

“Foreign Language Activities” in Japanese Elementary Schools:
Negotiating Teacher Roles and Identities within a New Language Education Policy

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Dedication

For Kotaro, Hana, and Satoshi

Abstract

In 2008, a new language education policy called “外国語活動/*gaikokugo katsudou* [Foreign Language Activities]” was issued by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science, and Technology (MEXT) in Japan. Effective 2011, foreign language education became mandatory in all Japanese public elementary schools for the first time. With this dramatic shift in policy, all fifth and sixth graders in public elementary schools must be provided with 35-credit-hours of English activity class per year.

This qualitative study documents language policy processes at two elementary schools in Japan—Seto Elementary School¹, a neighborhood school in a local city area with three Japanese homeroom teachers and Satsuki Laboratory School, an elite, laboratory school in a metro area with a novice, Japanese teacher of English. Drawing on the ethnography of language policy that acknowledges the critical roles that local practitioners play at “the epicenter of the dynamic process of language policy making” (García & Menken, 2010, p. 262), this study examines the core of the policy process, pointing to multiple, local, dynamic, *de facto* policies that teachers create in their classrooms. In particular, I examine how local teacher identities and their practices interact in class to form their *de facto* policies. I analyze how the macro-level, socially constructed, imposed, and idealized category of teacher identity in Foreign Language Activities is locally negotiated and reconstructed in teachers’ day-to-day discursive practices.

¹ All names (cities, schools, participants) included in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

My ethnographic and micro-discourse analysis suggests that at Seto Elementary School, the textbook served as a *de facto* policy that shaped the school's curriculum, lessons, and instruction. The teachers' limited conditions including having absolutely no time to plan lessons with their English-speaking teacher and their low English proficiency were critical factors in their views and practices that did not allow them to explore, access, and make use of their expertise. Although my micro-discourse analysis identified evidence of negotiation in their interpretations and practices of the policy, overall, their exercise of agency remained limited within the top-down policy context. In contrast, at Satsuki Laboratory School, the top-down policy was not dominant but selectively and partially implemented in a teacher's classes. She was given time, space, and language competency to fully exercise her agency in negotiating and recreating the policy while exploring and developing her professional identity and expertise as an English teacher.

By providing empirical insight into the dynamic nature of identity construction in interaction, this project reconceptualizes and reconsiders mechanisms of language policy by highlighting the linguistic, cultural, and professional dimensions of local teacher identities in the language policy process.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Background and Rationale

In many schools around the world, early introduction of English as a foreign language has become common practice (McCloskey, Orr, & Dolitsky, 2006). This is particularly true in Asian countries such as China, South Korea, Taiwan, where the push to introduce English in elementary schools resulted in the creation of new national policies from the late 1990s through the early 2000s (e.g., McCloskey, et al., 2006; Nunan, 2003; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Japan has recently taken a similar path. In 2008, a new language education policy called “外国語活動/*gaikokugo katsudou* [Foreign Language Activities]” was issued by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science, and Technology (MEXT) in Japan. Effective 2011, foreign language education became mandatory in all Japanese public elementary schools for the first time. With this dramatic shift in policy, all fifth and sixth graders in public elementary schools must be provided with 35-credit-hours² of English activity class per year.

According to the 2006 governmental annual report, more than 90% of the public elementary schools had already conducted some kind of English activities where Japanese homeroom teachers were the “主たる指導者/*shutaru shidousha* [primary instructor/leader]” more than 90% of the time (MEXT, 2006d), with English-speaking instructors as assistant language teachers (ALT) in their classes more than 60% of the time. The report also reveals that 73.9% of the elementary school students indicated that they “英語活動が好き [like English Activities].” On the surface, this fact suggests that

² 35-credit-hours are equivalent to one 45-minute-class per week throughout a school year.

Japanese elementary school teachers were already successfully conducting English activities in collaboration with or with support from ALT.

However, compared to the optimistic results presented by the MEXT, the reality appears to be more complex. The above governmental survey reports that only 36.6% of the elementary school teachers supported the official implementation of English as a foreign language education in elementary schools (while 70.7% of the parents and 53.4% of the principals supported it), pointing to their insufficient level of English proficiency as one of the major reasons (MEXT, 2006d). Similar findings were also drawn in Butler's (2004) quantitative survey study with Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese elementary school teachers. She reports that 85% of the Japanese teachers (n=112) self-evaluated their proficiency level as insufficient to teach English, particularly in oral production. Despite their lack of confidence of oral English proficiency, the MEXT encourages team-teaching by Japanese homeroom teachers and ALT as a means to promote communicative language teaching. In light of such high expectations from the government due to this federal mandate and taking into account teachers' perceived lack of language proficiency and professional preparation, a simple question rises: How do Japanese elementary school teachers manage to teach Foreign Language Activities?

Empirical studies on team-teaching in secondary schools reveal challenges and difficulties when Japanese teachers of English (JTE) and ALT teach together (Kachi & Lee, 2001; Mahoney, 2004; Miyazato, 2009; Tajino & Tajino, 2000; Tajino & Walker, 1998). For instance, in Kachi and Lee's (2001) study with two Japanese teachers and three ALT from the US in secondary schools, both Japanese teachers and ALT pointed

to Japanese teachers' low English proficiency as one of the major issues that often resulted in Japanese teachers' avoidance of communicating in English with ALT in and outside the classroom. Consequently, as the authors noted, Japanese teachers often used ALT merely as "drillmasters to improve students' pronunciation" (p. 7) and only occasionally let them take over the class to play games. In their study, the ALT explicitly claimed that they wanted to be "more involved in the Japanese educational system and want[ed] to be 'insider teachers' instead of 'visitors from outside'" (p. 11). Miyazato (2009) also echoes Kachi and Lee (2001), arguing that ALT are "politically powerless in the local culture... as assistants" (p. 47). However, because of the more powerful status of the ALT as native speakers of English, Miyazato observed that the ALT in her study were given a central role in classroom. In contrast, JTE were participating in instruction only passively taking "the roles of assisting, translating, disciplining, and engaging in off-stage chores such as writing on the blackboard and distributing handouts while standing to the side" (p. 54). These studies reveal that tensions between JTE and ALT in positioning themselves in class derive from contrasting differences on the linguistic, cultural, and professional backgrounds of the two parties. Many JTE expressed their lack of confidence in speaking English with the ALT in front of their students even though some of them were very highly proficient in oral English. Consequently, they tended to position themselves as NNS professionals inferior to the NS ALT and expressed frustrations as licensed, experienced teachers who share the students' local language (=Japanese) and culture(s). Unlike JTE, Japanese elementary school teachers are not licensed or formally trained to teach language nor do they view themselves as language teachers (Aline & Hosoda, 2006). Despite such

significant differences in their professional identities and credentials, these studies identify the linguistic, cultural, and professional dimensions to understand possible tensions between Japanese elementary school teachers and ALT when they collaboratively teach Foreign Language Activities.

There is very little empirical research that documents actual classroom practices in Foreign Language Activities. The few studies that are available indicate that Japanese elementary school teachers may take a wide range of roles in class. For instance, in their study of classroom interactions at five Japanese elementary schools, Aline and Hosoda (2006) report how Japanese elementary school teachers took different roles including those of “bystander” assisting in class, “translator,” “co-teacher,” or “co-learner” learning English together with students. The authors note, however, that Japanese teachers generally tend to take more peripheral roles when they teach with ALT:

[T]eam teaching in public elementary schools, for the most part, places the ALT at the front of the room managing and instructing the main interaction. This occurs because the HRT [=homeroom teacher] is not an English teacher but an elementary school teacher who teaches most of the other subjects. The HRT, however, does not turn the entire class session over to the visiting teacher, as the HRT is required as a state licensed teacher to remain in the classroom (p. 19).

This indicates that even though Japanese teachers are technically not English teachers (because there is no licensure requirement for language teaching in elementary schools), they still need to remain in their classrooms and fulfill their responsibility as a “主たる指導者 /*shutaru shidousha* [primary instructor/leader].” But then, how do Japanese teachers function as primary instructors in Foreign Language Activities more than 90%

of the time (as reported by the MEXT), while allowing ALT to take the central roles? How do they interpret and enact their roles as “主たる指導者 /*shutaru shidousha* [primary instructor/leader]” in their individual classes? More generally, how do Japanese elementary school teachers position themselves or construct their teacher identities by performing multiple roles in class? While Aline and Hosoda, as well as the above studies, offer insight into variations in the roles Japanese teachers may be taking in Foreign Language Activities, little has been explored on processes of identity construction through the multiple roles teachers play in class. Whether, when, and how do Japanese elementary school teachers resist and negotiate the idealized Foreign Language Activities teacher identities (presented by the MEXT) while (re)constructing and (re)creating the local teacher identities fit to their own backgrounds, experiences, and contexts?

The present study examines the construction of Japanese teachers' identities during Foreign Language Activities as a new language policy process. Taking a broad view toward identity as “the social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586; see also Davies & Harre, 2001; Gee, 1999/2005; 2001), I examine how the macro-level, socially constructed, imposed, and idealized category of Foreign Language Activities teacher identity is locally negotiated and reconstructed in teachers' day-to-day discursive practices. By providing empirical insight into the dynamic nature of identity construction in interaction, this project reconsiders the construct of the language teacher or elementary school teacher identity and further conceptualizes how local identities come into play in this particular policy process of Foreign Language Activities.

Significance of the Study

Studies on Foreign Language Activities are still relatively small in number since the policy was issued only a few years ago. Language policy research in Japan has tended to take a more traditional approach and historically examines policy at the macro level (Butler, 2007b; Butler & Iino, 2005). Several empirical studies have focused on Japanese teachers (Butler, 2004; Hosoda & Aline, 2010), on both Japanese teachers and English-speaking assistant language teachers (Aline & Hosoda, 2006), or on elementary school students (Butler, 2007a). While language policy research on Foreign Language Activities mostly lacks any empirical investigation of local classroom practices, empirical studies of local practices tend to overlook macro-level policy perspectives and/or interactions between macro and local policy levels. Given that local practices almost never conform to idealized top-down policy (Freeman, 1996; Johnson, 2009), it is critical to closely examine local situations for a fuller understanding of the language policy and planning processes. Conversely, situating local practices in the larger, macro-level policy context offers a better explanation of why and how local practitioners do what they do.

As one aspect of the gap between top-down policy and local realities this study examines local Japanese elementary school teacher identities in Foreign Language Activities relative to the idealized Japanese teacher model suggested by the MEXT. I illustrate the local understanding and practice of the policy from the teachers' perspectives and illuminate the ways in which this local reality unfolds in daily foreign language classroom interactions. By incorporating and amplifying teachers' voices within particular contexts in the analysis, I argue that identified gaps ought not be

explained simply as ‘deviant,’ but rather as better alternatives under the given circumstances. These gaps observed as negotiations and resistance can be understood as the enactment of teacher identity and agency in the policy and planning process and reveal factors calling for further improvement of policy implementation and classroom practices. Thus, this study offers an empirically informed in-depth, nuanced analysis of local language policy practices, particularly focusing on the roles and identities Japanese elementary school teachers perform through Foreign Language Activities. More generally, this study theoretically advances the work of ethnography of language policy by explicating how local identities interrelate with local practices and thus locally impact, negotiate, and (re)create “*de facto*” (Shohamy, 2006) language policy.

Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to understand Japan’s new top-down language education policy and planning process at the classroom level, particularly focusing on the local identities and agency teachers practice in classrooms. Two sets of research questions guide this study:

1. How do Japanese elementary school teachers variably explain, interpret and understand the language education policy of Foreign Language Activities in general and their roles within the policy context in particular?
2. How do teachers negotiate and appropriate the policy in their classrooms?
How do teachers position themselves in relation to the new policy? What are the particular roles and identities negotiated, constructed, or performed by the teachers as they engage in these new tasks?

Overview of Study

The present chapter has introduced readers to the topic of this study, reviewing the work on Foreign Language Activities as well as the relevant work in the topic area of foreign language education in Japan. In this study, I examine the construction of four Japanese teachers' identities during Foreign Language Activities at two elementary schools in Japan as a new language policy process.

Chapter 2 offers a historical overview of foreign language education in Japan to contextualize the current situation of Foreign Language Activities. I illustrate how foreign language education in Japan has shifted its orientation between communication and grammar/translation in response to larger sociopolitical situations and discourses thereof at each given time. I explore the trends in foreign language education within the larger historical and sociopolitical contexts to discuss why and how the policy of Foreign Language Activities was a radical shift in the history of foreign language education in Japan. In the last part of the chapter, I present a general overview of the policy for Foreign Language Activities, showcasing the top-down expectations from the MEXT related to what should be taught, how English should be taught, and who should be teaching in Foreign Language Activities.

In Chapter 3, I first present two fields of scholarship—ethnography of language policy and interactional sociolinguistics and discuss how these two approaches guided my study. I then describe my research setting and process. Readers will be introduced to four Japanese elementary school teachers at two schools where my fieldwork took place. I describe the techniques I chose for data collection and analysis and discuss how they guided my study. In the last part of this chapter, I illustrate and discuss how my

positionality as a researcher in the research sites was negotiated and had impact on my data collection process.

Chapter 4 presents one reality of Foreign Language Activities at Seto Elementary School. I document how three Japanese teachers, Ms. Mizuno, Ms. Shiratori, and Mr. Nakano, manage to prepare for lessons and team-teach with their ALT, Andrew, despite their limited conditions. I also share findings from my micro-discourse analysis of their classroom interactions. I demonstrate how the Japanese teachers participated in instruction, actively or passively, taking a range of roles. Finally, I reexamine their classroom practices through the lens of language policy. I consider the impact of the policy on classrooms, illuminating instances of the gaps and negotiations between the top-down and bottom-up forces within the local context of Foreign Language Activities. I particularly demonstrate how the teachers' instructional choices display their professional identities and agency as a form of negotiation/recreation of the policy.

Chapter 5 details another reality of Foreign Language Activities at Satsuki Laboratory School. Following the same structure presented in Chapter 4, I first describe how a novice Japanese teacher of English, Ms. Nozomi, plans and conducts lessons with her ALT, Michael. I then present findings from my micro-discourse analysis of her classroom interactions. I explicate how her English teacher identity is discursively challenged and negotiated between her competent, confident bilingual self and vulnerable, dependent NNS self in classroom interactions. Finally, I draw on ethnography of language policy to understand how Ms. Nozomi's local practices and

identities interrelate to each other, negotiating and shaping a “*de facto* language policy” (Shohamy, 2006).

In the final chapter, I return to the research questions to summarize and synthesize the findings from Chapters 4 and 5. I offer two contrasting stories of the two elementary schools. I then share a set of implications and limitations of this study. Finally, I close this chapter by addressing the contributions of this work to the field of language policy and planning and by making suggestions for teachers, educators, and researchers. I describe how this dissertation work theoretically, methodologically, and practically enhances our understanding of language policy processes. I demonstrate and argue that teachers work best when they are given time and space to play agentive roles in the policy process.

Chapter Two

The Historical Context

This chapter provides a historical overview of foreign language education in Japan in order to contextualize its current conditions under which the recent policy of Foreign Language Activities is placed. I illustrate how foreign language education in Japan has shifted its orientation between communication and grammar/translation in response to larger sociopolitical situations and discourses thereof at the given times. First, I roughly divided the history into three periods: Early Period (1860 - 1945), Post-war Period (1945 - 1980s), and EFL Education in Elementary Schools (1980s - Present). In each section, I discuss issues relative to curriculum, instruction, teachers and instructional materials (textbooks) in regards to foreign language education, situating them in the macro sociopolitical contexts. In the last section, I describe the recent and current situation in foreign language education in Japanese elementary schools. By considering the trends in foreign language education within the larger historical and sociopolitical contexts, I explore why and how the policy of Foreign Language Activities constitutes itself today and show how Foreign Language Activities was a radical shift in the history of foreign language education in Japan.

