided since the textbook was designed for LSS students.

In terms of competence, some characters—the only American and Canadian characters, three Japanese and all the two Korean characters—were classified as being low in competence. The American and Canadian characters Mike and Ms. Wood and two out of the three Japanese characters Yuki and Takeshi were simultaneously classified as being high in

Table 4

Estimated Warmth and Competence Stereotypes of Characters by Nationality/Ethnicity

<u>Nationality/Ethnicity</u>	<u>HW-HC</u>	<u>HW-LC</u>	<u>HW</u>	<u>HC</u>	<u>Totals</u>
American	1	(1)*			1(1)*
British	2				2
Canadian	1	(1)*			1(1)*
Indian	3		2		5
Japanese	5	1(2)*	2	1	9(2)*
Korean		2			2
part-Japanese individuals from a nonspecific English-speaking country			2	1	2 1
Totals (N=23)	12	3(4)*	6	2	23(4)*

Note: (n)*Overlapping; HW-HC, high in warmth-high in competence; HW-LC, high in warmth-low in competence; HW, high in warmth; HC, high in competence

competence. This duality of their competence was attributed to the amount of information about them richer than that of other characters due to their high frequency of appearance. Whether their competence was high or low depended on the matter. In most cases, their competence was high when the matter was about their own culture; it was low when the matter was not about their culture (see the above sections of American, Canadian, and Japanese for detailed descriptions). Nevertheless, they appeared to be competent in most scenes. Unlike Mike, Ms. Wood, Yuki, and Takeshi, the remaining one Japanese character (the male school teacher) and the Korean characters (the salespersons) were classified only as being low in competence. Their low competence was attributed to their no opportunity to speak. All speaking opportunities were taken by characters from English-speaking countries who appeared with them in the same scene. The Canadian assistant language teacher Ms. Wood was prioritized over the Japanese teacher, and the Indian boy Amit over the Korean salespersons (see the above sections of Japanese and Korean for detailed descriptions). In the

case of the part-Japanese characters Sam and Meg, their warmth was estimated to be high, but their competence was unknown due to lack of information. However, their competence could have been assumed to be high, considering the competence of their parents Aiko and Jim were estimated to be high in competence.

By summing up all the characters' estimated warmth and competence by nationality/ethnicity, stereotypes of each nationality/ethnic group within the textbook were revealed. Japanese and people from English-speaking countries, particularly Americans, British, Canadians, and Indians, were stereotyped as being high in warmth and high in competence. The competence of Japanese as a whole was estimated to be high since the school teacher was the only low competent Japanese character. Part-Japanese were stereotyped as being high in warmth, and they could also have been stereotyped as being high in competence, depending on the context. Koreans were stereotyped as being high in warmth but low in competence. Japanese and people from English-speaking countries, who are the key figures in *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism, were both stereotyped as high in warmth and high in competence. Hence, it is evident that *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism were deeply embedded in the textbook.

6 DISCUSSION

Since this is a CDA study, I should describe my background before starting the discussion. I see myself as a plurilingual/intercultural speaker. I am passionate about English language education both as a learner and an educator. As a learner, more than twenty years have passed since I started learning the English language. As an educator, I have been engaging in school English language education in Japan over the past ten years; meanwhile, I took a few years off for pursuing my master's degree in Teaching English as a Second/Foreign Language. In my previous studies, I became interested in identity transformation through language learning and issues of ideology in language education. I also came to realize the importance of intercultural learning in English language teaching and learning. Hence, I was motivated to conduct this study in order to sensitize school English teachers in Japan to ideology issues in English language teaching. In this study, I focused on *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism because these ideologies were considered to be impediments to Japan's school English language education from the intercultural perspective (see Bouchard, 2017). I chose one of the government-approved LSS textbooks as the data source since those textbooks appeared to be the most familiar mediators of ideology to school teachers in Japan. All in all, it is expected that my experiences, as a plurilingual/intercultural speaker, a language learner, and a language teacher, certainly influenced how I interpreted the research findings.

This study set out to address two research questions. The first research question was: Which nationality/ethnic groups are represented within a government-approved LSS English language textbook currently used in Japan? As reported in the findings section, the following nationality/ethnic groups of human characters appeared in the chosen textbook: American, British, Canadian, Indian, Japanese, Korean, part-Japanese, individuals from a nonspecific English-speaking country, and individuals of unknown nationality/ethnicity. These different nationality/ethnic groups of characters can form four major groups: Japanese, people from

English-speaking countries (American, British, Canadian, Indian, and individuals from a nonspecific English-speaking country), part-Japanese, and people from non-English speaking countries except Japanese (Korean).

