I Am Icing On the Cake: Classroom-based Research on the Roles of Teachers in the JET Program[1]

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Abstract

This classroom-based research — through employing ethnographic data collection via qualitative methods: video-tape recording, interviews, and questionnaires — examines the potential imbalance of power between Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) and Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in the JET Program. Specifically, this research investigates how their classroom roles are locally negotiated. This research leads to deeper-grounded perspectives on how multiple forms of English language discourses are negotiated by and reified through the different perceptions of JTEs and ALTs. Revealing multiple—sometimes contradictory—discourses held by the agents in play will cast renewed attention on English language education in Japan. This will help teachers to reflect on their own teaching style as they may encounter students that have similar expectations of the JTEs and ALTs.

1. Introduction

> I view myself as a way to enhance the classroom. The Japanese teacher knows the system better, you know, has had much more experienced in the Japanese education system, so I'm there... I'm the icing on the cake... (Interview, 7/20/2010).

An American Assistant Language Teacher (ALT), John at Aruma High School[2] in Hokkaido illustrates the issue during an interview that the Japanese Teachers of English (JTE) know the Japanese educational system better and thus ALTs are just a supplement for them as far as institutional roles are concerned. This "icing" clarifies somewhat the imbalance of team-teaching at Japanese high schools and junior high schools for ALTs as John feels that he is just an extra, not a second English teacher, in the classroom.

Currently, English is one of the most widely used languages in the world. The ownership of English in the world has been discussed as the increasing number of users of English (Crystal, 2003). With rapid globalization, more than three fourth of the world's population are non-native speakers of English, and English itself has been treated in different ways depending on context, moving beyond the notion of English for the native speaker: as a gateway to economic capital in developing countries (Niño-Murcia, 2003) and as a cool language for youth in Japan as seen through reaproppriating English in pop music (Pennycook, 2003). Also, in Japan, *eikaiwa* (English conversation) schools demonstrate an increasing public eagerness for learning English conversation; *eikaiwa* schools advertisements reflect this sentiment, and they sometimes incorporate the phrase "global language" in ads. This phrase highlights English as a tool for communication in diverse world settings. Such advertisements also demonstrate that the students recognize the importance of English in a global community (Seargent, 2009).

In educational settings, Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers (NNESTs) have been researched in the TESOL field, especially regarding their respective values in classroom environments (e.g., Braine, 1999; Ma, 2012). Generally, NESTs are considered to be "better" teachers since they share the norm of the target language, and this native speaker fallacy[3] (Phillipson, 1992) results in the positioning of NNESTs as inferior in the classroom, sometimes leading to discrimination in job hunting in nonnative English speaking countries (Braine, 2010).

In Japan, to fit the demand of internationalization, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has proposed sending native speakers of English from different countries in order to develop Japan's internationalization in 1987. Since then, there have been more than fifty five thousand NESTs dispatched by the Board of Education as JET Participants (CLAIR, 2013). This nation-wide language policy, however, has been pointed out as problematic by many researchers. McConnell (2000) argues that ALTs are mainly used in Oral Communication classes, and have little to do with other English classes. The major purpose of these other classes is to study English for entrance examinations. Miyasato (2009) also delineates the power differences between JTEs and ALTs, and labels the JTEs as linguistic novices, whereas ALTs are considered linguistic experts in the Japanese classroom. Despite the long history of the JET program, very little research has been done on how the JET Program goals actually translate into classroom reality (e.g., McConnell, 2000; Miyazato, 2009; Fujimoto-Adamson, 2010).

This paper, therefore, seeks to find out how JTEs and ALTs actually perform their roles in the classrooms. The results may contribute to a clarification of the ideological roles of teachers in the classrooms where two teachers are involved in Japanese classrooms. Through the interactions of each teacher—JTEs and ALTs, and those teachers with the students and *vice versa* — this research reveals how the roles of teachers are locally negotiated on the conversational floor.

2. Literature Review
2.1 The JET Program

One response to internationalization was the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program (JET Program), which was established in 1987 in order to hire speakers of other languages from foreign countries to not only provide language instruction, but to also promote international understanding. McConnell (2000) illustrates that the JET program was established as a response not to meet the

desires of the students to learn English, but rather a response to external trade pressures upon Japan, especially Japan-U. S. trade friction in 1980s. The discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] has emerged as a smoke screen for this economic conflict. Under these circumstances, the JET Program was seen as a gift for dealing with economic conflicts by providing jobs for foreign youth (McConnell, 2000; Lincicome, 1993). With an annual budget approaching 500 million dollars, the JET Program is now the centerpiece of a government-controlled effort to create "mass internationalization" (McConnell, 2000, p.x).

The size and cost of this government-initiation demonstrates how the JET program operates through top-down administration as a one-way shot to import foreign youth in the classrooms. In other words, along with the emphasis on entrance examinations —implicitly— from the Course of Study, the JET Program is also introduced as a top-down approach, ignoring local teachers, which is not necessarily a good way for language teaching.

Much as McConnell (2000) has demonstrated, this national-level policy comes from a centralized government office, and then gets distributed across a culturally and linguistically diverse Japan. The JET Program operates under three government ministries: the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the MEXT, along with the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR). The Ministry of Home Affairs is in charge of the expenses of the JET Program; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recruits participants and selects candidates through the Embassy and the Consulate General; the MEXT provides mainly ALT seminars and orientations. CLAIR is a joint organization of Prefectural Boards of Education and the three Ministries in order to promote and provide support for the increasing interest in local-level internationalization in Japan (CLAIR, 2010). The general qualifications for membership in the JET Program are: 1) holding a bachelor's degree in any field, 2) being younger than forty years old (this is not stated in the English version); 3) having an interest in Japan, etc. The ALTs are allowed to request a renewal of their contract for up to a maximum of five years.

