

The Fluid Identity Construction of Non-Thai Male English-User Teachers in Thailand

Zhaoyi Pan¹

*Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University,
Nakhon Pathom, Thailand*

Abstract: This research explores the construction of non-Thai male English-user teachers' identities in Thailand, including their professional identities at work and their social identities in daily life. A total of seven non-Thai male English-user teacher participants were involved. Intersectionality was used to examine the intersecting factors that shaped the construction of non-Thai male English-user teachers' identities. Post-structural discourse analysis was used to elicit the constructions of non-Thai male English-user teachers' identities. The results first revealed three types of non-Thai male English-user teachers' professional identities: oppressed, struggling, and privileged. Nationality was the primary factor that caused these three types of professional identities. It intersected with other factors, such as gender, culture, stereotype, and hierarchy. The results also found three types of non-Thai male English-user teachers' social identities: as a foreigner, situational identity, and multicultural identity. Nationality and culture were the primary factors behind these three types of social identities. They intersected with other factors, such as gender, stereotype, social role, and language ability. The findings of this research revealed the fluidity of non-Thai male English-user teachers' identities, offering deeper insight into the influence of power dynamics.

Keywords: English-user, intersectionality, identity, masculinity, Thailand.

The employment of English teachers in schools and universities in Thailand has long been tended to either local Thai teachers or the ones whose first language (L1) is English (Thararuedee & Musigrungsi, 2024). However, as English has been regarded as a lingua franca (ELF) due to globalization, the teaching and learning of English based on the norm of L1 English speakers has received criticism (Satienchayakorn & Grant, 2023). In this regard, non-Thai English-user teachers — those who are not Thai nationality and teach English despite not having English as their L1 — have emerged in schools and universities worldwide, including in Thailand (Thararuedee & Musigrungsi, 2024). Although the debate regarding the employment of L1 English teachers and English-user teachers has been addressed from different perspectives, such as employment criteria and students' perceptions (Tezcur & Vitanova, 2025), little is known about non-Thai English-user teachers' self-perceptions of their identities in Thailand. As non-Thai English-user teachers with lived experience in Thailand,

¹ Corresponding Author: a lecturer at Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand. E-Mail: zhaoyi.pan@mahidol.ac.th

Copyright © 2026 by Author(s) and Licensed by CECS Publications, United States. This is an open access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution License which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

they are assumed to have established unique professional and social identities as migrants in Thailand (Biwa, 2022). Thus, an investigation of these English-user teachers' identity constructions in the workplace and in daily life can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of their lived experiences, professionalism, and social interactions as migrants living in Thailand.

Given this situation, the current research aims to push the boundaries of intersectionality by exploring the intersecting factors in the construction of both professional and social identities among non-Thai male English-user teachers with lived experience in Thailand. Post-structural discourse analysis (PDA) was used as a novel methodological approach to investigate intersectionality in this research, with results demonstrating the fluidity of non-Thai male English-user teachers' professional and social identities across different situational contexts, shaped by various factors and domains of power. The research findings will fill a gap in applying intersectionality to the study of migrant English-user teachers and masculinity in non-Western contexts, thereby providing an in-depth examination of how power and hierarchy shape male English-user teachers' professional and social identities in Thailand. The two research questions (RQs) are presented below:

RQ1. How do non-Thai male English-user teachers construct their professional identities in their workplaces in Thailand?

RQ2. How do non-Thai male English-user teachers construct their social identities in their daily life in Thailand?

Literature Review

English-User Teachers

In recent decades, the English language has been considered not solely as a legacy of the citizens of the inner circle of English (Kachru, 1992), but also as an international language with varieties (Jenks, 2025). Accordingly, the features of ELF use by English users from different linguacultural backgrounds can be identified without adopting English L1 speakers' use of English as the norm (Pan, 2024). In this respect, the employment of English-user teachers promotes the use of ELF and staff diversity (Jenks, 2025).

Although awareness of the use of English-user teachers has emerged, many issues have arisen. First, in many regions, including Thailand, the stereotype of prioritizing L1 English teachers persists in schools and universities (Thararuedee & Musigrungsi, 2024). As English is not the L1 of English-user teachers, students and parents have linguistic racism toward English-user teachers, as the "discrimination against one's language, linguistic repertoires, accents, dialects, vernaculars and so on, primarily from the perspective of race and racism" (Dovchin, 2025, p. 4). As such, English-user teachers are discriminated against by both their linguistic backgrounds and race. This discrimination further undermined the professionalism of English-user teachers, as many of them have qualifications equal to or better than those required to teach English, based on their educational backgrounds, English proficiency, and work experience (Harris & Watson-Vandiver, 2020; Tan, 2025). Many students and parents also hold the stereotype that English-user teachers rarely know about Western cultures, although many English-user teachers' expertise pertains to Western cultures (Alghazo et al., 2021). Hence, their professional identities have been stigmatized by the various factors mentioned above.

Despite the marginalization of English-user teachers worldwide, there is little attention to the intersection of factors shaping their professional identities. As mentioned above, the marginalization of English-user teachers could be driven by a variety of factors that may or may not intersect. How these factors influence English-user teachers' professional identities remains unknown, further deepening the dearth of understanding of how they intersect to shape these identities. In addition, previous research overlooked the fact that English-user teachers also had

social identities as migrants in host countries (Lertvorapreecha & Swindell, 2024). In addition to their experiences at work, English-user teachers may also face marginalization in their social interactions outside the workplace (Linaker, 2023). Hence, both their professional and social identities should be equally studied, and intersectionality provides a suitable theoretical framework.

Intersectionality, Masculinity, and Social Identity

The study of male English-user teacher professionals' professional and social identities provided an opportunity for interdisciplinary research on masculinity and identity through intersectionality. Intersectionality is used initially to expose how race and gender intersect with each other to cause the oppression of black women in Western contexts (Crenshaw, 1991). It has been rapidly developed as a theory and methodology to examine how a range of factors intersect to construct and oppress an individual's identity (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Yang, 2024). The use of intersectionality has revealed the marginalization and stigmatization of different types of individuals with the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and many other factors (Onay, 2024; Scheurich & Mason, 2024).

In addition, the social identity of migrants has received attention due to globalization. A migrant's social identity refers to "a sense of belonging to one's ethnic group(s), involving cognitive and emotional aspects tied to that group membership" (Shabbir et al., 2025, p. 3). As migrants live in their host countries, they can be marginalized and discriminated against by citizens of host countries due to power and privilege dynamics (Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1991; Yang, 2024). Collins (2015) identified four domains of power. Structural power reinforces the social hierarchy through the legal system, whereas disciplinary power reinforces social control through rules and disciplines. Cultural power justifies social equality through ideas and ideologies, while interpersonal power refers to the hierarchy and oppression found in daily interactions and experiences. As intersectionality provides a lens "through which social phenomena can be investigated via multiple interconnected dimensions of power", the inequality, marginalization, and discrimination regarding English-user teachers' professional and social identities can be exposed between them and others they meet in daily life and workplace (Portera et al., 2025, p. 442).

