Examining the Role of Assistant Language Teachers on the JET Programme within the Context of *Nihonjinron* and *Kokusaika*: Perspectives from ALTs

by

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Abstract

This study investigates consequences of hiring native English speakers, many of whom are untrained as teachers, to teach English in foreign language contexts. The focus is on Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) on the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. Two discourses, *nihonjinron* (theories of Japanese distinctiveness) and *kokusaika* (internationalisation), upon which the programme is founded, provide the framework for analysis. Through surveys and interviews, ALTs' attitudes towards the global spread of English and models of English teaching are elicited. Participants were 120 ALT alumni from the five Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985) countries. Surveys yielded quantitative and qualitative data. Content analysis of four in-depth interviews complements the analysis of survey findings. Results reveal a general lack awareness of the global role of English and its impact on English teaching. The major implication is that training could alleviate many of the consequences that follow from this result.

Résumé

La présente étude examine les conséquences de l'embauche, comme enseignants, de personnes de langue maternelle anglaise pour dispenser des cours d'anglais dans des pays étrangers; ces nouveaux enseignants n'ayant pour la plupart pas suivi de formation à cette fin. Nous nous sommes intéressés plus particulièrement aux auxiliaires d'enseignement au sein du programme *Japan Exchange and Teaching* (JET). Le cadre théorique se construit à partir des deux discours sur lesquels ce programme est fondé: le *nihonjinron* (théories de particularités japonaises) et le *kokusaika* (théorie de l'internationalisation). À travers des sondages et des entretiens, nous avons examiné l'attitude de 120 auxiliaires d'enseignement, originaires des cinq pays du cercle intérieur (Kachru, 1985), face à l'expansion globale de l'utilisation de l'anglais et face aux différents modèles d'enseignement de l'anglais. Nos sondages visaient la collection de données tant qualitatives que quantitatives. De plus, le contenu de quatre entretiens nous a permis d'approfondir l'analyse des résultats des sondages recueillis. Nos résultats révèlent un manque général de connaissance concernant le rôle mondial de l'anglais et des impactes qui en découlent pour l'enseignement dispensé. Une formation adéquate des enseignants devrait atténuer les conséquences néfastes qu'un tel manque de connaissance peut engendrer.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Setting the Scene

It appears that English is increasingly gaining status as the language of international communication and people all over the world are feeling the push towards learning English. This has powerful effects on reshaping national language policies and creates an increasing demand for English language teachers. The push towards English is not without consequences for local languages however, and many applied linguists have been working within a critical framework to address these consequences.

With the spread and diversification of English in the world, it is no longer relevant to speak of one uniform English, but rather of different varieties of English (Kachru, 1985, 1992). Furthermore, the number of nonnative speakers of English is far greater than the number of native speakers (Graddol, 1997). These two realities have prompted debates about how a native speaker of a language is or should be defined (Braine; 1999; Davies, 1991; Rampton, 2005), and raised questions of language ownership (Matsuda, 2003b; Widdowson, 1994). This has led to developing pedagogical models that aim to level the advantage of native speaking English teachers (McKay, 2002, 2006). Further areas of research that have grown from the global spread of English are studies in the description and phonology of English as an international language (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2006). English language teaching has been linked with the potential to promote colonialist discourse (Pennycook, 1994, 1998) and unbalanced power relations between those on the supply side of English language teaching, and those on the demand side (Phillipson, 1992). Other researchers have looked at how such power relations are promoted and reinforced through ideologies of English (Kubota, 1998, 2002) and have documented cases of local resistance to the imposition of external norms (Canagarajah, 1999). Following from this, Rubdy and Saraceni (2006) observe that "the global spread of English, its causes and consequences, have long been a focus of critical discussion" (p. 5). They do not, however, specify who is having these critical discussions.

While it is encouraging to assume that these discussions are taking place in teacher training programmes, is it safe to assume that they have reached the masses of native English speakers who are unqualified as teachers but get teaching jobs nevertheless? An internet search for 'English teaching jobs' attests to the high demand for English teachers internationally and shows where the demand is especially strong; the first results are websites advertising jobs in Asia (e.g., China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan). For many of these jobs, the main requirement for the teachers is that they be native speakers of English, not that they be qualified as English language teachers. If the critical discussion introduced above is not being taken up by these untrained teachers, what are the consequences?

Introduction to the Context

The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme provides a good context within which to explore this question. The programme is founded upon the discourses of *nihonjinron* (theories of Japanese distinctiveness) and *kokusaika* (internationalisation), which have had profound influences on ideologies of English in Japan. These discourses provide the main framework for this study and are discussed in detail in Chapter Two. Since 1987, when the JET Programme began, over 70,000 native English speakers, most of whom are untrained as teachers, have been brought to Japan to work as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) in public schools throughout the country. It is now considered one of the largest international exchange programmes in the world (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations [CLAIR], 2006). The programme is funded by the Japanese government and it is described as a top-down effort at internationalisation. It is implemented by the CLAIR in cooperation with local governments and three ministries: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. Thus, the JET Programme runs through all levels of Japanese society, from the level of the government to the local level of the classroom. It also flows beyond the borders of Japan into participating countries.

There are three types of positions that JET participants can fill: CIR (Coordinator for International Relations), SEA (Sports Exchange Advisor), and ALT (Assistant Language Teacher). CIRs generally work in offices of Local Authorities and must be proficient in Japanese. SEAs, the newest category of JET participants, make up the smallest percentage of JET participants (less than 1%) and organize sports events with Local Authorities. They come predominantly from neighbouring Asian countries. Over 90% (91.8% in 2006) of participants are ALTs (CLAIR, 2007). The majority come from the following five English-speaking countries: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and United States.

ALTs are the focus of the present study for two reasons. First, they make up the bulk of the programme's participants. Second, their primary job is to assist with foreign language instruction. The number of ALTs per year has been increasing since 1987, when there were 813 (Takanashi, 2004). In 2005, there were 5362. According to the 2007-2008 JET Programme Booklet for Canadian Citizens, ALTs must "[b]**e a native speaker of English** or have excellent English pronunciation, rhythm, intonation, and voice projection skills in addition to other standard language skills" (Embassy of Japan, p. 2, 2006; emphasis in original). A large part of JET participant recruitment occurs in universities in participating countries. ALTs are not required to have teacher training or any previous experience teaching (Jenkins, 2006). They must, however, be "strongly motivated to take part in the teaching of foreign languages" (CLAIR, 2006, p. 12). ALTs cannot take full responsibility for their classes because they do not hold a Japanese teaching license; therefore, they team-teach with Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs). ALTs are posted in junior and senior high schools, although recently, there have been proposals from the Ministry of Education to have ALTs in all elementary schools as well. This is discussed below.

The Course of Study for Foreign Languages

In 1989, shortly after the JET Programme began, a new Course of Study for foreign languages was outlined by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). It was decided that the goal of foreign language

education should be international communication (Koike & Tanaka, 1995). This would be achieved through Aural/ Oral communication classes and with the assistance of ALTs. These classes aim "to develop students' basic practical communication abilities such as listening and speaking, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages" (MEXT, 2003a). The 2003 revision of the Course of Study shows that the focus on developing communicative abilities has spread beyond oral communication classes into reading and writing classes as well.

The tension that resides in the push-pull of English is evident in official language policies in Japan. On the one hand, the Course of Study aims to foster international communication skills. On the other, in 2002, MEXT developed a strategic plan to "cultivate Japanese with English abilities" (MEXT, 2003b). This plan promotes the hiring of more ALTs because, according to the plan, ALTs increase students' opportunities to communicate in English. This plan also proposes that each public school student have at least one class per week with an ALT. This will increase the need for ALTs, which makes a consideration of what awareness they have of the 'critical discussion' that was briefly introduced above a matter of great urgency.

Motivation for the Study

My primary motivation for studying ALTs stems from the three years (2002-2005) I spent as an ALT on the JET Programme. Before going to Japan, I completed a diploma in teaching English as an International Language, which had profound influences on my philosophy of teaching English. I arrived in Japan with enough of an introduction to the 'critical discussion' to notice that it was not taking place among my colleagues. I felt that my attempts to encourage students to appreciate their own English were not shared among my ALT friends, who seemed more focused on getting their students to speak 'proper' English. Thus, the first motivation for this study is to draw attention to what ALTs bring into their classes with respect to their awareness of the global spread of English and their approaches to teaching English. A further motivation for the study is that because the JET

Programme is one of the largest of its kind, it provides a rich site for exploring the consequences of hiring untrained native English speakers as English teachers, a practice that is pervasive in Asia.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this exploratory study is to investigate ALTs' attitudes towards the global spread of English and their approaches to teaching English. This study will enrich the current critical discussion about English language education in Japan with the voice of a significant population of its English teachers that has thus far been largely overlooked: the ALTs. The implications of this study range far beyond the context of the JET Programme and into other Asian countries where native English speaking teachers, many of whom are untrained, continue to be in high demand.

Organisation of the Thesis

In the next chapter, I review the literature that provides the foundations for this study. In Chapter Three, I state the research question and objectives and provide a detailed description of the research design. I present and discuss the results of the survey, which is the first phase of the study, in Chapter Four. In Chapter Five, I present and discuss the results from the interviews that were conducted in the second phase of the study. Chapter Five closes with a section on triangulation and I revisit the research question with an answer. Chapter Six is the final chapter and I consider the implications and limitations of my study as well as make recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter, I first define the theoretical framework of the study. Then, I examine the native speaker construct. By reviewing studies of native English speaker hiring practices in Asia, I justify using the term in the present study. This leads into the description of the sociolinguistic model upon which the study is based.

In the following section, I review studies on English education in Japan in which I highlight a contradiction that is found between the Course of Study goals and what is taught in English classes. Studies that have examined alternative approaches to English teaching in Japan are also included in this section.

In the subsequent sections of this chapter, I discuss the development of present ideologies of English in Japan by beginning with an overview of Japanese history. This history provides the context for the rise of two discourses, *nihonjinron* (theories of Japanese distinctiveness) and *kokusaika* (internationalisation), that lay the foundations for the JET Programme and shape ideologies of English in Japan. After this, I look at studies of team teaching as it is on the JET Programme. The literature reviewed in this chapter leads me to develop a term upon which the present study is based. The chapter closes with a brief summary.

Theoretical Framework

It has been documented that English language teaching (ELT) carries with it the potential for linguistic imperialism and the propagation of colonialist discourse (Canagarajah, 1999; Modiano, 2001; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992). The history of ELT is intricately entwined with the history of English colonialism; consequently, Pennycook (1998) argues that ELT is embedded with a discourse of colonialism that reinforces images of an idealised 'self' versus a problematic 'other'. These images lend support to the native speaker construct, which I discuss in detail below. Left unchallenged, such a discourse legitimises an acceptance of the global spread of English as neutral, natural, and beneficial (Pennycook, 1994).

Linguistic imperialism is a theory for "analysing relations between dominant and dominated cultures, and specifically the way English language learning has been promoted" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 15). More recently, linguistic imperialism has been said to manifest any time "a teacher explains to students that one variety [of English] is superior to others,…, [and] interjects into the ELT activity systems of exclusion which marginalize speakers of other varieties" (Modiano, 2001, p. 339). Such a system of exclusion is evident in Japan's Course of Study for foreign languages. The document is almost entirely dedicated to English education. Other foreign languages are subsumed under one category which contains one sentence: "Instruction for foreign languages other than English should follow the objectives and contents of English instruction" (MEXT, 2003a). Thus, one repercussion of linguistic imperialism is that English becomes *the* foreign language, rather than *a* foreign language (Kubota, 2002).

If linguistic imperialism is a theory that describes power relations between dominant, rich countries and dominated, poor countries with respect to English language learning, why is it relevant to investigate the JET Programme in Japan, which is an economically powerful country, within this framework? Kubota (1998) inadvertently addressed this question when she raised concerns that Japan's present wealth has encouraged researchers to overlook the impact of teaching English language and culture in Japan. The country, however, has not always been among the top international economies. Under the umbrella of what is now a powerful economy in Japan there lies a socio-political history that is characterized by a power struggle between Japan and the West. The JET Programme, as I demonstrate, began as a political initiative to improve Japan's relations with the West and is founded upon historically-moulded ideologies of English. From this perspective, therefore, it is appropriate to investigate the JET Programme within a framework of linguistic imperialism.

It is important to note that the concept of linguistic imperialism is not universally accepted as a framework for analysis. Jenkins (2006) points out that the theory is highly controversial and that there are different interpretations of what it means. For example, Phillipson (1992) challenges the position of English as the

most used language in the world and is a strong advocate for local language rights. On the other hand, Canagarajah (1999, 2006) sees resisting the hegemony of native speaker standards by promoting local English norms and tolerance for diversity. Since English is well-established in Japan as *the* foreign language, it seems more reasonable to interpret linguistic imperialism with Canagarajah's view in mind.

The present study investigates the participants of the JET Programme from a critical angle; however, I must assert that I am not suggesting that the participants go to Japan with conscious colonialist or linguistic imperialist intentions. Phillipson (1992) claims that "individuals with possibly the most altruistic motives for their work may nevertheless function in an imperialist structure… [therefore] it is essential to dig down to the underlying structures which support (or counteract) individual efforts" (p. 46). In a similar vein, the JET Programme has been likened to "the tip of an iceberg, in that, what is revealed is much less than what is submerged" (Lai, 1999, p. 225). Thus, the literature reviewed in this chapter is representative of my digging down to the underlying structures of the JET Programme and English education in Japan to build up a foundation upon which to study the individual efforts of the JET participants.

Central to the theory of linguistic imperialism is the native speaker (NS) fallacy (Phillipson, 1992). This fallacy implies that NSs of English have a birthright to be English teachers, which has the dual effect of discrediting the professionalism of English language teaching and placing native speakers in a dominant position. Tsuda (1997) argues that this projection of superiority on native speakers of English propagates the hegemony of English by encouraging "inequality, inconvenience, and discrimination against non-English-speaking people" (p. 22). It ensures that learners of English are positioned below the native speakers in the global linguistic hierarchy. Since the native speaker fallacy is central to linguistic imperialism, in the next section, I review the debate surrounding the native speaker construct.

Native Speaker Construct

The African writer Chinua Achebe writes that, "[t]he price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use" (1975, p. 61).

In tandem with the growing diversity in Englishes around the world, a vast body of literature on the native speaker (NS) construct has materialised. In this section, the advantages and disadvantages of native and non-native English speaking teachers are discussed. Then, I review relevant literature pertaining to problems with the NS construct. I develop a rationale for using the terms native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) in the present study by reviewing studies of English language teaching in Asia.

Advantages and Disadvantages of NS and NNS English Teachers

Boyle (1997) proposes advantages of native English speaking teachers (NEST) and corresponding disadvantages of non-native speaking English teachers (NNEST). He emphasises in particular NNESTs' lack of confidence in speaking, especially when they are compared to NESTs. Despite this feeling of inferiority, Boyle points out that native-speakership does not guarantee intelligibility for learners; a Singaporean might be easier for learners to understand than a Glaswegian, for example. He credits NNESTs for their superior ability to explain English grammar. While NESTs have implicit knowledge of what is acceptable grammatically, without sufficient training they often have difficulty explaining it. Furthermore, NNESTs in EFL contexts can relate culturally and linguistically to students. Boyle admits that despite the advantages of NNESTs, there remains a strong preference for NESTs among lay people.

Arva and Medgyes (2000) conducted their study in Hungary, setting out to determine to what extent the perceived differences between NESTs and NNESTs were maintained in teachers' actual teaching behaviours. They conclude that both types of teachers bring different strengths into the classroom and emphasise that by talking about difference, they are not implying that one is better than the other. Similar to Boyle (1997), they find that one of the main advantages of NESTs is their linguistic competence and the confidence that results from competence. NESTs also provide students with more cultural information than NNESTs do. The NESTs in Arva and Medgyes' (2000) study report that they are seen as status symbols in their schools. The researchers find that NESTs are delegated to teach primarily

conversation classes, while the NNESTs teach grammar classes. This distribution mirrors the strengths of each type of teacher. On the other hand, the NESTs and NNESTs teach such different types of courses, that the researchers found it was difficult to compare the teachers' strengths on concrete grounds. The different teaching styles might be a reflection of the type of class the teachers are asked to teach, rather than an inherent strength. Although these reports suggest that there are qualitative differences between native and non-native speaking English teachers, the terms themselves are not without debate, as I show in the next section.

Problems with the Native Speaker Construct

The native speaker (NS) construct has been widely contested among scholars. The concept that the NS is the ideal teacher of English was promoted at the 1961 Makarere Conference in Uganda on teaching ESL (Braine, 1999). Phillipson (1992), however, contends that the construct is far from neutral; he has discussed the political and economic benefits for those countries that claim NS as their own. Kachru (1985) considers the construct to be "an age-old sacred cow carrying immense attitudinal and linguistic burdens" (p. 6). Maum (2002), for example, criticises studies in which attempts are made to differentiate among teachers along a line of native-speakership and argues that this contributes to discrimination in hiring practices.

Davies (1991) published an in-depth analysis of the concept of the NS and found that it is "rich in ambiguity" (p. 6). In his attempt to define NS from psycholinguistic, linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives, he finds that the distinction between native and non-native speaker was difficult to maintain. He concludes that identifying oneself or others as a NS or a NNS is not simply a matter of early acquisition of a language; self-ascription to one category or the other is equally as important.

Widdowson (1994) reveals a double standard in the NS term that he argues effectively renders the term irrelevant. On the one hand, NS implies a uniform standard form of a language against which other forms can be measured. On the other hand, languages are constantly in flux, thus the notion of a stable standard is

weakened. Widdowson links proficiency in a language to ownership and problematises the concept of 'authenticity' in a language since it gives privilege to the idea of NS as the proper model for language learning. Kramsch (1997) also challenges the idea of NS authenticity and favours the multilingual perspectives of NNSs as language teachers rather than the monolingual perspective of NSs. She connects the prestige given to NSs to the growth in popularity of communicative language teaching (CLT), a teaching method that is based upon generalised and idealised NS social and cultural norms.

Cook (1999) further challenges the use of NS as the ideal model in language teaching because it provides learners with an "unattainable goal" (p. 185), which invites a superior in-group status of the NS. Kirkpatrick (2006) continues in this vein and finds that, because of the unrealistic linguistic targets that NSs represent as teachers, learners and non-native English speaking teachers can be disempowered.

Rampton's (2005) sociolinguistic study of multi-ethnic youth in England challenges the validity of using the terms NS and NNS. He suggests dropping the terms altogether because they imply that people belong to only one social group. This reinforces the belief that "monolingualism is the fundamental linguistic condition" (p. 321). Instead, he argues that the terms language expertise and language loyalty more appropriately describe people's sociolinguistic identities. Whereas the NS construct gives precedence to a person's birth place in defining membership, expertise in a language is relative and it stresses "'what you know'" (p. 324). Rampton identifies two aspects of language loyalty: affiliation, which occurs across social boundaries; and inheritance, which occurs within them.

Butcher (2005) provides an interesting etymological account of the term native speaker. She argues against using the NS term because of its historic link to colonialism, which perpetuates a superior status of NSs. Butcher concludes that good international relations cannot be founded upon the notion of NS due to the inherent power imbalance that the term carries forward into the present.

Canagarajah (2006) remarks that the "exclusivist identity" (p. 202) of the native speaker is no longer valid because the growing number of multilingual English speakers in the world challenges the notion that English is owned by the

USA and the UK. Despite the contestations surrounding the NS construct and the sentiment that the construct "is dead" (Canagarajah, 2006; Paikeday, 1985), in the next section I show that it maintains a stronghold in Asia, where native speaking English teachers, or just native English speakers, are in high demand.

Native Speaking English Teachers in Asia

There have been several reviews of the practice of hiring native speaking English teachers (NSETs) in Asia. These studies reveal that the challenges to dismantle the native speaker construct have not reached certain EFL contexts. For example, in Boyle's (1997) study of the role of NSETs in Hong Kong's education reforms, he writes: "While it is still agreed that the native-speaker has something special to offer, s/he is no longer automatically considered to be a better teacher than the non-native speaker" (p. 164). The opinion that native speakers of English no longer occupy a privileged position seems to be limited to a meta-level discourse, however. As the next studies show, it has not been taken up by the mainstream, at least in Asia.