Currently, more than four thousand foreigners are "imported" to Japan for English education from around fifty different countries for three different roles: Coordinators of Internationals Relations, Sports Exchange Advisors, and Assistant Language Teachers. Coordinators of International Relations (CIRs) are dispatched to local government offices to promote international activities, Sports Exchange Advisors (SEAs) facilitate international exchange with local people through sports, and ALTs teach their languages—mostly English—in cooperation with JTEs (CLAIR, 2010). More than 90 percent of the ALTs are engaged in helping to introduce elements of education from different English-speaking communities (McConnell, 2000; Miyazato, 2009). Through the implementation of the JET Program, students have increasing opportunities to encounter foreigners, i.e. ALTs, in classrooms and, as a result, team-teaching has become popular in public and private schools (Miyazato, 2009).

Team-teaching, however, can be difficult to accomplish. McConnell (2000) highlights the difficulties of utilizing the ALTs in the actual classrooms as Japanese English teachers lack the ability to converse readily in English. There is also no instruction from the Ministries and the prefectural Boards of Education as to specific roles and/or duties of ALTs. In the classroom, the participation of ALTs is not mandatory for JTEs. To add to the confusion, the ALTs' described duty is to use "living English" and "real" learning English (p. 213), a prospect which stands in stark contrast with the formulaic preparation for exams. Another weakness, highlighted by Seargeant (2009), is that Japanese people often regard the word "communication" as a discursive marker for "a native speaker (of English)" who provides "orthodox" English.

2.2 NESTs vs. NNESTs

As mentioned above, the term "Native Speaker"(NS) and "Non-Native Speaker"(NNS) has long been used in various fields of research. The use of English worldwide is often termed a manipulation imposed through the policies of Great Britain and the United States. Much in line with post-colonial discourse, language imperialism reflects the notion that English should be the *de facto*

second language, if not the primary language learned (Phillipson, 1992). Thanks to post-colonial studies, the discussion of English "native/non-native" speakers has been recognized as a significant factor in foreign language classrooms (Doerr, 2009). The ideologies surrounding native speakers have been scrutinized in the field of teaching English. Phillipson (1992) illustrates that native speakers surpass non-native speakers in providing the role of an "ideal" teacher (Kubota, 2009). Ideals, however, may not facilitate student-teacher interactions.

Native versus non-native teacher issues have also been discussed in the area of English Language Teaching research in ESL/EFL contexts (e.g., Liu, 1999; Braine, 1999). Canagarajah (1999) discusses the native speaker fallacy, and a reconfiguration of the dichotomized relationship between the "Periphery" and "Center" of English language teachers. The wider meaning of the "Center" and "Periphery" refers to "native speaking (of a particular community)" and "non-native speaking (of a particular community)," respectively (Braine, 1999), in a manner which denotes an added value for language teachers who are native speakers of a second language. Research on English language teaching has explained this perception as a noticeable role of NS "as a supplier of the linguistic model," and that of NNSs as a provider of the institutional model with "unique positive attributes that can offset their [NNS teachers'] linguistic weakness" (Kubota, 2009 p. 235).

This model, then, turns the power dynamic of the classroom. Foucault (1980) defines power as a "productive network which runs through a whole social body"(p.119). From this view point, power is socially constructed, being negotiating by intitutional roles, socio-economic status, gender, or ethnic identity. Power, in this context, is a complex concept interconnected with social contexts betweem JTEs and ALTs.

Instead of focusing on institutional power, these models motinoned above focus on power through the value of a particular kind of cultural capital. In addition to this power difference, NSs have linguistic capital that can be

sometimes turned into economic capital in the form of access to jobs (Pennycook, 2001).

Kubota (2009) also criticizes the dichotomy of NSs and NNSs and the power relationship between them—NSs hold linguistic power because they speak "Standard English." This added value in language skill is then inappropriately equated with the teaching expertise (Widdowson, 1994); whereas NNSs may serve as stronger teachers of grammar, as well as providing the personal experiences necessary for understanding the challenges the students could be facing during second language acquisition (Medgyes, 1999).

These examples demonstrate that power is multifaceted in second language classrooms, and "exercised and resisted through a complex web" (Kubota, 2009, p. 236). Just as the classroom is part of the world, this web extends beyond relationships in the classroom. Because NSs have knowledge of a "Center" language, they have less a difficult time than NNSs in the job market for teaching English and other professionally-related work (Canagarajah, 1999).

The asymmetric power relationships have been examined in various kinds of collaborative settings. In Hong Kong, under the NET scheme (Luk & Lin, 2007), Local English Teachers (LET) acknowledge the importance of native speakers for helping them to meet satisfactory standards of English; they admit a reduced English-speaker authenticity as teachers due to their lack of English proficiency. On the other hand, the LETs exercise power in using their first language, Cantonese, with the students for facilitating the students' second language learning experience, as well as for discipline in the classrooms. NETs also acknowledge their "non-nativeness" in the community when it comes to students' Cantonese translation and other cultural features. In sum, nativeness is "socio-historically constructed, constantly evolving and transforming, and needs to be achieved and reachieved in moments of talk" (Luk & Lin, 2007, p. 188).

As mentioned above, research on the JET program has discussed the social roles and power between JTEs and ALTs. Most of this research (McConnell, 2000; Miyazato, 2009) focuses on JTE-ALT relationships. Tajino & Tajino (2000)

review previous research on team-teaching, especially within the context of the JET Program, and examine how team-teaching helps the students learn English in Japanese classrooms. McConnell (2000) draws on his ten-year ethnographic research to investigate the dynamics of internationalization in Japan, both culturally and politically. This long-term ethnographic research has contributed to illustrating the operation of the JET program in terms of both the macro-level policy and the micro-level practice. Despite these insights, however, little research has yet focused on the roles and power relationships in line with regional detail, especially in classroom interactions.