As mentioned in the earlier section, the employment of English teachers in Thailand has been primarily focused on the employees' nationalities (Thararuedee & Musigrungsi, 2024). This is because the employees' nationalities directly influence whether their L1 is English. Nationalities such as American and British have long been preferred by schools, students, and parents, following the belief that L1 English teachers are considered more qualified than those with other language backgrounds due to their innate language ability (Comprendio & Savski, 2020). Although many studies have focused on the intersection of race with other factors, several studies have found that nationality is an important factor (Dovchin, 2025; Hwang & Beauregard, 2021; Portera et al., 2025; Shabbir et al., 2025). For example, nationality has an impact on linguistic racism (Dovchin, 2025). Individuals who share the same nationality may have certain benefits (Hwang & Beauregard, 2021). Individual identities can be related to their nationalities, ethnicities, and religions (Shabbir et al., 2025). Hence, it should be regarded as an important factor in intersectionality.

To achieve "gender respect and gender justice", masculinity has also been given attention since the 1980s (Keddie et al., 2022, p. 148). Several studies also examined men using intersectional frameworks across different contexts (Keddie et al., 2022; Murray, 2025). Masculinity examines how social factors shape the qualities and characteristics of boys and men in a given society (Armengol, 2019). It challenges the over-representation of feminism and

suggests that “representation to include men does not undermine the important focus on women; indeed, it provides a useful, arguably necessary, complement to such work” (Murray, 2025, p. 494). Indeed, several studies indicate that men can be marginalized in power dynamics when women become leaders in politics and the workplace (Comprendio & Savski, 2020; Tan, 2025). This phenomenon suggests that power and privilege are the actual causes of inequality, marginalization, and discrimination in many situations, rather than the issue of gender. In addition, male individuals are different, wherein ethnic minority men, disabled men, migrant men, and men from the less privileged linguacultural backgrounds can be marginalized and stigmatized by the most socially privileged men (Luiz & Terziev, 2024; Murray, 2025). Thus, it is significant to explore the migrant men who have been marginalized and stigmatized by power dynamics in their host countries. The concept of an individual’s identity as fluid can be combined with intersectionality to explore identity.

Fluidity of Social Identity and PDA

Recent studies have found that individuals can have multiple social identities, reflecting fluidity (Biwa, 2022; Pan, 2025). The fluidity of an individual’s social identity is caused by different situational contexts in which they are involved (Ammann & Staudacher, 2021). As many migrants in their host countries must communicate with local citizens, culture is also an essential factor in building migrants’ multicultural identity, thereby influencing the fluidity of their social identities (Biwa, 2022; Tan, 2025). Moreover, masculinities “are not fixed male identities but multiple, complex, and intersectional social practices and experiences that are fluid and sometimes contradictory” (Ammann & Staudacher, 2021, p. 760). As social identity is a self-recognition based on different situations (Satiechayakorn & Grant, 2023), a male individual can be a husband and a father regarding his role in a marriage, a son of another man, a staff member who has a lower power and privilege to his leader, and also a leader who has a higher power and privilege to his staff. Hence, masculinities about a male individual are multiple and fluid. Accordingly, PDA can elicit this fluidity of a male individual’s social identities.

PDA posits that one’s identities are fluid in relation to different situational interactions and is used to examine identities through language and the implications underlying those interactions (Linaker, 2023; Pan, 2026; Sircar, 2022). The fluidity of self-categorization regarding social identities prevents “certainty about the existence of absolute, or the benevolence or truth of any single paradigm or knowledge” (Baxter, 2002, p. 830). Thus, an interactant can manifest different social identities discursively in different situational and contextual interactions. Through an analysis using PDA, a female educational leader revealed her multiple identities in a team with people who had diverse cultural backgrounds (Linaker, 2023), while transgender Thai people showed their power in displaying their sexualities and their powerlessness in mental healthcare in intercultural communication (Pan, 2025, 2026). Hence, intersectionality and PDA serve the same purpose: to help explore the factors that shape an individual’s fluidity of social identities across situational contexts through oral communication (Baxter, 2002). Hence, PDA is deemed suitable for this research to analyze the construction of the fluidity of non-Thai male English-user teachers’ professional and social identities in Thailand.

Methodology

Participants

A total of seven participants were involved in this research, as shown in Table 1 below. Among the participants, two were Taiwanese, two were South African, one was German, one

was Brazilian, and one was Burmese. They were all biologically male and identified as male before data collection. In addition, all participants confirmed with the researcher that English was not their L1. They had studied English as ESL or EFL students at schools and universities before becoming English-user teachers. Four of the participants graduated with a master's degree in English linguistics or Western literature, while three graduated with a bachelor's degree in English language. Before data collection, they had all been English-user teachers in primary and middle schools in Thailand for at least 1 year. Moreover, all participants had been living in Thailand with a Thai non-immigrant categorical visa for at least 1 year. An individual with a Thai non-immigrant visa may study or work depending on the visa category. As all participants worked at their schools under their contracts, their NON-B Visa allowed them to stay in Thailand for a maximum of one year and required renewal in accordance with their contracts when the visa was about to expire. Otherwise, they must leave Thailand, or the consequences of overstaying are severe. As all participants reported, English was mainly used in their daily lives for interactions with various people. Three of them could speak some Thai, but only for a limited range of daily use, such as ordering food at a restaurant.

Table 1
Metadata of Participants

Participants	Age	L1	Years as an English-user teacher in Thailand	Years of living in Thailand
P1	28	Chinese	1.5	2.5
P2	27	Chinese	2	2
P3	27	Afrikaans	3	5
P4	30	Afrikaans	1	1.5
P5	25	Germany	2	3.5
P6	26	Portuguese	1	2
P7	32	Burmese	2	4

Data Collection

The Institutional Review Board of Mahidol University approved the data collection with the approval number MU-CIRB 2025/309.2608, and each participant provided the written consent form. Participants were randomly assigned to two groups for the focus group discussions, which served as the data collection method. P1, P3, and P7 were involved in the same group, whereas P2, P4, P5, and P6 were involved in the same group. The participants did not know each other before data collection. Thus, to ensure smooth discussions, the eight questions listed in the Appendix were given to each participant before the discussions to allow them to prepare. The two face-to-face discussions occurred in Bangkok, Thailand. Participants in each group were given total freedom to discuss the information they intended to share, without pressure, and to choose not to share anything when they did not want to. The participants were encouraged to ask each other questions to elicit more details. The researcher guided the two discussions for the first ten minutes. This was to ensure that each participant understood what they would do. After that, the researcher left them to ensure the participants felt more comfortable. The researcher's audio recording device captured the two discussions, but the first ten minutes were not recorded. The discussion of the first group lasted one hour and twenty minutes, and that of the second group lasted one hour.