In a recent report, Jeon and Lee (2006) demonstrate that the demand for NSETs in Asia is not dissipating. They review the hiring practices of NSETs in China, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea and conclude that these five countries "have found that hiring NSETs is one of the most efficient ways to improve local student English proficiency" (p. 57). Two commonalities that run across the hiring practices in the aforementioned countries are that the NSETs do not have to be trained in teaching English and that they come almost exclusively from the "'English Five': that is,…British Isles, Australia, Canada, New Zealand or United States" (p. 54). This practice of hiring NSETs solely on the basis of their native-speakership, rather than on their ability to teach English, confirms that the native speaker fallacy, which is based on the native speaker construct, has currency in these contexts.

Nunan (2003) reviews recent changes in language policies in 7 countries in Asia (China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Vietnam). He shows that the global spread of English has a significant impact on these countries'

language policies and that considerable resources are being siphoned away from other foreign language curricula into English education. For example, there is a move to introduce English to students at a younger age although he finds that "all of the countries…lack a pedagogy that is appropriate for young learners" (p. 609). Nunan confirms that one of the responses in these countries has been to promote the hiring of NSETs, despite high costs and varied results. Instead of providing the local teachers with appropriate training, many Asian countries are spending their money on bringing NSs, often with questionable credentials as teachers, into their classrooms. These hiring practices are based on a clear distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers of English.

Although the NS construct has been challenged, in the context of English education in Japan where there remains a propensity for native speakers of English (Honna & Takeshita, 1998), it maintains a stronghold. Holliday (2006) concurs that the native speaker construct has currency in the field of English language teaching; however, he argues that this construct is based on an ideology of 'othering' learners of English. The JET Programme, as I explain below, is founded upon discourses that promote a generalised and idealised native English speaker as 'Other'. This signals that, in this particular context, it is not possible to move beyond the construct, as the scholars presented in the previous section suggest. In addition, the model of English that I introduce in the next section relies on the concept of an 'ideal' native speaker. For these reasons, I will use the term NS in this study.

Kachru's Model of World Englishes

In 1985, Braj Kachru developed a model of World Englishes to describe the diverse sociolinguistic profile of English that has resulted from the global spread of English. Kachru's well-known model of World Englishes contains three concentric circles which correspond to Inner Circle, Outer Circle, and Expanding Circle countries. This model represents "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts" (Kachru, 1992, p. 356). The Inner Circle countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, are associated with norm-providing varieties of

English; they are considered to be the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The Outer Circle represents post-colonial countries where English functions as a second language and/ or official language. Outer Circle countries are associated with norm-developing varieties. The Expanding Circle countries, in which English is taught as a foreign language, are considered to be norm-dependent. Japan is in this third category.

Kachru's model of World Englishes has been criticized for being inaccurate and "simplistic, since it does not address the many varieties of English within a Circle or a nation" (Kubota, 2001, p. 49). It has also been criticized for being native-speaker centered, which implies that native speakers are the best norm providers (Graddol, 1997). Canagarajah (1999) disapproves of the hegemonic power relation that is maintained through this model by placing an idealised native speaker in the centre. Yano (2001) points out that it is becoming increasingly difficult to talk about a uniform Inner Circle because of immigration from Outer and Expanding Circles to Inner Circle countries.

Despite these criticisms, Kachru's model, as I show in the next section, accurately reflects the hiring practices of the JET Programme.

Home Countries of ALTs

Although the JET Programme boasts participants from 44 countries, almost all of the Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) participants come from the Inner Circle countries. The non-Inner Circle participants fill the other two JET positions, which are Coordinator for International Relations (CIR) and Sports Expert Advisor (SEA). Even so, between 1987, and 2002, 93.8% of all JET Programme participants (ALTs, CIRs, and SEAs) came from Inner Circle countries (MOFA, 2007). The JET Programme has recently accepted ALTs from countries outside the Inner Circle; however, these numbers are small and do not sway the stronghold of Inner Circle ALTs. For example, out of the 5057 ALTs in 2006, 78 were South African, 22 were Indian, 39 were Jamaican, 32 were Singaporean, and 16 were from Trinidad and Tobago (CLAIR, 2007). What this means is that 95.3% of the ALTs in 2006 were from Inner Circle countries. A further breakdown of the numbers shows that over

half (54.6%) of the ALTs were from the United States, which is a reflection of the context within which the JET Programme was initiated.

The criticisms of Kachru's model of World Englishes are overridden in the case of the JET Programme. The hiring practices of the programme reflect the Inner Circle-centeredness represented in the model. The model accurately reflects the relationship between Japan and the Inner Circle, norm-providing countries. The only shortcoming of Kachru's model when applied to the JET Programme is that it does not seem to allow for much of an Outer Circle; rather, it reflects a dual-model of native English speakers and non-native English speakers. This further lends support to the use of this native-speaker-centered model.

In the next section, I review studies which propose alternative models of teaching English and challenge the relevance of Inner Circle English for Japanese students.

Studies on English Education in Japan

Honna and Takeshita (1998) identified a contradiction in the Ministry of Education's Course of Study. On the one hand, it aims to increase students' international understanding; on the other hand, English is taught as an Anglo-American language rather than as a language that is used for international communication. The Ministry of Education's 2002 'Strategic Plan' (see Chapter One) to have ALTs in all elementary schools as well as junior and senior high schools in Japan reflects this preference for Inner Circle English. The researchers argue that teaching English as an Inner Circle language provides Japanese students with an unrealistic and unattainable linguistic model, which inhibits their chances of becoming confident users of English. Honna and Takeshita criticise the Ministry of Education's assumption that ALTs will teach Japanese students about different cultures, thereby improving the students' international understanding; ALTs teach about their own cultures.

Matsuda (2003b) looked at Japanese secondary school students' attitudes towards different varieties of English and found that they had positive attitudes towards American English, but negative attitudes towards their own Japanese

English accents and a general lack of awareness about other varieties of English. Matsuda (2003a) confirms that English in Japan continues to be taught as an Inner Circle language, a situation that diminishes the chances for learners in Japan to become owners of the language. Matsuda (2003a) is one of the few scholars to point out that the JET Programme contributes to this reliance on Inner Circle English (see also Kubota, 2002).

Matsuda (2003a & b) and Honna and Takeshita (1998) argue that teaching English as an International Language (EIL), rather than as an Inner Circle language, would better serve the linguistic needs of Japanese students and more appropriately address the aims of the Course of Study. The assumption that is inherent in EIL is that English is not bound to any particular cultural or linguistic base, which increases the potential of ownership for all users. Consequently, the goal of teaching EIL is to "enable learners to communicate their ideas and culture to others" (McKay, 2002, p. 12). An EIL approach challenges the assumption that the goal of learning English is to acquire native-like proficiency (McKay, 2006). This means that learners' proficiency is not measured against unrealistic native-speaker norms.

EIL is a critical approach to English language teaching; rather than viewing English as a neutral or pragmatic tool, it considers the causes and consequences of the spread of English around the world. Furthermore, an EIL perspective recognises negative effects of the spread of English, such as "the threat to existing languages, the influence on cultural identity, and the association of the language with an economic elite" (McKay, 2002, p. 20). This perspective challenges the native speaker fallacy by offering a pluralistic view of the language; therefore, it resists linguistic imperialism (Matsuda, 2003a & b). Despite these ideals, "EIL does not seem to have been accepted as widely among the lay users of EIL as it has among scholars" (Matsuda, 2003b, p. 484). Students in Japan idealise native speakers of English, which is accompanied by a feeling that English is something that exists well beyond their reach (Matsuda, 2003b). It thus becomes relevant to consider what ALTs contribute to the stronghold of this native speaker fallacy. It is also relevant to investigate to what extent the NSs of English on the JET Programme are aware of an EIL perspective.

Kubota (2002) maintains that an uncritical acceptance of Inner Circle English as *the* foreign language in Japan leads to equating learning English with gaining international understanding. The idea that "learning English enables understanding of the world and cultural diversity" (p. 22) promotes the NS fallacy in the sense that it ensures that NSs are in a position of superiority; they are the 'owners' of world knowledge. It also marginalises the actual cultural and linguistic diversity in Japan, which leads to inequalities in the distribution of resources.

Miyagi (2006) investigated Japanese EFL teachers' perceptions of Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English and highlights the importance of introducing non-native varieties of English to Japanese learners of English. He found that, on the one hand, the Japanese teachers of English who participated in his study could see the benefits of introducing such varieties in their classes in terms of preparing students for international communication. On the other hand, they consistently chose American English as the best instructional model for their students. It is important to consider how ALTs factor into this type of study, since they bring almost exclusively Inner Circle Englishes into their classes in Japan.

Recently, at Chukyo University in Nagoya, a department of World Englishes was opened. In a 2005 volume of the journal *World Englishes*, there is a series of articles that describes the early years of the department. Morrison and White (2005) report on the difficulty in promoting a World Englishes view in the university, where many students and faculty maintain that American English is ideal. Sakai & D'Angelo (2005) further report that there is an overwhelming belief that American English is the true model and that Inner Circle native speakers are the best teachers. The department is beginning to shift its hiring practices in order to increase the number of non-Inner Circle teachers in the department, as well as to create more equal working conditions between Japanese and foreign staff (Morrison & White, 2005; Sakai & D'Angelo, 2005). Typically in Japanese universities, the foreign employees receive higher pay and longer holidays than the Japanese staff.

The main goal of this new department is to increase Japanese students' confidence in their own variety of English, thereby fostering a sense of ownership in them. In order to do this, students are exposed to many different varieties of English.

The instructors have carefully chosen textbooks that include dialogues between Japanese speakers, rather than between Americans, as is typical of English textbooks in Japan. Another point that the department considers in choosing textbooks is whether the voices on the accompanying CDs are done by people from the countries that they represent, rather than by Inner Circle voice actors (Morrison & White, 2005).

Sakai and D'Angelo (2005) are some of the few to admit that the presence of native speakers in EFL classes in Japan is "no magic pill toward fluency of our students" (p. 324). Thus far in the department's short life span, there have been some positive changes in the university students' attitudes towards World Englishes after taking courses in World Englishes (Yoshikawa, 2005). As testament to the growth of the department, in 2006, the university established a Graduate School of World Englishes (Chukyo University, 2007).

While these efforts in raising Japanese people's awareness about Englishes in the world represent a concrete effort to link meta-level discourses with a local context, there is something lacking. None of these studies take into account the Inner Circle native speakers of English. This is a significant oversight, as Kubota (2001) duly argues in her unique attempt to increase Inner Circle native English speakers' awareness of World Englishes. She states:

> While many nonnative speakers of WE [World Englishes] try to improve their communicative skills in English by attending ESL/EFL classes, the Inner Circle native English speakers rarely receive training to develop awareness and communicative skills needed for interacting with speakers of Englishes that are different from their own variety (p. 47).

As such, Inner Circle English speakers are not equipped to bear their half of the communicative responsibility when speaking with non-native speakers of English or non-Inner Circle native speakers. Tomlinson (2006) agrees that native speakers of English are unlikely to be proficient users of English as an International Language, which puts into question their ability to be sensitive to the idea of partaking in balanced interactions. In her study, Kubota (2001) draws from Lippi-Green's (1997) work on perceptions of accent and discrimination in the United States. Lippi-Green

argues that the notion of non-accent represents a "collectively held ideal" (p. 41). Furthermore, she argues that non-accent is a myth that supports the idea that people in power speak a 'normal' English against which all other varieties of English should be measured.

In the 40th anniversary edition of *TESOL Quarterly*, Jenkins (2006) reviews recent research on World Englishes. She concludes that although this is now a well-established field in Applied Linguistics, there remains a gap between the meta-level debates and the local level of teachers and students, where there remains a preference for Inner Circle native-speaker English. For example, Jenkins (2006), who is documenting the phonology of EIL (see also Jenkins, 2000), claims that everyone who takes part in international communication needs to be aware of phonological forms that will increase international intelligibility. However, she also concedes that this approach is not moving into the mainstream community. As illustration, she points to the pervasive appetite for Inner Circle native speakers of English that underlies the hiring practices of the JET Programme. Jenkins (2006) remarks that "[s]uch teachers may have little or no training other than a short preservice course, and …their knowledge of the language and their teaching skills can compare badly with those gained in lengthy university degrees by nonnative teachers" (p. 172). The present study addresses the gap that Jenkins articulated by offering a micro-analysis of macro-level discourses.

In the next section, I discuss the development of the present ideologies of English in Japan. In response to Pennycook's (1990, 1999) calls for a critical applied linguistics that takes into account historical, social, and political contexts when making the connection between the micro and the macro, I begin by outlining Japan's relationship with the West starting almost 250 years ago. This provides a contextualised perspective on the present ideologies of English in Japan.

Ideologies forming

In this section, I provide a historical account of Japan's relationship to the West (for more detailed histories, see Henshall, 2004; Stronach, 1995). Since the 17th century, the country has seen several pendulum swings with respect to its

attitudes towards the West. The description of this relationship is divided into four sections: *Sakoku* (1640-1854), Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), Rise in Nationalism and Expansionism (1900's- 1945), and Allied Occupation (1945-1952). This leads into a discussion of the emergence of *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika*, two discourses (1950's – 1980's) that have influenced NS-centered ideologies of English in Japan. It is significant that these are also the discourses upon which the JET Programme is founded.

Sakoku (1640-1854)

Sakoku (island in chains) was a period of deliberate isolation of Japan that was implemented in response to the Christian empire-building that was taking place outside of Japan. Christianity had come to "symbolise the western presence and threat to shogunal power and authority" (Henshall, 2004, p. 58). Shoguns were feudal military warlords who lead Japan in place of the Emperor from the 12th to the 19th century. *Sakoku* was initiated by the Tokugawa shogunate (government). In order to protect itself from outside threat, in 1639, this shogunate expelled all Westerners from Japan with the exception of the Dutch, who were confined to living on a small artificial island, called *Dejima* (protruding island). Japan also continued to permit limited trade with China and Korea. During *sakoku*, Japanese were not allowed to leave the country and those who were abroad at the time were "banned from returning on pain of death" (p. 59) for fear of what they might bring back in to the country.

There were several failed attempts by Western countries to re-open Japan's borders for trade during *sakoku*. The Tokugawa shogunate had heard about the defeat of the Chinese in the Opium War in 1840 (Ike, 1995) with the arrival of the British and refused the offers to open its borders. Japan safeguarded itself from Western colonialist enterprises by keeping its doors closed. Despite these efforts to remain an isolated, insular society, *sakoku* was eventually abolished. This was not, however, due to Japan's volition.

In 1853, Commodore Perry sailed to Japan from the United States with a fleet of four war ships and orders to make three requests to Tokugawa, one of which was

the opening of Japan's ports for trade (Henshall, 2004). The arrival of these steam ships impressed upon the Japanese the extent to which they were lagging in terms of technology. Commodore Perry made his requests and promptly went back to the United States. He returned to Japan the next year with nine steam-run war ships and this American "gunboat diplomacy…forced Japan to give up its self-imposed seclusion and to sign treaties with terms unfavorable to itself" (Befu, 2001, p. 125). Bowing down to American pressure, Japan was officially opened for trade with the West after almost 250 years of isolation. This was followed by an influx of American Christian missionaries "some of whom taught English at private and government institutions" (Ike, 1995, p. 4), which defined American English as the standard to strive for. The arrival of Commodore Perry and his warships marked the beginning of an unequal power relationship between Japan and the United States, one that laid the foundations for Japan's future relations with the West.

Meiji Period (1868 – 1912)

In the 1850's, several treaties were signed between Japan and the United States that ensured "the primacy of the United States vis-à-vis the other Western states…[and] that gave them trade privileges" (Stronach, 1995, p. 6). The shogunate could no longer protect Japan from foreign treaties; consequently, it quickly lost its political clout. In 1868, 15-year old Emperor Mutsuhito, who was posthumously renamed Meiji, was restored to power. The Meiji Restoration marked the end of 700 years of shogun rule and the beginning of Japan's "rapid modernisation programme which, in an attempt to avoid the fates of other Asian nations (namely invasion and colonisation), involved emulating the West in its technological developments and social infrastructure" (Seargeant, 2005, p. 311). The Japanese embraced everything western in order to protect themselves.

A popular Japanese saying at the time was '*wakon yousai'* (Japanese spirit, Western intellect). This system of modernisation attempted to "preserve Japanese identity and national sovereignty, while adapting to the global challenges that were reshaping the world" (Seargeant, 2005, p. 311). Furthermore, it established an

approach to modernisation that would be mimicked after the Second World War in Japan's internationalisation (*kokusaika*) movement.

After *sakoku* was abolished, Japan could no longer keep the West out and it protected itself from colonisation by increasing nationalism. The approval of "the Japanese Constitution and the opening of the Japanese Diet in 1889 marked the advent of a nationalistic surge" (Koike & Tanaka, 1995, p. 16). Education was central to creating and fostering a strong nationalist sentiment. Textbooks were heavily censored and the emperor was revered in school ceremonies. What was taught in schools was "not for the sake of the pupils, but the sake of the country" (Stronach, 1995, p. 39). Japan was developing its nationalist identity and at the same time it had another relationship to define: it wanted to be taken seriously by the West. The slogan '*oitsuke, oikose'* (catch up, overtake) (Henshall, 2004, p. 79) became central to the nationalist movement.

Rise in Nationalism and Expansionism (1910's – 1945)

Japan confirmed its powerful nationalism and its ability to catch up and overtake in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) and the annexing of Korea (1910). The nation proved that it had a powerful army and that it could fight with modern weapons. As Japan expanded its military power across other Asian countries, the country started to resent the power of the West. Furthermore, at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, Japan was insulted by the failure of the West to "secure a clause on racial equality" (McConnell, 2000, p. 13). Japan was again offended by the United States in the 1920's with the American abrogation of the Gentlemen's Agreement (Ike, 1995), which was an informal immigration arrangement between the two countries that had been in effect since the early 1900's.

Japan's resentment of the power of the United States heightened as Japanese nationalism and reverence for the emperor intensified. Western democracy was considered an insult to imperial rule; Western values and the English language were rejected. In the later years of this period (1937), Japan occupied Manchuria, which is now part of north-western China, and committed particularly severe war atrocities

against the Chinese in the fall of Nanking, which has come to be called the 'rape of Nanking' (Chang, 1998). In 1940, Japan occupied French Indochina (Vietnam) and allied with Germany and Italy. In the same year, Japan captured Indonesia. At its peak of expansionism, from 1940 until shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, Japan extended its control from India to New Guinea (Japan Guide, 2007). Japan's attempt to reverse the power imbalance with the United States, which culminated in Pearl Harbor, pulled the United States into WWII. Japan refused to admit defeat until the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, 1945.

Allied Occupation (1945-1952)

From 1945 to1952, Japan was forced to rely on the West in the "almost entirely American" (Henshall, 2004, p. 140) seven-year Allied Occupation, headed by US General Douglas MacArthur. Japan was a poverty-stricken, war-torn country. Under American rule, Japan received a new Constitution in which a no-war clause was written, the country was demilitarized, and the emperor was "stripped of all significant political and religious powers" (Stronach, 1995, p. 45). Pictures in newspapers at the time symbolised the power relationship between MacArthur and the emperor; they showed a 6-foot tall MacArthur dwarfing a diminutive emperor (Befu, 2001). A further sign of American influence was the enactment of the Fundamental Law of Education (MEXT, 2006), which was compiled as the basis for postwar education in Japan, in 1947. Although English was officially an elective subject in schools, in practice it was mandatory (Koike & Tanaka, 1995).

In the post-war period, Japan positioned itself as an ally with the United States. In return, the United States would take care of national defence and allow Japan to focus its energy on its developing its economy (McConnell, 2000). This secured Japan's role in the Cold War as "a secondary member of the Western bloc" (Stronach, 1995, p. 129) and served the best interest of the United States by ensuring that Japan would not be vulnerable to communism. One way to do this was to sell the Japanese on the capitalist ideals of the American Dream. The American Dream rarely touches upon the negative parts of that society, such as poverty, crime, illiteracy, and racism (Kubota, 1998). English became a "symbol of 'happy and rich'

American people" (Tanaka & Tanaka, 1995, p. 123); American popular culture was embraced and it infiltrated Japanese homes through television, radio and magazines. In the post-war period, as in the Meiji period, Japan's relationship with the international community was defined by its relationship with the United States.

Economy on the Rise, Tensions on the Rise

As shown in the brief historical outline above, the United States has occupied a large part of the Japanese psyche since the end of *sakoku* (1854). Japan's one attempt to create a counter-hegemony ended in catastrophe and repositioned Japan as a country dominated by the United States. In the period from 1952 to the 1970's, "Japan slowly came out of isolation in subordination to the United States" (Ike, 1999, p. 219). The Japanese 'economic miracle' of this period was due to many causes and in no small part to American influence, such as American financial aid and provision of security (Henshall, 2004).