Early Period (1860 - 1945): Modernization and Nationalism

After ending more than 200 years of its international isolation policy in the late 1850s, Japan underwent a radical westernization so that the country could remain independent as a modern state. In order to acquire and adopt knowledge from the West, foreign languages such as English, French, and German needed to be acquired (Butler, 2007; Sasaki, 2008). In the 1860s, a number of American Christian missionaries came

to Japan and taught English at private and governmental institutions (Ike, 1995).

Hundreds of young students were also sent to study abroad (Ike, 1995; Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Ministry of Education, 1980).

The establishment of a nationwide, ‘modern’ education system was also part of this westernization process. Higher education institutions were first established to function as both research and administrative institutions. Instructors and professors were invited from the United States and Europe to teach in these institutions and the medium of instruction in higher education at this time was English (Butler & Iino, 2005; Ministry of Education, 1980; Sasaki, 2008). After studying different education systems in Europe and the United States, the Ministry of Education was established in 1872 and took over the administrative responsibilities that the previous institutions had held. Those institutions were then reorganized as “the University” and remained as a solely research institution (Ministry of Education, 1980). At the same time, elementary and middle schools were also organized (Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Ministry of Education, 1980; MEXT, 2000; Sasaki, 2008). In regards to curricula and instruction, particularly at the elementary level, the US model was chosen and implemented (Ministry of Education, 1980; MEXT, 2000). Under the supervision of an American educator, Marion M. Scott (1843-1922), textbooks and teaching materials were imported from the United States and were translated into Japanese for teachers and students to use, and teacher education institutions were also established (Ministry of Education, 1980). Thus, the modernization of the education system in Japan began by importing the American education system at the time and, for this, the need for the knowledge of and proficiency in the English language was urgent and crucial.

Foreign language education was formally introduced in secondary education in the 1870s – for boys’ middle schools in 1870 and for girls’ middle schools in 1872 (Koike & Tanaka, 1995). Male students had six to seven hours per week and female students three hours per week of foreign language classes (Ministry of Education, 1980). Many middle schools, particularly boys’ middle schools, were designed to prepare students for higher education and few students could attend middle school from elementary school. For instance, while approximately two million students were enrolled in elementary school in the 1870s, only 7,786 students were enrolled in middle school in 1879 (Ministry of Education, 1980). In the early 1900s, the modern education system became more established and secondary education spread rapidly throughout the country (Ministry of Education, 1980; 120). According to the Ministry of Education (1980), the number of middle school students increased from 16,189 in 1892 to 122,345 in 1910. The increase in the number of middle school students was even more rapid in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1937, 364,486 students were enrolled and the number increased to 607,114 students in 1943. Consequently, foreign language education became available to the wider population.

From the very beginning, English was the most taught and learned foreign language in the education system in Japan. Since the medium of instruction in higher education at this time was mostly English, the knowledge of the language was a crucial part of the college entrance requirements (Ministry of Education, 1980; MEXT, 2000; Sasaki, 2008). In the middle school curriculum, therefore, English was designated as “the” foreign language in the 1879. Then, in 1886 when two foreign languages were required, English was selected as the first foreign language (Ministry of Education,

1980). In classrooms, Japanese teachers of English focused exclusively on grammar and reading comprehension of literary texts such as Carlyle, Emerson, Lamb, Hawthorne, Irving, Dickens, and Shakespeare to prepare students for college entrance examinations at the time (Hino, 1988; Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Sasaki, 2008). Interestingly, the distinction between these two orientations was already recognized as early as 1870, at least in higher education. The grammar-translation approach by Japanese teachers was considered as “*hensoku* [irregular]” whereas the communicative approach by foreign teachers was considered as “*seisoku* [regular]” (Butler & Iino, 2005; Ministry of Education, 1980). However, many students returned from abroad in the late 1880s and began to take over foreign instructors’ positions (Ministry of Education, 1980; MEXT, 2000). Because these Japanese instructors taught in Japanese, the medium of instruction in higher education became mostly Japanese (Ministry of Education, 1980; MEXT, 2000). Consequently, the opportunities to learn English in the “*seisoku* [regular],” communicative way from foreign instructors gradually disappeared and the “*hensoku* [irregular],” grammar-translation approach by Japanese instructors began to dominate foreign language education in Japan (Butler, 2007; Butler & Iino, 2005).

From the 1890s until 1945, Japan outwardly pursued an imperialist policy that resulted in a number of wars. During this period, nationalism began to be explicitly emphasized within the country with education fully used to promote this movement (Butler & Iino, 2005; Butler, 2007). In the 1930s and 1940s, the national curriculum was revised so it would function as “a more effective vehicle for training Imperial Subjects” (Ministry of Education, 1980). For instance, the revision included a new

subject called “*kokuminka* [national studies]” that encompassed the moral education, language, history, and geography of Japan (Ministry of Education, 1980). In addition, more vocational and technical subjects were added to train students to work in the war production process (Ministry of Education, 1980). During this period, in foreign language education, the urgent need of learning English for the westernization of the country was no longer present. Textbooks were revised to change their contents. For instance, all the Anglo-American characters were replaced with Japanese, and the ancient anthology of Japan and poems by the Japanese emperor were included instead of Anglo-American literary texts (Hino, 1988). Overall, texts reflected the imperialistic views at the time. Hino (1988) quotes a passage from a textbook published in 1944:

When we get up, it is still dark. We stand in a line, turn towards the Imperial Palace and bow. We thank our soldiers and sailors for their brave deeds. We pray for our success in war (Kawazumi, 1978, cited in Hino, 1988).

This imperialistic view was especially prominent in the 1940s; because English was “the language of the enemies,” English education was actively discouraged and instead, Chinese and Malay were added to the middle school curriculum in 1931 and 1943 respectively (Butler & Iino, 2005). In response to such nationalist and imperialist movements, foreign language education was less promoted and less focused on English than was the case in the modernization period of the late 1800s, while neighboring Asian languages were added in the national curriculum.

In summary, early foreign language education in Japan served different political purposes, took different pedagogical approaches, and served different student

populations depending on the macro sociopolitical conditions at the given time.

Foreign language education in the earliest period certainly had an urgent practical purpose (Butler & Iino, 2005; Koike & Tanaka, 1995), that is, to acquire knowledge from the west. In particular, because the medium of instruction in higher education was mostly English, students had the opportunity to develop not only their reading comprehension skills in English (or in other foreign languages), but also English proficiency. Due to this high demand for English proficiency, English was included in the entrance examination for higher education from the earliest period and continues to the present to play a major role as “*juken eigo* [English for entrance exams]” in secondary foreign language education today (Sasaki, 2008). However, the shift in political trend from modernization/westernization to nationalism/imperialism has impacted foreign language education in significant ways (Butler, 2007b; Butler & Iino, 2005; Ike, 1995; Koike & Tanaka, 1995). A new focus has emerged, primarily on Japan, Japanese language, and Japanese culture in contrast to the previous focus on the west. Thus, foreign language education has lost its practical purposes and English has been taught only in the “*hensoku* [irregular]” way for entrance examinations with focus only on grammar and translation. In addition, foreign language education in this earliest period was not accessible to everyone. As discussed above, only a limited number of students attended middle schools and learned English through the grammar-translation approach (Koike & Tanaka, 1995). The number of the elite who could attend the only university in which foreign instructors taught classes in English was even smaller. Rather ironically, foreign language education was made accessible to a larger population when secondary education spread rapidly throughout the country in the

1930s and 40s, even as such education was less-promoted and less-encouraged due to the nationalism and patriotism policies.

Post-war Period (1945 - 1980s): Democratization, *Kokusaika* [Internationalization], and *Nihonjinron* [Theories of the Japanese]

After World War II, Japan was occupied by the US military from 1945 until 1952 and underwent a radical democratization process. The restructuring of the education system was an urgent task in order to abolish “militaristic and ultranationalistic influences” (Ministry of Education, 1980) and establish a liberal democratic education system in the country. In 1946, a US mission, consisting of 27 specialists in education, was sent to Japan. They investigated the situation of the education in Japan at the time and submitted a report called “the Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan” (Ministry of Education, 1980). In 1947, completion of six years of elementary school and three years of middle school was made compulsory with English included as an elective in the middle school curriculum (Butler, 2007; Butler & Iino, 2005; Ike, 1995; Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Ministry of Education, 1980; Sasaki, 2008). Although English remained as an elective until 1998, it was made available to almost every student.

In their report submitted in 1946, the US Mission repeatedly advocated the decentralization of the education system in Japan, because of the Ministry of Education’s absolute control over school approval, teacher licensure, and textbook selection and curricula (Ministry of Education, 1980). Despite such suggestions made by the US Mission, the education system in Japan remained centralized during and particularly after the Occupation. This centralization persisted also in the foreign

language education curriculum. The foreign language section in the Course of Study was first issued in 1947 by the Ministry of Education and subsequently revised in 1951, 1956 and 1958. The 1947 and 1951 versions were issued during the Occupation period and the latter two versions (1956 and 1958) were issued after the Occupation. The first Course of Study, issued in 1947, explicitly emphasized the development of speaking and listening skills over reading and writing skills (The Course of Study Database Committee, n.d.). The 1951 revised 759 page version, written both in Japanese and English (Sasaki, 2008), adhered to this approach but further adopted a holistic approach demonstrating how to effectively incorporate reading and writing into the curriculum. For instance, it promoted the “*tangenhou* [unit-teaching]” (The Course of Study Database Committee, n.d., Course of Study, 1951) and provided a number of exemplary units as well as tools for teachers to develop project-based units on their own. This 1951 revised Course of Study stands out among all other Course of Study revisions in the history for its in-depth theoretical articulations of purposes and meanings of English learning in Japan, step-by-step tools for teachers to explore and develop their own curricula and instructions, and a wide range of thematic and project based units as examples. Overall, both the 1947 and 1951 versions allow local classroom teachers to make adjustments according to their own needs. The 1951 version states:

この学習指導要領を地方の必要に適応させていくのが望ましいのである。
それでこの学習指導要領に幅と弾力とをもたせるために、全国各地に質問紙を送り、多くの教師のもっている考えや示唆や問題を取り入れることに努めた。さらに、この学習指導要領は、どんな意味においても天下

りと考えられてはその趣旨に反するのであって、これをそのままの姿で用いることは期待もしていないし希望もしていないのである。教師は望ましいと思われるなら、どのようにも活用していただきたい。

[It is desirable that this Course of Study is adapted according to local needs. Therefore, in order to allow range and flexibility in this Course of Study, we sent out questionnaires to teachers across the nation and tried to include ideas, implications, and issues many of them had. Moreover, if this Course of Study is to be thought of as “top-down” in any sense, this would be contrary to its purpose; We do not expect or hope this to be used exactly as is. If the teacher thinks it is desirable, we would like her/him to make use of it in any way deemed appropriate]

(The Course of Study Database Committee, n.d., Course of Study, 1951)

After the Occupation ended, however, foreign language education took a different direction. In 1956, the Course of Study was revised for high school English education and clearly stated that the focus should be placed on reading instead of listening and speaking (The Course of Study Database Committee, n.d.). This shift was further articulated in the 1958 revision in which specific grammatical features and vocabulary were selected and listed. Thus, the Course of Study became what it is today: a grammar-driven syllabus with almost no range or flexibility for teachers to make adjustments for their local contexts. The subsequent revisions made in 1960, 1969, 1970, 1977, and 1978 fundamentally conform to the 1958 version in content and structure. Although the purpose of foreign language education has since been reconceptualized, the top-down nature of the Course of Study is still the dominant practice today.

In the 1960s and 1970s, following radical democratization and economic recovery, Japan further underwent rapid economic growth internationally. This economic growth led Japanese government officials and business leaders to address the need to develop the ability of better communication with speakers of other languages (Kubota, 1998). Known as *kokusaika* [internationalization], it quickly became a popular discourse in the Japanese society in the 1980s (Kubota, 1998; Liddicoat, 2007; Seargeant, 2008; Torikai, 2005). In response to this, even as the Fulbright program continued to send Japanese English teachers to the US beginning in the 1950s (Ike, 1995), the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program (JET) was also launched in 1985 and thousands of recent college graduates from “inner circle countries” (Kachru, 1985; 1986) were hired to work with Japanese teachers as assistant language teachers (ALT) in public schools throughout the country (Koike & Tanaka, 1995; MEXT, 2006b). Today, the JET program plays a major role in providing ALT to public schools across the country.

In contrast to the earlier modernization process in the 1800s, the discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] has always been coupled with a cultural nationalism of *nihonjinron* [theories of the Japanese] (Kubota, 1998; Seargeant, 2008). *Nihonjinron* [theories of the Japanese] proposes a unique but collective and stereotypical Japanese identity that values groupism and homogeneity over the individualism and diversity valued in the west (Befu, 2001; Kubota, 1999). Interestingly, this outward perspective (i.e., internationalization) and inward perspective (i.e., cultural nationalism) were realized in the form of conflicting views in foreign language education. While English language learning, particularly the development of communicative skills, was

encouraged and positively supported, focusing too much on English learning was often negatively considered as a threat that might affect the unique, ‘pure’ Japanese language, the Japanese culture and Japanese identity (Reischauer & Jansen, 1988; Seargent, 2008). Since then, foreign language education in Japan has been challenged to respond to these two opposing perspectives (Butler, 2007b).

As the Course of Study shows, there were several major shifts in focus between communication and grammar-translation in the post-war period. Despite its emphasis on the development of communicative skills in the Course of Study during the Occupation, the shift to grammar-translation made after the Occupation was an explicit change. Later, in the 1980s, the popular discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] once again pushed foreign language education more toward communication. In the 1989 revision, “*kokusai rikai* [international understanding]” was included as part of the aim of the curriculum. In the following Course of Study, revised in 1998, *kokusaika* [internationalization] was more promoted as a comparative view between Japan and the world:

その外国語を日常使用している人々を中心とする世界の人々及び日本人の日常生活，風俗習慣，物語，地理，歴史などに関するもののうちから、生徒の心身の発達段階及び興味・関心に即して適切な題材を変化をもたせて取り上げるものと[する]。

[Teachers should take up a variety of suitable topics in accordance with the level of students' mental and physical development, as well as their interests and concerns, covering topics that relate to the daily lives, manners and customs,

stories, geography, history, etc. of Japanese people and the peoples of the world, focusing on countries that use the foreign languages] (MEXT, 1998).

This section was merely added at the end of the document to suggest that teachers choose appropriate materials. The rest of the syllabus remains grammar-driven with a list of particular grammatical items and vocabulary. Thus, the curriculum outlined in the Course of Study revised in 1998 claims that it aims to develop students' communicative abilities while maintaining the longstanding grammar-driven syllabus introduced in 1958. It also attempts to include both outward and inward perspectives by suggesting that teachers use materials that lead students to compare foreign languages and cultures with the Japanese language and culture(s). However, due to the top-down process of textbook approval and selection (Matsuda, 2002; MEXT, 2010b; Yamada, 2010), there is little agency allowed for individual teachers to "take up a variety of suitable topics" as suggested in the Course of Study.