Miyazato (2009) also investigated power-sharing relationships between JTEs and ALTs using bimonthly classroom observation and interviews conducted for six months. She reveals that the JTEs have an English language deficiency and they hesitate to speak in English, while ALTs lack political power and local linguistics/cultural skills. From intensive interview data, this study has contributed to revealing how both teachers perceive their roles in classrooms and clarified their perceived power relationship—JTEs are cultural experts and linguistic novices, whereas ALTs are linguistic experts but cultural novices. However, this research does not employ any classroom observation data that examines how classroom interactions negotiate the JTEs' and ALTs' roles in the local context.

The current study employs ethnographic data collection, focusing on the negotiation produced and reproduced by teachers in actual classroom settings. This study sheds light on the dynamic negotiation of roles of JTEs and ALTs, their relationships in a classroom setting. This study addresses three research questions:

    1. Do JTEs behave as a provider of the institutional model?

    2. Do ALTs act as a supplier of the linguistic model?

    3. How do JTEs and ALTs negotiate their roles as classroom teachers?

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3. Research Methods

This section presents the methodology used to examine how JTEs and ALTs performed their roles in the classroom. Ethnographic research has been widely used in a variety of social science fields, and as such the method has played an important role in investigations grounded in the perspectives of members in a particular group (Richards, 2003; Heath & Street, 2008). By employing ethnographic methods, researchers have been able to understand behaviors in a particular community and explain them in relation to the macro level (Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

In language environments, ethnographic methods have been employed to investigate what is happening in the classroom, highlighting emic[4] perspectives and their relation to etic[4] perspectives (e.g., Canagrajah, 1993; Luk & Lin, 2006). This study follows the examples set by ethnographic research conducted in classrooms (e.g., Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Canagarajah, 1999). This research employs multiple data sources: participant observation, audiotape recordings, interviews, and questionnaires, which delivers thick descriptions of concrete reports from these sources (Richards, 2003; Canagarajah, 2006; McKay, 2006) for investigating the grounded perspectives of JTEs, ALTs, and the practices of the JTEs and ALTs in the classrooms.

3.1 Participants

The participants[5] of this study involve four JTEs and three ALTs at three different-level high schools in Hokkaido, the northernmost prefecture in Japan: an intermediate, a high, and a former Super English Language high school (SELHi[6]). The participants were recruited by snowballing via an e-mail including a survey which asked individuals to recommend other teachers who could cooperate with the study. Because I had lived in Hokkaido for 23 years before I went to the U.S. and also taught English for five years in Hokkaido, I possess a lot of knowledge about the community (school system, curriculum, etc). This gives me an insider's privilege not only for understanding behavior in the classrooms and outside them, but also enabled me as a member of the local community to

examine thoughtfully the local community and the participants. In addition to this, by investigating three high schools recruited from different levels — intermediate, high, and former SELHi — this research can address different perspectives about teachers' roles depending on each school's curriculum. The descriptions of each high school and their teachers (both JTEs and ALTs) are illustrated in the following sections.

3.1.1 Aruma High School

Aruma High School is an intermediate high school in a suburb of Sapporo which was established in 1983. The JTE in Aruma High School is Ms.Hatanaka, who has been teaching English for eleven years. It has been eight years since she came to Aruma. The ALT in this high school is John, who is from North Carolina, U.S.A, and is a second-year JET participant. He wanted to teach English in Japan and received a TESOL certificate when he was a college student. He was really motivated to be a teacher in Japan because of his childhood experience in Japan.

3.1.2 Okita High School

Okita is a high level high school in a suburb of Sapporo and was founded in 1984. Most of the graduates of this school continue on to prestigious national and private universities in Hokkaido and other prefectures in Japan.

The JTE in this high school is Mr. Niigaki, who has taught English for twenty two years. He majored in literature when he was a college student. Mr. Niigaki thinks that this high school is rigorous, and the students are more motivated to enter university than those students in a suburban high school in Hokkaido. According to school records, the number of students who advance to universities and junior colleges demonstrates that most students who graduated passed the entrance examinations for national universities and public universities. Ken is an American male who is in his second year as an ALT. He is from Maryland, U.S.A. Ken had neither experience in teaching English nor much background knowledge about Japan and the Japanese language. He sought to make a career as a JET participant, and applied for the JET Program in 2008.

Ken also acknowledged that Okita High School is an academically rigorous school and the students are studying English in order to enter university. Therefore, as viewed by these two teachers, Okita High School focuses on teaching English for entrance examinations as one of its priorities.

3.1.3 Kunijo High School

Kunijo High School is a former SELHi in which the students seek to enter universities majoring in English and/or English-related fields. There are five courses in this high school: Comprehensive; International Culture; Information Engineering; Information System; and Distribution Service. Specifically, this study involves the first grade of the International Culture course. In the general English class with ALT in which I conducted my classroom observation, they have two JTEs in a classroom as well. Along with the general English classes, this course offers English Expressions and Intercultural Communication classes. Thus, the two JTEs who participated in the study at Kunijo High School are Ms. Takano and Mr. Nakata. Ms. Takano has ten years experience in high school. She also had been in the U.S. on a five-week exchange program when she was young. Mr. Nakata, who has been teaching English for nineteen years, has been at Kunijo High School for four years. In college, he had been in the U.S. as an exchange student for a year. As both of the JTEs explained, their experiences as teachers in suburban high schools in Hokkaido have lead them to believe that the English curriculum in this high school is different from that of others.