By the 1980's, Japan had positioned itself as a major player in the international economic market; however, this growth occurred in a climate of tense trade relations. Japan was in a position of needing to westernise while simultaneously maintaining its own identity (Stronach, 1995). It was a balancing act reminiscent of the early years of the Meiji Restoration. The tension between isolation and westernisation provided the context for the emergence of two powerful discourses, which have moulded the ideologies of English in Japan. These discourses are described in the following two sections.

Nihonjinron (Theories of Japanese Distinctiveness)

In the 1960's and 1970's, a genre called *nihonjinron* became prevalent in academic and popular studies, both in Japan and in the United States. In the United States, it was used to rationalise Japan's sudden economic success. The discourse promotes national characteristics such as "loyalty, harmony, and group orientation" (Henshall, 2004, p. 165; see also Befu, 2001; Kubota, 1998, 1999, 2002), which protect Japan from losing its traditional values and customs in face of rapid westernisation and industrialisation. Part of the reason for the proliferation of

nihonjinron texts was that the country had effectively lost the unifying power of its national anthem and flag after WWII (Befu, 2001).

Nihonjinron has been criticized for supporting a "monolithic, essentialist, and reductionist view of Japanese culture" (Kubota, 1999, p. 20). Contrary to the image that the discourse prescribes, Japan is not an ethnically and linguistically homogenous nation. Suzuki and Oiwa (1996) provide a series of essays in which they bring to the forefront the diversity that exists in Japan that is overshadowed and reduced through *nihonjinron*. Furthermore, the discourse of uniqueness loses strength when Japan is compared to neighbouring Asian countries.

Nihonjinron is inward-looking but it also "attempts to define a distinct Japanese cultural and linguistic identity vis-à-vis the Western culture and language, particularly English" (Kubota, 1998, p. 299), which promotes a hierarchy of races (Befu, 2001). This reflects an ideological construct of Japan as the Other in relation to the West, and non-Western people as the Other in relation to itself (Kubota, 1999). *Nihonjinron* shapes ideologies of English in Japan; however, it does so in conjunction with a second discourse, which I describe in the next section.

Kokusaika (Internationalisation)

In the 1970's, there was rising criticism of Japan from the West because it was succeeding economically, but failing in terms of dealing with its industrial pollution, social, and infrastructural problems (Lincicome, 1993). Underlying this scorn was the demand for Japan to become more compatible with international (i.e., American) norms (McConnell, 2000). Criticisms culminated in the 1980's when the Japanese were considered by the West to be "'economic animals' who lacked any values other than making money" (Henshall, 2004, p. 168). Japan's economy was too strong from the point of view of the West and this provoked widespread anti-Japanese protests. The Japanese felt that this anti-Japan sentiment was unjustified. In their view, they were "simply playing the western economic game of capitalism, and they were winning" (Henshall, 2004, p. 169). They were also learning that this was not beneficial for its relation with the West.

In the 1980's, Japan found itself in a position where it needed to present "an internationalist image to the international community while still managing to adhere to a nationalist agenda" (Seargeant, 2005, p. 313). *Kokusaika* grew from this search for a positive international identity that would not compromise Japan's national identity. On the one hand, Japan was attempting to "accommodate the hegemony of the West by becoming one of the equal members of the West" (Kubota, 1998, p. 300); however, it was doing so by convincing the West of its position based on its distinct cultural heritage. Consequently, *kokusaika* (internationalisation) quickly became the catch-phrase of the 1980's throughout economic, political, and educational domains. It is founded on the opposing forces of the uniqueness that is expressed in *nihonjinron* and of westernisation (Kubota, 1999).

The Ministry of Education's Course of Study reflects the tension that resides in *kokusaika*. On the one hand, *nihonjinron* is seen in the mandate to use the national flag and national anthem in official school ceremonies in public schools (Kubota, 2002; Lincicome, 1993), even though these are highly controversial symbols of Japan's imperialist past. On the other hand, the goals of foreign language education are to "foster positive attitudes towards communicating in English" (MEXT, 2003a), and to "cultivate Japanese with English abilities" (MEXT, 2003b).

Nihonjinron promotes a racial hierarchy that places western cultures on the top; *kokusaika* promotes westernisation, or Americanisation as Kubota (2002) argues. In combination, these discourses overlook the linguistic and cultural diversity that exists in Japan. This vision endorses ideologies of English in Japan (Kubota, 1998), in which preference for American English is marked.

Inner Circle Ideologies of English in Japan

By reviewing Japan's historical ties with the United States, I have shown how the unbalanced power relations between the two countries created the climate for the emergence of the two discourses described above. In turn, these discourses support and propagate Inner Circle-centered ideologies of English.

There are different responses to Japan's preference for Inner Circle English. On the one hand, Tanaka and Tanaka (1995) acknowledge the diversification of

English in the world, but maintain that Japan's decision to use Inner Circle English as the model for Japanese English studies is a choice that reflects Japan's own "goals and needs" (p. 128). This argument recognises that Japan uses English to further its economic success; however, it does not acknowledge what drives the goals and needs of Japan's foreign language policy, nor does it consider possible consequences of such a policy.

Japan is an economically powerful EFL nation in which a large amount of government funding is given to English education and the establishment of English as *the* foreign language. This foreign language policy marginalises the ethnic and linguistic diversity in Japan and creates a skewed distribution of foreign language education resources (Kubota, 2001). The 2005 population census shows that the total number of non-Japanese residents is 1.22% (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2007). In 1999, for example, Brazilians made up 14.4% of non-Japanese residents in Japan, which makes them the second largest minority population after South and North Korean residents (40.9%). North Americans accounted for 3.5% of the foreign nationals in Japan. Despite the significantly larger population of Brazilian Portuguese speakers, only 52 public schools and 37 private schools offered Portuguese language classes; English classes are compulsory (Kubota, 2002). The actual linguistic diversity in Japan is overshadowed by English and is not reflected in Japan's foreign language policy, a situation which is in line with Phillipson's (1992) and Modiano's (2001) definitions of linguistic imperialism. It also reflects a discourse that justifies the global spread of English as natural, neutral and beneficial (Pennycook, 1994).

Kubota (1998) responds to Japan's preference for Inner Circle English within the context of the power struggle that is captured in *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika.* In this way, she does not see the Inner Circle norm-providing model as a choice She claims that "as long as Japan continues to negotiate and struggle for power within the hegemony of the West, it will probably continue to regard the Inner Circle variety of English as a model to acquire" (p. 302). The fact that over 50% of the ALTs on the JET Programme are American shows the influence of *kokusaika*, which "tends to stress teaching and learning Western cultures and languages (particularly American

English) and to promote cultural exchange with the Inner Circle" (Kubota, 1998, p. 302). However, the JET Programme has not been critically studied in the context of these discourses that propagate the Inner Circle-centered ideologies of English in Japan. In the next section, I describe the initiation of the JET Programme within the context of *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika.*

Kokusaika **and** ***Nihonjinron*****: Foundations of the JET Programme**

The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme was launched in 1987; its stated goal is to increase "mutual understanding between the people of Japan and other nations" (CLAIR, 2006, p.3). In the decade of the 1980's, Japan needed to embrace a large scale internationalisation programme that would prove to the West that the Japanese were not simply economic animals. The country needed to re-balance the flow of goods (and people) to improve its image in the eyes of the West (McConnell, 2000). The proposal for the JET Programme was presented as a ""gift" to the American delegation at the… summit in1986 between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone" (McConnell, 2000, p. 1). This attests to the political underpinnings of the programme and confirms that the JET Programme was initiated to quell tensions between Japan and the West. It is important to remember that the JET Programme is founded on a definition of internationalisation (*kokusaika*) that comprises the opposing forces of *nihonjinron* and westernisation.

Although the majority of the JET participants work in the Japanese public school system as Assistant Language Teachers, language teaching is not the primary focus of the organisers of the JET Programme. The involvement of the three ministries reflects the broader socio-political importance of the JET Programme. The role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs signals that the programme is part of a public relations strategy. From the perspective of this ministry's perspective, the JET Programme is training thousands of Japanese cultural ambassadors who will return to their countries with stories of Japan, thereby reinforcing its position in relation to the West.

Inherent in the discourse of *nihonjinron* is the idea that "all foreign culture is "Japanised" on entering the country" (Seargeant, 2005, p. 314). This has been most thoroughly documented in Japan's treatment of English loan words (see for example, Seargeant, 2005; Stanlaw, 1992; Tanaka & Tanaka, 1995), although it can be applied to people just as effectively. ALTs are to be "Japanised" so that when they return to their home countries, they will carry Japan back to the international (i.e., Western) community with the message that Japan is a strong international contender. McVeigh (2002) agrees that the internationalisation movement in Japan is a means to the goal of maintaining Japanese nationalism while simultaneously ensuring Japan's position in the international community.

Although recently, a very small number of ALTs have been able to extend their contracts to four and five years, the majority of contracts have a three year limit. This ensures that participants will not take up residence in Japan, but will promptly return to their home countries. Lai (1999) argues that the JET Programme is:

> part of the whole movement towards International Exchange and Cooperation… [and] importing foreigners to serve as language teachers is only a strategy that promotes international exchange and establishes friendly relationships between Japanese youths and JET participants, which in the end will help to achieve other cultural and political targets that are more important to the country (Lai, 1999, p. 218).

The JET Programme was "never focused on the revolution of English education" (McConnell, 2000, p. 30); its main goal was political, thus there have never been "comprehensive government-initiated evaluations…on the effectiveness of the Programme with regard to language improvement" (Lai, 1999, p. 220). Despite this, officials are eager to publish the benefits afforded by the presence of ALTs in Japanese classrooms (e.g., Koike & Tanaka, 1995). This is perhaps because the JET Programme costs almost half a billion US dollars a year of Japanese tax payer money to run (McConnell, 2000).

As I mentioned in Chapter One, since ALTs are untrained as teachers, they cannot teach classes on their own; rather, they team-teach all of their English classes

with Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs). In the section below, I describe team teaching as it happens on the JET Programme.

Team Teaching

Browne and Wada (1998) determined that almost all JTEs have experienced team teaching with an ALT. Despite the breadth of this practice, the reason for implementing team teaching with the JET Programme was not pedagogical, but political; the Ministry of Education did not want to send a message to the JTEs that they were not needed (McConnell, 2000). The JET Programme's team teaching system is referred to in some studies as a good example of collaborative teaching (e.g., Nunan, 2003), although this assumption is not supported by empirical research.

Team teaching is defined as "the joint instruction of English by a Japanese teacher of English (JTE) and a native speaker assistant English teacher (AET[1])" (Tajino & Walker, 1998). In the case of the JET Programme, the two teachers are not equal in status since the ALT is not certified. Tajino and Walker (1998) administered a survey to Japanese teachers of English and students, and report that the outcome of team-taught classes is almost entirely dependent on the cooperation between the ALT and the JTE. Furthermore, they found that students often perceive team-taught classes to be fun, but not part of the regular curriculum. These researchers reported that ALTs play the role of cultural informant (see also Brown & Wada, 1998) and that the JTE's role in team teaching classes is often ambiguous.

Sakui (2004) also investigated the roles that ALTs and JTEs play in team teaching classes. She observed that the presence of ALTs requires that JTEs develop two teaching styles. On the one hand, there is tremendous pressure on JTEs to prepare their students for entrance examinations, which involves teaching grammar-oriented classes. On the other hand, JTEs have to fulfill communicative language teaching (CLT) activities as prescribed in the Course of Study. These activities are expected to take place in team teaching classes. Because the pressures of the examination system are stronger, as the term progresses, JTEs often cancel team

[1] When the JET Programme began, the native speaker participants were called Assistant English Teachers (AETs). The name was changed to Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) to reflect a more 'international' image; the job however, remains the same – assisting with English classes.

teaching classes in order to focus their students on their upcoming tests. Sakui observed JTEs teaching classes alone and found that their teaching style was mainly teacher-fronted and that grammar instruction was the focus of the content. Furthermore, most of the instruction took place in Japanese. CLT activities took up very little time, if any in JTEs' solo classes. Sakui (2004) concluded that CLT is mainly reserved for team teaching classes with an ALT. This connects to Kramsch's (1997) contention that CLT has promoted the native speaker fallacy. Fujita's (2006) investigation of ALT and JTE roles in team teaching classes lends support to the argument that the practice of pairing a native English speaker who has no teacher qualifications with a JTE contributes to the pervasiveness of the native speaker fallacy in Japan.

What is notable about Sakui's study is that she observed that most of the activities in team teaching classes more closely resemble Audio-Lingual activities; that is, the type of activities done in team teaching classes provide little room for spontaneity. This is a relevant finding because, as ALTs are generally untrained as teachers, they would not be aware of the qualitative difference between CLT and an Audio-Lingual approach. Although CLT is a catch-phrase in English education in Japan (Takanashi, 2004), in fact, Sakui found that interpretations of CLT vary and that Audio-Lingual activities maintain a stronghold, under the name of CLT. Team teaching, as it is in the JET Programme, thus presents a challenge for JTEs in that they have to learn how to teach in two very different ways with two very different goals.

Tajino and Tajino (2000) note that if JTEs and ALTs are going to cooperate to achieve the goals of the Course of Study (to improve students' international communication skills), then the teachers themselves must first "develop a positive attitude towards intercultural communication" (p. 5). To promote this positive attitude, they suggest a model of team teaching, called team learning, in which students are given time to prepare materials on a topic that is of interest to them. In theory, this redefines the roles of the two teachers in the classroom and creates potential for them to truly work together as a team. However, it is unclear how this model, which requires significant preparation time, would be implemented in schools

that have a narrow focus towards preparing students for entrance examinations. What these studies reveal is that team teaching is a complex practice with little pedagogical backing, which means that it is highly dependent on the cooperation of the two people who are meant to be working as a team.

In the next section, I introduce a term that has emerged from this review of the literature and that provides the basis for the present investigation.

Key Term: Inner Circle Normativisation

Several interrelated tendencies have been shown to be strong in Japan. First, there is a marked preference for Inner Circle English norms, which reinforces the native speaker fallacy. Second, while the JET Programme aims to internationalise Japan, the profile of ALTs reveals an Inner Circle-centeredness. This attests to the opposing forces of *nihonjinron* and westernisation that are contained in *kokusaika*. Third, ideologies of English in Japan, also intricately linked to these two discourses, are Inner Circle-centered. Therefore, I propose a new term that contains the above three tendencies: *Inner Circle normativisation*. This term describes those structures that lie beneath the surface of English teaching in Japan. It takes into account historical, political, and economic factors and provides a theoretical starting point from which it becomes possible to investigate how individual efforts are negotiated within those structures.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided a rationale for investigating Japan from within a theoretical framework of linguistic imperialism. I discussed problems associated with the native speaker construct and Kachru's model of World Englishes. I highlighted a contradiction between the Course of Study for foreign languages and what is taught in English classes. Then, I reviewed studies that have critically examined English education in Japan. What is revealed is that ALTs have not been included in these studies.

In the final sections of this chapter, I gave an overview of Japanese socio-political history, which provided the context for the rise of *nihonjinron* and

kokusaika. I demonstrated how these discourses contribute to the Inner Circle-centered ideologies of English in Japan as well as to the hiring practices of the JET Programme. I described team teaching on the JET Programme. Finally, I proposed a new term, Inner Circle normativisation, that includes the tendencies that were revealed through the literature reviewed in this chapter. In the next chapter, I state the research question and explain the design of the study, as well as the data collection and analysis procedures.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODS

Introduction

In this chapter, I begin by defining the rationale for the study. Then, I state the research question and research objectives. This is followed by the explanation of the research design, in which I describe the target population, the instruments, the participants, the data collection, and the data analysis procedures. There is a brief summary of the chapter in the final section.

Rationale for the Study

The rationale for this study comes from the gap that was revealed in the studies that were reviewed in Chapter Two. ALTs have not been included in studies that have looked at alternative teaching models, such as teaching English as an International Language (EIL). The growing interest in raising Japanese English teachers' and students' sense of ownership of English through an EIL approach is encouraging. However, unless the voices of the native speakers of English, who are placed in teaching positions in almost every public school throughout Japan, are not also included, the efforts to challenge systems of Inner Circle normativisation could be negated. The present lack of research on ALTs' attitudes towards English creates the impression that they are exempt from these efforts.

In the next section, I state the research question and research objectives, which guided the design of the study.

Research Question and Objectives

The research question that I investigated was:

Do ALTs unknowingly contribute to a system of Inner Circle normativisation in Japan?

Since this is a complex question, I operationalised it into five objectives, which are:

(1) To investigate ALTs' attitudes towards the global spread of English,

(2) To investigate ALTs' attitudes towards teaching Inner circle linguistic and cultural norms,

(3) To investigate ALTs' attitudes towards English as an international language (EIL) as a model for Japanese students,

(4) To investigate ALTs' attitudes towards the effectiveness of their roles as English teachers in Japan,

(5) To investigate the degree of ALT involvement in planning the content of their lessons.

The fourth and fifth objectives support the first three in that they contextualise ALTs' attitudes with respect to their individual experiences on the JET Programme.

The research question guided the design of this study, which is a two-phase mixed methods design consisting of a survey in the first phase and interviews in the second phase. Mixed methods designs are founded upon a pragmatic view of research, which places the research problem, rather than the method, in the forefront (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). I describe the design of the study below, beginning with a description of the target population.

Method

Target Population

Data were collected from former ALTs rather than from ALTs who are presently teaching in Japan. As a former ALT myself, I know that while living in Japan, ALTs can experience many phases of culture shock and acculturation which could colour their responses. Participants' reflections might stabilise in retrospect; therefore, I felt that this population would best suit the study. Furthermore, there is a tightly connected community of JET alumni, which provided a large population from which to draw a sample of participants.

JET Alumni Associations (JETAA) are non-profit organizations that have been established in conjunction with Japanese embassies and consulates in JET-participating countries. JETAA chapters are especially active in the Inner Circle countries, where they provide post-JET enthusiasts with opportunities to stay connected with the JET community and to promote Japanese events at the local

level. The International JETAA website lists JETAA chapters in non-Inner Circle countries, such as Germany, France, Korea, and Jamaica (JETAA, 2007); however, I did not receive a response from these groups. Since it is likely that the JET participants from the non-Inner Circle countries are not ALTs, this does not affect my sample population.

In the sections that follow, I describe the instruments of both phases of the study, the participants, the data collection procedure, and the data analysis.

Instruments

Phase One: Survey

The justification for using surveys is that they are useful for making inferences about the attitudes of a population (Creswell, 2003). Also, administering surveys does not require immense financial resources. One disadvantage of questionnaires is that they can generate superficial data (Dörnyei, 2003) because there is no opportunity to ask participants to follow-up on their responses. Despite these drawbacks, surveys are a convenient, efficient way to develop an overall picture of people's attitudes. Furthermore, general trends that are identified through surveys can then be explored in a more in-depth fashion with interviews. This is what guided my decision to include a second phase in the study, in which I interviewed a small number of people.

In designing the statements for the survey, I positioned myself as a former ALT, not as a researcher; therefore, I could imagine how my sample population, which is described in the next section, would interpret the statements. The survey (see Appendix D) is three pages long. It begins with 10 bio-data questions, which are a combination of multiple choice and open answer questions. These are followed by 25 Likert-scale statements. The 35-item survey is designed to elicit quantitative, qualitative and biographical data from participants. I invited participants to include comments under each of the Likert statements, as well as a final comment at the end of the survey. There was a very good response to this invitation; each Likert item received at least 4 comments and some received as many as 38. Twenty people included final comments.

Items 11 to 35 were scored on a 4-point Likert scale. Respondents marked the degree of agreement with the statements (strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree). The rationale for using a 4-point scale is threefold. First, a 4-point scale does not give respondents the option to be neutral or undecided about their response. As a former ALT, I can sympathize with the difficulty in trying to generalize about my attitudes related to teaching English in Japan. Even though Dörnyei (2003) reports that the inclusion of an 'undecided' (fifth) category on the scale does not significantly modify the results, I felt that the inclusion of a fifth category would invite an overwhelming amount of unspecific data. The second motivating factor for using a 4-point scale was that I gave participants the opportunity to voice their opinions on the comment line. Therefore, if participants could not decide between agreement and disagreement, they could justify their response in the space below the item. Finally, I used a 4-point scale to create an aesthetically pleasing instrument. I depended on volunteers to complete the survey, thus it was of utmost importance that the layout and design of the instrument be appealing to the eye. A 4-point scale appears less cumbersome than a 5-point, or 6-point scale; this could have increased the number of respondents. While developing the items, I followed the guidelines in Dörnyei (2003), Thomas, (1999), and Brown and Rodgers (2002) to ensure that the items were not biased, leading, or double-barrelled.