Several studies have examined ways in which different cultures are represented in textbooks. Hino (1988) illustrated how textbooks expanded their focus from "native English speaking countries" (p. 312) particularly the US in the 1960s to "foreign countries" (p. 312) such as countries in South Asia and Africa, as well as the Japanese language and culture in the 1980s. Matsuda (2002), Yamada (2010), and Yamanaka (2006) conducted quantitative analyses of characters and their cultures represented in recent textbooks. Although the number of countries included in the analyzed textbooks increased in the 1990s and the 2000s compared to the 1980s (Yamada, 2010), both Japan and inner circle countries such as the US, Britain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (from frequently to least frequently) appeared equally with more than 40%

each. The remaining less than 20 % consists of different countries across the world (Yamanaka, 2006). Given such a skewed proportion of represented countries, as demonstrated in Matsuda (2002), Yamada (2010), and Yamanaka (2006), textbooks only reinforce the hegemony of the west and represent Japan as merely trying to become “one of the equal members of the West” (Kubota, 1998, p. 300). Thus, both *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* that “tend to define Japan's position only in relation to the West” (p. 301) are reflected by the unequal distribution of different countries represented in these textbooks.

This, then, raises a question: What did language instruction look like in the midst of these complex shifts and discourses? While I found only few textbook studies that examined cultural aspects of foreign language teaching in Japan (Hino, 1988; Matsuda, 2002; Yamanaka, 2006), a number of other studies have addressed issues of communicative language teaching in foreign language education in Japan. Ike (1995) claims that the oral approach was “the standard method for English language instruction” (p. 9) and “the current trend of English education in Japan is toward greater focus on communication” (p. 9). Koike and Tanaka (1995) share a similar view. However, they further point out that while the audio-lingual method was popular in junior high schools in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not in senior high school due to the entrance examinations for college that exclusively tested grammar knowledge and translation skills. They note that since the 1987 revision of the Course of Study high school English education has focused more on communication. Yet, other researchers offer a different interpretation. Butler (2007) and Butler and Iino (2005) argue that foreign language education in Japan has been driven by entrance examinations for high

school (since 1956) and college (since the 1800s) and thus, its instruction has consistently been grammar-translation oriented. Sasaki (2008) notes that despite the government's promotion, in reality, oral approaches were not "popular" (p. 68) among teachers due to their own low oral English proficiency. Seargeant (2008) points out that the major discourse on English language education in Japan addressed in the literature as well as in the society in general has long been "the intransigence of the education system and its perceived failure to produce communicative competence in its students" (p. 126). "The intransigence" here is most commonly embodied as entrance examinations (Aspinall, 2006; Honna, 1995; Takanashi, 2004). A number of empirical studies report "the intransigence" with respect to communicative language teaching in foreign language education in Japan (e.g., Gorsuch, 2000; Kikuchi, 2009; Nishino, 2008; O'Donnell, 2005; Sakui, 2004; Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004).

In short, despite its shifts between grammar-translation and communicative approaches at the policy level through the Course of Study, foreign language education during the earlier post-war period was almost always oriented to the grammar-translation approach. In the more recent foreign language education at the secondary level, since the 1980s, the popular discourses of *kokusaika* [internationalization] and *nihojinron* [theories of the Japanese] have twisted and complicated such pendulum-like shifts in terms of aims, contents, and reality. While the Course of Study aims to develop student's communicative proficiency, it also and still maintains its grammar-driven syllabus. In addition, although the Course of Study encourages students to compare their own culture(s) with those of others in the world, it is merely stated as a direction for teachers to select appropriate materials. In fact, textbooks that often drive lesson

contents quantitatively demonstrate the hegemony of the west and Japan's efforts to become an equal member with the west. Furthermore, in reality, due to entrance examinations and teachers' lack of communicative skills as the major factors in creating this twist, classroom instruction also seems to remain grammar-translation oriented.

Before the 1980s, the focus in foreign language education shifted between communication or grammar-translation depending on the outward or inward perspectives in relation to the west. For instance, in the 1800s, when Japan shifted more toward westernization, foreign language education was strongly promoted; when the country shifted more toward nationalism, like during World War II, foreign language education was simply discouraged and promoted less. In particular, when foreign language education was promoted, it often meant hiring more foreign instructors who focused on communication and emphasizing communication in curricula. When it was discouraged, it meant replacing foreign instructors with Japanese instructors who focused on grammar-translation and emphasizing reading and writing more than listening and speaking in curricula. Hence, the shifts between outward and inward perspectives in relation to the west in foreign language education usually corresponded to the focus on communication and or on grammar-translation respectively. However, after the 1980s, with the prevalent discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization] paired with *nihonjinron* [theories of the Japanese], it was simply not an issue of either outward or inward perspective anymore, but one of both outward and inward perspectives. Foreign language education, then, should aim to "harmoniously embrace both Westernization through learning the communication mode of English and the promotion of nationalistic values" (Kubota, 1998, p. 300). The debate over whether English should

be introduced in public elementary education arose under such a climate.

EFL Education in Elementary Schools: Globalization (1980s - Present)

Since the 1980s, in response to the popular discourse of *kokusaika* [internationalization], Japanese government has recognized English as “the common international language” and has promoted the transformation of the existing curricula in English education for the secondary and higher levels into one that focuses mainly on development of students’ communicative skills (MEXT, 2008b). The JET program was launched to invite foreign nationals from English speaking countries to teach English as assistant language teachers (ALT). The Course of Study was revised to include classes that focus on communication. And yet, such efforts were perceived as “failure” in the society (Seargeant, 2008). Many studies reported on teachers’ persistent focus on the grammar-translation approach in their practice due to the entrance examinations (Aspinall, 2006; Honna, 1995; Takanashi, 2004) and/or teachers’ insufficient oral proficiency in English (Nishino & Watanabe, 2008).

The 1980s was also a time when the government implicitly began to consider the implementation of English education at the elementary school level (MEXT, 2008b). The discussion took place more explicitly in the 1990s (MEXT, 2008b). Ministry of Education began to pilot English activities as part of “*kokusai rikai kyouiku* [international understanding education]” (MEXT, 2008b) first at two public schools in 1992, and later at 47 schools - one per prefecture (Butler, 2007b). And in 1998, as the Course of Study was revised, English activities were made available to all public elementary schools (Butler, 2007LP; MEXT, 2008b). Under this revision, MEXT encouraged and allowed public elementary schools to individually implement English

activities in their schools within “*sougoutekina gakushuu no jikan* [the period of Integrated Studies],” in which individual schools could develop their three-hour-per-week curriculum according to their students’ needs (MEXT, 2008b). It was also suggested that foreign language education at the elementary school level should give students opportunities to “become familiar with foreign languages and cultures as part of Education for International Understanding,” but should not be an academic subject because this, then, would require the equal implementation in all schools (MEXT, 1996, 1998). Thus, it was commonly referred to as “English Activities” as opposed to formal English as Foreign Language (EFL) classroom instruction (MEXT, 2008b).

What differs in this revision from the previous Course of Study was that whether, how, and how often English activities should be conducted was dependent on local governments and individual schools. Consequently, as Butler (2007b) and Butler and Iino (2005) report, many local governments and schools independently created their own curricula and sought resources, while others did not. Some schools even offered English programs as an academic subject in contrast to the policy. Furthermore, as part of the nation-wide structural decentralization efforts under the Koizumi administration in the 2000s, more autonomy was given to local governments and schools to conduct innovative foreign language programs that went beyond the policy and regulations. Some schools developed their own textbooks based on their own curricula (Butler, 2007b). In Ohta city, Gunma, there is an English - Japanese immersion school (Butler, 2007b; Butler & Iino, 2005). Butler pointed out that allowing local governments and schools to have such autonomy was “different from what has traditionally been observed” (p. 144). At the same time, she also argued that such diversity might create

“disparity in access to foreign language education by region and social class, ultimately leading to an achievement gap” (Butler 2007b, p. 143).

In 2002, MEXT issued a policy called “Action Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’” (MEXT, 2003), as “a comprehensive and concrete plan for the purpose of drastically reforming English education in our country.” Committed to putting all the stated plans into action by 2008, it targets “all Japanese nationals” and aims to develop their English abilities with explicitly stated goals and plans. In particular, for junior high/high school students, as well as English teachers, the proficiency levels are specified by setting certain scores as goals in standardized tests such as STEP, TOEFL, and TOEIC. Some of the concrete plans the government proposed include sending 10,000 high school students abroad every year, publishing handbooks for professional development, widely funding, promoting, and disseminating innovative programs initiated by local governments, and reconsidering the entrance examination system. Interestingly, although the Action Plan was developed within the discussion of foreign language education in Japan, it also includes a plan to “improve Japanese abilities.” The rationale found in this section is what we may commonly hear in the field of bilingual education:

The acquisition of English is greatly related to students’ abilities in their mother tongue, Japanese. It is necessary to foster in students the ability to express appropriately and understand accurately the Japanese language and to enhance communication abilities in Japanese in order to cultivate communication abilities in English (Section 6).

However, the plan does not envision bilingual education. Instead, it turns to the

nihonjinron [the theory of the Japanese] perspective and encourages schools “to enhance students’ thinking ability, foster students’ strength of expression and sense of language, deepen their interest in the Japanese language, and nurture an attitude of respect for the Japanese language” (Section 6). In the case of foreign language education in elementary schools, many disagreed with officially introducing English education in elementary schools. The 2006 annual report reveals that in the survey only 36.6 % of the elementary school teachers agreed with making English activities compulsory in elementary schools while 70.7% of the parents welcomed it (MEXT, 2006c). Among those opposing teachers and parents, approximately 40% felt English should not be learned at the expense of Japanese language development (MEXT, 2006c). Even more interestingly, in the midst of MEXT’s promotion of English activities in elementary schools, Bunmei Ibuki, the Minister of Education, Culture, Science and Technology (September, 2006–September, 2007) himself expressed reservations about the implementation, arguing that Japanese language arts should be prioritized (MEXT, 2006a). Given such opposition voiced at different levels in the society, this section seems to be intended to provide the rationale and explanation for the earlier introduction of English education.

In a section called “English conversation activities in elementary schools,” the Action Plan further advances the Course of Study that was revised in 1998 and fully implemented in 2002. The section begins with its goal which is to ensure that at least one third of English activities are conducted by foreign teachers or junior high/high school English teachers. It further claims to provide support to improve teachers’ instruction, develop and supplement the teaching force, and support practical research.

Particularly, in order to buttress the teaching force, the government planned to encourage more professional development opportunities for elementary school teachers, send more ALT and junior high school English teachers, and promote utilization of local resources. This was further discussed in the Central Council of Education in 2006 before the official introduction of Foreign Language Activities issued in 2008.

Thus, when foreign language activities were officially included in the new Course of Study in 2008, they had already been put into practice as English activities across the country through the Course of Study revised in 1998 and Action Plan issued in 2002. Despite the strong opposing voices rooted in the nationalistic “*nihonjinron* [the theory of the Japanese]” perspective, at least 97.1% of the public elementary schools in Japan had already conducted English activities (MEXT, 2007b). More ALT had been hired to teach in elementary schools and their number increased from 121 in 2005 to over 1,000 in the following few years (Butler, 2007b; MEXT, 2006b). In 2007, for instance, the average hours offered to sixth graders were 15.9 hours per year, and ALT participated in the instruction 65.4% of the time. At the same time, at the local level, as a result of the autonomy given to local governments and schools, MEXT needed to consider a wide range of different types and qualities of English activities in every aspect—their curricula, instructions, textbooks and materials, teacher development, to name a few. Below I discuss the content of this new policy and the textbook, “*Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook],” developed by the MEXT, as well as the expected teaching force in Foreign Language Activities.

The Course of Study: The Policy. In the new Course of Study revised in 2008, a section called “Foreign Language Activities (Chapter 4)” was newly included

(MEXT, 2008a; Appendix A). This manifests that Foreign Language Activities were officially included in the national curriculum and allocates 35 hours per year (MEXT, 2008b). While English activities had already been allowed in elementary schools (MEXT, 1998), they were conducted within the period for Integrated Studies, and technically, schools could choose not to include any English activities. Now the new Course of Study mandated all public elementary schools to implement Foreign Language Activities on a one hour per week basis beginning in 2011.

An exclusive focus on communication is consistently urged throughout all the sections in the policy document—I. Overall objective, II. Content, III Lesson plan design and handling the content. The overall objective is stated as follows:

To form the foundation of pupils' communication abilities through foreign languages while developing the understanding of languages and cultures through various experiences, fostering a positive attitude toward communication, and familiarizing pupils with the sounds and basic expressions of foreign languages (MEXT, 2008a, Section I)

The following content section (II) further specifies communication as “verbal communication” and suggests that the mode of communication should be limited to listening and speaking in Foreign Language Activities. Further, “examples of communication situations” and “examples of functions of communication” are listed in the lesson plan design and handling the content section (III). In contrast to the junior high/high school curricula, no specific list of vocabulary or grammatical items is provided. This may create space for local governments, schools and teachers to practice their autonomy in curriculum development and lesson planning. It is interesting to note

that Foreign Language Activities aim to develop “pupils’ communication abilities” and “a positive attitude toward communication” “*through* [italics added] foreign languages,” not *in* foreign languages. While MEXT continues to focus on developing students’ communication abilities in foreign language learning, the rhetoric it employs emphasizes the development of communication abilities in general rather than foreign language acquisition per se.

In this document, MEXT explicitly designates English to be selected for Foreign Language Activities. When the word ‘language’ is paired with the word ‘foreign,’ it is always used in the singular. In the content section (II), ‘foreign language’ appears only in the singular. After MEXT clearly states, “In principle English should be selected for foreign language activities” (MEXT, 2008b, Section III--1) in the following lesson plan design and treatment of the contents section (III), all the following instances of ‘foreign language’ are in the singular with the definite article (e.g. “in the foreign language”). After this clear statement, “the foreign language” suddenly becomes only English (Horii, under review).

As I have demonstrated elsewhere (Horii, under review), the MEXT also attempts to incorporate a multilingual and multicultural perspective in the policy. For instance, in addition to changing its name from “English activities” to “Foreign Language Activities,” the overall objective section (I) reveals that Foreign Language Activities encourage multilingualism and multiculturalism by stating “developing the understanding of languages and cultures” (MEXT, 2008b, Section I). By marking the words ‘language’ and ‘culture’ in the plural, the MEXT implies that students should be exposed to multiple languages and cultures. In the Content section (II), “languages and

cultures” are more clearly specified as “the languages and cultures of Japan and foreign countries” (MEXT, 2008b, Section II--2). Here we see how the cultural nationalistic view of *nihonjinron* [theory of the Japanese] feeds into the discourse of multilingualism and multiculturalism. In the following lesson plan design and handling the content section (III), a further specification of “the languages and cultures” takes place. As stated above, in the beginning of this section, the MEXT specifies English as “the foreign language” and thereafter “foreign language” refers to only English. Very interestingly, there is not even one instance in which ‘language and culture’ or ‘foreign language’ are used in the plural in this section, as shown here: “Teachers should enable pupils to deepen their understanding not only of the foreign language and culture, but also of the Japanese language and culture through foreign language activities” (MEXT, 2008b, Section III-2). Certainly, “multilingualism as being synonymous with Japanese–English bilingualism” (Butler & Iino, 2005, pp. 38-39) is fully demonstrated in this policy document.

To sum up, the policy document of the new Course of Study indicates its exclusive focus on developing students’ oral communication abilities. It also reflects the longstanding prevalent ideology of “English as the foreign language” by its use of “foreign language” throughout the text.

Eigo Nooto [English Notebook]: The Textbook. *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] (MEXT, 2008c; 2008d) was developed and published by the MEXT in 2008 when the new Course of Study was issued. As its title reveals, the MEXT does not call it a textbook. According to the definition of textbooks given by the MEXT (2007a), a textbook must be either approved or published by the MEXT and used as a main

teaching/learning material of an academic subject. Although *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] technically does not qualify as a textbook since Foreign Language Activities are not an academic subject, its role as a main instructional material is apparent from its detailed and scripted lesson plans in the teacher's manual (MEXT, 2008e). In this study, I treat *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] as a textbook focusing on its role presented in the teacher's manual. Although it is not mandatory to use *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] in Foreign Language Activities, the latest survey conducted with 123 pilot schools by the MEXT in 2009 reveals that 72.4% of the schools used *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] (MEXT, 2010c). Given that these schools are the schools selected for their innovative project proposals, this rate might be higher if the survey was conducted nationwide.