Data Analysis

Guided by PDA, the data analysis was based on an audio recording that captured the original content, ideas, and prosody as participants produced their utterances (Pan, 2025, 2026). The PDA coding process has three steps. First, the researcher identified keywords related to the factors shaping each participant's identity, such as "man", "Chinese", "non-native speaker", "stereotype", "discriminate", "powerless", and "bully". These keywords are directly related to the intersectional construction of an individual's identity, as identified in previous research (Collins & Bilge, 2020). Accordingly, the contexts surrounding these keywords were collected for textual analysis to elicit the content participants intended to convey. Second, the context for each keyword helped the researcher better understand how the factors mentioned by each participant shaped their professional and social identities in different situations. In this stage, the power dynamics and the intersections of various factors were given focus. Lastly, the expanded contexts in which other participants interacted with one another helped the researcher analyze the fluidity of an individual's identity from a socio-cultural perspective. The researcher could also further examine an intersectionality in this stage by exploring the different contexts in which the same participants spoke to provide mutual support.

To ensure the reliability of the data analysis, the researcher conducted it twice, with a one-month interval between the two runs. The intra-coder reliability was 0.836, indicating a high reliability of the analysis. The researcher conducted the analysis a third time after 2 weeks following the second analysis. The researcher made the final decision based on the same results from the two analyses across the three times.

During data analysis, the researcher listened to the audio recording multiple times and reread the transcript to ensure the reliability of the analysis. The researcher's role in this process was to fully code the data according to the participants' own ideas, reflecting the emic perspective. In addition, the researcher is a non-Thai male English-user teacher who has worked in Thailand for several years, teaching different languages to Thai students. Hence, the researcher has gained some experience and insights into the situations of non-Thai male English-user teachers in Thailand. As such, the researcher has a better understanding of the content and ideas shared by different participants in group discussions, which helps identify various identities elicited from the discourses.

Professional Identities

This section elaborates on participants' diverse constructions of their professional identities, shaped by the intersection of various factors. Three types of professional identity were identified: oppressed, struggling, and privileged.

Oppressed Identity

Five of the seven participants (71%) described their oppressed identities at the workplace from two perspectives. They needed to obey many requirements and commands from their leaders and even the staff whose status at the workplace was the same as theirs, as example (1) demonstrates below.

(1)

P2: I honestly can tell you that in my workplace, I must listen to my leaders, and sometimes I also need to listen to my colleagues' demands. They directly ask me to do what, so I must do it.

P5: Dude, I got the same problem. I can say they think of us as **foreigners**. We are **not local Thai people**, so they can let us do something that is not in our responsibility.

P2: Indeed. I want to say that if my leader asks me about something, I'm OK with it. But my colleagues keep requiring me to do more.

P4: It's like what I just shared. I think they think they are **local**, and we are **not**, so they try to lead us. Everyone does it.

As (1) demonstrates, the expressions such as “foreigners” and “we are not local Thai people” were clearly used by the participants, indicating their awareness of being foreigners in Thailand. The three participants faced the same issue: both their leaders and colleagues commanded them to do a lot of work, and they were unable to refuse. Among the participants, several stated that this situation arose because they had been regarded as foreigners. Hence, nationality is the fundamental factor behind this situation. As foreigners, even their colleagues commanded the participants to perform specific tasks, reflecting the workplace's hierarchical structure, in which local citizens often asked non-Thai colleagues to do many things out of habit (Tan, 2025). This phenomenon aligns with the asymmetry in interpersonal power (Collins, 2015). As previous research has addressed, hierarchy is embedded in various Asian cultures, including Thai culture (Pan, 2025; Tezcur & Vitanova, 2025). Thus, both nationality and workplace hierarchy intersect to construct the participants' oppressed identity.

In addition, four of the participants (57%) illustrated another two factors, namely gender and stereotype, that caused their oppressed identity at the workplace, as demonstrated in example (2).

(2)

P7: I must help them with many activities. Well, it's OK, but they always ask me to help with heavy stuff, and they always think I'm a **man**, look **muscular**, and I can do everything. I can lift heavy boxes, fix some gadgets, and I'm like I'm **just a normal person**. I'm like everybody else!

P3: Me too. My school has many sports activities, and I must attend. They think I can play everything, like football and basketball! In fact, I don't think they know me at all.

As P7 demonstrates, the use of “but” reflects his concern about being treated stereotypically as a traditional concept of man. P7 claimed that “I'm just a normal person” and “I'm like everybody else”, reflecting his awareness of his own identity in relation to the other staff. Both participants in (2) reported that their workplaces included activities beyond the teaching and learning hours. They had to attend because both participants were considered muscular. As such, they were regarded by their colleagues as able to do anything a man was assumed to be capable of doing. These utterances overtly elicit that the intersection of the participants' gender as a male and their colleagues' stereotype toward a male from a traditional one-sided perspective caused their oppressed identity at the workplace.

Struggling Identity

Compared with their oppressed identities at work, where they must obey their leaders and colleagues, all participants described their struggles with identity. Given that their schools hired them to teach English, their primary job was to teach English using their professionalism. However, although they had been employed as English-user teachers, all the participants mentioned that the recruitment process was full of hardships, as example (3) demonstrates.

(3)

P1: I sent like a million resumes to different schools but got no response. I think they didn't care about my major; they just needed **native speakers**. That's the only thing they look at.

P7: Exactly. You also see their ads online, right? They say we need **native speakers** from the US, the UK, Canada, and elsewhere. I also went through the same thing.

P1: But they recruit the ones from South Africa.

P3: Nah. They asked me about my TOEFL scores. They must be persuaded that I'm a **native English speaker**.

P1: What? Really?

P3: Yeah. Actually, my native language is not English, but my English is on the same level as a native speaker's. But they still need the proof.

P7: They don't care about our **educational background**.

P3: No, definitely don't care, man. But anyway, I've always used my **professional** teaching methods to impress my students. My students love me.

P1: I do the same thing. I'm sure my teaching wins my position. Oh, I remember many recruitments only needed **female teachers**.

P7: Oh yeah, man. They think being a female teacher is better.