The 25 Likert-scale items on the survey are mapped out according to the five research objectives developed from the research question (see Appendix E for mapping). There are five Likert items related to each objective. Within those five items, some items are complementary sets. These sets are distinguished in Appendix E and in the tables in Chapter Four by a solid horizontal line. In terms of arranging the items on the survey, I separated the complementary sets to reduce the possibility of response sets (Sudman & Bradburn, 1983). The survey is an original instrument and since a study of this type has not been conducted before, in developing the instrument, at times I drew from my own experience as an ALT.

Phase Two: Interview

Interviews are good tools for eliciting in-depth views and opinions from a small number of participants (Creswell, 2003). The protocol for the interviews conducted in this study was semi-structured (see Appendix H for interview protocol). The purpose of the interviews was to collect a small sample of detailed qualitative data to add depth and description to the results of the survey.

The protocol for the interviews was designed after I completed a preliminary analysis of the survey data. I repeated some questions from the survey that had elicited ambiguous responses. Other questions developed from comments on the survey that I wanted to follow-up on. Each interview began with the same background questions in order to put the interviewees at ease and to warm the interviewees up to the topic (Sudman & Bradburn, 1983). The more difficult attitudinal questions followed these background questions. The order of the remaining questions depended on the direction the interview was taking.

One potential drawback of interviews is the interviewer effect (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The presence of the researcher can bias responses. Because I am a former ALT, I sensed that the interview participants felt that we were on equal ground and interpreted the interview as an informal opportunity to talk about their experiences.

Participants

Phase One: Survey

There were 120 participants in the first phase of the study: 51 from the United Kingdom, 27 from Australia, 22 from the United States, 17 from Canada, and 5 from New Zealand. The skew in numbers is a reflection of the data collection procedure; it will be explained in a later section.

The first 10 questions in the survey are bio-data questions. The answers to these questions are summarised in Table 1 to provide an overall profile of the participants.

Table 1

Summary of Bio-data from Survey

Question	Frequency counts (N=120)	
1. First language English	Yes:	117
	No:	3
2. Languages spoken	English only:	13
	English and Japanese:	38
	Multilingual:	69
3. Years as ALT	1-2 years:	85
	3+ years:	34
	No answer:	1
4. Junior or Senior high school ALT	JHS:	77
	SHS:	30
	Both:	3
5. Languages taught on JET Programme	English:	120
	Other (extra-curricular):	5
6. Classes taught per week	5-10:	19
	10-19:	88
	20+ :	13
7. Undergraduate degree	Education:	5
	TESOL:	1
	Other:	114
8. Age	20-29:	65
	30-34:	29
	35+ :	26
9. Gender	Female:	91
	Male:	29
10. Ethnic background	Caucasian:	105
	Asian or Indian descent:	11
	American Indian (half):	1
	No answer:	3

The ‘other’ category for question 7 in Table 1 includes Arts, Science, and Professional degrees. The fact that so few of the participants have backgrounds in teaching mirrors the fact that it is not a requirement for acceptance on the JET Programme. The age of the participants ranges from 20 to over 40 years old; however the majority are under 35 years old. This is not surprising since most of the JET recruitment occurs in universities. There is not a great deal of ethnic diversity represented in the sample of participants in this study, with only 12 participants of Asian, Indian, or American Indian descent. There are no Black ALTs represented in this sample.

Almost all of the participants speak English as a first language and many speak two or more second languages (e.g., Japanese, French, German, Spanish, etc.). Despite the diversity in linguistic abilities, all of the participants taught English as the foreign language while in Japan. Five participants taught languages other than English, although they indicated that this was as an extra-curricular activity in addition to their regular English classes.

Roughly two thirds of the participants were placed in junior high schools, and one third of them were placed in senior high schools. The majority taught between 10 and 19 classes per week. Most of the participants spent one or two years on the JET Programme.

Phase Two: Interview

There were four interview participants, one from each of the following four countries: Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, and United States. Their pseudonyms are Carol, Liz, Alex, and Mike, respectively. The process of selecting these participants is described in the next section. Carol spent one year as an ALT in a municipal Board of Education and taught in junior high schools in her town. The other three each spent two years as ALTs and they were placed in senior high schools. The interviews with Liz, Alex, and Mike were conducted on the telephone. The interview with Carol was in person. I had not met her before conducting the interview, thus I was equally a stranger to all of the interviewees. They were

outgoing people who did not appear to be nervous about sharing their experiences and opinions with me.

Although I am a former ALT and it was tempting to position myself as a participant in the interviews by contributing my experiences in relation to those of the interviewee, I made an effort to keep my speaking time to a minimum. The four interviewees were very forthcoming with their responses and provided me with plenty of rich data, for which I am grateful.

Data Collection Procedures

Sampling bias

My sample comes from non-random convenience sampling, which means that it was drawn on the basis of availability of volunteers (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). JET Alumni Associations provided a convenient contact with a large number of former ALTs, though unfortunately, not all ALTs. I have to consider that those who self-selected out of participating "may share common features that will be underrepresented in the sample with their departure" (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 75). The people who do not respond and the people who do respond may differ in their attitudes, which can threaten the external validity of the study.

Phase One: Survey

The Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee gave approval for the study in June 2006 (see Appendix A). The survey was piloted in August 2006. Piloting can highlight problems concerning the content of the items, scoring problems, and problems with the instructions. It also gave me a good idea of how long it would take people to complete the survey (Dörnyei, 2003), which helped me write the cover letter and consent form for the data collection proper.

Initially, I contacted 38 JETAA chapters by email. I sent an email to the president of each chapter, which included a letter explaining the study and a survey package, which included a cover letter (see Appendix B), consent form (see Appendix C) and survey (see Appendix D). This allowed them to make an informed decision regarding whether they would assist me in distributing the survey packages

to their members. In the end, 13 of the 38 JETAA chapters responded, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Participating JETAA Chapters

JETAA Chapters Contacted	**JETAA Chapters Replied**
Canada: 6	Canada: 3
United States: 18	United States: 6
United Kingdom: 1	United Kingdom: 1
Australia: 4	Australia: 2
New Zealand: 3	New Zealand: 1
Japan: 2	Japan: 0
Germany, Korea, Jamaica, Russia: 1 each	Germany, Korea, Jamaica, Russia: 0
Total: 38	**Total: 13**

Some of the presidents agreed to forward the survey packages directly to their JETAA members, while others agreed to post a call for volunteers (see Appendix F) on their website or in weekly or monthly electronic newsletters. As the surveys were returned to me by email, I assigned each one a number, in order to code them and maintain anonymity of the participants.

My initial aim for survey respondents was 100; therefore, my return of 120 surveys exceeded my expectations. This is in large part due to the highly active and centralised JETAA chapter in the United Kingdom. This chapter sends weekly emails to members in all parts of the United Kingdom. I was fortunate enough to have made email contact with one of the web editors who agreed to post my call for volunteers on the next week's email. In the week that followed that posting (October 2nd to 9th), I received an overwhelming number of replies from the UK, which explains the skew in number of participants from the UK. This flood of respondents

came late in my data collection period, which ran from September 7th 2006 to October 15th 2006.

After the first two weeks of data collection, I sent an email to the participants who had thus far responded with a request to pass on my call for volunteers to any of their friends who had been ALTs on the JET Programme. The snowball effect brought several participants from the United States and the United Kingdom. Due to the two types of data collection, the non-random convenience sampling and the snowball sampling, the actual sample of participants in this study is a mix of JETAA members and non-JETAA members; however, participants in the latter group are few in number.

All participants were sent an email thanking them for their cooperation and time. They were also sent an overview of the results of the survey, if they indicated on the consent form that they wished to be informed of the results.

Phase 2: Interview

The interviewees were selected from among the survey participants on the basis of comments they had made on their surveys that I wanted to gain more insight into. When surveys were returned to me, many of the participants indicated that they would be happy to provide me with further information. This gave me a pool of potential interviewees to choose from. From this pool, I contacted four people whose comments I wanted to follow-up on and they all agreed to be interviewed. Initially, I wanted to have one interviewee from each of the five participating countries in order to have a variety of perspectives on topics of accent and English norms. However, since none of the survey respondents from New Zealand offered to provide more information, I did not feel that it would be appropriate for me to request an interview from any of them. Due to the time frame of this study, I did not feel that I could integrate data from more than four or five interviews into the analysis.

I confirmed participants for interviews in the middle of October 2006 and emailed consent forms (see Appendix G) to the interviewees. The interviews were conducted in November 2006 at times that were convenient for the participants.

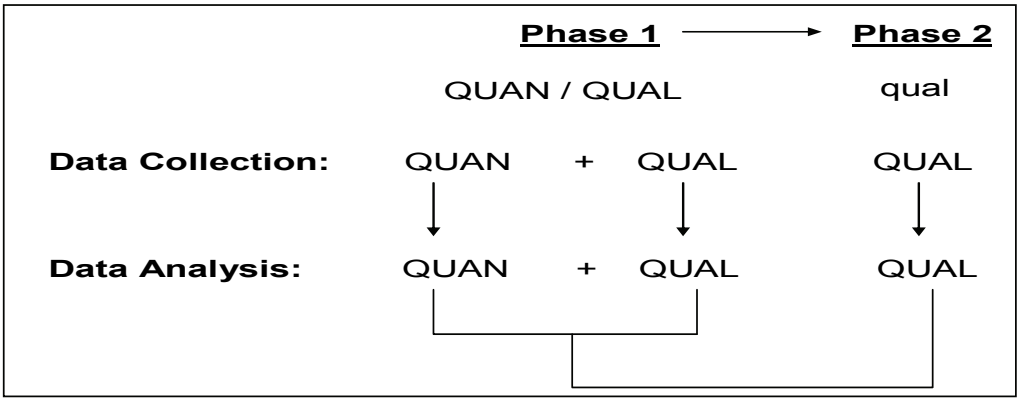
Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The three telephone interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder with the help of a telephone recording device. The reason for having one interview in person and three over the phone was simply logistical; I was not able to travel to the home countries of the participants to interview them in-person. After each interview, I took several minutes to take field notes of my impressions of the interview.

Data Analysis Procedures

In this section, I describe the data analysis procedures for the two phases of the study. The overall research design of this study is a two-phase sequential mixed methods design (Creswell, 2003). In the first phase, quantitative and qualitative data were collected simultaneously and analysed using a "concurrent triangulation strategy" (Creswell, 2003, p. 214), which allows for a cross-validation of both types of data. The second phase, which drew only qualitative data, took place after the completion of the first phase and a preliminary analysis of the data. This means that the results of the first method informed the use of the second method (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998) and the results of the second were used to elaborate on the findings of the first, as Figure 1 shows.

Figure 1

Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design (Adapted from Creswell, 2003)



The lower case letters (qual) under Phase 2 indicate that this data is used to support the primary set of data collected in Phase 1, but is not considered the main data set.

In the next sections, I describe the data analysis procedures for the two phases of the study as well as the final triangulation of data that was conducted.

Phase One: Quantitative Data Analysis

Since this is an exploratory study, descriptive statistical analysis of the quantitative data was most appropriate (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). I calculated frequency counts and percentages of the 25 Likert-scale items, using Excel. Initially, this was done for each of the four levels of agreement (strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree). This analysis, however, did not yield meaningful results. Therefore, I decided to collapse the four categories into two (disagree, agree). This was justified because the numbers representing the degree of disagreement (1, 2) or agreement (3, 4) do not represent discrete points on a line, but rather a general inclination towards a positive or negative response. After collapsing the data, I was able to identify meaningful patterns in the quantitative data.

Phase One: Qualitative Data Analysis

First, the comments for individual Likert-scale items were counted. Then, I identified different themes in the comments by taking note of those that were the same and by pulling out key words from the comments. The number of comments that fell under each theme was then counted. After this preliminary analysis of comments for individual items, I put the comments for the five items relating to each research objective together. At times, there were overlapping themes across the five items relating to one research objective. The next step was to triangulate these themes with the percentages that were calculated in the quantitative analysis. The result of this was that between one and three categories emerged for each research objective. The number of comments that fell under each category was recorded. These were the categories that guided the content analysis of the interviews. In some cases, the comments added ambiguity to my understanding of the quantitative data, instead of understanding. These points were brought up in interviews in order to clarify the overall analysis.

Phase Two: Qualitative Data Analysis

A qualitative content analysis was performed on the interviews. Content analysis involves taking large amounts of data and classifying them into smaller categories (Tesch, 1990). In the analysis, I only considered the segments of data that added depth to my understanding of the categories that emerged from the survey data. Due to the small sample size of interview participants, each interview was considered as a separate case (Patton, 1987); thus I do not attempt to make generalisations across the interview data.

Triangulation

The final step in the data analysis involved triangulating the data from the two phases of the study. Triangulation means looking for convergence of results from the two data sources, which increases the quality of inferences (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). In this important step, the data from the two phases of the study were combined to support a well-rounded answer to the research question.

Summary

In this chapter, I began by providing the rationale for the present study. Then, I stated the research question and research objectives, which motivated the design of the study. In the following section, I gave a detailed description of the method of the study. This included a definition of the target population and a description of the research instruments used in the two phases of the study. Then, I provided a profile of the sample population. This was followed by a description of the data collection procedures. Finally, I explained the data analysis procedures.

Because this study has two data collection phases, the presentation and discussion of the results is separated into two chapters. In the next chapter, I present and discuss the results of the survey. The interviews were designed after the survey was conducted and data analysed; therefore, the presentation and discussion of the results of the interview phase is in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF SURVEY

Introduction

In this chapter, I present and discuss the results of the data from the first phase of the study. Throughout this chapter, the discussion of data related to each research objective immediately follows the presentation, with one exception. Since the data from the second and third objectives show considerable overlap, they are discussed in one section following the presentation of objective three results. The categories that emerged from the discussions of the data related to each research objective are compiled in a table near the end of the chapter. The chapter closes with a brief summary.

I report the quantitative results of the Likert items (#11-35 on the survey) as percentages of agreement and disagreement. As explained in Chapter Three, the data from these items were collapsed into two categories. For almost every item, there were participants who did not answer, thus I included a third category (no answer) in the tables to account for these cases. The horizontal lines in the tables represent the divisions between complementary sets of survey items.

Twenty of the 120 participants included final comments in their surveys. There are three types of comments: 1) critique of English education and JET Programme (10 comments); 2) role of ALT (9 comments); and 3) influence of ALT on JTEs' confidence in English (1 comment). Where relevant, examples from these comments are included. I am grateful to the participants for including so many comments as these have contributed enormously to my interpretation and understanding of the data.

Objective One: ALTs' Attitudes towards the Global Spread of English

Presentation of Likert Scale Items and Comments: Global Spread of English

The first objective is to investigate ALTs' attitudes towards the global spread of English. The corresponding items on the survey are: 24, 34, 27, 26, and 35. The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Survey Answers Related to ALTs' Attitudes towards the Global Spread of English

Question	Disagree	Agree	No Answer
24: The global spread of English as the language of communication overshadows teaching other foreign languages.	37.5 (%)	61.7 (%)	0.83 (%)
34: English gives everyone who speaks it opportunities for success.	44.2 (%)	54.2 (%)	1.67 (%)
*27: It is important for native speakers of English to learn foreign languages.	10 (%)	90 (%)	0
26: It is important for Japanese students to learn English as a foreign language.	13.3 (%)	85.8 (%)	0.83 (%)
35: Foreign languages other than English are important for Japanese students to learn.	9.17 (%)	90 (%)	0.83 (%)

* *Note.* In the survey, question 27 was stated as a negative (It is not important for native speakers of English to learn a foreign language). It is changed to a positive for purposes of analysis.

Just over half (54.17%) of the participants included comments. Several common ideas emerged from the data. Almost three-quarters of the comments fall into three categories: individual choice (29.23%), benefits of multilingualism (27.69%), and influence of economy on foreign language education (16.92%). Other types of comments are indicated under each item. Because these other types differ across the five items, the data are presented under individual items, rather than under complementary sets of items. In the subheadings of the items that are used below, FL refers to foreign language, EFL refers to English as a foreign language, and NS refers to native speakers of English.

Item 24 (English Overshadows Other FLs)

Comments for item 24 fall into the three main categories. Nine of the 12 comments are related to economy, 2 are related to choice, and one comment points to the benefits of multilingualism. One example from each category is included here:

> Economy drives the motivation to learn a language, so the next second language of interest will be Mandarin.

> However, English is so widely used internationally that it makes sense [that English overshadows teaching other languages]. There's nothing to stop one learning another foreign language.

> More and more people are recognising that being multi-lingual is more advantageous.

Item 34 (English Linked to Success)

With the exception of one comment, all of the 14 comments for item 34 fall into the first two categories (choice, 11; multilingualism, 2). Examples relating to choice and the benefits of multilingualism include:

> It depends on what they [students] aim to do in life.

> Not only this, but opportunities to broaden horizons and understanding of the world.

One comment stands apart from others, as in:

> Not always. There is still a huge array of power issues positioned against someone who speaks English fluently and is from, say, India, or Belize, or even Japan.

Item 27 (FL Learning for NSs)

The comments for item 27 fall under the main categories of choice (2 comments) and multilingualism (8 comments). Example comments are:

> It depends where they [native speakers] live and work.

> It is of vital importance in our multicultural and global climate as it leads to understanding of foreign cultures.

There are two comments that point to a privileged position of native speakers of English, one of which is:

> As English is the current world language native English speakers can get away with being very lazy when it comes to learning other languages!

Item 26 (EFL Learning for Japanese Students)

With respect to item 26, there were comments in all three of the main categories. There were 7 comments related to the benefits of multilingualism, 4 related to choice, and 2 related to economy. Example comments include:

> By learning a language, they are also learning about different cultures and ways of looking at things.
>
> That is for them to decide.
>
> In level of English abilities, Japan is being left behind compared to other non-English speaking countries and, economically, will continue to fall further behind.

Item 35 (FL Learning for Japanese Students)

The comments for this item represent two categories, the first of which is unique: geographical proximity (8 comments), and 'choice' (5 comments). Example comments include:

> Though geographically Korean or Chinese would make more sense, unless the main language of the USA suddenly becomes Spanish or Chinese, I can't see the situation changing any time soon!
>
> Of course, it depends on the student, the language, and the reason for learning it!

Discussion of Objective One: Global Spread of English

Since just over half of the participants included comments for the items related to this objective, whereas up to 90% commented on other items, I feel that the topics touched upon in the items do not represent 'burning issues' for the participants. I discuss the data here according to the complementary items and then provide an overall summary of the themes that have emerged.

Items 24 (English Overshadows Other FLs) and 34 (English Linked to Success)

There is low agreement among participants that the global spread of English overshadows the teaching of other foreign languages (item 24), which suggests that they feel that the position of English in the world is unproblematic. Most of the comments (9/12) for item 24 are in the 'economy' category, so there is an awareness of external pressures that influence foreign language learning. Since English is the language associated with the global economy, participants seem to place English in a category of its own - functional tool required for participation in global economy - rather than consider English as belonging to a general category of 'foreign languages'. This could explain why participants do not feel that English overshadows teaching other foreign languages.

Despite the link that is made between English and the economy in item 24, only slightly more than half of the participants agree that English increases opportunities for success (item 34). The comments help resolve this ambiguity. Almost all of the comments (11/13) related to item 34 are in the 'choice' category. The attitude that is reflected is that English is the global language, thus should be made available to those who choose to learn it. As such, it is not possible to strongly agree that English alone creates opportunities for success; individuals determine their own success.

It is surprising that choice was the most prominent category in the comments. The participants were all working within the English education system in Japan where English is a compulsory subject for six years. Students have no choice about learning English and very few choices when it comes to learning other foreign languages. In 1999, for example, only 970 schools (public and private) in Japan offered instruction in foreign languages other than English (Kubota, 2002). The remaining three comments related to items 24 and 34 point to the benefits of multilingualism. I speak to this under the next section.