The textbook consists of two volumes with nine lesson units for each volume. *Eigo Nooto 1* [English Notebook 1] is suggested for use with fifth graders and *Eigo Nooto 2* [English Notebook 2]—for sixth graders. The contents of these textbooks are listed in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1

Eigo Nooto 1 (35 hours/year)

Topics	
Lesson 1	Let's learn "hellos" in the world
Lesson 2	Let's learn gestures
Lesson 3	Play with numbers
Lesson 4	Let's introduce ourselves
Lesson 5	Let's learn costumes of different countries
Lesson 6	Let's learn loan words
Lesson 7	Let's play different quiz games

Lesson 8	Let's make a class schedule
Lesson 9	Let's make a lunch menu

Table 2

Eigo Nooto 2 (35 hours/year)

Topics	
Lesson 1	Let's play with the alphabet
Lesson 2	There are different kinds of letters
Lesson 3	Let's make a calendar
Lesson 4	What can you do?
Lesson 5	Directions
Lesson 6	What country do you want to go?
Lesson 7	Introduce your daily routine
Lesson 8	Let's make an original play
Lesson 9	Future dreams

All pages are filled with color pictures and designed to use in communicative activities. The written texts are kept minimum except for the instructions written in Japanese. According to the teacher's manual, *Eigo Nooto: Shidou shiryō* [English Notebook: Teaching materials], that provides detailed lesson plans for each lesson, all the activities are intended to be oral in nature.

EFL and Elementary Teacher Preparation and Professional Development.

The teaching licensure system in Japan resides within accredited institutions in the associate's, bachelor's, and master's programs and local boards of education at the prefectural level. In order to become licensed in elementary education in Japan, one is required to earn between 37 and 83 credits in a licensure program depending on the type of license and degree s/he is seeking (MEXT, n.d.). After completing a licensure

program, a teaching license is awarded by prefectural boards of education. At present, there is no licensure system for world languages in elementary education in Japan.

According to the new Course of Study, the possible teaching force for Foreign Language Activities encompasses not only Japanese homeroom teachers but also ALT and people in the local community who are “proficient in the foreign language [=English]” (MEXT, 2008a). In other words, one does not have to be licensed in order to teach in Foreign Language Activities; technically, almost anyone can teach Foreign Language Activities as long as s/he is proficient in English. However, the 2007 national survey indicates that Japanese homeroom teachers were the “*shutaru shidousha* [primary instructor/leader]” more than 90% of the hours spent on Foreign Language Activities while ALT participated more than 60% of the time (MEXT, 2007b). People from local communities participated approximately 14% of the time.

The teacher’s manual also encourages team-teaching by Japanese homeroom teachers and ALT as part of communicative language teaching. For instance, each scripted lesson plan in the manuals has a column for Japanese homeroom teachers and a column for ALT suggesting that they teach collaboratively in Foreign Language Activities. In fact, many of these columns are merged giving both teachers specific instructions to initiate and model conversations together. According to the most commonly cited definition of team-teaching in the Japanese context, team-teaching is “a concerted endeavour made jointly by the Japanese teacher of English (JTE) and the assistant English teacher (AET) in an English classroom in which the students, the JTE and the AET are engaged in communicative activities” (Brumby & Wada, 1990, as

cited in Miyazato, 2009 and Tajino & Tajino, 2000). Multiple empirical studies indicate the gap between the idealized model proposed by the MEXT and the complex realities at the classroom level. In the case of Foreign Language Activities, there seem to be possibilities of team-teaching taking place at least quantitatively since Japanese teachers participated in Foreign Language Activities as “主たる指導者/*shutaru shidousha* [primary instructor/leader]” most of the time with ALT participating more than 60% of the time as reported in the 2007 national survey above. However, it is not clear how and to what extent Japanese homeroom teachers were taking the “主たる指導者/*shutaru shidousha* [primary instructor/leader]” role in collaboration with ALT. More in general, what roles and identities do Japanese elementary school teachers take and perform as they deal with their insufficient English proficiency and professional development and still manage to team-teach the foreign language, English, when oral communication is exclusively emphasized in the top-down, national curriculum?

Summary

This chapter has illustrated how foreign language education in Japan has shifted its curricular focus between grammar/translation and communication depending on the outward and/or inward perspectives in relation to the west under the sociopolitical conditions of westernization, democratization, internationalization, and globalization of the country. I have also described how the current “intransigence” and “failure” (Sergeant, 2008, p. 126) with respect to communicative language teaching such as the tradition of grammar/translation driven curricula and instruction and the existence of *juken eigo* [English for entrance examination] are the historically rooted products from the earliest time in the history of foreign language education in Japan. Given such a

long-standing tradition of the grammar-translation focused instruction in Japanese EFL education, the exclusive focus on oral communication in Foreign Language Activities is certainly a radical shift in the history of foreign language education in Japan.

This chapter also provided a general overview of the new foreign language education policy of Foreign Language Activities, showcasing the top-down expectations from the MEXT related to what should be taught, how English should be taught, and who should be teaching in Foreign Language Activities. I showed how the ideology of English as the foreign language is embedded in the policy document. I also pinpointed the possible gap between the idealized teacher model of Foreign Language Activities presented by the MEXT and local realities, which is the major impetus of this study. As I demonstrate later in my analysis (Chapters Four and Five), such top-down expectations toward Japanese teachers were constantly challenged and negotiated in class by Japanese teachers. These teachers took a range of different roles and identities in classroom interactions in order to cope with their low English proficiency and lack of professional development opportunities.

Chapter Three

Framing and Contextualizing the Study

The history of EFL in Japan points to the long-standing tradition of grammar/translation driven curricula and instruction. Considering such a prevalent tradition, the exclusive focus on oral communication in Foreign Language Activities was a radical shift in curriculum and is a challenge in instruction. In order to better understand the policy process of Foreign Language Activities, it is essential to examine local practices in relation to the top-down policy. In this qualitative study, I draw from two approaches, ethnography of language policy (e.g., Hornberger & Johnson, 2010) and interactional sociolinguistics (e.g., Rampton, 2006), to explore local policy practices relative to the top-down, ideal policy and further explicate how such local reality is discursively constructed by the local agents in everyday interactions. Ethnography of language policy allows us to view language policy as multi-layered processes with the emphasis on the local agents and practices. International sociolinguistics complements this ethnographic approach by providing a means to illuminate the ways in which local reality discursively unfolds in daily foreign language classroom interactions. The combination of the two approaches, thus, provides a fuller picture of the language policy process in a particular context.

In the first part of this chapter, I present an overview of how the field of language policy and planning in general and the theory of ethnography of language policy in particular have been developed. I also introduce interactional sociolinguistics (IS) and related scholarship to conceptualize the construct of teacher identity in interaction within the new policy. I then discuss how these two approaches were

orchestrated in this research process in order to examine teacher identities within the new policy of Foreign Language Activities. In the second part of the chapter, I describe the research setting and process. I first introduce readers to the four participant-teachers at two schools where I conducted my fieldwork. I then discuss the techniques I chose for data collection and analysis which are all conceptually and methodologically aligned with the above two approaches. In the last part of this chapter, I discuss my positionality in the research sites. Drawing on the current research on the researcher's positionality from the insider/outsider perspective, I describe how my positionality was dynamic and context-dependent, impacting the quality and quantity of data I was able to collect at the schools.

Ethnography of Language Policy

Development of Language Policy and Planning As a Field: Background.

The field of language policy and planning (LPP)³ is an interdisciplinary field that draws from “linguistics, education, political science, history, policy studies, law, demography, and sociology” (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 401). The field can be traced back to the 1960s, as a subfield of sociolinguistics, in which researchers took positivistic (i.e., structural), “non-political” approaches (Ricento, 2000, p. 198) to the examination of macro-level language planning (e.g., Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta, 1968). They considered that the aim of language planning was to ‘solve’ multilingual ‘problems’ in

³ Since the field began to receive recognition in the 1960s, *language planning* was its most popular term in the field. Not until the late 1980s was the term LP used (Cooper, 1989). More recently, because *language planning* carries negative connotations of a limited top-down approach to problem solving and language behavior, LP is becoming “the bona fide” term (Shohamy, 2006, p. 49). However, given the fact that LP may not always be the goals or the outcome of language planning, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut distinction between LP and language planning (Hornberger, 2006; Shohamy, 2006). Thus, since the 1990s, both the terms LP and *language planning and policy* (LPP) have been used interchangeably. Either name signifies an expanded view toward language planning and policy.

‘developing,’ post-colonial nations by standardizing and spreading national language(s) as part of “decolonization,” “unification” and “modernization.” (Ricento, 2000). However, in the following two decades, as pointed out by Ricento (2000), such positivistic views were called into question. Oftentimes, top-down language planning attempts did not meet their aimed ‘success’ and engendered “negative effects” (Ricento, 2000, p. 202) among minority languages and their speakers. Language planning was, then, realized not as a neutral but a highly political enterprise that might reproduce social inequality and perpetuate marginalization (cf., Kaplan & Baudalf, 1997; Tollefson, 1991). Addressing such issues, more recent work in LPP since the 1990s draws from critical theories (cf., Tollefson, 2006) and language ecology (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006) to examine “personal agency and ... the ways in which language policy interacts with individual and collective language ideologies and politics as well as with global forces such as large-scale migration, minority language endangerment, and linguistic human rights struggles” (King & De Fina, 2011).

The paradigmatic shifts the LPP field has undergone from macro and positivistic to micro and critical has expanded the scope of LPP research across different contexts. Researchers have explored language practices across different multilingual contexts addressing issues with pedagogical decisions teachers make in their classrooms (e.g., Menken & García, 2010), language choices and practices by bilingual Native American Youth (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2008; McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2009; Nicholas, 2011), parental decisions about their home language practices in bilingual families (King & Fogel, 2006), and standard

testing for English language learners (Menken, 2008). These researchers further argue that these local practices are in fact language policies. Thus, as shown in Table 3, definitions of LP proposed in recent years take a broader view. Shohamy (2006) calls for the examination not simply of official written LP but as well “the real” and “*de facto*” LP (p. 52), as she argues, “Language policy should not be limited to the examination of declared and official statements. Rather, the real policy is executed through a variety of mechanisms that determine *de facto* practices” (p. 54).

Aligned with this perspective on LP, the ethnography of language policy also takes a broad view toward LP. It examines “the real” LP (Shohamy, 2006) that is likely to be “implicit, unwritten, covert, *de facto*, grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions” (Schiffman, 2006), as well as explicit, *de jure*, top-down and official policies. Particularly, as I will discuss in the following section, ethnography of LP emphasizes the examination of interactions and relations between top-down and bottom-up (or *de jure* and *de facto*) policies.

Table 3

Definitions of language planning, language policy, and language policy and planning

Language Planning	Cooper (1989)	Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes (p. 45)
	Kaplan & Baldauf (1997)	Language planning' is an activity, most visibly undertaken by government (simply because it involves such massive changes in a society), intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers (p. xi)
Language Policy (LP)	McCarty et al. (2009)	Language policy as implicit and explicit, overt and covert, <i>de facto</i> and <i>de jure</i> (p. 292).
	Ricento (2000)	Language policy research is concerned not only with official and unofficial acts of governmental and other institutional entities, but also

		with the historical and cultural events and processes that have influenced, and continue to influence, societal attitudes and practices with regard to language use, acquisition and status (p. 209).
	Schiffman (2006)	Language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, <i>de jure</i> , official, and "top-down" decision-making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, <i>de facto</i> , grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions, which can influence the outcomes of policy-making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions (p. 112)
	Shohamy (2006)	"Principles with regard to language use" (p. 49). "de facto policy" "the real policy"
	Spolsky (2004)	"Language policy may refer to all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity" (p. 9).
	Tollefson (2002)	Language policy "examines the role of government and other powerful institutions in shaping language use and language acquisition (p. 3)
Language Policy and Planning (LPP)	Hornberger and Ricento (1996)	A multilayered construct, wherein essential LPP components — agents, levels, and processes of LPP - permeate and interact with each other in multiple and complex ways as they enact various types, approaches, and goals of LPP (p. 419).

Ethnography of Language Policy. In the 1996 special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* on LPP, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) propose the onion metaphor of LPP in which they "unpeel" multiple layers of agents, levels, and processes in LPP. They ask how policy legislation is interpreted and implemented at the surface layer of the governmental level, intermediate layer of the institutional level and the core of the local practitioner level. Of particular significance is that they highlight and place teachers/practitioners at the core of the LPP onion. By doing so, Ricento and Hornberger acknowledge and amplify agentive roles played by local practitioners. One of the earlier empirical studies from this perspective is Freeman (1996). In her study of a Spanish-English bilingual school in the US, Freeman documents grass-roots, bottom-

up efforts made by administrators, teachers and parents. While the federal policy was promoting subtractive bilingual education for English language learners (ELL), the school challenged the policy by promoting additive bilingualism. Initiated by parents of minority language students, the school successfully developed a two-way bilingual program in which both language minority and majority students had the opportunity to develop both Spanish and English. However, despite their explicit claims and efforts and overall success, Freeman still observed some “systematic discrepancies between the ideal plan and its implementation” (Freeman, 1996, p. 575) in daily practices at the school. As Freeman (1996) demonstrates, close examination of LPP across multiple levels unfolds the complexity and multi-directional nature of LPP process in which these three levels “permeate and interact with each other in multiple and complex ways” (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 419).

Ten years after the publication of this seminal article, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) further developed the onion metaphor and coined the phrase “ethnographies of language policy” (p. 510) as an approach to the study of LP. Among ethnographic LPP studies, many focus on classrooms in connection to larger institutional, federal and societal levels (e.g., Menken & García, 2010; Skilton & Sylvester, 2003; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005), while some demonstrate locating intermediate agents which link these multiple levels (e.g., Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009, 2010; Johnson & Freeman, 2010). In Johnson’s (2009, 2010) three-year-long ethnographic study with two school district administrators in Philadelphia, he demonstrates how ideological beliefs these administrators held toward bilingual education impacted their interpretation of a federal policy for ELL, which ultimately shifted the district’s

orientation in bilingualism (See also Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Freeman, 2010). One of the participants, Emily Dixon-Marquez, who held strong belief in multilingualism resisted the English-only federal policy in strategic ways in order to continue promoting additive bilingual education in her district. In contrast, the other participant, Lucia Sanchez, aligned her view with that of the top-down policy and promoted transitional bilingual education that aimed to help ELL students eventually transition to mainstream classrooms. As Johnson's (2009, 2010) studies demonstrate, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) argue that through detailed, thick description of LPP processes, ethnographies of language policy can "slice through the layers of the LPP onion to reveal varying local interpretations, implementations, and perhaps resistance" (p. 510; see also Canagarajah, 2006).