Similarly to the JTEs who are experienced teachers in Japan, the ALT at this high school comes from a solid teaching background in the U.S. The ALT is Megan, who holds a Master's degree in TESOL (Teaching English to the Speakers of Other Languages) and has more than two years experience in teaching English in the U.S. She was a teacher in an ESL program at a university and has taught a number of students from different countries. Compared to the other two ALTs in this study, Megan had a lot of teaching experience before she came to Japan as a JET participant: she was a teaching

assistant and instructor at a university for two years. Table 1 below summarizes the participants in this study.

Table 1. A summary of the participants in this study

School	Aruma	Okita	Kunijo	
Level	Intermediate	High	Former SELHi	
JTE	Ms. Hatanaka	Mr. Niigaki	Ms. Takano	Mr. Nakata
Age	33	43	31	42
Sex	Female	Male	Female	Male
Teaching experience	11 years	20 years	10 years	19 years
ALT	John	Ken	Megan	
Age	25	28	29	
Sex	Male	Male	Female	
Nationality	American	American	American	
Home state	South Carolina	Maryland	Kansas	
Years as ALT	2 years	2 years	2 years	
English teaching background	Minor in TESOL	None	MA in TESOL	

3.2 Data Collection

Three classroom visits were conducted in each of three high schools (nine classroom visits in total) by using video- and audio-recording. Aside from the classroom visits, I also visited the school several times to talk to teachers and principals in order to ask for their cooperation explaining how to conduct this research because this research involves interactions with JTEs, ALTs, and their students. In order to protect their rights and identities, all the participants in this study were asked to fill in the informed consent form.

Before each class started, I asked the ALTs to turn on the audio-recording device by the end of the class, and they could either leave it on the teacher's desk or choose to carry it with them in order to record their interactions. Due to space limitations, the video camera was set up near the back of the classroom, where I sat observing the lesson. In addition to the recording devices, I took notes on how teachers presented materials and interacted with each other, how students interacted with one another, and how teachers interacted with students. To help

with data analysis, I used a small pocket notebook to jot down phrases provided from each teacher and the time when the teachers spoke in order. Also, I wrote questions which arose in my mind during the classroom activities in the notepad, and later used these notes as a reminder for me to ask particular questions during the interviews.

Interviews were conducted on the last school day at the end of July 2010. They were held in a separate room from the classroom, and with only the participants and the researcher present. Questionnaires were also distributed after the final school visits because the participants informed me that they preferred to answer electronically.

This research employs a method of triangulation which involves multiple methods and recording mediums by the teachers (both JTEs and ALTs) and the students in order to verify the interpretation of a local classroom. Triangulation thus enables the researcher to gain valid findings in ethnographic work (Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Heath & Street, 2008). In this study, three data sources are used for the triangulation methods: interviews, questionnaires and video-/audio-tape recordings (see Table 2 for the summary). The data of interview and video-/audio-recoding data were transcribed following the transcription conventions described in Richards (2003, p.173) (see Appendix).

Table 2. A summary of data sources

Data source	Description
Interview	An open-ended interview for JTEs and ALTs in each high school in order to investigate how they perceive their roles in the classroom. The interviews were conducted for approximately one hour per teacher.
Questionnaire	Questionnaires were distributed to both JTEs and ALTs at the end of observation, asking them how they view themselves. The total response to the questionnaires were seven: four JTEs and three ALTs.
Video-recording	Three classroom visits in each high school were conducted; I recorded all classroom events there. The video camera was set in the back of the classroom. There were ten total recordings.
Audio-recording	An audio-recording device was placed either in front of both teachers or in the ALT's pocket as a supplemental tool for collecting clear interactional data along with the video-recording data.

4. Data Analysis

This section explores how the JTEs and ALTs actually performed in classrooms. Specifically, both the JTEs and the ALTs engaged themselves in the roles supposedly played by their respective counterparts; the ALTs occasionally played a part in "the JTEs' roles" and *vice versa*. For example, the JTEs served as comprehension checkers, mentors for the students, and curriculum and classroom managers. While the ALTs played roles of authentic providers and supplemental teachers, their actual pedagogical roles were merged with the JTE's, causing unexpected role negotiations during classroom performance.

4.1 Negotiated Roles of JTEs

The former finding by Miyazato (2009), and the responses from the JTEs in interviews and questionnaires, clarified that the JTEs perceive one of their assigned roles as comprehension checker—checking the students' comprehension on the contents of the classes. The first example below comes from Okita High School. The ALT, Ken, gave instructions for the pair-work activity in which students were to discuss on the topic of global warming after Ken's introductory presentation of the topic.

(1-1) Okita High School

01	ALT:	So…with your partner, please answer …what is one problem..
02		important and why and may be something you can try to do. So,
03		please begin. You can talk to other people.
→04	JTE:	[*wakewakatta?*(0.5)
		Anmariwakattenaina. Anone… otonarisantone kaiwasurutte hanashidesuyo….
		(Did you understand? Well…I'm supposed you didn't. Well, he said you talk about the topic with the partner next to you)

This excerpt shows that Mr. Niigaki was the primary comprehension checker for Ken's instruction to students. Mr. Niigaki used Japanese in order to make the students understand what they were supposed to do next. He asked the students *Wakewakatta?* (Did you understand?) to check if the students properly

understood Ken's instruction. Perceiving students' silence as struggles for complete understanding, Mr. Niigaki translated Ken's instruction into Japanese.