Items 26 (FL Learning for NSs), 27 (EFL Learning for Japanese Students), and 35 (FL Learning for Japanese Students)

The participants, for the most part, agree that foreign language learning is beneficial for both native English speakers and Japanese students. The 'economy' comment I presented under item 26 makes a strong link between learning English and increased economic potential. This is not a prominent view in the comments. Choice, on the other hand, is a consistent category among comments for these three items. There are, however, some interesting differences. Those comments relating to items 26 and 27 are similarly distributed across categories of choice and benefits of multilingualism, with the majority of comments falling in the latter category. It is important to note that 89% of the participants indicated on the survey that they speak two or more languages; this could influence their attitudes towards the multilingualism. Two people noted that native English speakers are not always motivated to learn foreign languages because English is the common language of communication.

Participants agreed that it is important for Japanese students to learn foreign languages other than English (item 35); however, the comments are of different categories than those that emerged for items 26 and 27. In the comments for item 35, benefiting from multilingualism is no longer the main reason for foreign language learning; rather, communicating with neighbouring countries is stressed. The slightly higher agreement with 35 than with 26 suggests that participants may question the practicality of English in the lives of individual Japanese students. Therefore, they point to the general benefits of learning a language as justification for their agreement with item 26. On the other hand, participants can imagine more practical relevance of learning other foreign languages, especially those of neighbouring countries, in the lives of Japanese students.

Summary of Objective One: Global Spread of English

Several tendencies emerged from the data. First, the economy, which is an external influence, determines what foreign language people should learn. Second, individuals choose whether or not they will learn the language associated with the

global economy. As such, I can deduce that English is seen as a resource that should be made available to those who choose to learn it. The data do not indicate that there are consequences of the global spread of English for other foreign languages with the exception of one participant, who observed that there are power issues related to the kind of English spoken (see comment for item 34). Multilingualism, in general, is seen as beneficial, which is in line with the view of language as a resource.

The overall attitude that is revealed is an echo of what Pennycook (2001) describes as a laissez-faire understanding of the global role of English. A laissez-faire attitude neutralises the impacts of the global spread of English on other languages by looking at English as a resource and by placing the decision to learn a language in the hands of the individual. This is an over-simplistic understanding of the global spread of English that fails to take into account any negative effects that English can have on other languages by giving weight to the role of individual choice. Furthermore, it does not consider the broader social and political forces that compromise and produce the choices that individuals make (Pennycook, 2001). The participants, with the exception of a few, do not demonstrate a critical awareness of the global spread of English.

Objectives Two and Three: ALTs' Attitudes towards Teaching IC Norms and EIL as a Model for Japanese Students

Presentation of Likert Scale Items and Comments: Inner Circle Norms

The second objective is to investigate ALTs' attitudes towards teaching Inner Circle linguistic and cultural norms. The corresponding items on the survey are: 23, 33, 14, 20, and 21. The results for the second objective are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Survey Answers Related to ALTs' Attitudes towards Teaching IC norms

Question	Disagree	Agree	No Answer
23: Native English speakers are good models of English usage for Japanese students.	7.5 (%)	92.5 (%)	0
33: Japanese English teachers are good models of English usage for Japanese students.	49.2 (%)	49.2 (%)	1.67 (%)
14: I wanted to introduce my students to different accents of English.	33.34 (%)	66.66 (%)	0
20: Different varieties of English have a place in English classes in Japan.	12.5 (%)	86.7 (%)	0.83 (%)
21: It is important for ALTs to teach their students native English speaker norms (i.e., pronunciation, gestures).	3.33 (%)	95.8 (%)	0.83 (%)

There were 81 (67.5%) comments related to these items. They cover a range of categories; however, some similarities emerged across complementary sets of items. The comments for item sets are presented together.

Items 23 (NSs Good Language Models) and 33 (JTEs Good Language Models)

Almost all of the comments (40 out of 47) for items 23 and 33 can be categorised as 'it depends'. Those that do not fit that category point to the benefits of having Japanese teachers as models for Japanese students. Examples from the former category include:

> Many native English speakers don't know their own language very well, so are not necessarily the best models of usage.

> It depends so much on the [Japanese] teacher. Some are excellent; some are very good grammatically, but not so good at conversational English.
>
> It depends on the teacher and their confidence.
>
> It depends. Their [JTEs'] pronunciation is often very poor.

Example comments that fit the second category include:

> Even if the JTEs' English isn't that great, they prove that it is possible to communicate effectively.
>
> JTEs are good models in the sense that students are able to pronounce what their teachers pronounce.

Items 14 (Wanted to Introduce Students to Different Accents) and 20 (Varieties Have a Place in English Classes)

Almost half (11/ 32) comments related to items 14 and 20 indicate that trying to introduce students to different varieties of English or different accents would be confusing, as shown in the following comments:

> I did occasionally use American pronunciation so that students would not be confused – I thought it was more important that they learn to speak confidently than that I got across the message that American English is not the only English (British participant).
>
> I think this would generate confusion.
>
> Dialects/ regional variants need to be modified, particularly in the case of extreme pronunciation or vocabulary differences.

Six of the 13 participants who included comments for item 14 indicated that they could only teach what they know, that is, their own English.

With respect to item 20, several participants (5/ 13) who commented felt that varieties of English should have a place in Japanese English classes, but that they do not because of the textbooks used. Two people saw benefits to introducing different varieties of English to Japanese students, as shown in the following comment:

> This challenges the notion of the 'ideal' westerner/ 'ideal' version of English and shows that there is variety.

Item 21 (Teaching NS Norms)

Similar to above, 4 of the 8 comments related to item 21 point out that the ALTs can only teach what they know. The other 4 comments confirm agreement with the statement that it is important for ALTs to teach native speaker norms. Reasons for this are shown in these comments:

It helps the learning process and makes it more real.

Natural usage is what brings a language/ culture to life, so it is important.

The discussion of these data is included with the discussion of objective three.

Presentation of Likert Scale Items and Comments: EIL

The third objective is to investigate ALTs' attitudes towards English as an International Language (EIL) as a model for Japanese students. The corresponding items on the survey are: 16, 19, 32, 17, and 28. The results for the third objective are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Survey Answers Related to EIL as a Model for Japanese Students

Question	Disagree	Agree	No Answer
16: There are countries other than Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States that have a majority of native English speakers.	14.2 (%)	85 (%)	0.83 (%)
19: There are many recognized varieties of English in the world.	3.33 (%)	96.7 (%)	0
32**:** I am interested in the different accents of English in my country.	17.5 (%)	82.5 (%)	0
17: Japanese students learn English so they can communicate with other nonnative speakers of English.	53.33 (%)	45.83 (%)	0.83 (%)
28: Japanese students learn English so they can communicate with native speakers of English.	35 (%)	64.2 (%)	0.83 (%)

Just over half of the participants (51.67%) included comments for the items related to objective three. These are presented under the corresponding sets of items.

Items 16 (Countries with Majority of NS), 19 (Many Varieties of English in the World), and 32 (Interested in Accents of English): Objective Three

With respect to these three items, very few comments were included and those that were included were not particularly revealing; they simply confirmed the participants' degree of agreement with the item. Two of the 6 participants who commented on item 19 indicated that they marked agreement only if 'varieties' meant idioms and accents. For item 16, the participants listed places where they

think there is a majority of English speakers. These include: South Africa, Ghana, the Caribbean and the Republic of Ireland.

Items 17 (NNS-NNS Communication) and 28 (NNS-NS Communication)

These two items received most of the comments for this objective. Two main categories of comments emerged for these items: 1) students learn English to pass exams (50%); and 2) students learn English to communicate with both native and non-native speakers of English (45.24%). One example comment from each category is included here:

> Most learn it because it is compulsory for passing exams and entering university.
>
> Learning English enables them to communicate with anyone who speaks English.

In the section that follows, there is a discussion of the survey data that have been presented for research objectives two and three.

Discussion of Objectives Two and Three: IC Norms versus EIL

Before I analyse whether the participants show a preference for Inner Circle norms or an EIL model, I discuss to what extent they demonstrate an awareness of the sociolinguistic profile of English in the world. For this reason, items 16, 19, and 32, which are connected to research objective three, are discussed first.

Items 16 (Countries with Majority of NS), 19 (Many Varieties of English in the World), and 32 (Interested in Accents of English): Objective Three

While there is relatively strong agreement (85%) that non-Inner Circle countries have a majority of English speakers (item 16), there was almost complete agreement with item 19. From a World Englishes perspective the results of these two items should have been more similar. Two of the comments help to explain this disparity, since the participants indicated that they marked agreement with 19 only if 'varieties' means accents or idioms. Thus, the term may not have been interpreted as varieties of English in the World Englishes sense. This supports Matsuda's (2003b)

claim that the discourse of EIL has not been taken up by the general public of English users. Furthermore, it supports Kubota (2001) finding that there remains work to do with Inner Circle native English speakers with respect to raising their awareness of the sociolinguistic profile of English in the world.

Item 32 received the fewest comments (4) of all items and none of them revealed any additional insight, but were simply re-statements of the participants' answers. As such, this might have been an item that participants responded to in passing and do not have strong feelings about.

Items 23 (NSs Good Language Models) and 33 (JTEs Good Language Models): Objective Two

The quantitative results show a marked preference for NSs of English, rather than JTEs, as models of English usage for Japanese students. Although this depicts quite a clear overall picture, the comments complicate matters. Most of the comments related to items 23 and 33 are grouped under the 'it depends' category. Comments show that being a NS alone does not guarantee that a person will be a good language model; NSs of English need to have knowledge of their language. The factors that influence the 'it depends' statements for item 33 are: the type of class the JTEs are teaching, JTEs' level of confidence, and their pronunciation. Participants felt that while JTEs have superior grammatical knowledge to theirs, they are not as good for oral communication classes because of a lack of confidence in speaking or poor pronunciation. Those who commented on the pronunciation of JTEs demonstrate an Inner Circle-centered attitude because they are judging the appropriateness of JTEs' pronunciation against their own ability to understand the JTEs.

The comments show that the participants are uncomfortable making blanket generalisations about who is the most appropriate language model for Japanese students based on native-speakership alone. The additional factors that they mentioned mirror the characteristics of native and non-native speaking English teachers that Boyle (1997) and Arva and Medgyes (2000) described in their studies. This shows that, despite the contestations surrounding the native speaker construct

and suggestions to move beyond it (Braine, 1999; Butcher, 2005; Cook, 1999; Davies, 1991; Holliday, 2006; Kramsch, 1997; Maum, 2002; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 2005; Widdowson, 1994), qualitative differences are perceived among ALTs. The native speaker construct appears to be alive and well in this context, which counters Paikeday's (1985) and Canagarajah's (2006) arguments about the 'death' of the native speaker.

There are a few voices that reflect a more EIL-oriented perspective. In these comments, the participants are not measuring the JTEs' pronunciation against their own norms, but rather they see JTEs as relevant models for Japanese students, since they can model what it is like for a Japanese person to speak English. There is one final comment that demonstrates an attitude that is favourable towards EIL as a model for Japanese students. This person noted that her presence in the classroom sometimes had a counter-productive effect on the JTEs, as shown in the following:

> I often felt that the JTEs mistakenly viewed me as a better model than themselves. Many of the teachers I worked with used even more Japanese in the classroom when I was present because they thought that I, as the native speaker, should be doing the talking in English. I used to get so frustrated by that because those teachers had absolutely wonderful English and it would have been great for the students to have been exposed to that. For students learning a foreign or second language, I think it is much more inspirational to see a nonnative speaker using that language than a native speaker.

Although the participants show a range of attitudes, they do point to a preference for NS of English as models for Japanese students. It seems that the participants feel that JTEs could be good models, but in their experiences, there are too many factors that detract from this potential. Overall, native English speakers are seen are superior models for Japanese students than JTEs, although participants seem to agree that native-speakership alone does not guarantee this.

Items 14 (Wanted to Introduce Students to Different Accents) and 20 (Varieties Have a Place in English Classes): Objective Two

Following from the discussion of items 16 and 19 above, in which I found that the participants are not versed in the discourse of EIL, I do not feel that

participants interpreted 'varieties of English' in the World Englishes sense, but rather as different accents, vocabulary, or expressions.

Although participants did not feel very strongly about introducing different accents of English to students (item 14, 66.66%), they did agree more uniformly that different varieties have a place in English classes in Japan (item 20, 86.7%). It is interesting to note that although participants strongly agree that there are many different varieties of English in the world (item 19, 96.7%), fewer of them feel that these varieties should be included in Japanese English classes (item 20).

The comments related to items 14 and 20 suggest that there is a narrow selection of what kind of English is acceptable for Japanese students, even within Inner Circle English. This preference has been well-documented from the perspective of Japanese students (e.g., Honna & Takeshita, 1998; Matsuda, 2003a & b; McConnell, 2000; Miyagi, 2006) and it leans consistently towards American English. The data show that ALTs also have a limited scope of what is acceptable and feel that certain types of English usage need to be modified to suit the expectations of the students in order to avoid confusion. Furthermore, there is a sense that American English is needed for building confidence in Japanese students. The pressure to conform to the norms of the textbooks, which are based on American English, was also mentioned in comments. The participants do not indicate that they felt there was space to engage in a discussion of variation in their classes. Some seemed to feel that this was an irrelevant issue to consider, since they can only teach what they know.

Two people commented on the benefits of introducing variety into the classrooms as a way to challenge stereotypes about English speakers. Overall, however, there is not much critical analysis of the appropriateness of Inner Circle norms, but rather an acceptance of what they know. It is possible that they are also influenced by the expectations that are projected onto them by textbooks and students.

Item 21 (Teaching NSs Norms): Objective Two

There is almost total agreement with this item. The comments are split between 'teach what you know' and feeling that NS norms represent real and natural English. This attitude counters an EIL view, which challenges the notion that there is a natural form of English that should be the norm for all learners (e.g., Matsuda, 2003a & b; McKay, 2002). The data related to this item intersect with those discussed in above in an interesting way. As shown above, ALTs are keenly aware of Japanese teachers' and students' preference for American English norms. Following from the results of this item, it appears that they further contribute to this preference with the attitude that native English speaker norms are the most appropriate because they are 'real' and thus should be taught to Japanese students. Underlying these data is an attitude that Inner Circle English is natural and beneficial (Pennycook, 1994) and therefore the best instructional model.

Items 17 (NNS-NNS Communication) and 28 (NNS-NS Communication): Objective Three

With respect to items 17 and 28, fewer than half (46%) of the participants agree that Japanese students learn English to communicate with other NNSs of English, whereas 64% agreed that Japanese students learn English to communicate with NSs. The reason for the relatively low agreement with both of these statements is that many do not feel that Japanese students learn English to communicate with *anyone*. Rather, as indicated in half of the comments, they learn it to pass exams. Although many participants do not feel that English is learned by Japanese students for purposes of communicating, the comments suggest that if students were going to communicate in English, they could do so with either native or non-native speakers of English. The quantitative difference between the choices of potential interlocutors for Japanese students does suggest that there is a slightly greater inclination towards seeing NS-NNS interactions as more ideal than NNS-NNS interactions. This reflects a possible lack of awareness of the actual uses of English in the world and that the majority of English speakers are NNSs and most interactions are NNS-NNS (Graddol, 1997). This could also be a reflection of ALTs' experiences in Japan,

where, in many cases, they would have been the only people with whom the students spoke English.

Summary of Objectives Two and Three: IC Norms versus EIL

Although the quantitative data point towards a preference for teaching Inner Circle norms to Japanese students, the comments show that there are many interrelated factors that contribute to being a good language model. In short, native-speakership alone is not enough to guarantee that someone will be a good model.

The attitudes fall on the side of Inner Circle norms, although, many of the ALTs feel that JTEs could be good language models if they had more confidence and spoke more in English. One person made the link between the lack of confidence and the presence of ALTs, whose linguistic norms can be the source of a lack of confidence for JTEs. A more prominent attitude, however, is that Inner Circle English is needed in Japanese classes because it is 'real'.

The data show that the preference for Inner Circle norms is two-pronged. On the one hand, Japanese students and teachers expect ALTs to fit an American English model. Textbooks and exams are mentioned as factors that influence the push for American English. On the other hand, ALTs seem to accept this preference, pushing the limits of what is acceptable only slightly by pointing out that they teach their own English. Even with respect to Inner Circle English, there is a sense that 'extreme variation' needs to be modified. Some participants felt that discussion of varieties is important, but there was a stronger response that this type of discussion would confuse students. Even though there is not strong agreement that English is learned for purposes of communication, NS norms are considered as the most appropriate for Japanese students, which makes it possible to conclude that participants, overwhelmingly, are in favour of a teaching model that is based on Inner Circle norms. This is further supported by the general lack of awareness of alternative models, such as EIL.

Objective Four: ALTs' Attitudes towards Effectiveness of their Roles as English Teachers

Presentation of Likert Scale Items and Comments: Effectiveness of ALTs

The fourth objective is to investigate ALTs' attitudes towards effectiveness of their roles as English teachers in Japan. The items on the survey that correspond to this objective are: 25, 31, 29, 18, and 22. The results from the Likert items are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Survey Answers Related ALTs' Attitudes towards Effectiveness of their Roles as English Teachers

Question	Disagree	Agree	No Answer
25: ALTs make English classes in Japan more effective than classes without ALTs.	15.8 (%)	82.5 (%)	1.67 (%)
31: Team teaching is an effective method of teaching English in Japan.	25 (%)	73.3 (%)	1.67 (%)
29: Native English speakers are needed in English classes in Japan.	15 (%)	83.3 (%)	1.67 (%)
18: ALTs play a significant role in English education in Japan.	33.33 (%)	65.84 (%)	0.83 (%)
22: ALTs are utilized to their full potential.	85.5 (%)	16.67 (%)	0.83 (%)

This was the objective that received the most comments, with 90% of the participants including comments. The common thread that runs across all the comments is a category of 'it depends'. In fact, 79 of the 108 comments (73.15%) fall under this category. I include example comments that are specific to each item

in order to reveal what factors contribute to the feeling of 'it depends'. Other categories are specific to individual items and are duly noted.

Item 25 (ALTs' Classes more Effective than JTEs' Classes)

Seventeen of the 24 comments for this are of the 'it depends' category. I include only one example because it covers all the points that came up in all the other comments:

> If more people were people with educational experience/ training were hired, if ALTs were given more autonomy and responsibilities, if we were allowed to follow a non-traditional (i.e., non-Japan) ESL curriculum for a minimum of one period per class per week, if our presence in the classroom was consistent, then it might be more effective – as it is, too much is dependent on the vagaries of other teachers, some of whom are very weird people!

The remaining 7 comments indicate that ALTs do not necessarily make classes more effective, but they do make them more enjoyable. One example is:

> Japanese students need to pass exams. The JTEs are more effective at ensuring that. We helped make lessons interesting.

Item 31 (Team Teaching Effective)

With respect to item 31, 25 of the 28 comments fit into the 'it depends' category. This time, however, agreement was dependent on the rapport between the ALT and the JTE, as the following example comments show:

> If the relationship between the two teachers is a good one.
>
> It depends on the JTE and ALT's cooperation.

The remaining three participants who commented indicated that they were too underused in their jobs to consider team teaching as an effective method.

Item 29 (NSs Needed in English Classes)

For item 29, 10 of the 17 comments were of the 'it depends' category. In this case, agreement was dependent on the effective use of ALTs as well as the type of class. An example is:

> ALTs are helpful in oral communication classes.

The remainder of the comments fall on two opposite ends of the spectrum: strong agreement (5 comments), and strong disagreement (2 comments). Example comments of the former type include:

> Native English speakers help students adjust to natural speed, natural pauses, etc.
>
> Until JTEs' English pronunciation skills are improved from the sometimes very poor levels that I encountered, it is a necessity so that students can hear English spoken correctly.

Comments of the latter type are:

> Not always as non-native speakers are also effective teachers and help reflect the dynamism of the English language.
>
> JTEs can teach enough for their students to be able to communicate.

Item 18 (ALTs' Role Significant)

Half of the 14 comments for item 18 point to the role that examinations play in English education in Japan, as in the following:

> ALTs are sidelined by the need to pass tests and do not have a great deal of influence over how English is taught.

Four of the comments fall into the 'it depends' category. An example is:

> It depends on the level of freedom ALTs have to teach and plan lessons.

The remaining three comments indicate that the participants feel that their main role is in internationalisation, rather than English teaching. Examples are:

> I think we play a significant role in internationalisation but through my experience, I don't think I had a great effect on a great number of students' education.
>
> Especially in rural areas. It is essential for them to progress on and internationally. Without ALTs, many people would have no idea about the outside world.