The first factor the participants in (3) discussed is whether English is their L1, as this was the primary criterion for schools in Thailand to hire English teachers (Comprendio & Savski, 2020). As P7 illustrated, the schools in Thailand still focus on English L1 speakers from the inner circle of English (Kachru, 1992). The expression "native speakers" has been mentioned many times by different participants, all of whom were not satisfied with this policy in English teacher recruitment. This linguistic racism (Dovchin, 2025) intersects with the participants' nationalities, marginalizing their professionalism in teaching English. Furthermore, as noted by P1 and P7 at the end of (3), many schools in Thailand prefer female teachers because they are stereotyped as better than male teachers. It reflects the inequality from the perspective of cultural power (Collins, 2015). Hence, the intersections of linguistic racism, nationality, gender, and stereotype caused the hardships of male English-user teachers to find a job in Thailand.

Moreover, the same hardship mentioned above was also observed when participants worked at their schools, as demonstrated in (4).

(4)

P5: My leader is a Thai woman, and she always hates me; I can tell, and everybody else knows about it. Because when the school recruited me, the headmaster did like me. However, my leader said she wanted a **female**, and she thought I knew **nothing** about **Western culture**. But you know what? She has to keep hiring me because I've been their **best teacher**.

P2: Oh my god, I have had the same experience! I was once at a language school far from the city center, and that female boss didn't like me because I was **male**. She deliberately tried to let me do many things. But, yeah, all the students **loved** me, and they even tried to contact me after I quit.

P6: Oh my god. I didn't have the same experience, but I totally feel they don't care about our **educational backgrounds** or **qualifications**. They care about something else that should not be the first concern as a teacher, like **whether someone is native** or **non-native**, or **male** or **female**.

The tension between "female" and "male" was revealed in (4) when participants claimed that their male gender had hindered their professional identities. In addition, P5's identity as the "best teacher" and P2's situation, in which his students loved him, contrasted with their male counterparts, who had not been treated well by their leaders. P6 further described how

gender “male or female” had been regarded as more important than their “educational backgrounds or qualifications.” As participants in (4) indicated, they experienced hardship after recruitment because of their gender and nationality. For example, P5’s leader held a stereotype about non-English L1 speakers, believing they might not know much about Western culture. As P6 illustrated in (4), Thai committee members and those who worked at schools in Thailand tend to have a traditional and stereotypical perspective that the qualifications of being English L1 speakers and as a female are more important than other criteria of being a qualified English teacher in Thailand (Tezcur & Vitanova, 2025).

Rather than simply accepting these hardships, the participants still attempted to confront them by using their professional knowledge and effective teaching methods to impress their leaders, colleagues, and students. This can be overtly seen from the utterances by P1 and P3 in (3), and P2 and P5 in (4). They all showed that their students liked them because of their teaching. From these utterances, it is clear that the participants did not give up on their jobs. By contrast, they struggled to do their jobs well, suggesting that they consciously sought to prove their professionalism and used their own methods to confront the hardships in their workplaces.

Privileged Identity

Four participants (57%) expressed their privileged identity at the workplace, primarily at the interpersonal level. As non-Thai English-user teachers, they have been treated kindly by certain staff and teachers, as example (5) demonstrates.

(5)

P3: I really feel that some staff in my department treat me nicely. I have talked to them often, and they are very interested in the world from my story. I think this is a **privilege** for me as a non-Thai employee.

P1: Well, I have two colleagues who are from another section, and we often have lunch together and talk about many things. I feel they are lovely people. They like to ask me a lot of questions about Taiwan, and we share a lot. They also like speaking English to me, though I sometimes try to practice my Thai with them. It’s really nice.

In (5), both participants shared the same viewpoint that their non-Thai nationalities led to interactions with their colleagues at their schools. Due to the different nationalities, the participants and their Thai colleagues were interested in learning about each other’s cultures and previous experiences. Hence, the privilege of being a non-Thai employee, as P3 stated in (5), allowed him to share his stories with staff interested in cultures worldwide. In addition, P1 illustrated that some Thai colleagues liked to talk with him as an opportunity to practice their English. It shows the justification of their interpersonal power (Collins, 2015). As such, his nationality and professionalism intersect with his language ability, resulting in his enjoyment of interacting with his colleagues.

Social Identities

This section will elucidate three types of participants’ social identities identified in this research. The three social identities are: foreigner identity, situational identity, and multicultural identity.

Foreigner Identity

This type of social identity was evident among all participants in the discussions. Interestingly, they all had a heated discussion on the Thai immigration bureau and the interactions with local Thai citizens, as example (6) demonstrates.

(6)

P6: In my defense, I serve as a teacher to this country. I also live in this country and spend my money here. But it seems that they don't recognize all of these. Every time I go there to extend my visa, they treat me like I'm trying to do something wrong here. I think it's my **nationality** that always makes them doubt why I can be an **English teacher** here.

P5: The first time I went there, they checked my documents **for half an hour**. I mean, **I don't understand** how they spent **so much time** on **just** a couple of papers. I also feel they have doubts about my career here.

P2: Did they ask about your English test scores? Cause I was asked, and I was like, it's not in the documents that should be checked.

P5: Yes, they did.

P4: I think they have more **power**, and they don't care whether we are teachers or not.

P2: We are called **aliens** on their documents. We will always be **expats** here.

In (6), P6 used the verbs “serve”, “live”, and “spend” to reinforce his living conditions in Thailand, whereas his mention of “nationality” revealed his foreign identity. P5 emphasized “for half an hour” and “so much time” to exhibit the unfair situation at the Thai immigration bureau. The discussion in (6) reveals the Thai immigration bureau's stigmatization of these participants. The participants indicated that they were not respected and that the process of extending their NON-B Visa was complex. The officers at the Thai immigration bureau had doubts about their English teacher's identity, given their nationalities and non-English L1 status, from a stereotypical perspective. In addition, the officers at the Thai immigration bureau are public servants of the Thai government, which gives them significant power over all migrants in Thailand. They have the power to approve or reject visa extension requests from non-Thais. Moreover, as P2 uttered at the end of (6), the non-Thai people are marked as “aliens” and “expats” on the Thai official documents, suggesting that they do not have equal identities to local Thai citizens. Since Thailand is a non-immigrant country where non-Thai people cannot change their nationalities to Thai and will never receive a Thai identification card, they will always be regarded as foreigners by Thai officials and local Thai citizens. Example (7) below also demonstrates the viewpoints similar to those mentioned in (6).

(7)

P7: I think Thai people are very good at recognizing whether someone is Thai or a foreigner. Every time they find out I'm not Thai, they will avoid talking to me if they can't speak English.

P1: Because we have different **cultures, languages, and behaviors**, we will never be regarded as Thai. I can feel, like you, that they sometimes can't communicate with us cause their English isn't excellent, and when I go shopping and talk to different people, yeah, they think I'm a **tourist** and never think I'm really living here.