The number of Japanese characters was the largest among all kinds of characters in the textbook by nationality/ethnicity. People of different ages (teenage, middle-aged, and elderly) were reconstructed in the Japanese characters to a greater extent than in other nationality/ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the ingroup diversity of Japanese was not fully reflected as many of the Japanese characters had some physical features in common: ivory skin, black hair, and black eyes. This can be interpreted as a sign of the influence of *nihonjinron*, considering that ethnicity and race are often tied to each other within *nihonjinron* (see Sugimoto, 1999).

The characters from English-speaking countries (American, British, Canadian, Indian, and individuals from a nonspecific English-speaking country) can be divided into two groups based on Kachru's (1985) three-circle model of world Englishes: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. The inner circle refers to the regions where the English language is traditionally used as the primary language, such as U.S., UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The outer circle refers to the regions where English became widely used in the early phases of the worldwide spread of the language for historical/political reasons. This circle includes India, Nigeria, Singapore, etc. In these countries, English has been nativized, and it has been serving as one of the major languages. The expanding circle refers to the regions where English is used as a foreign language or lingua franca: Japan, Korea, China, Indonesia, Greece, Israel, etc. This circle has been rapidly expanding. The American, British, and Canadian characters belong to the inner circle. The character from a nonspecific English-speaking country is also likely to be recognized as belonging to the inner circle. He fits images of typical English speakers in the inner circle due to his physical features and his

English name (see Galloway, 2017). Only Indian characters belong to the outer circle. That being said, the distinction between the inner and outer circles did not seem significant in the textbook since all the characters, regardless of nationality/ethnicity, were speaking American colloquial English. The homogeneity of people from English-speaking countries appeared to be increased by lumping different types of English speakers into one category, namely, people from English-speaking countries.

The part-Japanese characters are in a unique position due to their dual identification. They can be classified as belonging more to Japanese or people from English-speaking countries, depending on which part of their identities is emphasized. They were not speaking Japanese in the textbook, and they had physical features (ivory skin and nonblack hair) that are often associated with the English language (see Galloway, 2017). Hence, their identity of being people from English-speaking countries manifested itself stronger than their Japanese identity throughout the textbook. According to Kachru's three-circle model, they are likely to be classified as English speakers in the inner circle, unlike Japanese belonging to the expanding circle. Because of this way of portraying part-Japanese characters, they were more clearly distinguished from Japanese characters than from characters from English-speaking countries.

Only the Korean characters should certainly be classified as people from non-English speaking countries except Japanese since they were not speaking English in the textbook. Besides the Korean characters, there was a character of unknown nationality/ethnicity who might be classified into this category. However, there is some basis for perceiving him as an individual from an English-speaking country. He had physical features (ivory skin, blond hair, and blue eyes) that are often associated with the English language (see Galloway, 2017), and correspondingly he was speaking English in the textbook. There lies a difference between the Korean characters and the English-speaking character in terms of their relationship to the

English language. Suppose that the English-speaking character was an individual from an English-speaking country, he would be classified as belonging to the inner circle due to his physical features (see Galloway, 2017). The Korean characters would be classified as belonging to the expanding circle even if they had been depicted as English speakers; in general, Korean nationality/ethnicity is likely to be associated with the Korean language, not the English language.

In light of the fact that the four major groups of people—Japanese, people from English-speaking countries, part-Japanese, and people from non-English speaking countries except Japanese—were distinguishable from one another, it can be concluded that each group identity was firmly established in intergroup comparisons within the textbook. The distinctions between Japanese and non-Japanese and between people from English-speaking countries and people from non-English speaking countries in particular appeared to be emphasized by increasing the ingroup homogeneity of Japanese and people from English-speaking countries. The uniformity of Japanese was kept high by differentiating Japanese characters from Korean characters, who shared similar physical features with Japanese characters, and part-Japanese characters, whose identities were partially Japanese. This is consistent with Manabe and Befu's (1993) explanation on how Japaneseness is constructed: Japan's cultural identity is established by demonstrating differences between Japanese culture and other cultures and thus the uniqueness of Japanese culture (p. 89; see also Hambleton, 2011; Kobayashi, 2011). Similar to the case of Japanese, the homogeneity of people from English-speaking countries was increased by depicting all of them, regardless of their cultural backgrounds, as speakers of American English and contrasting them with people from non-English speaking countries, especially Koreans.