Item 22 (ALTs Utilized to Full Potential)

Of the 25 comments for item 22, 23 fall into the 'it depends' category. Most comments are of the following type: I was, but many weren't. In the other two comments, the participants indicated that they were underused or were expected to

play the role of a 'human tape recorder'. In a final comment, a participant points to the mixed messages that ALTs receive regarding what is valued in English teaching in Japan, which made it difficult for her to mark agreement or disagreement with many of the survey items. She writes:

> As ALTs, we were told that Oral Communication was important for the Japan students to learn but the evidence pointed toward a preference for the grammar translation method of teaching.

Discussion of Objective Four: Effectiveness of ALTs

The items related to this objective connect specifically to the participants' personal experiences teaching in Japan, rather than attitudes, which could account for the high number of comments (90% of participants included comments).

Items 25 (ALTs' Classes More Effective than JTEs Classes) and 31(Team Teaching Effective)

Although there is general agreement that ALTs make classes more effective than classes without ALTs (item 25, 82.5%), the comments show that there are many extraneous factors that contribute to the effectiveness of their classes, such as ALTs' sense of autonomy and the consistency with which they visit classes. In one third of the comments, participants clarify that they do not necessarily make classes more effective, but they do make them more interesting or fun. Tajino and Walker (1998) and Sakui (2004) found that Japanese students perceive ALTs' classes as fun and do not consider the activities to be of real educational relevance. Thus, as with the preference for Inner Circle norms, a two-pronged effect is revealed here as well.

Although ALTs team-teach all of their classes with JTEs, there is an ambiguous response regarding the effectiveness of team teaching as a method (item 31, 73.3% agree). The comments indicate that the effectiveness of team teaching depends on the rapport between the ALT and the JTE. The fact that personal relationships determine the outcome of teaching confirms McConnell's (2000) claim that team teaching is not a pedagogically-based method. The Ministry of Education has reported that team teaching depends on the cooperation of the ALT and the JTE

(MEXT, 1994, cited in Tajino & Walker, 1998). One of the final comments further supports the lack of pedagogical foundations, as in:

> Team teaching could be an excellent way to teach foreign languages in Japan if the ALT and JTEs were trained to work together.

Overall, the participants demonstrate that there are many factors that inhibit the effectiveness of their classes, but seem to agree that they make classes interesting. The main limiting factors are the relationships they develop with JTEs and the degree of autonomy they feel in their jobs.

Items 29 (NSs Needed in English Classes) and 18 (ALTs' Role Significant)

The responses to items 29 and 18 reveal an ambiguity. On the one hand, the participants generally agree that native English speakers are needed in English classes in Japan (item 29, 83.3%). The comments represent a range of attitudes, from very strong agreement that NSs of English are needed in order to introduce students to 'natural' and 'correct' English, to specifying that they are needed in communication classes only, to feeling that JTEs are enough for Japan students. However, the overall attitude is that ALTs bring something to communication classes that is beneficial to students and that the JTEs cannot offer.

On the other hand, the participants do not feel very strongly that ALTs play a significant role in English education (item 18, 65.84%). This raises an important question: If ALTs do not play a significant role in English education, what are they needed for? Some of the comments for item 18 offer an answer to this ambiguity. It seems that ALTs play a role in internationalisation, rather than English teaching. One participant adds support to this idea in his final comment:

> I was a 'one-shot' who went to rural towns… I often viewed my role as being a Canadian cultural ambassador rather than a teacher.

The comments for item 18 indicate that the significance of the ALTs' role in English education is put into question by the pressures of the examination system, which influences their autonomy.

Overall, ALTs feel ambiguous about being needed as English teachers, a feeling that is limited by the pressure that exams put on Japan students and teachers. The comments suggest that they are needed to 'internationalise' Japan.

Item 22 (ALTs Utilized to Full Potential)

There is very low agreement with item 22 (16.67% agree). What is interesting about the response to this item is that, despite the low agreement, almost all of the comments show that the respondents had experiences that differed from those of their ALT friends. The final comment shows how the overwhelming influence of the examination system forces teachers to focus on grammar-translation, rather than on oral communication, as mandated in the Course of Study.

Summary of Objective Four: Effectiveness of ALTs

Attempting to generalise about these five items seemed to be difficult for the participants, since there were so many comments explaining or justifying their choices on the Likert scale. Overall, however, it appears that their role in English education is superficial, but that their classes are more interesting and fun than those without ALTs. This finding is not surprising, since there are several studies (e.g., Sakui, 2004; Tajino & Walker, 1998) that have shown that this is how Japanese students perceive their team-taught classes. Furthermore, some participants indicate that their role is in internationalisation rather than in English education.

It is clear that the ALTs' role is influenced by the high-stakes testing system in Japan. Guest (2000) reported on the impact of the system on Japanese teachers of English (JTEs), who have complained about the incongruence between aiming for the Course of Study goals while also preparing students for entrance exams. The need to prepare students for taking tests limits teachers' flexibility in following the Course of Study goals to foster students' communicative abilities. Unfortunately, a more in-depth discussion of the testing system in Japan and the 'washback effect' is beyond the scope of this study (but see, for example, Alderson & Wall, 1993; Cheng et al., 2004; Qi, 2005; Wall, 2005).

ALTs' extreme sense of being underutilised seems to be connected to the feeling that their classes are not considered a part of the 'real' curriculum of preparing students for tests. In fact, this feeling is most likely connected to the reality describe by Guest (2000) and Sakui (2004) about ALTs' classes often being cancelled as test dates are approaching so that students can focus on what is 'really' important.

Objective Five: ALTs' Control over Content of Lessons

Presentation of Likert Scale Items and Comments: Content of Lessons

The fifth objective is to investigate the content of ALTs' lessons and to what extent they had control over the content. The corresponding items on the survey are: 30, 11, 13, 12, and 15. The results of these items are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Survey Answers Related to ALTs' Control over Content of Lessons

Question	Disagree	Agree	No Answer
30: ALTs' main role is to act as a reference point about Western culture.	42.5 (%)	55.8 (%)	1.67 (%)
11: I planned the content of my lessons.	26.7 (%)	72.5 (%)	0.83 (%)
13: I was asked by the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) to teach my students native English speaker norms (i.e. American or British English).	21.66 (%)	76.67 (%)	1.67 (%)
12: I wanted to teach my students about many different cultures.	6.66 (%)	93.3 (%)	0
15: I taught my students about different cultures.	10.83 (%)	89.17 (%)	0

Seventy-four percent of the participants included comments for these items. These are presented below.

Item 30 (ALTs as Reference Points about Western Culture)

With respect to item 30, 15 of the 16 comments fall into an 'it depends' category. Example comments include:

> ALTs do this, but their main role is to make English interesting and to motivate students.
>
> It depends on the JTE you are working with.

The other comment stood alone, as in:

> Unfortunately, yes. I think this contributes to exoticisation and xenophobia. We need to just be 'people', not symbols of a monolithic idea of western culture.

Item 11 (ALTs Planned Content of Lessons)

The comments related to item 11 are also in the 'it depends' category, as the following example comments show:

> This depended on the school.
>
> Most of my work was at elementary school, where I prepared everything. I did almost no planning for classes at my junior high school.

Item 13 (Asked to Teach NS Norms)

The comments for item 13 fall into three categories, although in many of the comments (14 out of 22) the participants specify that they were asked to teach American English, as in the following:

> I had to speak using American pronunciation even though I am British.
>
> Especially American spelling and pronunciation.

Other comments were in the 'it depends' category (6 comments), while 2 people mentioned that they could only use their own English. Example comments for the former include:

> It depended very much on the school; I visited over 30 schools each year, and interacted with dozens of different teachers.

Items 12 (Wanted to Teach about Different Cultures) and 15 (Taught about Different Cultures)

For items 12 and 15, 13 of the 20 participants specified that they marked agreement with these items only if 'different cultures' meant their own cultures. Four of the participants felt that teaching about different cultures would be too difficult or would not be welcomed by the JTEs, as the following examples show:

> It would not have been a realistic aim, partly due to language constraints. Cultural education was only welcomed by maybe 10% of the JTEs and tolerated by another 20%.

Two of the comments show that in elementary school, the ALTs had more freedom to teach about cultures because there was no need to adhere to textbooks, as is the case in junior and senior high schools. One example is:

> I was given freedom to teach about different cultures at elementary school with Halloween parties etc., but not at junior high school.

Discussion of Objective Five: Content of Lessons

The items related to this objective received comments from almost three quarters of the participants. As with the fourth objective, these topics relate more specifically to the ALTs' experiences than the items in the first three objectives, which could explain the higher number of responses.

Item 30 (ALTs as Reference Points about Western Culture)

The very low agreement with this item (55.8%) contradicts several studies (e.g., Brown & Wada, 1998; Fujita, 2006; Miyagi, 2006; Tajino & Walker, 1998) that report that JTEs consider the main role of ALTs to be cultural informants. The low agreement with this item suggests that there could be a disparity between what ALTs feel their role is or should be and what JTEs perceive it to be.

The comments show that the main role of ALTs is to make English interesting and to motivate students. An implication of this line of thought is that ALTs feel that their English classes are interesting, while those of the JTEs are not.

One person pointed out problems with stereotyping ALTs as symbols of a monolithic western culture.

Item 11 (ALTs Planned Content of Lessons)

Roughly three quarters of the participants felt that they planned their own lessons, although comments reveal that there is a lot of variation with respect to ALT autonomy, depending on the school context as well as the JTEs they team-teach with. Others commented that even though they planned lessons, they still had to get the lessons approved by JTEs. With respect to planning lessons, it seems that negotiation is the norm, not autonomy.

Item 13 (Asked to Teach NS Norms)

Just over three quarters of the participants agreed that they were asked at some point to teach NS norms. The comments are revealing as they specified that it was American English norms that they were asked to follow. One Australian commented that "They usually wanted American, but I managed to convince them to let me teach both American and British". This comment shows there was negotiation between the ALT and JTEs with respect to the kind of English that would be used in class. Interestingly, there was no specific mention of Australian English in the comments.

It appears that even when ALTs do plan their own lessons, there is a tremendous amount of negotiation that happens with respect to the content of lessons in terms of cultural content, pronunciation model and vocabulary and spelling choices. Furthermore, many of the ALTs encountered situations where they were asked to conform to norms other than their own, which further supports the idea that negotiation is the norm.

Items 12 (Wanted to Teach about Different Cultures) and 15 (Taught about Different Cultures)

With respect to teaching different cultures, the comments indicate quite clearly that 'different' means the ALTs' own cultures. Although the Ministry of

Education sees the presence of ALTs in classrooms as an opportunity for Japanese teachers and students to learn about different cultures, the data in this study support Honna and Takeshita's (1998) claim that ALTs teach their own cultures and not 'cultures' in general. The picture is complicated by the fact that ALTs did not always have control over planning their own lessons, so the Inner Circle-centeredness could be a reflection of what the JTEs wanted the ALTs to teach about.

Summary of Objective Five: Content of Lessons

The data discussed in the section above show that ALTs had varying degrees of autonomy in terms of lesson planning, but that negotiating with JTEs is commonplace. Autonomy is something that has to be negotiated with each JTE and in each different teaching context (i.e., elementary schools, junior or senior high schools). The responses to these items reveal a two-pronged effect similar to the ones described in the summaries above. That is, ALTs have to negotiate their desires and plans with those of the JTEs. The data point toward Inner Circle-centered cultural content in the lessons, whether these lessons are planned by ALTs or JTEs or both.

That the participants do not see their main role as acting as reference points about western culture seems to present a contradiction, since they marked that they wanted to teach about their own cultures. I feel that the word 'main' in the statement might be responsible for this contradiction.

Summary of Survey Data

In the discussion of the survey data above, several categories emerged. I reiterate them in Table 8.

Table 8

Main Categories from Survey Data

Research Objective	Categories
1: Attitudes towards the global spread of English	1. Laissez Faire (includes: language as resource)
2 / 3: Inner Circle norms vs. EIL	1. IC norms are preferred (varieties can confuse) 2. Not all NSs are good language models 3. Small EIL perspective represented
4: Effectiveness of roles as English teachers	1. Role as English teachers is superficial 2. Role is limited by exams and dependent on rapport with JTEs 3. Role is in internationalisation
5: Control over content of lessons	1. Negotiation, not autonomy 2. Exams influence content of lessons 3. Cultural content is Inner Circle-centered

These are the categories that guided the coding of the interview data, which are presented and discussed in the next chapter.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the quantitative and qualitative data from the first phase of the study. Several themes emerged from the comments and by discussing the relationships between these themes and the Likert item results, I was able to articulate between one and three categories for each research objective. With these categories in mind, I move to the presentation and discussion of the second phase of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEWS

Introduction

As I explained in Chapter Three, the survey results provide the main data set of this study. The interviews were designed to add depth to the interpretation of the survey data; therefore, in this chapter, I present and discuss the interview data according to the categories that emerged from the surveys (see Chapter Four, Table 8). Only the data that are relevant to these categories are included. Since the responses related to the second and third research objectives are complementary, I present and discuss these data together. Under the fourth research objective, there is additional attention given to the interviewees' definitions of internationalisation. As presented in Chapter Three, the interviewees are: Carol (Canadian), Alex (Australian), Liz (British), and Mike (American).

After presenting and discussing the interview data, there is a section in which I triangulate the data from both phases of the study. In the penultimate section, I revisit the research question with a well-rounded answer. There is a brief summary at the end of the chapter.

Objective One: ALTs' Attitudes towards the Global Spread of English

Presentation of Objective One: Global Spread of English

There was only one category that emerged from the survey data with respect to ALTs' attitudes towards the global spread of English. Relevant excerpts are presented below.

Laissez Faire

Carol talks about English education in Japan as something that is in place as a response to outside pressure. Carol says:

> They like the North American accent…it's much more marketable…it's what they expect… Not just Japan, it's Asia… It's as if the Japanese government is trying to become more familiar with the dominant culture. Japan was forced to open up, right?... In the global world today, if you're going to choose a

> language to study, it would have to be English. That would be the most practical. I mean, it's unfortunate if you're interested in other languages, you'd have to or you should put effort into speaking English first…for economic reasons, for your own social capital…if you speak English, your chances in life are increased significantly.

Liz also touches on the topic of external influences, but from the perspective of what it is like to *be* the external influence:

> I guess it's also hard for them to have an invader, making everyone feel a bit awkward because they need explaining to what's going on and they're wearing the wrong thing or something and it's embarrassing, isn't it, if they're not conforming.

Discussion of Objective One: Global Spread of English

Carol remarks that English education in Japan is influenced by external pressures. Her comment is closely in line with what emerged in the survey data in that she sees English, and specifically 'North American English', as a resource that needs to be made available to individuals so that they can improve their chances in life. Liz comments on the tension that her presence created in her school, thus she is aware that the push towards English is accompanied by potential stresses on the people in Japan. Participants may be aware of political and historical reasons for English education in Japan, but except for commenting on tension that they experienced firsthand, there is no mention of the possibility of negative consequences that the push towards English can have on other foreign languages or on minority populations in Japan. Liz and Carol are aware that there are tensions associated with English in Japan, but they do not extend this understanding beyond the context in Japan. Therefore, the laissez faire attitude that was revealed in the survey results might reflect a lack of awareness of the broader issues related to the global spread of English, rather than an informed decision to adhere to this perspective.

Objectives Two and Three: ALTs' Attitudes towards Teaching IC Norms and EIL as a Model for Japanese Students

Presentation of Objectives Two and Three: IC Norms versus EIL

Three categories emerged from the survey data related to these two research objectives, which look at ALTs' attitudes towards teaching Inner Circle cultural and linguistic norms and English as an International Language as a relevant teaching model for Japanese students. I present extracts from the interviews that provide further insight into these categories.

Inner Circle Norms Preferred (Varieties Can Confuse)

Alex shows where his preference lies in the following statement:

> I think it's imperative in language teaching that the teacher be a native speaker of that language being taught.

Liz comments on the importance of having a native speaker in the classroom, as in the following:

> What you [the students] need to do is use me to learn your English and to make English real. And I think that's one of the most important roles of an ALT, that they can actually use English properly.

Liz and Carol show different responses to the students' expectations for American English in their comments on using British or American spelling. Liz says:

> I taught them different spellings. Things like colour and favourite. I taught the English spellings. I do remember a couple of classes where I wrote on the way that American and English spell them and I said either is fine. But I will use these ones.

On the other hand, Carol attempts to avoid variety, as show in the following:

> Just to avoid confusion and not make [learning English] any more difficult than it had to be, if I could catch myself writing the British, I'd probably write it American…. [Alison: So you didn't feel that there was space to include that kind of discussion in your classes?]**…** I think they probably would've said 'ok, yes' and then written down the American way.

Mike shares an anecdote about a Scottish ALT friend of his that indicates that even within Inner Circle English, there are limits to what he considers appropriate for

Japanese students. He says:

> We can't assume that native English is going to be all alike… A very nice fellow from Scotland had a very thick accent to the point that I had a hard time understanding him and he was asked many times to speak more American... But, there's a point where the language is changed enough by the accent that, for practical purposes, it really is a tad difficult to feel that [the students] are actually going to be able to use it. But at the same time, if they're going to pick people that have such a strong dialect that they're going to be told to speak more American, then they shouldn't be brought in the first place to be insulted like that**.** If they want to teach American English then I guess they should just pick more Americans.

Not all NSs are Good Models

Carol and Mike both comment on the difficulty of making generalised statements about NSs as language models for Japanese students. Carol says:

> I guess that would depend on the skill of the native teacher, which a lot of teachers don't have. I can reflect back on my experiences and I had a hard time even just knowing what was difficult grammar in English.

Mike agrees with Carol that just being a NS alone is not enough to make someone a good language model. The excerpt from his interview covers both this category and the next one and is included below.

Small EIL Perspective Represented

Mike almost moves into a position of favouring JTEs over ALTs, as in the following:

> Sometimes I think the Japanese teacher might even be a better model than the ALT. That's an extremely rare case, but I feel like as long as they [JTEs] are understood, it's enough…even if the ALT speaks decent, understandable English, you know with a standard accent, if there is one, then they might not be the best model in other regards.

In the following comment, Alex provides insight into his perception of accents, as in:

> The textbooks leaned [towards American English] to a degree, but I had control of textbooks in my class and I typically picked ones that were accent neutral.

Discussion of Objectives Two and Three: IC Norms versus EIL

The extracts from Alex's and Liz's interviews show a preference for Inner Circle norms. Liz feels that native speakers of English are needed because they speak 'real' English, which is an echo of some of the survey comments. Alex's desire for all teachers to be native speakers of the language being taught shows that he is unaware that the number of non-native speakers of English far outnumbers the native speakers (Graddol, 1997). A policy of the type he suggests would be impossible to implement. These comments further support what was found in the survey data with respect to the manifestation of the native speaker construct.

Carol's and Liz's comments about choosing American or British spelling in class reflect two responses to students' expectations. Carol used spelling that matched what she thought the students would most easily relate to in order not to confuse them. Liz, on the other hand, shows that she resisted the pressure to conform to American spelling norms and explained that both British and American spellings were acceptable. Carol felt that this type of explanation would be futile and did not feel that there was space in her classes for a discussion of variation. Whether ALTs feel that this type of explanation is suitable for their classes or not, the choices between spelling models are limited to Inner Circle varieties of English. This is not surprising since spelling is an area of English that is relatively standardised (McArthur, 2006).

Mike shows that there is a narrow continuum of what he feels is acceptable for Japanese students in the area of pronunciation; it is measured against what he can easily understand. This type of Inner Circle-centered attitude was found in the survey comments as well, when participants use their English to judge the acceptability of the JTEs' pronunciation. Mike suggests that the JET Programme should cater to the expectations of the Japanese teachers and students by hiring more Americans. Thus, like Carol, he does not seem to feel that there is room for discussions of variety or that it could be beneficial for students to have language models that do not all conform to their expectations.

Carol and Mike commented on the difficulty of choosing a language model based solely on native-speakership, which supports what was found in the surveys.

Mike feels that JTEs can be better models, but rarely, which is the only EIL-oriented voice I heard throughout the four interviews. Although Mike questions the notion of a 'standard accent', he also shows that what is acceptable for Japanese students should be an accent that *he* can understand. Alex's statement about 'accent neutral' textbooks supports Matsuda (2003b) and Tomlinson's (2006) claims that the discourse of EIL has not been taken up by lay people. It also lends support to Lippi-Green's (1997) 'myth of non-accent'.

The data from the surveys and interviews confirm a preference for Inner Circle norms and a general lack of awareness of the discourse of EIL. Because the participants lack awareness of such a model, it is unlikely that they would question or challenge the expectations for American English standards in Japan, except in the area of spelling.