Most recently, Hornberger and Johnson have either jointly or individually contributed to refining and developing the terms and concepts of this approach (Johnson, 2009, 2010; Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Hornberger & Johnson, 2010). For instance, these researchers emphasize that the ethnography of LP regards LP as process. Policies are not only 'developed' by policymakers, but are also 'created' by local practitioners, nor are they simply 'implemented' in the top-down manner, but are 'appropriated' according to the local context (Johnson, 2009, 2010; Johnson & Freeman, 2010). This concept foregrounds agency in multi-layered, cyclical processes of creation, interpretation, and appropriation of LP (Johnson, 2009, 2010; Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Menken and García's (2010) recent edited volume particularly focuses on the local agency of LPP processes in school settings and highlights the dynamic, shifting nature

of LPP in local contexts. Valdiviezo (2010), for example, documented the ways in which Quechua – Spanish bilingual teachers in a language revitalization program negotiated a top-down “Bilingual Intercultural Education” policy in their classrooms, when they encountered difficulties with teaching academic contents as well as reading and writing in Quechua. When particular mathematic terms were sought in Quechua, some teachers simply used Spanish, which resulted in teaching math mostly in Spanish. Others explored local knowledge and terms in Quechua and tried to incorporate them in their instruction. These bilingual teachers were constantly reproducing and/or contesting the marginalization of Quechua through making their daily instructional choices. Thus, local practitioners such as administrators and teachers are not merely reproducers of top-down policies, but are themselves policymakers as they make administrative and pedagogical choices based on their interpretations of policies (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Menken & García, 2010; Skilton-Sylvester, 2003; Varghese, 2008; Varghese and Stritikus, 2005). The complex nature of the policy process is evident where their interpretation and choices constantly interact with the changing local context as well as their own personal and professional experiences and beliefs (Varghese, 2008; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005).

Further enriching this perspective, McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, and Zepeda (2009) argue that their Native American youth participants are policymakers. Being exposed to mixed, complex ideologies in the society they belong to, the Native American youth constantly make language choices between their indigenous language and English depending on the context. These language choices shape their language attitudes and ideologies toward the two languages. This example serves to point to the

ethnographic argument that all agents at any society level are in fact policymakers in the LPP process.

Thus, ethnography of LP challenges the traditional LP approaches that only focus on *de jure* policies. With emphasis on agency in each LPP process and focus on locality, cyclicity, and reciprocity, LPP researchers taking ethnographic approaches have demonstrated the local reality of LPP that almost always contradicts the idealized top-down policy (e.g., Freeman, 1996; Johnson, 2009, 2010; Hélot, 2010). They further locate where such ‘contradictions’ occur—the “implementational and ideological space” (Hornberger, 2007) in which local agency takes a form of day-to-day language decisions and practices. Such implementational spaces can be located where practitioners negotiate top-down policies to create local policies suit for their local contexts (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009, 2010; Johnson & Freeman, 2010) and negotiate local policies in pedagogical choices in classrooms (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Menken & García, 2010; Skilton-Sylvester, 2003; Varghese, 2008; Varghese and Stritikus, 2005). Parents and communities create ideological spaces by resisting the ideologies about marginalized languages and their speakers (Freeman, 1996). Researchers may also participate in collaboration with local practitioners to recreate ideological spaces to better understand, serve, and advocate for speakers of minority languages (e.g., Johnson & Freeman, 2010). Certainly, *de facto* policies are not only the product of negotiation with multiple intentions and ideologies but also the act of local agency, possibly better alternatives that reflect the local voices and situations.

Identity in Interaction: Interactional Sociolinguistics and Related Scholarship

In addition to the ethnography of LP, this study also draws on interactional

sociolinguistics (IS) and relevant scholarship as a conceptual framework to understand how identities are discursively enacted and performed by social actors in face-to-face interaction (e.g., Rampton, 1995, 1999, 2001, 2006). I was also inspired by the body of research on identity among interdisciplinary fields such as linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. These fields may not exactly fall under the category of IS but take similar ethnographic and sociolinguistic approaches to understanding identity construction (e.g., Bucholtz, 2007; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; 2008; Heller, 1999/2007).

Interactional Sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary methodology first developed by John Gumperz (1982a, 1982b, 1986, 1999). It is rooted in linguistic anthropology and draws on the concepts of interaction (e.g., Goffman, 1983), Dell Hymes' ethnography of communication (see Hornberger, 1995), ethnomethodology (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967), and conversational analysis (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974), although there are multiple variations and interpretations and it is not assumed to be a unified whole⁴. Theoretically, interactional sociolinguistics assumes that social and cultural norms seemingly established in the larger society are not necessarily equally shared among individuals, nor do they simply unfold in the individual contexts, but are context-dependent—adjusted, modified, or changed in interactions (Goffman, 1983; Gumperz, 1999). Based on this assumption, IS primarily aims to explicate the interpretation processes or what Gumperz called, “conversational inference” (Gumperz, 1999, p. 458) of face-to-face interactions. In such interactions, argued Gumperz (1999),

⁴ For instance, IS has been paralleled with critical discourse analysis (CDA). Heller (2001) introduces IS as one of North American approaches and CDA—as one of European approaches. Rampton (2001a) uses ‘microethnography’ within the discussion of IS.

participants rely on the given context and their own social and cultural backgrounds, which may be quite different from each other. Consequently, their conversational inferences are “constantly negotiated and renegotiated” (Gumperz, 1999, p. 463).

More recently, researchers have focused on identity construction in interactions (Heller, 1999/2007; Rampton, 1995, 1999, 2001b, 2006). They construe negotiations of individual conversational inferences in interactions as being themselves processes of identity construction, reproduction, or resistance (Rampton, 2001, 2006). Rampton (2006) notes:

Interactional sociolinguistics regards interaction as a key site for the construction and reproduction of social identities and relationships, impacting on people's minds, lives and material conditions. ... IS invites us to see communication as an intricate process of imposition, collusion, and struggle in which people invoke, avoid or reconfigure the cultural and symbolic capital attendant on identities with different degrees of purchase and accessibility in particular situations. (p. 24)

Rampton argues that identities are discursively constructed in interaction through the use of particular accent(s), style, and forms. Interaction, or communication, is a process of imposition because the type of language one speaks is always associated with particular social groups and affiliations. Such an ideology imposes a particular social and linguistic identity on the speaker. It certainly is a process of collusion and struggle as one is required to constantly make choice to either align with or resist and move beyond already established identities.

In Heller's (1999/2006) three-and-a-half-year study of a French language high

school in a francophone minority community in Canada, she illustrates how students' linguistic identities were shaped and reshaped in their discursive practices which shifted from context to context. She examines the ways in which different groups of students differently responded and negotiated the school norms of standard French monolingualism that stigmatized the regional variety—Canadian French. While the school “monitored” (pp. 68-78) everyone's language production at the school site, the ‘popular’ group of bilingual students “covertly” (p. 24) resisted the school's practices by creating bilingual spaces. While they spoke French in public contexts (e.g., talking to teachers, speaking on the stage, etc.), they privately spoke with peers in English in and outside class. Thus, these students strategically resisted the schools' imposed identity as standard French monolinguals and instead, constructed their bilingual identity.

However, this resistance by popular students further complicated the situation. There were also monolingual students who spoke Canadian French and immigrant students from former French colonies who spoke standard French. These students faced difficulties outside the classroom because ‘popular’ kids communicated in English and thus, it was the dominant language among peers. In addition, their French speaking identities were challenged in multiple ways in classrooms. In class, immigrant students had the least language issues because of the school's emphasis on Standard French monolingualism. In contrast, Canadian French speakers were marginalized because their variety was generally stigmatized. Furthermore, the public discourse was gendered and constructed by male students. Such discourses construct “Québécois as tough, rugged, authentic francophones; bilinguals as hip, plugged in to North American popular culture in music, dress and sports; Africans as privileged keepers of the

European standard and simultaneously anti-colonialist, anti-racist warriors, streetwise and cool” (pp. 167-168). Female students mostly followed this male-oriented discourse except for a few who called themselves “nerds” and distanced themselves from the dominant discourse. Thus, identities were constructed through discursive practices in multiple ways in which students reacted to the school’s norms and societal ideologies about French. Some presented themselves as bilinguals by speaking two languages, others as Canadian French monolinguals or as standard French monolinguals. These identities were further complicated with male-driven gendered discourses that reflected students’ linguistic, socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds.

Evidently, such a combination of ethnographic and sociolinguistic approaches offers a fuller picture of identity construction. While an imposed identity often takes a form of “macro-level demographic categories” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 592), an ethnographic approach may specify local and cultural positions of such social categories. Furthermore, through micro-discourse analysis of everyday interaction, identities may be revealed as “temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 592) in much less established, settled, and much more fluid, subtle ways. Close attention to linguistic details of discourse structure reveals the complexity, subtlety, and fluidity of identity enactment in interaction. For instance, Bucholtz (2000, 2007) demonstrates how the difference in focus between content and structure impacts our interpretation of data. Of particular interest is a reflection on her previous work with American female “nerds” where she clearly showed that impact (Bucholtz, 2007). When Bucholtz re-transcribed an excerpt from her previous work and included linguistic details she had omitted, she became less

confident of her original interpretation of a girl's (Fred's) self-manifestation as a nerd. The new transcript shows that Fred's speech does not look as smooth as what the original transcript showed. For instance, her speech frequently overlaps with that of the researcher. They both frequently laugh. Oftentimes, the researcher starts a sentence by saying, for example, 'so...' or 'you're...', inviting Fred to finish the sentence in a certain way. Regarding her original transcript as "not merely woefully inadequate but dangerously inaccurate in its representation of the interaction" (p. 788), Bucholtz further reflects as follows:

Fred's comments are not the product of an autonomous, triumphant voice of nerd pride but are rather the result of considerable co-construction (and obstruction) by me as the researcher. Her stated views, while clearly strongly held, are much more hedged and halting in their expression than my first transcript acknowledged (p. 788).

Ethnography reveals that Fred certainly manifested herself as a nerd. The use of micro-discourse analysis further refines and complicates those ethnographic findings. By showing *how* Fred discursively identified herself as a nerd, or more precisely, by illuminating contextualization cues by which Fred was jointly constructing this identity with the researcher, IS and related approaches reveal this particular identity construction process, which is not so fixed and stable, but dynamic, fluid, and collaborative in nature. Thus, an in-depth, micro discourse analysis along with detailed transcription functions as a means to examine not only the content of interactions (i.e., what the participants say) but also the ways in which such content discursively unfolds in face-to-face interactions (i.e., how they say it).

Combining the Two Theories

This study aims to expand our understanding of how a top-down policy may impact and shape individual teacher roles and identities in two particular school settings. I also highlight how individual teachers recreate local policies as they interpret and appropriate the top-down policy in their practice. The combination of ethnography of LP and IS provides me with conceptual frameworks and analytical tools to identify and make sense of the gap between the ideal policy and the local reality and interactions thereof in in-depth, nuanced ways. In particular, an ethnographic approach illustrates local understanding and practice of the top-down policy. Micro-discourse analysis of classroom interactions sheds light on the ways in which teachers jointly co-construct particular teacher identities in interactions with their students and colleagues during Foreign Language Activities classes. By focusing on the local reality (Canagarajah, 2005/2008; Shohamy, 2006) through ethnography of LP and IS this study aims to foreground and amplify local voices, practices, and agency in the LPP process.

Most ethnographic studies on LPP research have focused on bilingual/multilingual issues in the U.S. (e.g., Freeman, 1996; McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2009; Menken, 2008). Few studies have been conducted outside the US (e.g., Canagarajah, 2005; Menken & García, 2010) and even fewer studies have focused on foreign language education policies (e.g., Zhang & Hu, 2010). Generally foreign language education has been considered as an uninteresting, neglected topic in sociolinguistics (Rampton, 2006). Given the extensive contextual variation in LPP processes, more empirical work is needed in a wider range of linguistic, cultural, and socio-political context. The present study contributes to a growing body of literature by

presenting a local case of a new foreign language education policy in an international setting: Japan.

Aligned with these two approaches, I conducted fieldwork at two schools in Japan. In the following sections, I introduce readers to the schools in which the four teachers, Ms. Mizuno, Ms. Shiratori, Mr. Nakano, and Ms. Shiratori teach as full-time elementary school teachers.

The Schools

This study was developed at two very different schools—Seto Elementary School⁵ and Satsuki Laboratory School. Although both schools technically fall under the public school category in Japan, they operate under different administrations, and serve different student populations. While Satsuki Laboratory School is a nationally known, elite school that admits only selected students based on an entrance examination, Seto Elementary School can be considered a typical, local public school that serves all students from different socio-economic backgrounds in the neighborhood. As I discuss in the following sections, these differences certainly impact the ways in which Foreign Language Activities are appropriated/implemented at these schools.

Seto Elementary School. Seto Elementary School is a public elementary school, located in a local city of Marunaka. Marunaka City is a capitol of a prefecture in a western region of Japan with approximately 420,000 residents. The city currently administers 52 public elementary schools. According to the measures of the municipal educational administration announced in 2011, the city has budgeted 80,422,000 JPY

⁵ All names (cities, schools, teachers and staff) used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

(approximately 1,044,441 USD) to hire 17 English-speaking assistant language teachers (ALTs). Their goal is to provide ALTs in at least half of Foreign Language Activity classes (School Education Section of Marunaka City, personal communication, September 5, 2011).

Seto Elementary School is a neighborhood school that serves 468 students in the community. It is a typical public elementary school that functions as part of the centralized, hierarchical education system. That means that the school receives directions from MEXT through its city (and sometimes prefectural) boards of education in a top-down manner. In the case of Foreign Language Activities, for instance, one of the teachers in this study, Ms. Mizuno, was assigned to be in charge of Foreign Language Activities and attend meetings and/or workshops held by city and prefectural boards of education. She is also responsible for disseminating information from such meetings to her school community.

At first sight, English education seemed to be promoted at Seto Elementary School. When I entered the school building, I was immediately welcomed with two table displays at the entrance with English picture books, cards, CDs, and a CD player (Figure 1 and 2). There was another table in front of the principal's office where students could freely read English picture books and play with cards (Figure 3 and 4). Further, I found English phrases on each step as I walk upstairs (Figure 5).

Figure 1 Table displays at the entrance



Figure 2 Table displays at the entrance



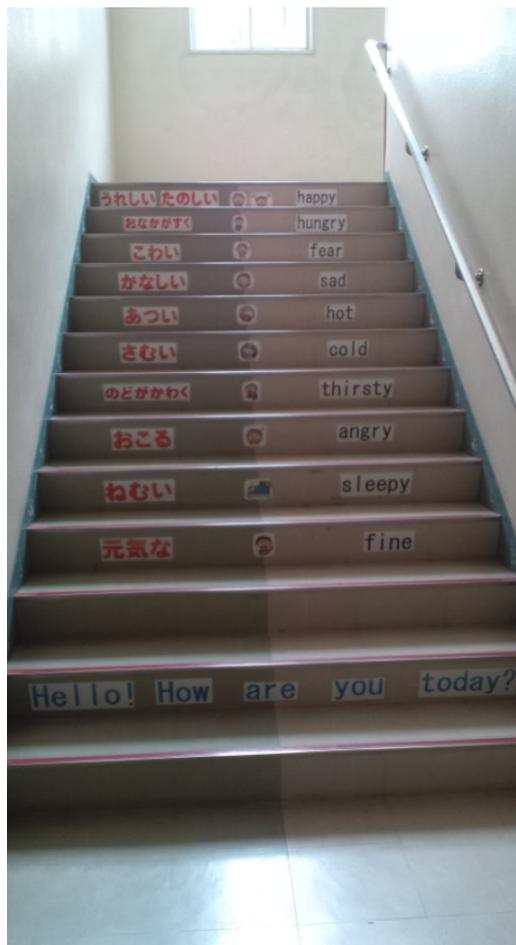
Figure 3 English materials for students in front of the principal's office



Figure 4 Door to the principal's office



Figure 5 Self-expression phrases in English and Japanese



Licensed in junior high school English, the principal seems to play an important role in promoting English education at Seto Elementary School. She is the one who purchased (at her own expense) and displayed English materials at the entrance and in front of her office. She also purchased a DVD set, again at her own expense, to air a 15-minute-long English television show every Thursday morning to the whole school.