However, it turned out that JTEs were not the only comprehension checker in the classroom. At Aruma High School, John tried to exercise his role as a a comprehension checker but in a different manner from the Japanese counterpart; John's effective use of gesture — due to his lack of his Japanese proficiency — achieved a similar effect in checking students' comprehension. At first the students did not respond to his questions, and he used body language in order to encourage the students to answer the questions. He then prompted the students:

(1-2) Aruma High School

 01 ALT: Is it humid today?

 02 JTE :   [Is it humid today?

 03 ALT: [come on. ((waiving

   both hands to encourage the students to speak))

 04 S: Yes, it is.

→05 ALT: [Very good! Yes, it is. Sixty five percent, is humid ((pinch his

      shirt and flapping his shirt))

This interaction shows that John cast a question to the students to ask if it's humid in the classroom or not. Although the JTE repeated what John said to the students in English, John tried to wave his hands to encourage the students to answer the question. In doing so, he checked whether the students understood his question or not. In addition, he pinched his shirt and flapped his shirt to the students to confirm the meaning without translating into Japanese. Due to the ALT's lack of Japanese language competence or the restrictions of the roles as an authentic English provider, the role of comprehension checker for appropriate Japanese translations goes to the JTEs; however, the ALTs exercise the same role in a different manner by using body language. It indicates that the role of comprehension checker is not limited to the JTEs but the ALTs also perform the same role in pedagogy in order for students to involve themselves in the activities.

In the actual classrooms, the role of curriculum and classroom managers of the JTEs was acknowledged by both the JTEs and the ALTs through classroom observations. The JTEs' performance as a curriculum and classroom manager was highlighted especially in carrying out classroom activities. The following excerpt comes from a classroom activity the JTE at Kunijo High School, Mr. Nakata, articulated his role as a curriculum and classroom manager:

(1-3) Kunijo High School

01 ALT: Do you have your book report?

02 JTE: [Do you have your book report?
        Paper? Paper? Paper, too?

03 ALT: [You have a paper, right?

04 JTE: [You have a
        peepaa?
        (paper)

05 S: [*mottekita.*
        (I brought it)

→06 JTE: [*mottekita. Okay.*
        (You brought it? Okay)

07 ALT: [Okay, just a
        book.

Throughout this observation, Megan controlled the class most of the time in English. When students seemed not to understand Megan's question, Mr. Nakata controlled the classroom and asked the students in Japanese (line 6). Even though both the JTE and the ALT asked the students in English if they brought their paper, the students only answered in Japanese, triggered by the JTE's use of "*peepaa* (paper)" in Japanese (line 5). The student's use of Japanese to provide curriculum-related information on his end with the teachers elicited further response from the JTE in Japanese, followed by the utterance "Okay," switching back to English, to share the given information with Megan. This

example suggests that Mr. Nakata's use of Japanese as a trigger contributed to classroom management, which moved the classroom forward. The use of Japanese by Mr. Nakata here serves as a primary tool for him to elicit important curriculum-related information from students, reminding them at the same time that he is in charge of the classroom.

At Aruma High School, Ms. Hatanaka played the role as a classroom manager through code-switching: after she explained the next activity in Japanese to the students, she explained to John what the activity is about in English. She explained the procedures of the activity and asked John to read the textbook.

(1-4) Aruma High School

→01   JTE: All of the students will repeat after you without looking at the textbook.

02   ALT: okay

03   JTE: [and then, you choose another student to say the translation an..

05   ALT: [okay.

→06   JTE: Is that okay?

07   ALT: [For the words?

→08   JTE: [Actually, it's a textbook

09   ALT: textbook? So, they will repeat after me without looking?

→10   JTE: ((nod))

11   ALT: [Okay. Alright. keep from close or just heads up?

13   JTE: [just heads up.

→14   ALT: ((to the students)) I am going to read the sentence. I want everyone to look at me and repeat after me. [0.3] You can do it. It's okay. Alright. So, please look at me. Listen and'en repeat. Are you ready?

15   Ss: Okay

16   ALT: Alright good job. ((reads the textbook))

→17   JTE: *dozo*

(Please)

In this activity, Ms. Hatanaka gave instructions — or his task in the activity — to John, reading the textbook aloud (Line 1, 6). John tried to clarify the procedures of the activity by asking Ms. Hatanaka for details, to which she answered verbally and non-verbally (Line 8, 10). In addition, Ms. Hatanaka's use of *dozo* is a signal to students to repeat after John, which actually got the students going. Here, Ms. Hatanaka's control in the classroom was supported by John's acceptance of her instructions, as well as that of the students'.

It is interesting to note that it is not only Ms. Hatanaka but also John who are playing the role of classroom organizer. John's role of providing instructions while taking the floor conceals Ms. Hatanaka's actual control over John (Line 14). The role of classroom organizer is not simply indicative of the JTEs' role, but is negotiated depending on the purpose of the classroom activity in order to provide "authentic" English to the students. This issue will be discussed further in the next section.

4.2 Negotiated Roles of ALTs

One of the ALTs' roles proved to be a linguistics expert — an authentic provider of the English language — in the classroom. Specifically, the ALTs' linguistic knowledge was given a positive value, empowering them in the face of JTE-dominant classroom management. On the other hand, the JTEs relegated themselves into the secondary position, thinking that they cannot be on equal footing with NS teachers in terms of the imagined authenticity of the ALTs. At Kunijo High School, the teachers taught email-writing in English to students. All the instructions and explanations were provided by Megan, and the students were asked to write an email to one of the teachers in the classroom:

(2-1) Kunijo High School

01   ALT: Alright you may begi:n. Go:

02   JTE1:   [Okay, you guys have only ten
            minutes if you have any question…xxx

03   ALT: [yeah…ask us if you have

04   any questions.

05   JTE2:   [everyone should finish writing within

06   ten minutes.

→07   JTE1: I would recommend writing to Megan-sensei...

The activity was rendered by Megan in order to let the students write email to one of the teachers in the classroom. Yet, Mr. Nakata stated that he recommended the students write an email to Megan (line 7), indicating that he values native speakers' authenticity, which is unequivocal in his response that "I think it's better for the students to be exposed to real native English..." (Interview, July 28, 2010). A similar utterance was observed in another high school.