This inverse relationship between ingroup and intergroup diversities can be found in other language textbooks of different target languages (see Canale, 2016). Canale concludes

that textbooks favor cultural homogeneity within a culture and diversity between cultures over cultural diversity within a culture. However, he specifies that oversimplification and homogenization are more recurrent among textbooks for beginners and intermediate learners than for advanced learners. This study can give further evidence to Canale's claim as Japan's LSS English language textbooks are designed for novice learners.

Due to increased ingroup homogeneity within the textbook, Japanese and people from English-speaking countries were clearly distinguished from each other. In his article about *nihonjinron*, Sugimoto (1999) notes: "The more we stress the significance of intra-societal cultural variety, the more we tend to play down the threat of external cultural domination and ethnocentrism" (p. 94). Hence, the clear distinction between Japanese and people from English-speaking countries can be interpreted as resistance to cultural imperialism accompanying English language education. Already back in 2000, Hashimoto (2000) viewed Japan's attitudes towards English language education as resistance to English language imperialism. She argued: "The culture associated with English has the potential to transform and empower individuals so that they will not share assumed values seen in Japanese tradition and culture. Hence this is a threat to be avoided" (p. 49). This study indicates that the Japanese government still has these attitudes, hoping that Japanese students improve their proficiency of English without reducing their Japaneseness as Japanese nationals. This idea, however, goes against intercultural language education, which acknowledges that language learners transform their identities in the process of internalizing the target language as their own (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

Taking a closer look at interactions among characters within the textbook, all of them were those between Japanese characters and characters from English-speaking countries/part-Japanese characters. In this way, people from English-speaking countries were presented as legitimate English speakers and thus the best models in English language

teaching and learning throughout the textbook. As explained above, people from English-speaking countries appearing in the textbook were English speakers in the inner and outer circles in Kachru's (1985) three-circle model. These English speakers are often called native speakers. In addition, American English, which was spoken by all the characters in the textbook, is one of the English varieties spoken in the inner circle. Therefore, it is evident that the native speaker model was adopted in the textbook. Yamada (2010) reported similar findings in her study of LSS English language textbooks used in Japan. Due to the influence of native-speakerism, the textbook would be conveying the following implicit messages to its users: those who are labeled as nonnative speakers including Japanese are less legitimate speakers of English, compared with those who are labeled as native speakers; Japanese LSS students are mere learners of English, rather than "intercultural speakers" (Byram, 1997, 2008). Furthermore, "the intercultural appeal of English-speaking people and communities" (Rivers, 2010, p. 333) was effectively made in the textbook. By limiting the use of languages other than English, the textbook presents English as *the* common language when people with different linguistic backgrounds communicate with one another. Indeed, native-speakerism permeated the textbook. As a consequence, plurilingualism, which is one of the fundamental concepts of intercultural language education, was devalued.

The second research question was: What kinds of cultural stereotypes are being evoked? As reported in the findings section, Japanese and people from English-speaking countries were stereotyped as high in warmth and high in competence, part-Japanese as high in warmth and maybe high in competence as well, and Koreans as high in warmth and low in competence. According to the SCM (Fiske et al. 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 2010), social groups with high warmth and high competence are perceived as reference groups (ingroups and prototype groups in the society). They are likely to be proud of and admired and to receive active help and passive support by others in the reference groups. Social groups with high

warmth and low competence are perceived as outgroups. They are likely to get mixed emotions such as pity and sympathy and to receive active help but passive harm by people in the reference groups. Based on their elicited stereotypes, Japanese, people from English-speaking countries, and part-Japanese will be considered to be in the reference groups, and Koreans to be in an outgroup. This ingroup/outgroup distinction of the four groups of people are consistent with that in the context of English language education in Japan. Since LSS students in Japan are the target users of the chosen English language textbook, Japanese appear to be in the ingroup in the society and people from English-speaking countries in the prototype group. In the case of part-Japanese, whether they would be perceived as being in the ingroup or in the prototype group depends on contexts. They can be related to both groups due to their dual identities. Only Koreans appear to be in an outgroup. In the textbook, they were not depicted as speakers of English, which was the target language. Thus, it is unlikely that Japanese students place Koreans in the prototype group. Also, Japanese students would not perceive Koreans as being in the same group as theirs, namely the ingroup, as many Japanese are apt to see Koreans as physically and culturally different from Japanese (see Kawai, 2015). Furthermore, some studies succeeded in exploring the effects of meta-stereotypes among Japanese by placing Koreans in the outgroup (Kobayashi & Oikawa, 2015, 2018; Tamura, 2017). Interestingly, Japanese, people from English-speaking countries, part-Japanese, and Koreans were differentiated from one another, based on not only their nationalities/ethnicities but also their stereotypes.