Based on the discussion in (7), the participants noticed that their nationalities led to cultural and language differences from local Thai citizens. Hence, their social identities can be foreign in their daily interactions with local Thai people, as P1 emphasized “different cultures, languages, and behaviors”. In addition, as Thailand is a country where tourism is a primary source of income, migrants living in Thailand can often be considered tourists, as indicated by

P1 in (7). Thus, the interactions between the participants and Thai citizens led them to consider themselves foreigners despite having lived in Thailand for a long time. As such, the intersections of participants' nationalities, L1s, and cultures, along with stereotypes about officers at the Thai immigration bureau and Thai citizens' attitudes toward non-Thai people, led participants to recognize themselves as foreigners. In this sense, structural power and disciplinary power influence English-user teachers' social identities.

Situational Identity

Although all participants identified as foreigners, four of them (57%) also held multiple identities across different situational contexts in their daily lives, as shown in (8) below.

(8)

P3: I sometimes pretend to be a **tourist** and use English to talk to some local people. It's really fun. You will notice many different ideas and people's behaviors.

P1: Yeah? It sounds interesting. I think I'm more like having **multiple identities**. I'm still a **boy** to my parents. They constantly worry about me. I'm someone's **boyfriend**, and it makes me feel good.

P3: Sounds great.

P1: And Thailand is much better about different **genders**. I can be myself, like telling people I like cute little toys and flowers. But my friends back in my hometown will think I'm like a **sissy**.

P7: Hahaha. I agree. I enjoy myself here cause I can be myself, as a **foreigner** and as a **man**. I can have my own hobbies and do what I like.

I won't do them if I'm still in my hometown. They judge, definitely.

Based on the discussion in (8), P1 identified himself as having multiple identities due to his different social roles: a son (the use of the word "boy") of his parents and a "boyfriend" to his life partner. By contrast, P3 sometimes pretended to be a "tourist", albeit with his migrant identity in Thailand. His self-willingness to be a tourist and migrant allowed him to enjoy his social life in Thailand. In addition, both participants illustrated that the diversity in how being a man is recognized in Thai culture affected their social lives in Thailand. They can be themselves, according to their own understanding of what it means to be a man in Thailand, such as pursuing hobbies they choose not to pursue in their hometown. Hence, participants' diverse social roles across contexts shape their situational identities. Moreover, the intersection of their gender and perceptions of gender in Thai culture allows participants to adopt the masculinities they wish (Ammann & Staudacher, 2021). The participants' situational self-identified masculinity in the Thai context differs from that in their hometowns, as indicated by their utterances in (8). Thus, the participants' social roles, nationalities, gender, and Thai culture intersect to shape their situational identities across contexts.

Multicultural Identity

Five participants (71%) illustrated that they regarded themselves as somewhere between their own cultures and Thai culture, as example (9) below demonstrates.

(9)

P4: I have been more like Thai people. I mean, we live in Thailand, and, more or less, we are influenced by Thai culture.

P6: The same. I also think I'm between Brazilian and Thai.

P4: Yeah. I notice that my way of talking to others, my greetings, some behaviors like walking, and the way I look at people are all changing.

P2: I was thinking I have the same situation, too. I behave more like **half-Taiwanese, half-Thai** person in Thailand. But I might revert to my Taiwanese behavior when I talk to my parents and my close friends.

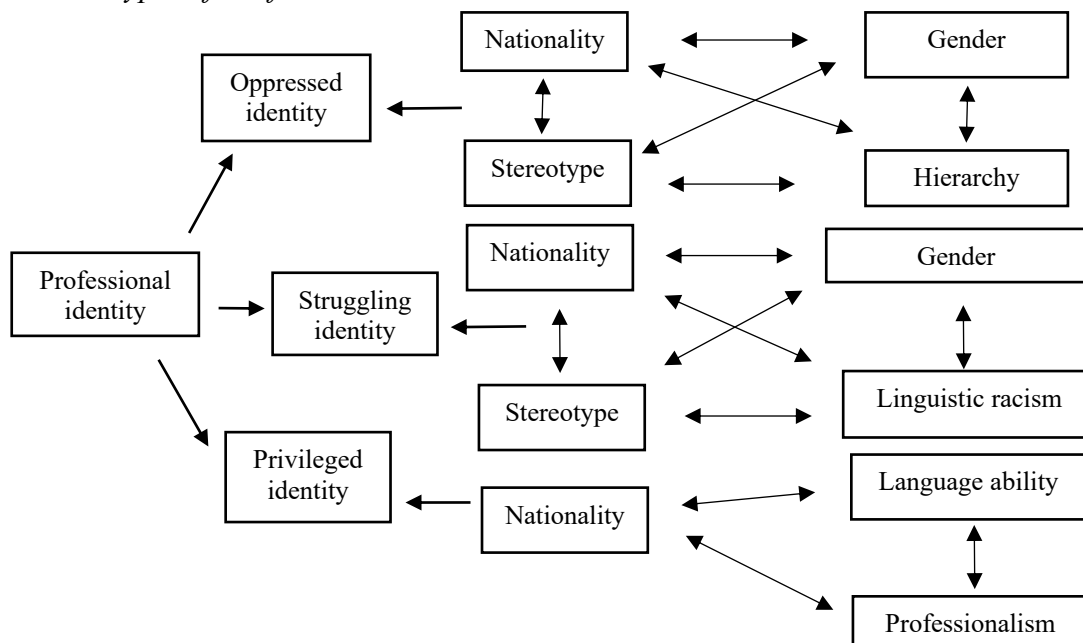
P4: I realize my **Thai male friends** behave very slowly and carefully when they talk to others in public, but they talk to me very loudly and laugh out loud. So, they are cautious about their behavior in public. I learn it from them.

Based on the discussion in (9), the participants shared the view that they had been influenced by Thai culture, in which local Thai people’s behaviors, such as the way they talk and other social behaviors in public, had an impact on them. Accordingly, the three participants illustrated that they considered themselves to have a multicultural identity, defined as “individuals who have high regard for both the interdependent and independent self-construal” (Biwa, 2022, p. 119). These migrants have representations of their own cultures and have been further influenced by those of their host countries (Shabbir et al., 2025). Thus, as the participants in (9) suggested, when interacting with Thai people, they consciously behaved as Thai people would. However, they would revert to their previous behaviors when interacting with people of the same nationality. Moreover, as P4 illustrated, he had observed his Thai male friends’ behavior in public and tended to imitate them to be discreet. This phenomenon indicates that social behaviors among same-gender individuals depend on culture. As a male, P4 would not behave the same as he did in public in the Thai context. As such, gender intersects with distinct cultures, each with its own social norms (Lertvorapreecha & Swindell, 2024). Hence, participants’ nationalities, genders, and cultures intersect to form their multicultural identity.