Seto Elementary students have the opportunity to learn English from English-speaking ALT from the third grade. Fifth and six graders have ALT every other week

when a homeroom teacher and a teacher from England⁶ team-teach together. When the ALT does not come, the homeroom teachers teach English by themselves. In Foreign Language Activities, both ALT and homeroom teachers use *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] at the school. As suggested by the government (MEXT, 2008e), fifth graders use *Eigo Nooto 1* [English Notebook 1] and sixth graders use *Eigo Nooto 2* [English Notebook 2] at Seto Elementary School.

Satsuki Laboratory School. Satsuki Laboratory School is a laboratory school affiliated with a national pedagogical university, located in a suburban city of Satsuki, in one of the largest metropolitan regions in Japan. The school is not a neighborhood school but a highly competitive, elite school. Every year the school admits 120 students from nine cities in the region through interviews and group-observations as the entrance examination. While the school's mission is to advance and promote public compulsory education (based on empirical research in collaboration with the university), it does not fall under the city's administration (in the top-down education system) as Seto Elementary School does. In the case of foreign language education, the university faculty directly supervise the English teachers at the school.

Because of its reputation as a nationally known laboratory school, Satsuki Laboratory School has frequently appeared in the media. The staff and students seem quite used to having 'strangers' in their classes. For instance, when I first met the principal, he said I might freely take pictures, video-record classes (as long as they were taped from a distance), and encouraged me to freely talk to the students, because “子供

⁶ The ALT, Andrew, came to Japan on the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme after graduating from college in England with a major in English literature. He had no formal training in language teaching except for two a-few-day-long workshops in England and Japan.

たちも喜びますから。 [the children would love it]” (personal communication, May 26, 2011). In fact, I observed one Foreign Language Activity class that 12 teachers in the school came to observe (Field notes, June 24, 2011). The teachers would freely walk around the classroom taking notes, taking pictures as the students were engaged in different activities. At least in my observation, the students seemed relaxed and comfortable even though the 12 teachers were freely walking around, looking into what the students were doing, and taking photos.

At Satsuki Laboratory School, Foreign Language Activities are provided every week beginning in third grade (35 hours per year). They use *Eigo Nooto 1* [English Notebook 1] in third and fourth grades and *Eigo Nooto 2* [English Notebook 2] in fifth and sixth grades. Unlike Seto Elementary School, homeroom teachers do not teach Foreign Language Activities nor are they responsible for foreign language education. Instead, one full-time Japanese teacher is hired to teach all the English classes at the school with an ALT sent from the university-affiliated junior high school.

The Teachers

A total of four in-service elementary school teachers participated in this study. At the time of data collection, Ms. Mizuno, Ms. Shiratori, and Ms. Nakano was teaching at Seto Elementary School. Ms. Nozomi was teaching at Satsuki Laboratory School.

Table 4 summarizes profile of each teacher.

Table 4
Profile of the Teachers

Name of school	Name of teacher	Years of teaching	Position held, study abroad experience, English proficiency, etc.
Seto Elementary School	Ms. Mizuno	3 years	- Homeroom teacher (6-A) - No study abroad experience - 英語担当 (in charge of FLA at the

			school)
			- Understands the ALT's English but does not speak English fluently (self-reported)
	Ms. Shiratori	20+ years	- Homeroom teacher (6-B) - No study abroad experience - Understands the ALT's English but does not speak English fluently (self-reported)
	Mr. Nakano	22-23 years	- Homeroom teacher (6-C) - Has taught at a Japanese school in Europe - Has taught at a lab school affiliated with a national university in the area - Fluent enough to hold daily conversations (self-reported)
Satsuki Elementary School (laboratory school)	Ms. Nozomi	a few months	- English teacher - Works under contract - Studied in the US for 10 months - TOEIC 925 (after she returned from the US) - TOEFL 78 (before she went to the US)

Ms. Mizuno (Seto Elementary). At the time of data collection, Ms. Mizuno had three years of teaching experience in elementary school. When she was hired to teach at Seto Elementary School the previous year, she was assigned to be a fifth grade homeroom teacher and became involved with Foreign Language Activities for the first time. Prior to this assignment, she had “英語とは無縁の人生 [nothing to do with English in her life]” (Interview, June 6, 2011) and only learned the language in the typical, traditional way in Japan that emphasizes grammar and translation. In addition, she did not receive any formal training in English teaching while she was working toward her licensure to teach in elementary school. As she reports, “どんな風にするんやーいうのもよく分かってないまま [without really knowing what to do]” (Interview, June 6, 2011), Ms. Mizuno was handed *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and began teaching Foreign Language Activities on her own. Now she is assigned to be in charge of foreign language education at Seto Elementary School and regularly attends professional development seminars and events offered by the city or prefectural boards

of education. In these seminars and events, she takes English communication classes to develop her oral English proficiency, participates in lesson studies for Foreign Language Activities in which she collaboratively plans, conducts, and examines lessons with other teachers from other elementary schools in the city. She also privately purchases English materials and learns the language herself. She reports that at first she could not communicate well with ALT but now is able to understand and translate their English for her students in class.

Ms. Shiratori (Seto Elementary). Ms. Shiratori is an experienced teacher and has taught at different elementary schools in Marunaka City for more than 20 years. Like Ms. Mizuno, Ms. Shiratori received no formal training in her licensure program in college. However, she has been involved with Foreign Language Activities for more than ten years at various levels. For instance, she used to attend professional development seminars and events, and personally purchased books and CDs to learn English on her own.

At Seto Elementary School, she reports that she is not involved with Foreign Language Activities as actively as she used to be, but started to teach Foreign Language Activities using *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] when she was assigned to be a 5th grade homeroom teacher the previous year. Thanks to her previous efforts in developing her listening skills including continuously listening to English CD in the car, she can at least understand and translate what the ALT say for her students in class.

Mr. Nakano (Seto Elementary). Mr. Nakano is also an experienced teacher with more than 20 years of experience in this profession. Compared to the other two teachers, Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori, he has a unique background for an elementary

school teacher. For three years before he was hired to teach at Seto Elementary School, he taught at a Japanese school in Europe. When he returned to Japan, he was hired to teach at the laboratory school affiliated with a national university in Marunaka City. He reports that he was actively involved with elementary school English education during this period, which included developing curricula, collaborating with other teachers, and team-teaching with ALT.

At Seto Elementary School, Mr. Nakano started to teach Foreign Language Activities using *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] for the first time when he was assigned to be a 6th grade homeroom teacher this year. When he lived in Europe, he learned German and English with a private tutor and reports that he is proficient enough to communicate with native speakers in these languages.

Ms. Nozomi (Satsuki Laboratory). Ms. Nozomi is a novice teacher who entered the profession just a few months before the data collection began. She was hired to teach English full-time under a three-year contract at Satsuki Laboratory School. In contrast to the other three teachers at Seto Elementary School, Ms. Nozomi is not a homeroom teacher but the only teacher who is responsible for all English classes from fourth grade to sixth grade at the school. Since she recently graduated from college, she had never been involved with Foreign Language Activities as a teacher before.

Compared to the teachers at Seto Elementary School, Ms. Nozomi had more opportunities to develop her English proficiency. She began learning English when she was in sixth grade from her mother who was a licensed English teacher. In addition, she studied abroad three times – twice in the United States and once in Australia. As a music education major in college, she studied music on an exchange program in the

United States for ten months. Because of her intensive English learning from her childhood and her multiple study abroad opportunities, Ms. Nozomi is highly proficient in the language and scored 78 on the TOEFL before she went to the United States and scored 925 on the TOEIC after she returned from the United States. In my observation, she has little accent and freely communicates with ALT in class. I often observed her chatting with the ALT before and after class, which was rarely observed among the teachers at Seto Elementary School.

Despite her rich English development opportunities, Ms. Nozomi received no formal training in teaching English before she entered the profession. She majored in music and worked toward licensure in music. Since Satsuki Laboratory School does not fall under the city/prefectural administration, she receives little opportunity for professional development compared with public elementary school teachers such as Ms. Mizuno. Instead, she works under the supervision of the university professors in the English department. When she was hired to teach at Satsuki Laboratory School, she developed a whole year curriculum in consultation with a professor from the university. After she started teaching, she received occasional visits from them, as well as lesson study opportunities in which other subject area/homeroom teachers at the school come to observe her class and give her feedback for improvement.

Through my description of the two schools, I have illuminated the contrasting characteristics of the schools: a public, neighborhood school that residents are assigned to attend (= Seto Elementary School) vs. an elite, competitive laboratory school that only admits students through the entrance examination (= Satsuki Laboratory School). The four teachers at the schools demonstrated different language learning and teaching

backgrounds. One of the most contrasting differences was their fixed professional statuses, with Ms. Nozomi at Satsuki Laboratory being a full-time English teacher, with the other three teachers at Seto Elementary being homeroom teachers who taught other academic subject areas. In the following sections, I invite the readers into the research process. I describe how I obtained access to the research sites, conducted my fieldwork collecting data, and underwent multiple phases in my data analysis. I also discuss how my positionality in the research site impacted the quantity and quality of data I could collect.

Entry into the Field

Some of the challenges in conducting research in an international setting have to do with unfamiliarity with the U.S. regulations of conducting research with human subjects. Since there is no equivalent of an Institutional Review Board (IRB) in Japan, obtaining local approval and consent was not a simple task. When I spoke with potential participants, I tried to provide a thorough explanation of what IRB is and how it aims to protect participants, not the researcher. I was also aware that signing consent could be intimidating when participants are not familiar with the IRB process. I, again, explained to the teachers what signing consent means and how that protects them. Moreover, as Kanno (2008) reports, it can be particularly challenging to conduct qualitative research that requires participants to make a longer time commitment to having an outsider researcher in their settings. Kanno contrasts her own situation to that of Morita (2002) in getting access to and entering a research site and conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Japanese schools. While the schools she directly contacted were unexpectedly willing and “extremely open,” supportive and respectful to her (p. 32), Morita (2002) reported

the complete opposite situation in her doctoral dissertation research at two schools in Japan. Not only did she have to use personal connections to access the schools and accept restrictions on her activities from the administrators, she was also consistently and explicitly referred to as an outsider (from the US, although she is Japanese and even graduated from one of the schools), and relegated to a lower position by the employees. Although Kanno did not explicitly point this out, their difference in status—Kanno as a professor from an American university and Morita as a doctoral student also from an American university—seemed to come into play in conducting research.

Like Morita (2002), I had to rely on personal connections in seeking entry after having the experience of getting multiple rejections in a previous study (Horii, under review). Luckily, I met a professor from a national pedagogical university that Satsuki Laboratory School is affiliated with at a large academic conference in the USA in March 2011. He happened to attend my paper presentation on Foreign Language Activities and gave me his business card and told me to contact him if I needed any help to further continue my research. Of course, I immediately contacted him via email with some excitement. He then introduced me to the principal and later Ms. Nozomi at Satsuki Laboratory School. As Blanco-Iglesias and Broner (1997) caution, I was also aware “if a particular professor can give a useful referral it is because she/he has already built a trusting relationship with the community they wish to enter” (p. 4). In fact, I must admit that the way the professor introduced me to Ms. Nozomi had a large impact on how she perceived of and interacted with me.

In seeking approval to conduct research at Seto Elementary School, my insider status as a close-knit community member’s relative seems to have made my entry

possible. I first met the principal and then was introduced to the then-potential participant-teachers. I obtained informal consent from them in our first meeting and then received a formal consent in our second meeting. It was in this second meeting where I scheduled my observations and interviews with them. As I will discuss later, my insider status at the school impacted the depth, breadth, and amount of data I could collect in my fieldwork in complex ways. While my insider status enabled me to enter the school community, it also complicated my positioning with the teachers at the school.

Data Collection

My data collection took place from May 30, 2011 to July 21, 2011 at Seto Elementary School and from May 27, 2011 to July 19, 2011 at Satsuki Laboratory School. During this time, I traveled between the two cities, a trip that involved three hours of driving (one-way) to spend half a day to a few days per week at each school. As summarized in Table 5, the data collected during my fieldwork include participant/classroom observations, audio-recordings of each class I observed, interviews with the participating teachers, and any documents related to Foreign Language Activities.

Table 5
Summary of data collected

Data Types	Satsuki Laboratory School (5/27/2011 – 7/19/11)	Seto Elementary School (5/30/2011 – 7/21/2011)		
	Ms. Nozomi	Ms. Mizuno	Ms. Shiratori	Mr. Nakano
Participant Observations	9 classes (45 min.) with an after class informal conversation	7 classes (45 min.) with a brief after class informal conversation		
Classroom Audio-recordings	9 classes (45 min.) with an after class informal conversation	7 classes (45 min.) with a brief after class informal conversation		

Interviews	2 interview sessions (approx. 3 hrs. total)	2 interview sessions (approx. 40 min. total)	2 interview sessions (approx. 70 min. total)	2 interview sessions (approx. 50 min. total)
Documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Course of Study (MEXT, 2008a) - Commentary on the Course of Study for elementary school: Foreign Language Activities (MEXT, 2008b) - <i>Eigo Nooto</i> [English Notebook] (MEXT, 2008d) - <i>Eigo Nooto: Teacher's manual</i> (MEXT, 2008e) - The two schools' websites 			

Participant Observations. Patton (2002) explains that in the field, qualitative researchers try to physically get close to the participants for a certain period of time and develop rapport through “shared experience, empathy, and confidentiality” (p. 48) in order to understand the local realities from the local perspectives. Likewise, participant observations were planned to be a vital source of data in this study. I planned to stay at the research sites at least half a day, present myself as an insider, and offer support in any way I could. I was particularly careful about keeping any information confidential and took the time to explain and repeatedly remind the teachers of my commitment and ethical obligations to protect their rights as research participants.

At Seto Elementary School, I observed three classes on Mondays. When I went into the classroom, I was usually given a seat in the back. Some students would talk to me in English but I was mostly a silent, non-participant observer, or what Patton (2002) called “an onlooker observer” (p. 265). Ms. Narita once asked me a question on pronunciation, but that was the only time I was directly involved in class activities. After each class, I briefly spoke with the teachers, usually less than a minute, since students wanted to talk to them and they also had another class immediately. Instead, I spent other days of the week talking to the teachers and the principal and interviewing the teachers. I also participated in several school events organized by the Parent Teacher Association. Since my own son attended the school for one month, I had more access to

the school materials and documents in general. For instance, one time, I received an invitation letter directed to all parents for volunteer opportunities in class through my son's classroom teacher. I could see that the school was seeking human resources including fluent English speakers within the school community. Such information did not arise in my observations and interactions with the participating teachers. Although it did not directly relate to the classes I observed, I gained more insights on how the school was operated in general.

At Satsuki Laboratory School, I usually observed one to three classes each week. I usually either stood or sat at the back of the classroom taking notes. Here, too, I was usually a non-participant observer with occasional interactions with students. I was never asked to participate in activities. I also visited the school on other days to join Ms. Nozomi's preparation time for lessons and interview her. I also met with her once after school and had an informal conversation about her work and career at a restaurant. As a novice, and the only English teacher at the school, she felt a lack of guidance and professional development opportunities and always sought my feedback.

We usually discussed how the class went for a few minutes or sometimes longer after each lesson. When we did not have a chance to discuss after class, we communicated with each other via email. Ms. Nozomi would email me when I was a little delayed in giving her feedback, as I reported in my field notes:

I wasn't sure how serious Nozomi was about getting feedback from me. But she really was. She even emailed me the next day asking for feedback. I emailed her back with my comments. I mostly explained what I usually look at when I supervise my student teachers and then briefly commented on what I saw in her

class. I stayed broad, mostly positive on my comments. I said if she'd like more specific suggestions with lesson planning, I'd be happy to share them. She emailed me back asking me to help her with her lesson planning for her “研究授業 [study lesson]” coming up in June. She gave me specific target phrases to work on. I thought of one German class video that might be helpful. (Field notes, June 2, 2011).