According to Cuddy et al. (2009), Japanese are unlikely to locate reference groups in the high-warmth/high-competence cluster in the SCM. In this study, however, Japanese and people from English-speaking countries were high in warmth and high in competence. Depicting people from English-speaking countries as admirable people to Japanese LSS students would be reasonable since they were treated as the best models in English language

teaching and learning throughout the textbook. A possible reason why Japanese were also depicted as high in warmth and high in competence would be due to the coexistence of *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism in the textbook. In the discourse of *nihonjinron*, Japanese are expected to be unique and different from others (Hambleton, 2011; Kobayashi, 2011; Manabe & Befu, 1993), but they are not necessarily highly competent. However, since people from English-speaking countries were depicted as high in competence in the textbook, it is assumed that Japanese were also depicted as high in competence in order to balance native-speakerism and *nihonjinron*. Without this treatment, native-speakerism would have manifested itself stronger than *nihonjinron*, which appeared to be against the Japanese government's intention mentioned above. It should be *nihonjinron*, not native-speakerism, that the Japanese government wanted to emphasize in the textbook, taking Rivers' argument into account: "The role of patriotism and nationalism . . . is something which should be of central interest to those language learning contexts which continue to rely on the native-English speaker as a model of ideal teaching practice and pedagogy" (2010, p. 333).

Although both Japanese and people from English-speaking countries were overall depicted as competent, their competence was not always high. They were competent when the matter was about their own cultures; they were not competent when the matter was not about their cultures. Japanese and people from English-speaking countries were not competing over the same matter. They were depicted as competent in different areas. Only Koreans were depicted as low in competence in the textbook, and as a result, the competence of Japanese and people from English-speaking countries appeared to be increased in comparison with the competence of Koreans. Based on the analysis of stereotypes of people appearing in the textbook, it can be inferred that the balanced coexistence of *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism was carefully established within the textbook.

In Japanese society, native-speakerism and *nihonjinron* appeared to be two sides of

the same coin. However, recent studies of Chinese English language textbooks suggest that native-speakerism is not necessarily tied to cultural nationalism in different contexts. As with Japanese LSS English language textbooks, ideologies accompanying the English language, such as neoliberalism, monolingualism, and native-speakerism, are prevalent in Chinese upper secondary school (USS) English textbooks (Xiong & Qian, 2012; Xiong & Yuan, 2018). Nevertheless, in China these ideologies do not appear to be the reverse side of nationalism or patriotism. Xiong and Yuan note: “While it is required by the curriculum standard that English teaching shall serve moral education agendas such as patriotism, altruism and collectivism, the curriculum materials has also become increasingly individualized and mundane” (2018, p. 105). Furthermore, Xu (2013) reported that Chinese USS English textbooks contained texts which demonstrated the localization of the English language in the Chinese context (e.g., interaction between Chinese individuals in English, without any other non-Chinese English speakers). Chinese students are encouraged to adopt a pragmatic approach to multiculturalism by applying a Yin Yang principle, which allows different cultures to coexist, the English language to be localized to the Chinese context, and the Chinese to reinforce their multicultural awareness and identities (Xu, 2013, p. 9). Due to this pragmatic approach, native-speakerism may not need to be associated with nationalism in China, unlike in Japan, where a monocultural approach to multiculturalism is permeated.

As described in the introduction section, *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism, which are identified as impediments to intercultural language education in the Japanese context (Bouchard, 2017), are prevalent in Japan’s foreign language education policies and are affecting classroom teaching and learning (Bouchard, 2017; Liddicoat, 2007). In such a context, school language teachers need to be sensitive to ideology issues in language education; however, many of them may not due to their lack of intercultural training. Hence, I see the need of providing school teachers in Japan a guide, which enhances their

understanding of how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are negatively affecting LSS English language education in Japan, especially through government-approved textbooks. In spite of this need, previous studies have not provided a comprehensive explanation on the issue yet. In this respect, this study has made a few contributions to the literature on ideologies embedded in Japan's government-approved LSS English language textbooks.