Objective Four: ALTs' Attitudes towards Effectiveness of their Roles as English Teachers

Presentation of Objective Four: Effectiveness of ALTs

This was the topic that received the most attention in the interviews, as it did in the survey comments. This is mostly likely due to the nature of this topic; it is something the participants would have spent a lot of time trying to figure out while working in Japan.

Role as English Teachers is Superficial

Carol taught classes in 7 junior high schools and also made visits to elementary schools. About her role as an English teacher, she says:

> I was the visitor because I'd go to one school one week and even though they're all on the same curriculum they'd be in different places in the book…So, I'd have adaptable games that I could use with whatever they were studying… I really couldn't do much else. It's hard to walk into a class that a teacher's been doing and pick up where they left off.

Mike worked in two senior high schools, one high level academic school and one technical high school. He says:

> [Team teaching] reduces the ALT to a tool**,** literally…and the teacher is just kind of using it and that's where we get things like tape recorder and class monkey, you know, just there for entertainment, or there to repeat… The teachers there [at the academic school] were relatively willing to incorporate me into lessons for about 15 minutes and then I would be sent off to another class or back to my desk.

Alex worked in 7 senior high schools, most of which were lower level schools. He makes a comment that is similar to Mike's, as in the following:

> I think the majority of English teaching in Japan is more about English entertainment rather than actual study and learning and teaching…Being a foreigner in a foreign place…that was all that was really needed for a lot of ALTs in their jobs.

Liz taught at one high level academic senior high school. She says:

> I didn't feel part of the school enough because I got the impression that they thought 'well she's only going to be here for one or two years, I don't want to get too attached to her'… I honestly think that my role was to be someone different.

Role is Limited by Exams and Dependent on Rapport with JTEs

Mike and Liz talk about how students' exam preparation influenced ALTs' classes. Although Mike does not say the word 'exams', it is implied in this extract:

> My friend was kind of rejected and kind of pushed aside just because they [the JTEs] didn't think he was going to focus on what they thought was really important.

Liz, on the other hand, talks about her own experience, as in:

> My school was so determined that every student was going to pass their exams that they [the JTEs] were really busy and they didn't have a lot of time to lesson plan in advance.

All of the interviewees commented on how personal relationships more than anything determined how smoothly team teaching classes went. Carol says:

> When you have two teachers, then it's kind of like parenting issues. One teacher says yes, another teacher says no, and you have cultural differences as to how to run a class, so team teaching with two different cultures is really challenging.

Alex has a more condescending view on how rapport with the JTE plays a role in team teaching classes, as in:

> The biggest problem with team teaching is when you've got two teachers who've got different agendas in what they want for the class. And for Japanese teachers it's a little bit difficult because they're limited by their experience, by their education, by their cultural background.

Role is in Internationalisation

The interviews provided a forum in which to expand on the participants' understanding of their role in internationalisation. The interviewees agree that cultural exchange is a large part of their role in the classroom. Alex says:

> I think that probably the greater role is about exposure to different cultures and to western thought…I don't think that satisfaction and fulfillment from my job came from teaching English. It came from interacting with young people, from showing the very sheltered youth of another country a different way of looking at things.

Carol also feels that the students are in need of this type of exchange, as in:

> It's [the role is] interacting with a person of another culture. In a monocultural society, they're deprived of that.

She admits, however, that there are limits to the kind of cultural exchange that is accepted by students:

> You hear of students getting disappointed because their ALT who's Canadian is actually Japanese-Canadian or Chinese-Canadian and then they're not seen as really Canadian.

Liz speaks to this as well:

> Sometimes the teachers or the students would ask me something about American culture and I'd just be like 'I have no idea!' and they'd be like, 'oh, why not?' 'Well because I'm English!' They just assumed that everyone knew about it who spoke English.

When asked to define internationalisation, as it is in the Japanese context, the following comments were given. Carol says:

> There's looking at cultures as maybe, artefacts, like, this is a didgeridoo.

Alex agrees that culture is treated as artefacts, as in:

> We don't have a lot of Indian or South American culture in the JET Programme. Although we do have these events like food festivals and things that we put on, it was put on as a performance rather than interaction.

Also, Liz offers:

> It's about learning about other cultures. It's learning that the Japanese way of life has got things that are much better than other countries and it's got things that are more negative. And people eat different meals and wear different clothes and are different sizes in other countries.

On the other hand, Mike points out that there is more to internationalisation than simply exchanging cultural artefacts, as in:

> [The JET Programme] gives a huge network of people around the world, in English-speaking countries, who have had experience of Japan and can tell about how hospitable Japanese people are, how wonderful it is… Their goal is probably more geared towards long term diplomacy and creating connections rather than education, because really as an educational policy, it is a pitiful failure… I think internationalisation is as simple as just having a foreign face around.

Alex explains that he has a different idea from the Japanese regarding what internationalisation should mean:

> What it means to me is being able to break down your personal social dogma and being able to bring on board thoughts, opinions from different walks of life, different cultures, different countries. In Japan…there are times when I felt that it affirmed their Japaneseness…it was almost a confirmation of the separation between Us and Them.

Near the end of the interviews, I asked the interviewees to comment on the relationship between internationalisation as it is in Japan and the relatively white-Anglo face of the JET Programme. Alex offered:

> What's been termed as internationalization is more about national marginalization…I don't think that ALTs, as such, have a great influence on enhancing this internationalisation**,** because it's not a holistic approach, it isolates it in this one class that happens once a week.

Liz agrees that there is something amiss with the term internationalisation and the image it promotes:

> I remember nearly fainting when I saw a black person in Toyama. I think I'd been there for about twenty months and that was the first time I'd seen anyone who wasn't white in the entire prefecture. So, I agree that it's predominantly white people and predominantly from England or America. And I think we had a few Koreans, but there's still a lot of racism about Koreans. And then it's the same with China… you can say that people are benefiting from internationalisation, but there's still a stigma attached to a lot of races that isn't being addressed.

Discussion of Objective Four: Effectiveness of ALTs

Even though the four interviewees had very diverse teaching situations, they all felt that they had roles that fell outside the 'real' curriculum, which contributes to the superficiality of their role in the classroom. The words they used to describe their roles included *visitor, class monkey, class clown, foreign pet, English entertainer, token foreigner, human-tape-recorder, someone different* and *invader*. The interviews support what was found in the surveys with respect to the ALTs feeling that their role is superfluous within the Japanese education system.

Liz and Mike comment on how the role is limited by the pressures of the examination system, to the point that some ALTs are 'rejected' so that JTEs can prepare their students for exams. Furthermore, the role is almost entirely dependent on the personal relationships the ALTs develop with co-workers. Alex seems to have an air of superiority when he says that JTEs are limited by their experience with team teaching. However, since most JTEs have been team teaching since they began their careers (Brown & Wada, 1998) they would in fact be much more experienced with team teaching than ALTs.

The interviewees agree that their role in the classroom has to do with cultural exchange. Carol and Liz comment on how the students have specific expectations of the type of cultural exchange that should take place. Despite this limit, both Carol and Alex feel that Japanese students are in need of learning about other cultures and that it is ALTs' job to bring that kind of exchange to the students. This contradicts the data from item 30 on the survey (ALTs' main role is to act as a reference point about western culture), which yielded almost equal agreement and disagreement. As I mentioned in the discussion under item 30 in the previous chapter, the word 'main' may have influenced the way participants responded. The interviewees' comments

do, however, support previous studies that have looked at how JTEs and Japanese students interpret the ALTs' role (e.g., Brown & Wada, 1998; Fujita, 2006; Tajino & Walker, 1998).

The interviews provide insight into how internationalisation is interpreted at the local level of the classroom; it is synonymous with cultural exchange. However, Mike shows that internationalisation is not a one-way process that is confined to the classroom; ALTs teach about their cultures, hence the role in cultural exchange, but they also learn about Japanese culture and carry it back to their home countries. At the level of the classroom, internationalisation seems to involve a superficial treatment of culture as artefacts. This type of approach to culture, as Alex points out, reinforces images of Us and Them, which fits in with the discourse of *nihonjinron*. As discussed in Chapter Two, inherent in *nihonjinron* is the idea that foreign objects are 'Japanised' upon entering the country. Liz shows effects of this when she started to view non-white foreigners through Japanese eyes, although she does admit that the current treatment of internationalisation is not holistic.

Alex notes that there is a difference between what he thinks internationalisation should be and how it manifests in Japan. McConnell (2000) finds a similar pattern in his ethnographic study. On the one hand, ALTs tend to think internationalisation means building bridges of mutual understanding between two countries, one of which is a western country. On the other hand, in Japan, it seems to have more to do with confirming differences and contributing to Japanese nationalism. What is revealed in the interviews is that internationalisation in Japan includes both westernization and Japanisation. This finding is in line with Kubota's (1998, 2002) and McVeigh's (2002) analyses of internationalisation as containing these two opposing forces. Mike perceives the long-term diplomatic effect of ALTs returning to their countries with stories about Japan as the more lasting part of the two-way process of 'exchange'. Thus, in the absence of a well-defined role as English teachers, ALTs seem to take up a role in internationalisation. However, the interviews show that since this is equated with a shallow treatment of culture, this role is also superficial. It appears then, that the real impact of ALTs' roles on the

JET Programme manifests outside of Japan, which is what the programme was designed to do.

Objective Five: ALTs' Control over Content of Lessons

Presentation of Objective Five: Content of Lessons

There were three categories that emerged from the survey data with respect to this objective. Relevant extracts from the interviews are included in this section.

Negotiation, not Autonomy

Carol and Alex show that the content of their lessons had to be negotiated with the JTEs, although the leader of the negotiation was different in each case. Carol says:

> I just had to be flexible or wait for the JTEs to tell me what to do because I didn't really know what my teaching style was. It was my first time teaching ESL so I was likely learning a lot from them**.** Seeing all the different styles was really good for me. So basically I just came in and did what they wanted me to do.

On the other hand, Alex demonstrates some resistance to the JTEs' direction and instead negotiated with them so that the lessons would suit him more, as the following comment shows:

> The Japanese teachers I had were trying to push me to focus on grammatical structures. But I found that, considering I was employed as an oral communications assistant, this wasn't particularly useful for our class. It didn't help improve the kids' communicative ability. So, I tried to introduce a lot more verbal interaction, a lot more colloquial language.

Exams Influence Content of Lessons

It is not surprising that the influence of the exam system on teaching in Japan came up in the interviews. Here is one revealing comment. Liz says:

> We had to follow a textbook. We couldn't steer away from whatever topic it was because the idea was that they were going to pass their exam to get into university. It was quite a high level school and that was what we concentrated on. It wasn't English for learning English; it was English for passing exams.

Cultural Content is Inner Circle-centered

Mike spoke about the cultural content of lessons in detail, as shown in the following extract from his interview:

> For most ALTs, when they're given control of a lesson it's usually cultural things because a lot of the teachers who would allow you to plan a lesson basically saw that lesson as filler**.** It's just a way for the kids to relax**.** They just wanted you to go on a bit about a holiday or some sort of tradition and that was about it… In some cases, I think their exposure to the ALT is good because it shows that the foreigners are human, and they're not always just movie stars… At the same time the interaction is relatively shallow in many ways because most ALTs are just not allowed that much exposure and the classes are so rigid that they don't really get to know the students very often.

Discussion of Objective Five: Content of Lessons

Carol's and Alex's comments about the content of their lessons adds depth to the notion that came out of the survey data that negotiation is commonplace, rather than a sense of autonomy. Whether the ALT or the JTE feels in charge of the negotiation does not change the fact that this is a main factor in lesson planning and team teaching.

The influence of exams on the role of ALTs as English teachers has already proved to be limiting. This same factor also limits the content of lessons, as Liz demonstrates. In terms of cultural content of lessons, Mike's response confirms that 'cultural things' means Inner Circle holidays or traditions. Mike is not convinced that the JET Programme provides a forum for an appropriate level of cultural exchange because the role of ALTs is superficial.

Triangulation

In this section, I revisit the categories listed in Table 8 in the previous chapter. Then, I make connections across the objectives in order to increase the validity of the interpretation of the data.

With respect to the first objective, the interviews support the survey data and reveal a laissez faire attitude towards the global spread of English. The interviews add insight into a potential reason for this attitude; it more likely results from a lack

of awareness of issues related to the role of English in the world than an intention to gloss them over.

For the second and third objectives, the interviews also confirm was what found in the surveys. The participants prefer Inner Circle norms, and possibly even a narrow selection of Inner Circle norms, as models for Japanese students. Also, with the exception of explaining the two standard spelling models, the interviewees do not feel that there is space to include discussion of variety in their lessons. However, as with the first objective, it seems that the preference and the lack of discussion of variety could be related to a general lack of awareness of the discourse of EIL as a potential model for Japanese students. The interviews lend support to the finding that not all native speakers are good language models.

With respect to the fourth objective, the interviews confirm my suspicion that the word 'main' may have contributed to such low agreement with item 30 on the survey. The cultural exchange that is inherent in internationalisation seems to be solely an exchange between western and Japanese cultures. It follows, therefore, that a main role of ALTs is to be a reference point for their culture, thus contributing to westernisation. This provides a point of comparison between Japan and the ALTs, which reinforces *nihonjinron*. In all, the role in internationalisation (*kokusaika*) appears to be in line with what the organisers of the JET Programme intended.

The interview data support the categories that relate to the fifth objective. ALTs do not have a great deal of autonomy with respect to planning their lessons, exams impact on their lessons and the content of the lessons is based on western cultures and traditions. For the most part, the interview data support the survey data and in many cases, add greater insight to the interpretation of the categories that came out of the survey comments.

A commonality that runs across the first three objectives is a general lack of awareness of issues related to English language teaching. This contributes to the laissez faire attitude towards the global spread of English and also to the marked preference for teaching a narrow selection of Inner Circle norms over EIL as a model for Japanese students. Instead of demonstrating an informed preference for one model over another, the participants, for the most part, are balancing their perception

of what model is appropriate for students against what they judge as appropriate for themselves and what they sense the students expect from them. Thus, they are aware that there is a preference for American English in Japan, but do not problematise or attempt to expand this preference, except with respect to British versus American spelling conventions.

Although among the entire population of ALTs, there are certainly exceptions to the general rule, the participants in this study are mostly untrained as teachers, unversed in the discourse of EIL, and unaware of the sociolinguistic profile of English in the world. Furthermore, they do not demonstrate a critical understanding of the political and social influences that compromise and produce choices that individuals can make with respect to foreign language learning. On top of that, ALTs have superficial roles as English teachers because their lessons fall outside the 'real' curriculum. The washback effect of the high-stakes exams puts the relevance of what ALTs think they were hired for (to teach oral communication classes with JTEs) into serious question. Also, ALTs are constantly negotiating their roles in an English education system that is Inner Circle-normative. The role is further inhibited by the absence of pedagogical foundations of team teaching, lack of adequate training, and a trivial sense of responsibility. Even their roles in internationalisation (*kokusaika*), as it happens in English classes in Japan, do not appear to require much more than a superficial treatment of their own culture; the 'real' internationalisation effect occurs when ALTs leave Japan. In fact, by taking up this role in internationalisation, ALTs are contributing to the discourses of *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* by providing generalised and idealised points of comparison between their western cultures and Japanese culture. It seems, therefore, that they are supporting the foundational structures of the JET Programme. In this sense, the data of ALTs' perceptions demonstrate that the JET Programme is succeeding very well at achieving its political goal. The data also suggest that the participants in this study do not feel that the JET Programme is coming close to achieving much meaningful impact on English education in Japan.

The complex climate I outlined in the previous paragraph is one that invites a laissez faire attitude with open arms. Given this, it is difficult to expect ALTs to

question the Inner Circle-normative status quo in Japan and their role within it. By making connections across the categories that have emerged from the data, I have moved to a point where I can answer the research question.

Research Question Revisited

The research question is: Do ALTs unknowingly contribute to a system of Inner Circle normativisation in Japan? As explained in Chapter Two, the term 'Inner Circle normativisation' captures three tendencies: 1) preference for Inner Circle norms; 2) internationalisation (*kokusaika*) as containing the opposing forces of westernisation and *nihonjinron*; and 3) Inner Circle-centered ideologies of English, shaped by discourses of *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika*.

In the previous section, I showed that ALTs prefer Inner Circle norms, although the data suggest that this could follow from a lack of awareness of alternative models of language teaching. They also take up a role in a version of internationalisation that resembles the Japanese interpretation of the term. Finally, with the exception of a few, they do not demonstrate any questioning of the Inner Circle-centered ideologies of English. Thus it becomes possible to assume that they contribute to these ideologies. In light of these findings, the answer to the research question is yes, ALTs do unknowingly contribute to a system of Inner Circle normativisation in Japan.

Before pulling this chapter to a close, I would like to emphasise that 'unknowingly' is a key word in this research question. As I mentioned in Chapter Two, it is not my intention to suggest that ALTs go to Japan with ill-intent. Rather, I aimed to identify a problem (I believe I have identified several) and offer some possible solutions that could be addressed in future research. I do this in the next chapter. Furthermore, the data seem to suggest that the 'unknowing' is responsible for many of the attitudes that were revealed in this study.

Summary

In this chapter, I began by presenting and discussing the data from the second phase of the study. This led to an enriched understanding of the categories that

emerged from the first phase of the study. I then included a section on triangulation, which allowed me to revisit the research question with an answer that is based on a well-rounded analysis of the data. In the next chapter, I discuss the findings, implications, and limitations of the study and I make suggestions for future directions.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

In this chapter, I begin by providing a summary of the findings of the study. In the next section, I discuss the implications of these findings. This is followed by a section in which I point out the limitations of the study. This study has raised many questions which are addressed in the section on recommendations for future directions. A brief conclusion is included in the final section of this chapter.

Summary of Findings

This exploratory mixed methods study was designed to investigate ALTs' contributions to systems of Inner Circle normativisation in Japan. Valuable quantitative and qualitative data were generated from surveys and interviews. Since the surveys were intended as the main data set, most of the major findings are based on the surveys. The interviews enabled me to examine overlapping concepts that the two different methodologies elicited (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998) in order to strengthen the inferences of the survey data. The research question of this study is quite complex; however, by breaking it down into five research objectives, several findings emerged. The sum of these findings provides an answer to the research question that does justice to the complexity of the question.

First, the survey results show that the participants in this study demonstrate a laissez faire understanding of the causes and consequences of the global spread of English. Although Jenkins (2006) and Rubdy and Saraceni (2006) argue that these are now the subject of critical discussion in Applied Linguistics, this study reveals that this discussion has not moved far beyond the sphere of applied linguists.

A second finding from the surveys is that the participants feel that Inner Circle linguistic and cultural norms are the most appropriate model for Japanese students. Despite this preference, the participants are hesitant to approve of all native speakers of English as models for Japanese students and list several characteristics that contribute to being a good language model. These characteristics

are in line with Boyle's (1997) and Arva and Medgyes' (2000) descriptions of the strengths and weaknesses of native and non-native English speakers as teachers. This characterisation of native speakers demonstrates that the native speaker construct is alive and well within the context of the JET Programme. Although many scholars (Braine, 1999; Butcher, 2005; Cook, 1999; Davies, 1991; Holliday, 2006; Kramsch, 1997; Maum, 2002; Phillipson, 1992; Rampton, 2005; Widdowson, 1994) argue that it is time to move beyond this construct, until the qualitative differences are no longer perceived at the local level of English language classrooms, it could be unwise to ignore the construct. Thus, this study challenges Paikeday's (1985) and Canagarajah's (2006) statements about the 'death' of the native speaker, at least within this context.

A third major finding from the survey is that the participants are sceptical about the effectiveness of their classes with respect to English education. This offers empirical counter-evidence to the claim made by Koike and Tanaka (1995) about how ALTs increase the effectiveness of English classes. It is important to note that Koike was the Course of Study committee Chair, thus has vested interests in promoting the effectiveness of ALTs in English classes in Japan. The participants feel that their role as English teachers is superficial. Some suggest that they play a role in internationalisation, although it appears that this role is superficial as well. A final finding from the surveys is that although there seems to be ongoing negotiation with JTEs with respect to the content of team taught lessons, the cultural content, no matter who plans the lesson, is Inner Circle-centered.

The interview data showed that a general lack of awareness of the global spread of English and the discourse of EIL contributes to the participants' laissez faire attitude and preference for Inner Circle norms. The interviews added depth to the understanding of ALTs' role in internationalisation. I found that the participants contribute to a version of internationalisation that matches the Japanese government's intentions. This supports the positive answer to the research question and is in line with Lai's (1999) contention that the exchange element of the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme overshadows the teaching portion of the programme.