Discussion

This research investigated the professional and social identities of male English-user teachers in Thailand. Based on the results presented above, Figure 1 lists the three types of their professional identities and the intersections among the factors that influenced the construction of each type.

Figure 1
Three Types of Professional Identities and Factors

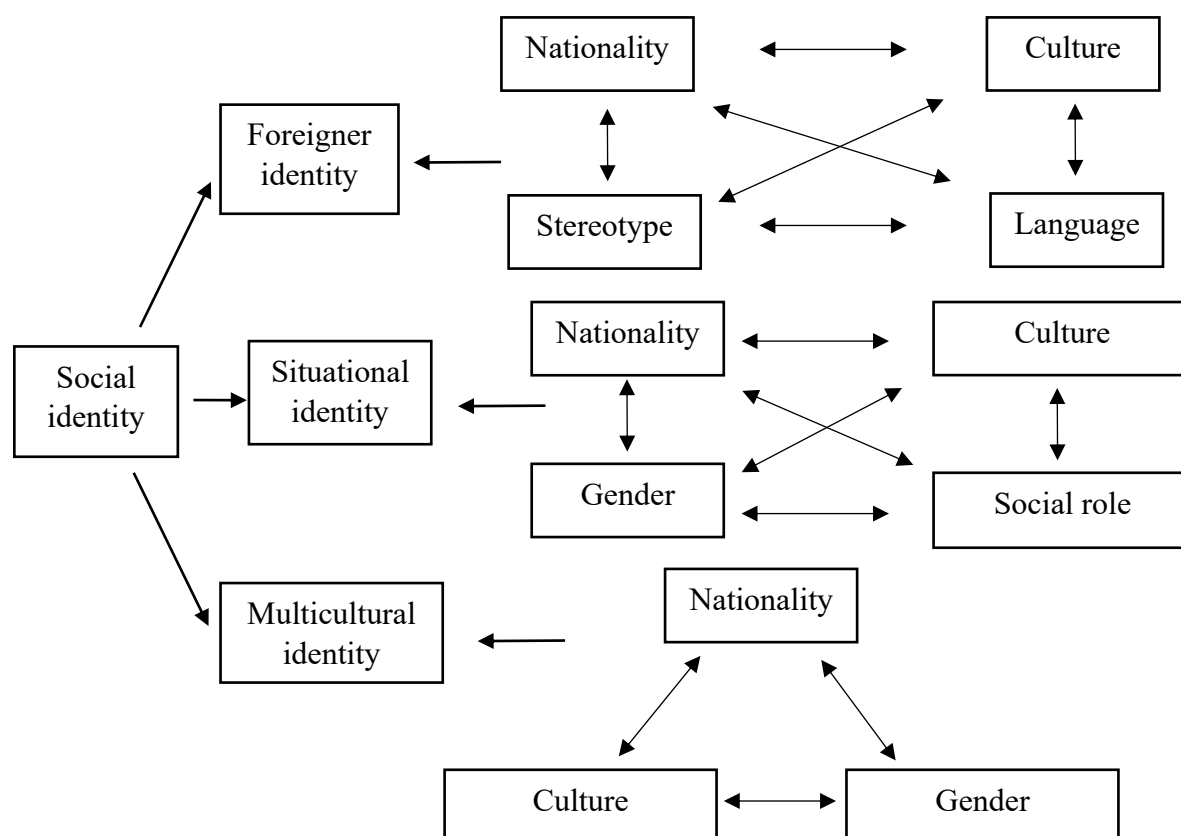


As Figure 1 shows, nationality is the common factor that underlies the three types of participants' professional identities. Interestingly, no participant mentioned the keyword "race," even though it was included in the prepared questions. Instead, they frequently used the keyword "nationality" throughout the discussions. This phenomenon is considered in line with Satienchayakorn and Grant's (2023, p. 51) finding that due to "Thailand's unique history and perception of chat (race)", Thai people's perception toward race is directly reflected in the concept of people's nationalities (Tassev, 2021; Thararuedee & Musigrungsi, 2024). This concept has indeed influenced the recruitment and employment of non-Thai English teachers, as the staff at the schools where the participants worked still tended to think that L1 English teachers were better than English-user teachers. Hence, the participants' nationalities and the Thai people's stereotypes toward the concept of nationality led to the oppression of English-user teachers at the workplace.

Furthermore, due to the stereotype of masculinity in a traditional perspective and the hierarchical viewpoints regarding Thai and non-Thai nationalities, male English-user teachers in Thailand can be oppressed and discriminated against by some local staff at schools. As they were not from the inner circle of English (Kachru, 1992), linguistic racism against their L1 was also found in this research. In contrast to the oppressed and struggling identities, the participants also revealed their privileged identity at the workplace, from which they often interacted with certain staff or colleagues who tended to speak to non-Thai people. The factors, namely their professionalism and language ability, intersect to construct their privileged identity.

Figure 2 below lists the three types of participants' social identities and the intersections of factors that influenced the construction of each type.

Figure 2
Three Types of Social Identities and Factors



According to Figure 2, participants' nationalities and cultural backgrounds are the two primary factors shaping their social identities. Based on Thai citizens' traditional stereotypes and differences in language, participants constructed their social identity as foreigners when interacting with Thai citizens. This is also due to Thailand's immigration system (Tezcur & Vitanova, 2025). In addition, participants' diverse social roles intersected with their self-identification as male, leading them to adopt a range of situational identities in other contexts. Moreover, this research found multicultural identity in the intersections of three factors: nationality, culture, and gender.

The results illustrated above, on the surface, show that the intersections of various factors led to different types of participants' professional and social identities, as evidenced by their utterances. However, power plays a significant role in the construction of different identities, with other factors playing a role in depth. According to Collins's (2015) dimensions of power in intersectionality, the participants' oppressed and struggling identities at the workplace are the result of power at the disciplinary, cultural, and interpersonal levels. Social status, power, and hierarchy are deeply embedded in Thai culture (Burford et al., 2021; Pan, 2025). Given that "Thais take great pride in not having a colonial past and they have resisted European expansionism", many Thai citizens "view immigrants from neighboring countries negatively" due to their colonized history (Satienchayakorn & Grant, 2023, p. 41). Hence, their attitudes and behaviors toward migrants at the workplace, whether consciously or unconsciously, marginalized and discriminated against male English-user teachers influenced by social norms, stereotypical perspectives, and hidden hierarchical regulations (Lertvorapreecha & Swindell, 2024; Yang, 2024). However, certain Thai staff and the participants' colleagues still frequently interacted with them, leading to the participants' privileged identity in the workplace. On the one hand, this phenomenon reflects power dynamics at the interpersonal level, where male English-user teachers have the opportunity to communicate with Thai staff who can speak English and are willing to share different stories. On the other hand, the different conditions of male English-user teachers mentioned above also suggest individual differences, in which some Thai staff at the workplace can be friendly to communicate with.