First, the detailed character analysis of this study has shown that people with particular characteristics consistent with *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism appeared in the chosen textbook. As a consequence of this less diversity of people in the textbook, the ingroup homogeneity of Japanese and people from English-speaking countries was increased, and simultaneously the intergroup diversity was increased. That is to say, the distinctions between Japanese and non-Japanese and between people from English-speaking countries and people from non-English speaking countries were made clear. This finding suggests that *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism exercised their influence on the textbook even from the phase of character selection. Second, with the use of the SCM, this study has revealed that the ingroup/outgroup status of each nationality/ethnic group in the textbook based on stereotypes was consistent with the ingroup/outgroup status of the group in the context of English language education in Japan, where *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are prevalent. This finding indicates that *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism affected how people were described in the textbook. In addition, the analysis of stereotypes has shown that these ideologies coexisted in a well-balanced manner within the textbook. Considering that the textbook was for English language learning, this coexistence appeared to be carefully established; *nihonjinron* is the ideology that had to be emphasized in the textbook, not native-speakerism, which is more relevant to English language education. Finally, and most significantly, this study has provided a comprehensive illustration on how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism were reconstructed within the chosen textbook through stereotypical portrayals of people.

CDA allowed me to analyze images and texts in the chosen textbook at a deeper level and thus see how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism were reconstructed in the textbook through stereotypical portrayals of nationality/ethnic groups. The findings of this study may apply to other current Japan's government-approved LSS English language textbooks to a certain extent. All those textbooks are based on the national curriculum by MEXT (MEXT, 2010) and thus similar to one another in content and structure. Hence, this study warns that a stereotypical description of people in Japan's LSS English language textbooks is likely to be a mediator of *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism, rather than just a simplified image of people. Teachers should look at stereotypes in those textbooks with a critical eye for practicing intercultural language teaching in their classrooms. Nevertheless, since only one textbook from one textbook series was explored in this study, the following points are still unexplored: how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are reconstructed throughout an entire series of textbooks and whether there is any significant difference across textbooks from different publishers in the ways these ideologies are reconstructed.

This study indicates that current Japan's LSS English language textbooks are not conducive for language education from the intercultural perspective, due to the influence of *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism embedded in those textbooks. In order to promote the intercultural approach to language education in the Japanese context, future textbooks should reflect plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and interculturalism, which are the fundamental concepts of intercultural language education. This means, textbooks should include representations of people from a variety of backgrounds to reflect the diversity of society. More importantly, textbooks should also provide rich descriptions of the plurilingual speaker's unique language ability and identities. In doing so, Japanese students can have a better idea of being an intercultural individual in the diverse society, rather than becoming an imitator of a monolingual English speaker.

7 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study is to illustrate how *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism are reconstructed through stereotypical portrayals of people in different nationality/ethnic groups within a Japan's government-approved LSS English language textbook. This research aim has been achieved through investigation of representations of people appearing in *Sunshine English Course 1* published by Kairyudo (Adachi, et al., 2016) and stereotypes of those people, utilizing CDA as the method of data analysis. The major findings of this study are: Representations of people that reflect *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism appeared in the textbook; stereotypes of each nationality/ethnic group in the textbook reflected the ingroup/outgroup status of the group in terms of *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism; and *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism coexisted in the textbook. These findings indicate that *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism were sophisticatedly reconstructed within the chosen textbook by selecting particular nationality/ethnic groups of people to appear and depicting them in particular ways. In addition, the well-balanced coexistence of *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism signals that native-speakerism may have been used to reinforce *nihonjinron*. Since *nihonjinron* is not particularly relevant to English language learning, it was emphasized under the veil of native-speakerism. All in all, I believe this study will help school English language teachers in Japan become aware of, question, and challenge *nihonjinron* and native-speakerism embedded in current Japan's government-approved textbooks.

Since the target audience of this study is school English teachers in Japan, here I should note down some possible ways of distributing my research findings to them. Most school teachers gain new pedagogical knowledge from non-scholarly books and journals, documents and reports by MEXT, news reports, newspaper articles, lectures, workshops, personal network, etc. Among these information sources, personal network is the only distribution method currently available to me. That being said, this method would be the most

efficient and effective, due to its ease of access for teachers. They just need to talk to their colleagues, which is an everyday activity at their workplaces. Currently I am teaching English at a LSS in my local area, and thus I can not only talk to my colleagues about my research but also reach out to teachers in other schools through the local teachers' network. In addition to school teachers, textbook authors and publishers could gain some insights from this study, on how they can reflect plurilingualism, pluriculturalism, and interculturalism in school English language textbooks. However, unlike school teachers, textbook authors and publishers are not easily approachable to me. I have few to no personal connections with textbook authors, and I do not currently belong to any Japanese research community. Under these circumstances, I have limited options for disseminating my research findings to academic audiences in Japan. One option would be to contact some textbook authors/publishers; another option would be to distribute my research on a popular social networking site for researchers. Indeed, I should use different dissemination methods in order to get various audiences (academic or nonacademic) to know about my research findings.

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