While I gained insights from our professional relationship, I understand that my observations at Satsuki Laboratory School did not go beyond the realm of foreign language education, primarily because Ms. Nozomi was not a homeroom teacher and only taught English. However, I also realize that the access to the local community that I had at Seto Elementary School was not available to me at Satsuki Laboratory School.

I established my note-taking as routine as suggested, for instance, in Wolcott (2005). In addition to taking notes during class, after class I usually sat in my car and wrote down everything that I thought worth documenting while listening to the audio-recordings of the class I had just observed. I have a total of 46 pages of single-spaced journal entries as my field notes.

As a bilingual researcher of Japanese and English, I decided not to try to be consistent in choosing which language I would use when taking notes. I rather wanted to use either language depending on my preference at the time on the spot. Interestingly, even though Japanese is my first language and the researched setting was in Japan, I used more English to describe situations. I used Japanese when I recorded what the teachers and students spoke in Japanese.

Interviews. I conducted two semi-structured interviews with each teacher—one at the beginning and the other at the end of my fieldwork. I individually scheduled meetings with the teachers at their convenient time and location. I met with the Seto Elementary teachers after school in their classrooms. I met with Ms. Nozomi at Satsuki Laboratory School once during her preparation time in the school computer laboratory (because she does not have her own classroom) and once after work at a restaurant. None of the teachers chose their teacher office where they had their own desks. Meeting with them alone away from their colleagues created a safer environment for all of us to freely express our opinions.

I had prepared open-ended questions to ask the teachers in the interviews in advance (Appendix B). I asked them to talk about their language learning and teaching experience. In the first interview, I asked mainly (but not only) about their learning experience whereas the second interview focused more on their teaching experience. Most importantly, I asked the teachers to talk about what roles they play or intend to play when they teach Foreign Language Activities.

Researchers have problematized uncritically accepted “features of the contemporary interview society” (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997, p. 305), in which we take for granted that “[w]hat is said is seen as a reflection of what is ‘out there’ rather than as an interpretation which is jointly produced by interviewer and respondent” (Briggs, 1986/1997, p.3; see also Talmy, 2010). Using conversation analytic techniques, both Rapley (2004) and Bucholtz (2007) have demonstrated how the way the interviewer phrases questions or even just a pause or silence affects what and how the interviewee responds. Briggs’ (1986/1997) experience as a young ethnographer

interviewing an elderly couple in a Mexicano community in New Mexico challenges the taken-for-granted norm of interviews with the interviewer having control over the conversation asking questions and the interviewee merely answering. While Briggs thought that he was conducting interviews with the elderly couple, they regarded the sessions as pedagogical opportunities, trying to teach him that as a young ‘boy,’ he should not be asking them questions. These stories highlight the importance of viewing interviews as co-constructed interaction by both the interviewee and interviewer and considering communicative norms of the target culture and possibly other factors as well when conducting interviews.

Following Talmy’s (2010) conceptualization of interviews, I view interviews as “social practice” that investigates not only content (i.e., “*whats*”) but also the way content is delivered (i.e., “*hows*”) (p. 131). Being an insider, ethnically, linguistically, and culturally, to the communities in which the schools are located, I particularly considered possible issues that might arise against the local communicative norms. Since I had previously conducted interviews with Japanese elementary school teachers (Horii, under review), I felt confident and comfortable about my knowledge in regard to what needed to be considered for interviews with teachers. I intentionally used the local accents and the honorific “*sensei* [teacher]” when addressing their names. I had also learned that teachers tend to be good storytellers. In the interviews I conducted in the previous study, even though I conducted interviews without meeting them in advance, the teachers would elaborately tell me their stories in response to my open-ended questions. Our interviews were so lengthy that I had to stop our interviews to keep our interview protocol. On the contrary and to my surprise, in this study, I found it more

difficult to get some of the teachers to talk. They were always willing to carve out time to talk with me and answer my questions but their answers tended to be brief even when they were sharing insightful information with me. As I discuss more in-depth later, this may have to do with my complex positionality as an insider researcher. Whether or not this was the case, viewing interviews as social practice allowed me to analyze the interview data more in-depth, examining not only the content but also the “interactional structure” (Bucholtz, 2007).

Audio-recording and Transcription. All the classes and interviews with the teachers (except for one interview with Ms. Nozomi due to a technical problem) were audio-recorded using an audio-digital recorder that can catch conversations in some distance with its six small microphones. Only Ms. Nozomi agreed to carry the audio-recorder in her pocket in class. The other teachers at Seto Elementary School did not carry the audio-recorder. As a result, I could catch private conversations with individual students only in Ms. Nozomi’s classes. However, all the whole class interactions were well recorded in all classrooms.

Researchers have shown how the transcriber constantly makes interpretive and representational decisions (Bucholtz, 2000, 2007; Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Ochs, 1979). As Bucholtz (2000) claims, “Embedded in the details of transcription are indications of purpose, audience, and the position of the transcriber toward the text” (p. 1440). Certainly, transcription is a political act of power and the transcriber holds and practices power over interpretations and representations of the participants’ speech.

In the process of transcribing the audio-recordings of classroom interactions and interviews, I made several decisions based on the purpose and focus of my analysis. My transcription process underwent two phases—first for content analysis and then for micro discourse analysis. All the audio-recorded data were transcribed verbatim for content analysis that involved coding, identifying themes, and constructing stories and arguments. For micro discourse analysis, I performed a detailed, finer transcription of selected excerpts using conversation analysis conventions (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; see Appendix C). For Japanese utterances, I provided the original utterance in boldface in the first line, word-by-word gloss in the second line to show the actual word order of Japanese, and then the approximate English translation by italics with single quotation marks in the third line. When the word-by-word gloss and translation turned out the same or fairly close, I only provided the original text and the translation. In addition, I note that the four teachers had Japanese accented English to various degrees. While Ms. Nozomi had very little accent, the other three teachers at Seto Elementary School displayed a typical Japanese accent, such as not distinguishing between /r/ and /l/, replacing dental fricatives with alveolar sibilants (e.g., replacing /θ/ with /s/), replacing labiodental fricatives with bilabial plosives (e.g., replacing /v/ with /b/) and so forth. However, for ease of representation and reading, I decided not to record the Japanese accent in the transcripts when English was spoken, unless it was considered critical to the argument being discussed.

Documents. Before and during (but not limited to) my data collection phase, I collected documents related to Foreign Language Activities. All the policy documents from the MEXT were available and obtained online (e.g., MEXT, 2008a; 2008b). As for

the textbook, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], and its teacher's manual, since they were not available for sale, I used my personal connections to obtain them. The two schools' websites were also helpful to learn about their school histories and communities.

Data Analysis

In this study, I undertook two major phases of data analysis as suggested in Gumperz (1986, 1999). The first phase is an ethnographic content analysis that entails iterative, cyclical processes of coding, finding patterns or themes, and constructing arguments. I first conducted an inductive analysis, or "open coding" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 160; see also Strauss, 1987) of the audio-recorded classroom interactions. As Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggest, ideally coding should begin soon after the first data are collected. However, due to the intensity of my data collection that involved long-hours of driving between the two cities, my commitment to staying at the research sites as long as I could and writing up my field notes each day, transcribing and coding while collecting data was not a feasible option for me. I decided to wait to code my data until I finished collecting them. Instead of using the very first collected data as suggested in Corbin and Strauss (2008), I read through my field notes, selected, and coded the audio-recording of one class that I thought would serve as a basis or "springboard" (p. 163) to guide further analysis. As outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994) and Saldaña (2009), I conducted sentence-by-sentence coding using descriptive codes. Just as Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggest writing memos as a means to interact with data, I took detailed notes to make sense of what was happening in the classroom while I was engaged in coding. As the coding took place multiple times, I began to code bigger chunks of texts

than one sentence and my codes moved from descriptive to more interpretive and inferential/explanatory (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 57). Using Dedoose, a web application for qualitative and mixed methods, also helped me be more consistent with assigning codes to each segment. Based on this initial coding, I coded the rest of the data to identify patterns and themes. While descriptive coding allowed me to draw overall ethnographic findings by focusing in depth on what is presented in the data, it may have caused me to overlook other aspects of the data. Particularly relevant to this study, descriptive coding may fail to illuminate subtle local practices discursively presented in classroom interactions. In order to explicate how given information is linguistically delivered in interactions, I conducted a micro-discourse analysis.

The second phase is a micro discourse analysis of audio-recorded data in which I selected and analyzed excerpts based on the ethnographic findings. A micro discourse analysis is “the ‘slow motion’ study of interaction” (Rampton, 1995, p. 97) which aims empirically to identify and explicate evidence of “recurrent form-context relationships” in face-to-face interactions (Gumperz, 1999, p. 466; see also Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; “the interactional order” in Goffman, 1983). In other words, it seeks any verbal signs or “contextualization cues” that “construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation, and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood” or not understood (Gumperz, 1999, p. 461; cf., Gumperz, 1982b). Oftentimes, contextualization cues may be ‘trivial’ and ‘inconsequential’ parts of data and eliminated from transcription and analysis. However, such ‘unimportant’ data are likely to provide a “wealth of insights” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008, p. 411) as Bucholtz and Hall (2008) explain:

... [E]ven ‘bad’ data can be put to good use, if researchers are open to looking at it from a fresh vantage point. And even parts of linguistic data that scholars often set aside or overlook as periphery, background, or undesirable ‘noise’ can yield new insights if they are subjected to the same level of analysis as the data that usually takes center stage (p. 411).

Contextualization cues typically examined include switching of codes, dialects or styles, pronunciation, lexical and grammatical choices (Gumperz, 1982b, p. 131), among which code-switching has been most ‘popular’ in IS studies (e.g., Heller, 1988; Rampton, 1995, 1999, 2001b, 2006). Likewise, code-switching between English and Japanese became one of the salient concepts in my coding process and was closely examined in this study.

The Researcher Positionality. Many qualitative researchers have described their positionality in their research sites from the insider/outsider perspective. While earlier research confirmed advantages to being an ethnic, cultural, and/or linguistic insider to the researched community (e.g., Chavez, 2008, p. 479), more recent work has complicated this static, dichotomous perspective as being more dynamic, multi-dimensional, and fluid (Brayboy, 2000; Chavez, 2008; DeAndrade, 2000; Ergun & Erdemir, 2010; Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, & Muhamad, 2001). Insider researchers address “the tensions involved in being a ‘native’ among ‘natives’” (Brayboy, 2000, p. 424) that are attributed to the combination of the commonalities/differences in educational background (Brayboy, 2000; Merriam et al, 2001), age/generation (Chavez, 2008; DeAndrade, 2000; Merriam et al., 2001), appearance (Merriam et al., 2001; DeAndrade, 2000), gender (DeAndrade, 2000;

Merriam et al., 2001), and political orientation (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010) between the researcher and the researched.

Many insider researchers also report their dilemmas, undertaking further layers of insider/outsider positioning processes within the researched community. In Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, and Muhamad (2001), Kee reports that she faced difficulties in getting access to working-class Korean residents in the US even though she shared the same ethnic and linguistic background with them. Her status as a doctoral student was perceived as “prestigious” (p. 407) by her Korean participants who came from a lower socio-economic class. Consequently, Kee experienced occasional refusals of co-operation and was treated as an outsider by some of her participants.

Likewise, Brayboy (2000) grappled with similar situations as an Indigenous researcher:

[B]eing both an Indigenous person and an academic is fraught with difficulties and costs, for I am constantly aware of the ways that I am being positioned by those with whom I interact as a researcher as well as those I interact with as an Indian, and the differences between the two. This positioning becomes extremely complicated when both my researcher and Indian identities must be simultaneously foregrounded (p. 416).

In order not to be ‘othered’ by other Indigenous people, who did not trust researchers due to their past experiences, Brayboy had developed strategies to blur his researcher identity when working with Indigenous people. However, he reveals that it became extremely difficult when he had to interact with them in his “ ‘researcher’ mode” (p. 425). These instances highlight how multiple, conflicting identities – both intended/performed by the researcher and perceived/imposed by the researched – need

to be constantly negotiated. In such cases, insider researchers uniquely grapple with insider and outsider identities at the same time.

In many cases, the researcher's positioning shifts in subtle, nuanced ways. Studying her own family for her dissertation research, Chavez (2008) noted that she had instant access and rapport with her family members who fully accepted her as "the family scholar" (p. 481). However, she also confronted difficulties with interviewing a few of them, including her grandmother, on sensitive subjects such as racism. When her grandmother did not respond to her requests (three times) to elaborate her previous remark on her experience of discrimination as a Mexican immigrant, Chavez felt constrained from pushing further to gain much needed insights from her grandmother because as a total insider she knew too well her grandmother's way of communication as well as her grandmother's expectation to follow the family rules of respect especially as a younger member of the family. In other words, her insider knowledge foregrounded and imposed the granddaughter role on her in this moment. While insider knowledge would certainly provide a window into insightful understanding of what is happening in the field from participants' perspectives in nuanced ways, having the insider knowledge may sometimes constrain pursuit of the goal of research and obscure the researcher role (also see the table in Chavez, 2008, p. 479).

My initial face-to-face contacts with then-potential participant-teachers at the two schools began by exchanging business cards. By doing so, I presented a professional self—a researcher/educator studying in a Ph.D. program in the United States. Simultaneously, I also tried to inform them that I share similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds with them. I intentionally used the regional accents that are also

mine; I also told them that I have lived in the areas for at least a decade. My intention was to present myself primarily as a researcher/educator rather than to highlight only our similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds for ethical reasons. By doing so, I wanted to ensure, from the very beginning, that my potential participants would be aware that I came with a research agenda and purposes, that whatever they would share with me within the IRB protocol would be part of my data.

The people I met at the two schools held their own perceptions of me and seemed to act on them accordingly. Some viewed me primarily as a researcher/educator whereas others as a parent. At Satsuki Laboratory School I was introduced as a graduate student with some experience in teacher education. The teacher I worked with, Ms. Nozomi, viewed me as a researcher/educator. She always called me “*Horii sensei* [Teacher Horii]” with an honorific ‘*sensei* [Teacher]’ that broadly addresses teachers/instructors/professors in Japanese. As described earlier, she genuinely sought feedback from me after each observation. When we did not have time to discuss after class, she emailed me and asked me for my honest feedback.

In contrast, people at Seto Elementary School generally viewed me as a parent and relative rather than a researcher/educator because my son (for one month) and nephews were attending the school. The three teachers I worked with called me “*Horii san* (Ms. Horii)” with a general honorific ‘*san* [Mr./Mrs./Ms.]’ Indeed, one time, one of the teachers introduced me to her students as a student’s (my nephew’s) aunt. In my observation, Seto Elementary School has a close-knit community where everyone seems to know each other across generations. Membership in the community is heavily based on relations in it. Generally I was introduced as my sister’s sister or my nephews’

aunt. While my being a relative to a community member made my entry to the school community possible and welcomed, it also complicated my positioning with the teachers at the school. Even though the teachers were always cooperative and willing to squeeze in every minute to have conversations with me, I was also aware that they might feel cautious about openly sharing their thoughts and opinions with me, a person who is also a parent⁷. Given that they were dealing with a wide range of issues with parents on the daily basis, I fully understood their situation and repeatedly reminded them of my obligations of confidentiality in conducting this research study under the IRB protocol. In this case, an outsider identity as a researcher might have worked better to build professional relationships with the teachers.