Regarding participants' social identities, their self-identification as foreigners reflects power dynamics at the structural, cultural, and interpersonal levels. Thai social norms and the stereotypical views of Thai citizens toward non-Thais' nationalities and language abilities, influenced by Thai immigration laws, lead participants to identify as foreigners. Hence, the participants were stigmatized as foreigners with less power and privilege than Thai citizens (Burford et al., 2021; Comprendio & Savski, 2020). In addition, participants' situational and multicultural identities demonstrate their power at the cultural and interpersonal levels. They were able to manage their identities according to different situational conditions and the ones with whom they interacted. Hence, the power dynamics have been revealed under the surface of the intersectionality.

The diversity of powers reflected in participants' different professional and social identities ultimately reveals their powerfulness and powerlessness as male English-user teachers in Thailand. At their workplaces, their oppressed identity shows their powerlessness, as they had to obey specific regulations due to their gender and nationalities. This powerlessness was also reflected in the recruitment process and in the way they worked with other Thai staff in their struggle with identity. As such, this research found that male teachers could also confront discrimination and marginalization due to their lower power and privilege at the workplace. It indicates that workplace discrimination and marginalization are not solely related to women (Armengol, 2019; Keddie et al., 2022) and that power is a crucial factor in these processes (Ammann & Staudacher, 2021; Collins & Bilge, 2020; Onay, 2024). Despite marginalization and ignorance of their language and teaching abilities, they still attempted to be good teachers. They sought to build reputations through their students' positive attitudes

toward them. Furthermore, they were easy to communicate with the Thai staff, who were willing to interact with them. These situations changed their sense of powerlessness at the workplace, reflecting their capacity to work hard and change the conditions (Baxter, 2002; Linaker, 2023).

The powerfulness of the participants is also evident in their situational and multicultural identities. They flexibly adjusted their identities across situations, drawing on their nationalities, gender, culture, and social roles to adapt to life in Thailand. Compared to participants' professional identities, their social identities revealed greater powerfulness. By contrast, the powerlessness inherent in participants' social identities was evident in their self-identification as foreigners. It stigmatized the participants' social identities in the Thai context, potentially causing the distance between Thai and non-Thai citizens. Hence, the fluidity of the identities of male English-user teachers in Thailand is ultimately revealed from three facets: the different types of professional and social identities that are caused by the intersectionality; the power dynamics that function in each type of identity; and the powerfulness and powerlessness regarding the participants' professional and social identities.

Conclusion

From the theoretical implications elaborated above, the nationalities and genders of non-Thai male English-user teachers intersect with differences between their cultures and Thai culture, thereby establishing their fluid professional and social identities in Thailand. The findings of this research suggest that Thailand can consider hiring more non-Thai male English-user teachers, as they have the spirit to confront marginalization and discrimination while maintaining professionalism. The stereotypical viewpoint of one-sided knowledge of masculinity should be nurtured among Thai staff at the workplace. By contrast, non-Thai male English-user teachers can also improve their Thai language skills and better understand Thai culture, enabling them to communicate more effectively with Thai staff. Although non-Thai male English-user teachers seem to have power over their social identities, Thailand's overall policy toward migrants, as a non-immigration country, influences their self-identification and the perspectives of Thai citizens toward them. Given this point, Thai citizens can regard non-Thai male English-user teachers who have lived in Thailand for a long time as long-term residents of Thailand. Non-Thai male English-user teachers also need to know more about Thai history and culture. This mutual understanding will ease the marginalized condition of male English-user teachers from the perspective of their social identity as foreigners.

The findings of this research can also shed light on similar situations in other monolingual countries, including Thailand's neighboring countries, such as China. Based on the results of this research, male English-user teachers demonstrate qualifications in their profession, including English proficiency and language-teaching abilities. The policy of employing only L1 English speakers as English language teachers should be discreetly reconsidered, given that ELF has been promoted for decades, and criticism of L1 English speakers' use of English as the norm has long been voiced. Moreover, the findings of this research supported the conclusion that migrant male English-user teachers had the capacity to improve their professional identities while struggling with their diverse social identities in their host countries. Different countries should pay attention to their equal rights and social justice, as they, in fact, live in their host countries.

This research involved only a limited number of male English-user teacher participants in schools in Thailand to examine their identities. Hence, future research should involve more participants from both schools and universities to ensure the validity of the findings. Male

English-user teachers working in other regions of the world are also deserving of study through an intersectional lens regarding their identities.

Funding Details

This research has received no funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement

This research was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Mahidol University with the approval number MU-CIRB 2025/309.2608.

Informed Consent form

Each participant provided the written consent form.

Data Availability Statement

Due to the ethical concern, the data used in this research are restricted to the author.

Acknowledgment

I send my sincere gratitude toward Professor Hasan Aydin and Professor Nuntiya Dounghummers for this great opportunity to allow me to share the findings of this research in this special issue. I also send my sincere gratitude toward all the anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback. Finally, I send my warm heart to all the participants who have been so brave to confront all their difficulties in life. Their existence proves all.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares there has been no competing interest.

Publisher's note

All claims expressed in this article are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of their affiliated organizations, or those of the publisher, the editors and the reviewers. Any product that may be evaluated in this article, or claim that may be made by its manufacturer, is not guaranteed or endorsed by the publisher.

References

- Ammann, C., & Staudacher, S. (2021). Masculinities in Africa beyond crisis: complexity, fluidity, and intersectionality. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 28(6), 759–768. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2020.1846019>
- Armengol, J. M. (2019). Past, present (and future) of studies of literary masculinities: A case study in intersectionality. *Men and Masculinities*, 22(1), 64–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X18805552>
- Baxter, J. (2002). Competing discourses in the classroom: a post-structuralist discourse analysis of girls' and boys' speech in public contexts. *Discourse & Society*, 13(6), 827–842. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926502013006760>