Triangulation showed that data from the two sources are consistent. By taking up a role in internationalisation, ALTs contribute to the discourses of *kokusaika* and *nihonjinron*. In Chapter Two, I discussed the foundations of the JET Programme so that I could then investigate individual efforts within those foundations. This study reveals that even though there is considerable variation in individual attitudes in the surveys, the overall effect is that the participants do reinforce the systems of Inner Circle- normativisation upon which the JET Programme is founded.

I now discuss the implications of these findings.

Implications

There are several interrelated implications of the results of this study. The JET Programme was chosen as the context for this study; however, the implications of the findings of this study extend far beyond the JET Programme. Similar programmes, whose hiring practices mirror those of the JET Programme, have been initiated by governments in other Asian countries (e.g., Hong Kong's NET (Native English-speaking Teacher) scheme and EPIK (English Programme In Korea)). The major implication of this study, therefore, concerns critically analysing the consequences of the practice of hiring untrained native English speakers as English teachers.

This study offers empirical data on a group of people who are mostly untrained as teachers, but who are given jobs as English teachers. Phillipson (1992) argues that untrained teachers can potentially be a menace. Although I would not like to suggest that ALTs on the JET Programme (and elsewhere) are a menace, this study reveals that their lack of training does have several consequences. First among these consequences is that lack of training leads to negligible roles as English teachers, which invites permissive, laissez faire attitudes towards their roles. Second, lack of training appears to contribute to an unquestioned propagation of Inner Circle-normative ideologies of English. Since this system reinforces the native speaker fallacy, it follows that ALTs play a part in the persistence of this fallacy. As a result, this system is not being challenged, which means that monolithic ideas

about English language and culture continue to proliferate, despite claims of an opposite nature that are made in Applied Linguistics. Furthermore, the stronghold that the native speaker fallacy has in Japan and in Asia effectively discredits the professionalism of English language teaching.

An important implication for the JET Programme and other Asian contexts, therefore, concerns a re-evaluation of assertions made about the 'death' of the native speaker and the commonplace acceptance of critical discussions about the causes and consequences of the global spread of English. Since the propensity for Inner Circle native English speakers does not appear to be dissipating, this study illuminates the importance of initiating a widespread movement in Applied Linguistics research that looks at restructuring language ideologies in entire populations of Inner Circle countries. Finally, this study is a valuable reference for future researchers as it opens a door for the development of a wider base of research into this phenomenon of hiring native English speakers as English teachers primarily on the basis of their native speakership.

In the next section, I discuss the limitations of this study.

Limitations

This study has several limitations that I address here in the hope that they could be improved upon in future studies. First, the population that I drew my sample from is likely not representative of all ALTs. ALTs who have had a negative experience in Japan are less likely to join JET Alumni Associations than those who have had positive experiences. The responses to item 22 (see Chapter Four) regarding the utilisation of ALTs indicates that the sample population is not representative, since in most of the comments respondents indicated that while they felt that they were well-utilised, they knew many ALTs who were not. The non-random sampling, coupled with the bias in the sample population jeopardises the external reliability (generalisability) of the results.

A further limitation with the sample is the unbalanced number of participants from each country. Although the data were analysed as whole group data rather than as individual countries, the large disparity between the number of participants from

the United Kingdom (N= 51) and from New Zealand (N=5) is a limitation. It would have been preferable to have a ratio of participants from each country that more adequately reflected the hiring patterns for ALTs.

Because this study is the first of its kind, there were some unexpected pitfalls in the design of the instruments. Although I piloted the instruments, there are some changes that I found I should have made to the survey after I was well into the data collection. Instead of asking for the participants' age, I should have specified that I was asking for their age while on the JET Programme. This oversight did not become apparent to me until I had already collected over 40 surveys and one respondent made a note of her age while in Japan. My piloting, therefore, was not rigorous enough. Another question that would have been important to include in the bio-data section was whether the participants had obtained a teaching English certificate. The question regarding educational background did not allow for this important information to be included. Another weakness with the survey has already been discussed; the word 'main' in item 30 affected the response. Furthermore, there did not seem to be any distinction made between the words 'varieties' and 'accents', which also affected the data. I should have defined the terms more clearly or used words that would be more uniformly interpreted.

This study has revealed that ALTs are strongly influenced by the expectations of their students; however, this study collected data only from ALTs, which represents another limitation of the study. Before and after studies, as well as the inclusion of JTEs and Japanese students' perspectives would be needed to confirm to what extent the ALTs' attitudes are carried into Japan from their home countries or moulded by the context in Japan.

Future Directions

This study was intended to be exploratory and it has revealed several directions for future research. The study shows that ALTs lack awareness of many issues related to the global spread of English and English language teaching. It also shows that they want training and a specific job description. Following from this, it

would be valuable to work towards developing teaching workshops and materials specifically for team teaching so that the role could be more standardised.

A good first step would be to make a change in the focus of the pre-service and in-service orientation sessions that JET participants attend. There is potential for designing workshops on critical issues in TEFL, which would increase ALTs' awareness and sensitivity to such issues. If ALTs attended such workshops, it is possible that they could more effectively contribute to the goal of fostering students' international communication skills, which would address the goals mandated in the Ministry of Education's Course of Study. With appropriate training, ALTs could introduce their students to different varieties of English and teach English as an international language, rather than English as an Inner Circle language. This could initiate a very positive beginning to challenging monolithic ideas of English language and culture in Japan. It would require the development of EIL teaching materials; therefore, training and materials development are two crucial future directions.

A teaching model that several scholars propose (e.g., Canagarajah, 2006; Matsuda, 2003b; McArthur, 2006; Miyagi, 2006) is to teach English using an exonormative standard, but to stress that this is not the only variety of English. This means that the teachers need to be aware of the sociolinguistic profile of English in the world. Although there is research that is focusing on increasing Japanese English teachers' awareness of this profile, the present study shows that ALTs could also benefit from such awareness raising. Since ALTs' classes fall beyond the regular English teaching curriculum, if there were a curriculum developed specifically for team teaching classes, this would increase the ALTs' sense of purpose in their jobs. A possible curriculum could be called "English for internationalisation". This would draw heavily from source (Japanese) culture rather than from target language culture. McKay (2006) suggests that this approach to teaching levels the advantages traditionally associated with native speaker teachers, which would challenge the native speaker fallacy. A curriculum of this sort would have to include training for both ALTs and JTEs, and it could also represent the beginnings of a team teaching pedagogy for the JET Programme.

With respect to the political goal of the JET Programme, the participants appear to be achieving exactly what they are meant to achieve. That is, their impact is most significant when they return to their home countries. This study emphasises that the educational impact of the JET Programme is still in need of large-scale focused research. It would be significant, for example, to conduct a longitudinal study that further investigates claims of ALTs' effectiveness of English classes in Japan. The present study collected data regarding their attitudes, but it would be of great value to couple this data with actual classroom observation data. I am hopeful that this study will open the doors for further in-depth critical analyses of what ALTs on the JET Programme are teaching.

It became clear during the data analysis that the high-stakes examination system in Japan has widespread effects on anyone who works in the system, including ALTs. A study of ALTs as stakeholders would be a significant contribution to the overall understanding of ALTs' roles in English education in Japan. It could also lead to a more comprehensive understanding of what is possible for ALTs within this exam system.

This study invites future research into Inner Circle native English speakers' ideologies of English. That is, how do they develop their ideas about English and how do these ideas influence their approaches to teaching English? On a more general level, how do Inner Circle native English speakers' ideologies of English influence their interactions with speakers of English whose accents are different than their own? This study has highlighted that there is still a lot of work to be done to broaden generally monolithic attitudes about English language and culture. This could include, for example, studies on attitudes towards different varieties of English and ideas about the appropriateness of these varieties as models for learners of English.

Finally, since the implications of this study range well beyond the context of the JET Programme, it is important that this study or similar studies be replicated in other contexts in order to create a wide base of research in this field.

Conclusion of the Study

This study has investigated ALTs' contributions to systems of Inner Circle-normativisation in Japan. The findings suggest that ALTs would benefit from pre-service and in-service training that would increase their awareness of critical issues related to English language teaching. The study shows that the top level governmental aims of the JET Programme appear to be successfully achieved; however, this success greatly overshadows the educational impact of the programme. This study has offered a first step in shining light on that which is kept in the shadows under the umbrella of apparent success.

Finally, while this study has focused on one particular context, the significance of the implications extends well beyond the JET Programme and Japan into other Asian countries, where the practice of hiring untrained native English speakers continues to be commonplace and is generally left unchallenged.

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Appendix A: Ethics Approval

McGill

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Tel: (514) 398-7039
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Faculty of Education – Review Ethics Board
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 676-0606

Project Title : ***Examining the role of assistant language teachers)ALTs) in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme within the context of*** **nihonjiron** ***and*** **kokusaika*****: Perspectives from ALTs***

Applicant's Name: Alison Crump **Department**: DISE

Status: Master's Student **Supervisor's Name: Carolyn Turner**

Granting Agency and Title (if applicable): n/a

Type of Review: Expedited __✓ Full ____

This project was reviewed by: String/Starke-Meyerring

Approved by
R Bracewell June 20, 2006
Signature/Date
Robert Bracewell, Ph.D.
Chair, Education Ethics Review Board

Approval Period: June 2006 **to** June 2007

All research involving human subjects requires review on an annual basis. An Annual Report/Request for Renewal form should be submitted at least one month before the above expiry date. If a project has been completed or terminated for any reason before the expiry date, a Final Report form must be submitted. Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received. This project was reviewed and approved in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Subjects and with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Human Subjects.

6/19/06

Appendix B: Cover Letter

Department of Integrated Studies in Education
3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, QC H3A 1Y2

September 2006

Dear JETAA Member,

As you know, the JET Programme hires thousands of Assistant Language Teachers every year to teach foreign languages in Japan. I am a former ALT and I am presently conducting a study on ALTs' attitudes towards English teaching. To date, much of the research that has looked at the JET Programme has focused on the perspectives of the Japanese English teachers and students. It is my intention to complement this with the perspectives of the ALTs themselves.

The enclosed survey, which is one phase of my Master's thesis study, is designed to obtain your views on English language teaching, with respect to your experience as an ALT in Japan. This study has been approved by the Ethics Review Board of McGill University's Department of Integrated Studies.

The data collected will be used to develop a profile of ALTs' opinions about teaching English as a foreign language. I have contacted all of the active JETAA Chapters; therefore, your participation is crucial for building a reliable profile.

I would greatly appreciate if you could take about 20 minutes to complete the survey and return it to the email address below, along with the consent form with your name on it. The survey itself is three pages long. Be assured that all survey responses will remain confidential; each survey will be given a code to uphold anonymity.

If you have any questions or comments, or if you are interested in the survey results, please do not hesitate to contact me at the email address below. Should you choose to participate in this study, I would ask that you please reply before October 10th, 2006.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Alison Crump

Email: disemcgill2006@yahoo.ca

Appendix C: Consent Form (Survey)

McGill

Department of Integrated Studies in Education
3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, QC H3A 1Y2

MA Thesis Study on ALTs' Attitudes toward teaching EFL
Consent Form to Participate in Survey (Electronic Version)

With the approval of the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, I am conducting a study on the perspectives of ALTs on their roles as English teachers in Japan. Your participation in the study will provide you with the opportunity to add a much needed voice to the current research on the JET Programme, which tends to focus on the perspectives of Japanese English teachers and students.

This phase of the study will be conducted by survey. You will be asked to fill out a 3 page survey, and it will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The surveys will be given a numerical code to ensure anonymity. All information and data will be kept safely in a locked filing cabinet and only I will have access to them. The results of the project will be used for my MA thesis, research presentations, conferences, and publications. Even if you agree to participate now, please understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you are willing to participate, please complete the attached survey and return it to the email address below, along with a copy of this consent form with your name and the date on it. Please indicate if you would like to be informed of the results of the study. Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions about the study.

Student Researcher: Alison Crump disemcgill2006@yahoo.ca
Supervisors: Dr. Carolyn Turner and Dr. Mela Sarkar

Consent Form

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to participate. I am aware that the results will be used for an MA thesis, research presentations, conferences, and publications. I understand that my identity will remain confidential, and that I can withdraw at any time.

Name: Date:
Email:

I would like to be informed of the results of this survey (indicate with an O).
Yes:
No:

Appendix D: Survey

Title: Perspectives of Assistant Language Teachers

Fall 2006, Alison Crump
McGill University

The purpose of this survey is to understand more about Assistant Language Teachers' (ALT) roles in English education in Japan. Thank you for sharing your perceptions and experience as a former ALT. There are no right or wrong answers, so please indicate your responses as honestly and as accurately as possible. The contents of this form are confidential. I sincerely appreciate your help in filling out this survey.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION: *This information will help me accurately describe the population of former ALTs who participated in the survey. Please underline one answer for each question, where applicable. For questions 2, 5, 7, and 10, please write your answer in the space provided beside the question. Thank you very much!*

1. Is English your first language? YES NO

2. What languages do you speak?

3. How many years were you an ALT? 1 2 3 4+

4. Were you a Junior High School or Senior High School ALT? JHS SHS

5. What languages did you teach on the JET Programme?

6. On average, how many classes did you teach in one week while on the JET Programme?
   5-9 10-14 15-19 20-24 25+

7. What was your major in your BA, B Ed, BSc undergraduate degree?

8. What is your age? 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40+

9. What is your gender? Male Female

10. What is your ethnic background?

II. YOUR EXPERIENCE AS AN ALT: *Following are a number of statements. Please mark one box that best suits your opinion by putting an X in the appropriate box. If you would like to explain your response, please do so in the space below each statement. Thank you very much.*

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11.	I planned the content of my lessons.				
12.	I wanted to teach my students about many different cultures.				

II. YOUR EXPERIENCE AS AN ALT continued: *Please continue, as above. Thank you very much.*

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
13.	I was asked by the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) to teach my students native English speaker norms (i.e. American or British English).				
14.	I wanted to introduce my students to different accents of English.				
15.	I taught my students about different cultures.				

III. ALT PERSPECTIVES: *Following are a number of statements. Please mark <u>one</u> box that best suits your opinion by putting an X in the appropriate box. If you would like to explain your response, please do so in the space below each statement. Thank you very much.*

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
16.	There are countries other than Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States that have a majority of native English speakers.				
17.	Japanese students learn English so they can communicate with other nonnative speakers of English.				

18.	ALTs play a significant role in English education in Japan.				
19.	There are many recognized varieties of English in the world.				
20.	Different varieties of English have a place in English classes in Japan.				
21.	It is important for ALTs to teach their students native English speaker norms (i.e., pronunciation, gestures).				
22.	ALTs are utilized to their full potential.				
23.	Native English speakers are good models of English usage for Japanese students.				
24.	The global spread of English as the language of communication overshadows teaching other foreign languages.				

III. ALT PERSPECTIVES continued: *Please continue, as above. Thank you very much.*

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
25.	ALTs make English classes in Japan more effective than classes without ALTs.				
26.	It is important for Japanese students to learn English as a foreign language.				
27.	It is not important for native speakers of English to learn foreign languages.				
28.	Japanese students learn English so they can communicate with native speakers of English.				

29.	Native English speakers are needed in English classes in Japan.				
30.	ALTs' main role is to act as a reference point about Western culture.				
31.	Team teaching is an effective method of teaching English in Japan.				
32.	I am interested in the different accents of English in my country.				
33.	Japanese English teachers are good models of English usage for Japanese students.				
34.	English gives everyone who speaks it opportunities for success.				
35.	Foreign languages other than English are important for Japanese students to learn.				

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. Please return this in an email, along with one copy of the consent form. If you have any further comments, please include them in the space below.

Appendix E: Survey Mapping

Research Objective	Corresponding statement on survey
(1) Attitudes towards the global spread of English	**24.** The global spread of English as the language of communication overshadows teaching other foreign languages. **34.** English gives everyone who speaks it opportunities for success.
	27. It is not important for native speakers of English to learn foreign languages. **26.** It is important for Japanese students to learn English as a foreign language. **35.** Foreign languages other than English are important for Japanese students to learn.
(2) Attitudes towards teaching Inner circle linguistic and cultural norms	**23.** Native English speakers are good models of English usage for Japanese students. **33.** Japanese English teachers are good models of English usage for Japanese students.
	14. I wanted to introduce my students to different accents of English. **20.** Different varieties of English have a place in English classes in Japan.
	21. It is important for ALTs to teach their students native English speaker norms (i.e., pronunciation, gestures).
(3) Attitudes towards the discourse of English as an international language (EIL) as a model for Japanese students	**16.** There are countries other than Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States that have a majority of native English speakers.
	19. There are many recognized varieties of English in the world. **32.** I am interested in the different accents of English in my country.

	17. Japanese students learn English so they can communicate with other nonnative speakers of English. **28.** Japanese students learn English so they can communicate with native speakers of English.
(4) Attitudes towards the effectiveness of their roles as English teachers in Japan	**25.** ALTs make English classes in Japan more effective than classes without ALTs. **31.** Team teaching is an effective method of teaching English in Japan.
	18. ALTs play a significant role in English education in Japan. **29.** Native English speakers are needed in English classes in Japan.
	22. ALTs are utilized to their full potential.
(5) Involvement in planning the content of their lessons	**30.** ALTs' main role is to act as a reference point about Western culture.
	11. I planned the content of my lessons.
	13. I was asked by the Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) to teach my students native English speaker norms (i.e. American or British English).
	12. I wanted to teach my students about many different cultures. **15.** I taught my students about different cultures.

Appendix F: Call for Volunteers

Calling all former ALTs! Here is a chance for you to participate in an international survey of ALTs perspectives on teaching English in Japan. My name is Alison Crump and I am doing my Masters in Second Language Education at McGill University in Montreal. I am a former ALT myself and lived in lovely Nara-ken for three years. I am looking for volunteers to fill out a short survey that will provide data for one part of my thesis. This survey has been sent to all the JETAA Chapters around the world and your voice is needed too! Please email me at the address below and I will send the survey to you. Thanks in advance for your cooperation!

Email: disemcgill2006@yahoo.ca

Appendix G: Consent Form (Interview)

Department of Integrated Studies in Education
3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, QC H3A 1Y2

MA Thesis Study on ALTs' Attitudes toward teaching EFL
Consent Form to Participate in Interview

With the approval of the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, I am conducting a study on the perspectives of ALTs on their roles as English teachers in Japan. Your participation in the study will provide you with the opportunity to add a much needed voice to the current research on the JET Programme, which tends to focus on the perspectives of Japanese English teachers and students.

This phase of the study involves participating in a 30-40 minute interview that will be audio-taped. The interview transcriptions will be given a numerical code to ensure anonymity. All information and data will be kept safely in a filing cabinet and only I will have access to them. The results of the project will be used for my MA thesis, research presentations, conferences, and publications. Even if you agree to participate now, please understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

If you are willing to participate in this audio-recorded interview session, please write your name and date in the space below and return this document to the email address indicated below. Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions about the study.

Student Researcher: Alison Crump disemcgill2006@yahoo.ca
Supervisors: Dr. Carolyn Turner and Dr. Mela Sarkar

Consent Form

I have read the description of the research project and hereby agree to participate. I am aware that the results will be used for an MA thesis, research presentations, conferences, and publications. I understand that my identity will remain confidential, and that I can withdraw at any time.

Name:

Date:

Appendix H: Interview Protocol

1. Could you tell me why you decided to go on the JET Programme?
2. Did you have any previous teaching experience/ training?
3. Can you describe your teaching situation when you were an ALT?
4. Did you plan your lessons? (In general, what was the content?)
5. What are the benefits and drawbacks of team teaching?
6. In team teaching, there are two language models for the students, the JTE and the ALT. Who is a good language model for Japanese students?
7. Is it important to teach Japanese students NS norms (are NSs needed)?
8. In the surveys, a lot of people replied that they were asked by their JTEs to use American English in their classes (spelling, vocabulary, pronunciation). I have two questions. First, did you experience this? And, what do you think about this seemingly strong preference for American English in Japanese classes?
9. In general, what do you think ALTs role is in English education in Japan? (reference point about western culture?)
10. One of the words we hear a lot in relation to the JET Programme is *internationalization*. What does *internationalization* in the Japanese context mean to you? What do you think about the link between internationalisation and the fact that most of the ALTs come from western English speaking countries and most of them are white people?
11. The JET Programme has been running for 20 years now, so do you have a sense of what it achieves or what it has achieved?
12. Is there anything I didn't ask you that you think is important? Tell me about it.