At Aruma High School, Ms. Hatanaka tried to speak English in the classroom in order to provide "communicative" English to the students in explaining the different temperature systems between Japan and the U.S.A.

(2-2) Aruma High School

01   JTE: Do you understand? In Japan, *ne*, If your body temperature *taion*
                                        (body temperature)

02   :   goes up to thirty eight degree centigrade

03   :   *sanju hachi do, nanka chottomuri ttekanjine.*
              (thirty-eight degree, feel like oh, a little...)

→04   : If you go to America, one hundred... do you say one hund far ferannt
             degrees?

05   ALT: [Hundred degree Fahrenheit,

06   JTE :   A hundred degrees cen. Fet... *ienakatta.* Hundred grees
                            (can't say...)

Ms. Hatanaka rehearsed the explanation of the difference in temperature systems between Japan and the U.S.A in English, by using the Japanese phrase such as *taion* (temperature). Yet, when she encountered an ambiguity, she asked John to clarify the sentence (line 4). It seems that the ALT is treated as "a supplier of the linguistic model" (Kubota, 2009, p. 235) in the classroom.

These extracted data show that the ALTs are acting as the "authentic provider" that the previous research and local teachers expected, while the JTEs are also trying to speak English for instructions as much as possible. In most of the data highlighted, the ALTs' role as an authentic provider was elicited and manipulated by the JTEs when necessary, rather than emerging spontaneously. John's comment on the questionnaire about this role as an authentic provider was very pointed and on the mark:

> "I feel like a dancing monkey that they bring out whenever they need a little distraction or entertainment then throw back in the closet" (Questionnaire, 1/17/2011).

It was demonstrated in the interviews and questionnaires that the ALTs are an authentic provider of communication, and the JTE's follow the framework of native speakers in classrooms. However, John articulated his struggles in being treated as a mere "monkey doll" to make the sounds and get the attention of the students as an authentic provider. It can be said that the ALTs contribute to delivering live English in Japan, however, autonomy is not necessarily spotted in the classrooms; ALTs are, to some extent, treated as a tool by JTEs who justify the effective use of ALTs for the sake of what the macro-level expects for "globalization."

4.3 Other negotiated roles

Through investigating the roles of teachers, I have found the emergent negotiation of roles in the process of teaching at the local level. As seen in the data analyzed above, most of the roles of both JTEs and ALTs are locally negotiated, and do not follow a simple dichotomy—JTEs are cultural experts but ALTs are not; ALTs are linguistic experts but JTEs are not—in the local settings.

The data below shows that John tried to exercise the role as a classroom organizer in the interaction with Ms. Hatanaka:

> (3-1) Aruma High School
> 01   JTE : What do you think?
> 02   ALT: [once more?

03   JTE : ((nod))

→04   ALT: Alright, one more. Be *genki*. Be... energetic. Be loud.

                                (energetic)

05   Okay? loud? Do you understand? Yes? Okay.

06   ((read the sentence again))

07   Ss :   ((read the sentence again))

08   JTE : please choose another student to translate?

As discussed in the previous, this data shows that John tried to motivate students followed by Ms. Hatanaka's cue. The interesting point here is that John used a Japanese word (line 4) in order to encourage the students to read aloud. It delineates that John tried to get into the "Center" (Canagarajah, 1999) of the community in which Ms. Hatanaka and the students share cultural and linguistic knowledge by giving instructions to the students in Japanese and converging himself to the target speech community.

However, the use of Japanese by other ALTs did not necessarily index convergence, but played varied roles in each situation. At Okita High School, Ken nominated a student to answer a question about textbook contents. He gave instructions as the main teacher to check their comprehension when using a Jeopardy-style game.

(3-2) Okita High School

01   ALT: so, opinion number three. Could you be a professional chef one day? Why?

02   Or why not. So, it's a yes or no. Could you be a professional chef one

03   day? Okay, in the back. Team... what is it? One...two...three.. four.

04   FOUR.

05   S :   Yes.

06   ALT: [Yes? Why?

07   JTE :   *nazedeshou,purono shehu ni nareruka,yes to itta.*

            (Why? Can you be a professional chef? You said yes.)

21

08 S : (1.5)

→09 ALT: so you want to say "because *naninani*"

(blah-blah)

Ken tried to get the answer from the students by asking with rising tones. Mr. Niigaki played the role of a supplemental teacher so students could understand the instruction given by Ken. After the student's silence, he used Japanese to guide him to answer the question (line 9). Using the Japanese word "*naninani* (blah-blah)" by Ken as scaffolding demonstrates his efforts to be a primary teacher and motivates the students to answer the question.

These two examples illustrate that the ALTs tried to play the role of classroom organizer by using Japanese in order to get into the community in which the JTEs and the students share. John and Ken have been in Japan for more than two years, long enough to pick up some communicative Japanese competence. They used their knowledge of Japanese and tried to get students learn English as the JTEs do in the classroom.

The last example at Kunijo delineates the roles of both Mr. Nakata and Megan when they encounter a conflict in pedagogy. When Megan introduced the word "construct" to the students, Mr. Nakata took the floor in order to give a different instruction:

(3-3) Kunijo

01 ALT : How to construct an email. Construct...what does this mean?

02 What does this word? Does anyone kno::w?

→03 JTE1: [use your dictionary, please

04 Ss : (pick up the dictionary)

→05 ALT :Construct... Wait, wait, wait, stop, stop. don't open yet.