- Biwa, V. (2022). Multicultural identity development: An autoethnographic examination of a Sojourner's journey. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 91, 119–126. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.09.008>
- Burford, J., Eppolite, M., Koompraphant, G., & Uerpairojkit, T. (2021). Narratives of 'stuckness' among North–South academic migrants in Thailand: interrogating normative logics and global power asymmetries of transnational academic migration. *Higher Education*, 82(4), 731–747. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-020-00672-6>
- Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142>
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality* (2nd Ed.). Polity.
- Colpitts, E. M. (2022). 'Not even close to enough': sexual violence, intersectionality, and the neoliberal university. *Gender and Education*, 34(2), 151–166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2021.1924362>
- Comprendio, L. J. E. V., & Savski, K. (2020). 'Asians' and 'Westerners': examining the perception of '(non-)native' migrant teachers of English in Thailand. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 41(8), 673–685. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1630419>
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- De Costa, P. I., Green-Eneix, C., & Li, W. (2021). Embracing diversity, inclusion, equity and access in EMI-TNHE: Towards a social justice-centered reframing of English language teaching. *RELC Journal*, 52(2), 227–235. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00336882211018540>
- Dovchin, S. (2025). Beyond linguistic racism: Linguicism and intersectionality among Mongolian background postgraduate female students in Australia. *Urban Education*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859251331555>
- Handl, M. N., Seck, S. L., & Simons, P. (2022). Gender and intersectionality in business and human rights scholarship. *Business and Human Rights Journal*, 7(2), 201–225. <https://doi.org/10.1017/bhj.2022.12>
- Harris, L., & Watson-Vandiver, M. J. (2020). Decolonizing race and gender intersectionality in education: A collaborative critical autoethnography of hope, healing and justice. *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change*, 5(2), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.20897/jcasc/9321>
- Hwang, S., & Beauregard, T. A. (2021). Contextualising intersectionality: A qualitative study of East Asian female migrant workers in the UK. *Human Relations*, 75(4), 609–634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726721989790>
- Jenks, C. J. (2025). Intercultural communication, world Englishes, and interculturality. *World Englishes*, 44, 518–524. <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12718>
- Kachru, B.B. (1992). Models for non-native Englishes. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures* (2nd Ed.) (pp. 48–74). University of Illinois.
- Keddie, A., Flood, M., & Hewson-Munro, S. (2022). Intersectionality and social justice in programs for boys and men. *NORMA*, 17(3), 148–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2022.2026684>
- Lertvorapreecha, W., & Swindell, A. (2024). Global citizenship education in emergencies: a comparative analysis of curriculum materials for migrant students in Thailand. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2024.2307879>

- Linaker, T. (2023). Identity construction in the UK higher education: How cultural gendered identity is shaped through leadership practice. *Training, Language and Culture*, 7(1), 70–85. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2521-442X-2023-7-1-70-85>
- Luiz, J. M., & Terziev, V. (2024). Axes and fluidity of oppression in the workplace: Intersectionality of race, gender, and sexuality. *Organization*, 31(2), 295–315. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505084221098252>
- Lukkien, T., Chauhan, T., & Otaye-Ebede, L. (2025). Addressing the diversity principle–practice gap in Western higher education institutions: A systematic review on intersectionality. *British Educational Research Journal*, 51(2), 705–736. <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.4096>
- Murray, R. (2025). The substantive representation of men: Intersectionality, masculinities, and men’s interests. *European Journal of Political Research*, 64(2), 493–512. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12684>
- Onay, O. (2024). Navigating racialisation and whiteness: British Turks’ struggles for belonging in multiscale public spaces within the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 11(2), 105–122. <https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/1964>
- Pan, Z. (2024). The use of English pragmatic markers by learners of English from different linguacultural backgrounds. *Contrastive Pragmatics*, 6(2), 435–462. <https://doi.org/10.1163/26660393-bja10120>
- Pan, Z. (2025). Thai transgender people’s English articulation in intercultural communication. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, 14(1), 68–91. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jls.00041.pan>
- Pan, Z. (2026). Migrants’ language uses and social identities in Bangkok, Thailand. *Frontiers in Political Science*, 7, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2025.1630587>
- Portera, A., Balloi, C., & Salvadori, E. M. F. (2025). Intersectionality in intercultural educational research. The role of power and privilege in multicultural societies. *Intercultural Education*, 36(4), 437–457. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2025.2484705>
- Satienchayakorn, N., & Grant, R. (2023). (Re)Contextualizing English language teaching in Thailand to address racialized and ‘Othered’ inequities in ELT. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 36(1), 39–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2022.2044841>
- Scheurich, J. J., & Mason, M. (2024). An intersectionality-based research framework and methodology that emphasizes systemic inequities in public schooling, including racism, sexism, and classism. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, 24(5), 319–330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15327086241254815>
- Shabbir, Z., Moscardino, U., Cecon, C., & Cheah, C. S. L. (2025). The interwoven self: A qualitative study on the intersectionality of social identities and bicultural belonging among Muslim emerging adults in Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2467172>
- Sircar, S. (2022). Emplacing intersectionality: Autoethnographic reflections on intersectionality as geographic method. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 29(7), 903–922. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2021.1891865>
- Tan, Y. (2025). Occupational and social mobility of skilled migrants: An intersectional analysis. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 26(4), 523–543. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2024.2420598>
- Tassev, V. (2021). Undergraduate university students’ views regarding intelligibility and comprehensibility of the pronunciation of native English teachers’ (NETs) versus non-native English teachers’ (NNETs’) pronunciation—A case-study at Assumption University of Thailand (AU). *The New English Teacher*, 15(1), 24–35.
- Tezcur, N., & Vitanova, G. (2025). Intersectionality between race and nonnative English speaker status in language teacher identities: What educators should know. *RELC Journal*, 56(1), 184–197. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00336882241293837>

- Thararuedee, O., & Musigrungsi, S. (2024). Recruiters' beliefs regarding the employability of native and non-native English-user tertiary-level teachers: The case of public universities in Thailand. *Ampersand*, 12, 100172. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amper.2024.100172>
- Yang, P., & Henderson, S. (2024). Race, gender, class, and perceived everyday discrimination. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 11(3), 51–66. <https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/1801>

Notes on Contributor

Zhaoyi Pan holds a Ph.D. in applied linguistics from the English as an International Language Program, the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. He is now working as a university lecturer in Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand. His research interests focus on, but are not limited to, intercultural pragmatics, interlanguage pragmatics, corpus linguistics, learner corpus research, linguistic and semiotic landscapes, and trans linguistics.

ORCID

Zhaoyi Pan, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6923-0686>

Appendix: Prepared questions for discussions

1. How do you usually construct your professional identity as an English teacher?
2. What factors have helped you to construct your professional identity as an English teacher, such as your gender, race, nationality, English proficiency, or other factors?
3. What experiences have you had while becoming an English teacher in Thailand and at school? You can share both good and bad experiences.
4. What difficulties have you encountered in the process of becoming an English teacher in Thailand?
5. What are your experiences of living in Thailand? You can share both good and bad experiences.
6. Do you think that any aspects of yourself have changed since you moved to Thailand? If so, which aspects have changed?
7. What difficulties have you experienced when living in Thailand?
8. Could you describe who you are from any perspective?