06 Do you know the word construction?

07 JTE1 : [xxxx

08 ALT : okay...before you look at the dictionary, please look at the sentence.

This example shows that Megan introduced the new vocabulary of "construction" to the students as she controlled the classroom. At the same time,

Mr. Nakata exercised the same role in order to help the students understand the meaning of "construction" in Japanese. Yet, Megan cut in to tell them not to use a dictionary (line 5). The different manifest roles of the JTEs and ALTs conflicted in the classroom; the manifest of the ALTs for communication did not always go along with that of the JTEs, especially when preparation for an entrance exam is foregrounded over communication.

5. Discussion

Through this research, it turned out that the dichotomy of JTEs' and ALTs' roles is locally negotiated to determine their primary functions as teachers in the classroom. I would like to sketch out the findings in light of the research questions posed earlier.

In this section, the answer to research question 1: "Do JTEs behave as a provider of the institutional model?" is discussed. The JTEs' role as institututional model is acknowledged by the JTEs who take advantage of their linguistic knowledge of Japanese and their cultural knowledge shared with the students. On the other hand, this role was sometimes filled by ALTs to carry out the same role as a main teacher by employing gestures. For example, at Aruma High School, John tried to check the students' comprehension by pinching his shirt to make the students understand and compensate for his lack of proficiency in Japanese language and/or achieve his goal as authentic provider in the classroom. The JTE's ability to speak the Japanese language results in his playing the role as a comprehension checker in the classrooms; however, the ALTs also tried to play the same role by using body languages.

Similarly, the managerial roles — classroom and curriculum managers — that are related to the institutional model also go through dynamic negotiation between JTEs and ALTs in the classrooms. The JTEs controlled the students by using Japanese, and also the ALTs by providing instruction in English. The JTEs tried to put forward the ALTs as a classroom manager to achieve their goal of communication provider as well. In addition, the ALTs tried to control the

classrooms by using Japanese and other supplemental way like gestures. For example, John used "be *genki*" [be energetic] to direct the class towards a particular behavior, and Ken often used the verbal cue *naninani* [blah-blah] to lead the students to answer his questions.

In contrast to the status of English as a target language in the EFL situation, the Japanese language is given a high value as an institutionally powerful language of instruction. Data has revealed that along with the socio-cultural knowledge JTEs shared with students, linguistic competence in Japanese generally allows JTEs to control the classroom for curriculum purposes. However, ALTs are not necessarily passive observers of JTEs' control over the classroom; they also engage in classroom management in a collaborative manner with JTEs without taking explicit control of the situation.

The answer to the research question 2: "Do ALTs act as a supplier of the linguistic model?" was discovered through classroom observations. It turned out that the ALTs actually acted as authentic providers of English in the classrooms. One of the main purposes of the JET Program is that ALTs provide valuable opportunities for the students to learn living English. JTEs also acknowledge that their English is limited, and consider ALTs as a great resource to teach English to the students. In the classrooms, the ALTs were actually treated as authentic providers of spoken English in various activities. This example shows that ALTs' authenticity is highly valued in teaching living English, which puts ALTs in the position of an authentic provider.

However, perhaps in response to the value of authentic English, the JTEs tried to exercise a similar power in the classrooms to achieve their purpose as communication provider. Thus the JTE's were not only the providers of opportunities for communicative interactions with the ALTs, they also speak English themselves. In the classrooms, the JTEs sometimes spoke English in order to give instructions to the students collaboratively with the ALTs. Although the JTEs sometimes faced difficulty speaking English in the classrooms, they also

provided their own authentic English, instead of completely relying on the ALTs' authenticity.

Seen from the classroom observations, most of the dichotomized roles — JTEs are cultural experts and linguistic novices; ALTs are linguistics experts but cultural novices — are locally negotiated in the classrooms, but these roles cannot be dichotomized nor categorized in a clear manner. For example, when the teachers tried to play the same roles in the classrooms, there were some conflicts. As mentioned in the extracted data 3.3., Megan had control of the classroom; however, Mr. Nakata attempted to take control. As a result, due to the different pedagogical manifests of the JTEs and ALTs, conflicting instructions occurred. This extracted example shows that when both JTEs and ALTs play the same role simultaneously, their negotiation over the role of classroom manager can sometimes create conflict.

6. Conclusion

This research seeks grounded perspectives of the JET Program focusing on how the roles of JTEs and ALTs are dynamically negotiated in the classrooms. Despite the importance of the research topic, there are some limitations to the conclusions of this research due to its formulation. First, my presence in the classrooms might have affected the behaviors of each teacher. The students sometimes both applauded and talked to me when I walked into the classrooms. From their reactions, the students might have acted differently when I was present than in usual classroom settings. In addition to my presence, the presence of the recording devices might have alerted the teachers to the fact that they were being studied, so that their answers and performances would be appropriate regardless of what they usually do and/or think. In addition to the limitation of my presence in the classroom was the short amount of time which I spent in observation. The findings of this research were drawn from the three high schools I observed in Hokkaido. Therefore, some of the local dynamics observed during this research may not be applicable as representations of what is

happening in other prefectures of Japan. For future studies, it will be essential to conduct long-term classroom participation — a semester or year long investigation — involving a larger survey and classroom observations that would allow us to garner more data from each school in other prefectural contexts, in comparison to the findings of this research.

Aside from the limitations stated above, this research could direct the JET Program's policies and operations for English education in Japan. Of even greater importance than policy change, when results are shared with local teachers they will be able to acknowledge their current behaviors in the classroom and how these roles are negotiated in their own classrooms. This critical awareness of English teaching for both JTEs and ALTs at local levels can acknowledge power negotiations exercised through the performance of their roles — which are not static or pre-existing — can develop more effective ways for JTEs and ALTs to teach collaboratively. In order to pursue such a collaborative teaching, there are a number of fundamental issues in language policy in the JET Program which need to be addressed, which will lead to practical solutions for both ALTs and JTEs.

For instance, as the data showed, the JTEs perform as a linguistic model as a speaker of English for their students, showing the students that their English is enough to convey their messages to native speakers of English. In order to encourage their use of English in the classrooms, studying/training abroad is one of the ways for raising confidence levels in terms of linguistic and socio-cultural competence for the JTEs. As discussed in this study, JTEs are linguistically and socio-culturally less powerful than ALTs in terms of teaching the target language and culture, while they are institutionally powerful to manage the classrooms. For example, as extracted data 2-2 showed, Ms. Hatanaka tried to speak English, but she sometimes had difficulty producing what she wanted to say. Regardless of varying definitions of "authenticity," studying/training abroad experience will not only polish their proficiency in English but also broaden JTEs' intercultural experience, which strengthens their

confidence in teaching English even as a non-native speaker. In doing so, JTEs will gain autonomy in teaching "living" English, and become less dependent on ALTs linguistic and sociocultural expertise. According to National Center for Teachers' Development (NCTD), only 30 JTEs were given an opportunity for studying abroad (two months training) by the institution in the 2013 academic year (NCTD, 2013). The MEXT introduced a new project in 2011 to send young English teachers to study abroad in order for them not only to study English but to experience intercultural communication. However, the number of teachers in total is only around a hundred, from all over Japan (MEXT, 2013). The institutionally and socio-culturally more powerful teachers of Japanese can shift these dynamics by being granted more opportunities by the government for the improvement of their teaching skills and intercultural awareness.

There are other variables for improving JTEs teaching capacity in the classroom. From the interviews and questionnaires by the JTEs, most of the JTEs have positive attitudes toward the improvement of their English teaching skills. However, they are very busy with other administrative work: student counseling, career guidance, club management, and other school administrative tasks. In order to reduce the burden of those teachers, the government could hire classroom teachers to deal with the administrative tasks. In doing so, JTEs could have time to develop their teaching capacities by participating in English teachers' training seminars, which could enable JTEs to enhance appropriate teaching methodologies that fit the demand of each classroom.

One problem which some ALTs face is that they are not clearly told what they are supposed to do. The JET Program itself does not give ALTs descriptions of their roles as teachers in detail. Rather, the roles of ALTs really depend on the local schools and its JTEs. Also, the orientations for ALTs consist of only a single training session, a 3-day formal meeting which occurs in Tokyo upon the ALT's arrival to Japan, and a few follow-up meetings in each prefecture. Even JTEs do not know how they should treat the ALTs in the classrooms. Detailed instructions for two teachers collaboratively teach English in the classrooms

would help each teacher to develop their teaching styles effectively. As the extracted data 3-3 showed, even with some conflicts, two teachers can cooperatively teach in the classrooms by taking turns depending on the contents of their teaching purpose.

In addition to such pedagogical implications, it is important to note that this research contributes to the research on the current linguistic and ethnic diversity in the local community (Kubota & McKay, 2009). This study illustrates that culture is not neutral, but locally-negotiated in the classrooms: JTEs and ALTs are sometimes floating between the "Center" and "Periphery" in the actual classroom. Therefore, the JTEs and the ALTs understand that English education in Japan is not just aiming towards a dominant Western image for internationalization mostly embedded in the policy level (Holliday, 2010), but also striving to have JTEs and ALTs actually interacting in local classrooms. JTEs and ALTs should talk and exchange their thoughts outside the classrooms more in order to obtain the same level of cosmopolitan discourse. Through their interactions, they can acknowledge both types of linguistic and cultural powers. Specifically, JTEs and administrative teachers should not treat ALTs as "a monkey doll" — just using the ALTs as an amusing act for the students — but rather make the ALTs feel as if they were a "Center" teacher in the local classrooms. As the ALT at Aruma High School said, stating his struggles to belong: "I often find myself the only person sitting in the office alone because something is happening somewhere in the school. I still have not figured out where or how that information is disseminated among the staff." (Questionnaire, 1/17/2011). This shows that he feels that he has been put in the "Periphery" on this high school educational team.

Japanese people should not just dance around the existing notion of globalization as defined in Western terms. Rather, they should acknowledge local practice, which is always influenced by political, spatial, and social considerations. In doing so, Japanese English education would foster more globalization and localization, i.e. "glocalization," with their critical language awareness which is

also reflected on the macro-level policy to make more use of the JET Program in 21st century.

Note

[1] Part of this research was presented at the JACET Convention The 50th Commemorative International conference in Fukuoka on August 30, 2011.

[2] All the names of participants and schools in this study are pseudonyms. The names of the JTEs and ALTs are based on how they are addressed in the schools. The JTEs are usually given titles and last names, and the ALTs are called by only first names.

[3] Phillipson (1992) criticized the tenets of English language teaching: "[that] the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker is ludicrous" (p.195).

[4] Emic perspective refers to inside view of reality and etic perspective is the external, social scientific perspective on reality (Riemer, 2008, p.166).

[5] The project was reviewed and approved by the Southern Illinois University Carbondale Human Subjects Committee on May 26, 2010.

[6] SELHi was introduced by the MEXT as a three-year project in 2003 in which around fifty schools were designated "Super English Language Schools." Financial resources were collected to research the use of English, to teach certain subjects, and to create opportunities for students to communicate in English — both inside and outside the classroom.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

[the point where overlapping talk starts

(0.0)   length of silence in tenths of a second

CAPS relatively high pitch

::   lengthened syllable

(())   transcriber's description of events

()   English translation

italics Japanese utterances

xxx   unclear voice

...   instant silence (about 1 second)

..   instant silence (about 0.5 second)

?   Questioning intonation

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