Overall, like many other researchers, my positionality at the two schools was highly context dependent. In fact, as DeAndrade (2000) claims, “Participants are not simply sharing their perspectives of race and ethnicity, they are crafting interpretations in relation to and through interaction with researchers” (p. 286). Even though I always intended to present myself primarily as a researcher and then as an insider, my roles shifted depending on whom I was interacting with and also tended to be determined and imposed by the people I interacted with in the research sites. My researcher/educator identity was foregrounded as the teachers responded to my expertise at Satsuki Laboratory School. My parent identity was powerful at the Seto Elementary School community where people recognized and welcomed me as an insider. Such difference in my positionality seems to have impacted the quality and quantity of data I could

⁷ For instance, when the principal proposed to organize a parent-volunteer program, teachers expressed reservations about having parent volunteers in their classrooms. They feared that parents might gossip with other parents about what they saw in class afterwards (A parent, personal communication, June 2011).

collect in these schools. Since my experience and expertise as an educator in the US was welcomed and eagerly sought at Satsuki Laboratory School, I was given more opportunities to interact with the teachers in and outside the classrooms that involved numerous informal conversations. I was invited to join lesson planning discussions with the teacher between and after classes, met with her outside the school over a dinner, regularly had interactions with her via telephone and email. In contrast, my relationship with the teachers at Seto Elementary School remained within the school. That said, because I was welcomed in the community due to the kinship to my sister and her family, I had more opportunities to participate in school events and activities, interact with students and parents, which gave me abundant access to the local knowledge and information about the school history and culture. Thus, while I gained more insights from the teachers at Satsuki Laboratory School, I could acquire rich, local knowledge of the historical and cultural context of Seto Elementary School.

Chapter Four

Seto Elementary School

This chapter analyzes Foreign Language Activities classes at Seto Elementary School and demonstrates how the top-down policy of Foreign Language Activities locally impacts classrooms at Seto Elementary School. I explore how teachers play agentive roles in negotiating and recreating local language education policies within their local contexts. I begin this chapter by illustrating how the three Japanese teachers manage to plan lessons, use *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], and team-teach and communicate with their ALT, Andrew, in class under very limited conditions. I pinpoint and include their contextual factors such as their intense workloads and busy schedules in my analysis to better situate and understand their classroom practices as a reality. Next, I conduct a micro-discourse analysis of classroom interactions of the teachers and explicate the ways in which they discursively construct their teacher identities through performing multiple roles. Specifically I demonstrate how the Japanese teachers participated in instruction, actively or passively, taking a range of roles—from the bystander role to the (co-) teacher role, while they equally claimed that they fully relied on the textbook, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] in their instruction. In the last section of the chapter, I examine classroom practices through the lens of language policy. I consider the impact of the policy on classroom practices, spotlighting instances of the gaps and negotiations between the top-down and bottom-up forces within the local context of Foreign Language Activities. I explore larger sociopolitical implications to better understand why the teachers positioned themselves in the ways they did in their Foreign Language Activities classrooms. I demonstrate how teachers' instructional

choices display their teacher/professional agency as a form of negotiation/recreation of policy. Moreover, as the present study reveals, in some cases, teachers' choices may be instructionally more effective and sound in their context even if they may not be aligned with the top-down policy.

I now invite readers to three sixth grade classrooms at Seto Elementary School. All three participant-teachers, Ms. Mizuno, Ms. Shiratori, and Mr. Nakano have their own classrooms and spend most of the day with their students teaching subjects including Japanese language arts, math, and social studies. Seto Elementary students have an ALT, Andrew, in their Foreign Language Activities classes every other week. On other weeks the Japanese teachers teach it by themselves. There are about 25 students per class at Seto Elementary. The teachers report that a few students are taking private English lessons after school but the majority of the students are learning English only at school.

Lesson Planning, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], and Instruction

The Seto Elementary School teachers have very limited time to prepare for lessons because they work full-time not as “an English teacher but an elementary school teacher who teaches most of the other subjects” (Aline & Hosoda, 2006, p. 19). In addition, they have no time to discuss lessons with the ALT, Andrew. Andrew, a recent college graduate from England with no previous teaching experience or training, was hired to teach English in the nearby junior high school and comes to Seto Elementary School once a week. His busy schedule involves teaching five or six classes and eating lunch with students at the school and does not give him or the Japanese teachers any time to discuss and plan lessons together. Despite the lack of collaboration in lesson

planning, all three classes were team-taught fairly smoothly as if both the teachers had discussed the lesson plan together and knew exactly what they were doing, yet variably, as the two teachers took turns instructing the class. For instance, in my observation, there seemed to be no gaps in timing, false starts, nor confusion about giving directions or page numbers. The following three sections examine how the three Japanese teachers manage to plan lessons, use *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], and team-teach and communicate with their ALT, Andrew, in class under such limited conditions.

Ms. Mizuno. In one of our interviews that took place in her classroom while her students were off to the science class, I asked Ms. Mizuno how she and Andrew managed to team-teach without discussing in advance. She reveals ‘the trick’ as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---------------------|--|
| 1 | Horii: | え、無しであれ、あんだけやられる | <i>Wait, do you do that (well) without</i> |
| 2 | | んですか。 | <i>(discussing in advance)?</i> |
| 3 | Mizuno: | はい。 | <i>Yes.</i> |
| 4 | Horii: | あーそうですか。[チームワークですね。 | <i>Really. [What a teamwork!</i> |
| 5 | Mizuno: | [でも、流れとしては | <i>[But both Mr. Andrew and</i> |
| 6 | | だいたいもう、ここにあるものって、 | <i>I think that what we do (in class) is</i> |
| 7 | | アンドリュウ先生も私も思ってるから、 | <i>pretty much what is in here (=Eigo</i> |
| 8 | | 教科書の通り順番に流れて行って、で、 | <i>Nooto), so (the lesson) flows exactly</i> |
| 9 | | 時間があったら子供が喜ぶようなゲー | <i>And if there is (some) time left,</i> |
| 10 | | ムとかを取り入れていったりね、して | <i>(I/we) try to include games the</i> |
| 11 | | ます。 | <i>children enjoy.</i> |

(Ms. Mizuno, Interview, June 6, 2011)

In response to my surprise expressed as question in Lines 1-2, Ms. Mizuno simply says, “はい [yes]” (Line 3), confirming that she manages to team-teach with Andrew without

meeting in advance at all. Following another brief compliment from me in Line 5, she reveals that *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] is the key. The tacit agreement here is that both Ms. Mizuno and Andrew are to follow “ここに (=教科書に) あるもの [what is in here (= in the textbook)]” (Line 6) so that the lesson “教科書の通り順番に流れ (る) [flows exactly in the order of the textbook]” (Line 8). And only “時間があつたら [if there is time left]” (Line 9), does she add her original activities such as “子供が喜ぶ ようなゲーム [games that children enjoy]” (Lines 9-10). Thus, Ms. Nozomi tries to first cover *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and then plan and conduct her original fun activities only if time permits.

In my observation, Ms. Mizuno seems to take the initiative in instruction and Andrew kind of goes along with it (Field notes, June, 20, 2011). For instance, transitions from one activity to the next were always initiated by Ms. Mizuno. Excerpt 1 demonstrates how the class moves from one activity to another. Before this excerpt took place, the two teachers were introducing students one of the target phrases, “I can ...”

Excerpt 1 (July 4, 2011)

- 1 Mizuno: **tsugi wa?** (Turning to Andrew) maybe ask
'Next?'
- 2 Andrew: Ask
- 3 Mizuno: yes or no
(1)
- 4 Andrew: 'kay yes I can (.) no I ca:n't (0.5) okay
- 5 Mizuno: **kondowa minnani dekiru ka-doo-ka kiku kara::** yes (.) I can **ka** no I can't
this time everyone can if/whether ask because or
'This time, (we're) going to ask everyone if they can or not, so (we'll) have (you)
- 6 **no docchi ka de kotaete moraimasu** (1) **honnara** yes **kana, docchi mo**
of either or with answer have (someone) do then Q either also
answer with either "yes, I can" or "no, I can't." Then (students may just say) yes?
- 7 **muzukashii hito wa** yes **ka** no **dake de iidesu yo** (.) yes I can (1) no I can't
difficult person or only with good IP
For those who find it difficult answering in either way, it's okay to say only yes or no'
- 8 (2.5) (turning to Andrew) okay?
- 9 Andrew: ready?

- 10 Mizuno: Yes
 11 Andrew: can you swim?
 12 Mizuno: can you swim? swim () yes or no
 13 Student : Yes
 14 Mizuno: Yes
 15 Class: <clapping>

(Ms. Mizuno, July 4, 2011)

In Line 1, Ms. Mizuno first makes a transition by asking her students, “tsugi wa [Next?]” in Japanese and then turns to Andrew and says, “maybe ask” in English. Given that the previous target phrase was a declarative sentence, “I can/can’t ...,” Ms. Mizuno probably intended to introduce its interrogative form, “can I ...?” However, Andrew’s immediate repetition of her direction in Line 2 shows that he does not fully understand what he was asked to do. In Line 3, Ms. Mizuno further adds, “yes or no” for clarification. Andrew shows his understanding by responding, “ ’kay” (Line 4) and immediately introduces “Yes, I can. No, I can’t” (Line 4). Following Andrew’s demonstration of the new target phrases, Ms. Mizuno explains what they are now going to do to the whole class in Japanese. She tells her students that Andrew is going to ask questions and they need to answer either “Yes, I can” or “No, I can’t” (Lines 5-6). She also makes sure that students can reply simply “Yes” or “No” if it is too hard to say the whole sentences (Lines 6-7). After two and a half seconds of pause, Ms. Mizuno turns to Andrew and signals that the students are now ready to answer questions by saying, “okay?” as shown in Line 8. Andrew replies to Ms. Mizuno asking, “Ready?” (Line 9) and begins asking questions after her confirmation, “yes” in Line 10. Given that Ms. Mizuno and Andrew did not discuss the lesson plan together at all and Andrew probably did not understand what Ms. Mizuno explained to the students in Japanese, he seems to have needed to figure out what he was expected to do next based on the directions

uttered in simple but ambiguous phrases by Ms. Mizuno in Lines 1 and 3 (“Maybe ask” and “Yes or no”). Although Ms. Mizuno’s simple prompts, “maybe ask” and “yes or no,” could have been interpreted variably (since it is unclear who should ask whom and who should answer yes or no), Andrew successfully figured out that he was supposed to ask students questions using the target phrase “can you ...?” and needed to introduce the answer phrases, “Yes, (I can)” or “No, (I can’t),” in order for the students to reply to his questions.

Overall, Ms. Mizuno tries to first follow and cover *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and then add her original activities when time permits. She communicates with Andrew very briefly in between activities in simple English. Also using gestures, pointing to the activity in the teacher’s manual that she wants to do next supplement her over-simplified language to help Andrew comprehend what her agendas and intentions are. Familiar with the content of the class through reading the teacher’s manual before class, Andrew quickly understands Ms. Mizuno’s intentions and follows her directions accordingly.

Ms. Nakano. Mr. Nakano also faces a similar situation to Ms. Mizuno’s. He explains his situation as follows:

- | | | | |
|---|---------|-------------------|--|
| 1 | Horii: | えーとー、じゃあ、あの授業準備とか | <i>Uhm, well, like, how do you prepare</i> |
| 2 | | どうされてるんですか。 | <i>for lessons?</i> |
| 3 | Nakano: | そうですね、もう準備する時間はない | <i>Well, (we) have no time to prepare</i> |
| 4 | | ですね。 | <i>(lessons)</i> |
| 5 | Horii: | じゃ、もうぶっ[つけ本番ですか。 | <i>Then, is (it) off-[the-cuff?</i> |
| 6 | Nakano: | [ぶっつけ本番ですね。 | <i>[(It) is off-the-cuff</i> |
| 7 | Horii: | え、でも、全然スムーズにやってらっ | <i>Well, but, (you) are doing very</i> |
| 8 | | しゃいますよね、割と。 | <i>smoothly, pretty much.</i> |

- 9 Nakano: (hh) そうですかね。 (hh) *Is that so/Really?*
- 10 Horii: (hhhhh) その辺は、どういう風にこう、 (hhhhh) *How do you manage to do*
 11 やられてるんですか。先生の方も、 *that? Do you and Mr. Andrew*
 12 アンドリュー先生もそれぞれで、こう... *individually like...*
- 13 Nakano: えーと、まあそうですね。まあ、ほんと *Uhm, yes. Well, really, now, well, we*
 14 に今は、あの、文科省のね、英語ノート *have Eigo Nooto from MEXT.*
 15 があるので一、あれがないとちょっと、 *Without that, it would've been hard*
 16 打ち合わせとか大変だと、作らないかん *(holding) meetings and so forth. (We)*
 17 ですからね。 *would have had to create (lesson*
plans from scratch).

(Mr. Nakano, Interview, June 27, 2011)

This conversation took place when Mr. Nakano and I were discussing how he was team-teaching with Andrew. When I asked him how he prepares for lessons (Lines 1-2), he replies that he has no time to prepare (Line 3) and agrees with me echoing that it is always “ぶっつけ本番 [off-the-cuff]” (Line 6). Next, I compliment how smoothly they teach together (Lines 7-8). In his response Mr. Nakano avoids accepting my compliments by asking back to me, “そうですかね [Is that so?/Really?]” (Line 9). As research has revealed, avoiding or rejecting compliments is a normative speech act in the Japanese culture (Saito & Beecken, 1997; Yokota, 1986). In fact, the accompanied giggle, “(hh),” in Line 9 indicates that the atmosphere is kept positive, to ensure that his avoidance signals his humble attitude. As a Japanese researcher who shares the same culture with him, I respond back to him with a giggle, “(hhhhh),” in return to keep the positive atmosphere. Further, in Lines 10-12, I hedge asking him how he and Andrew prepare to team-teach. Mr. Nakano confirms that he and Andrew just individually read the teacher’s manual before class (Line 13). He further explains that both rely on *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and it would have been impossible to team-teach without it (Lines 13-17).

While Ms. Mizuno takes the initiative in class and gives directions to Andrew in multiple ways, Ms. Nakano allows Andrew to lead the class most of their class time and only intervenes when needed. In fact, there are very few direct interactions between the two teachers in class. Excerpt 2 shows how both Mr. Nakano and Andrew manage to conduct a lesson together without communicating before and during class. Before the lesson begins, Mr. Nakano is handing out five artificial strawberries to each student, telling them, “はい、そしたら、これ、いちごを取りに来なさい。一人5こ。 [Okay, now, please come take these strawberries. Five per person]” (Mr. Nakano, July 11, 2011). Andrew comes into the classroom a few minutes earlier and quickly realizes that this class is learning a different section in the textbook than what the other two classes covered. My field notes report that Andrew is quickly going through the teacher’s manual at the very last minute before the bell rings (Field notes, July 11, 2011). The class, as shown in Excerpt 2, begins a few seconds after the bell rings.

Excerpt 2 (July 11, 2011)

- 1 ((The bell rings))
 2 Nakano: **hai motteke** (.) **koko** (.) **chaimu natta** (44) **hai** (.) **mo:** **sawarana:i** (3)
 yes take (them) here bell rang yes anymore don't touch
'Yes, take them. Here. The bell rang. Okay, don't touch (them).
 3 **sawarunyattara te:** **atama ni shitemorau zo** (4) **hai** (.) **satto totte**
 if touch hand(s) head on do IP yes quickly take
If (you) touch (them), (I) will have (you) put (your) hands on (your) head. Okay,
 4 (.) **5 tsu** (9) ((turning to Andrew)) okay
 5 pieces
quickly take 5 pieces'
 5 Andrew: okay (14) good afternoon
 6 Andrew: good afternoon
 7 Class: good afternoon
 8 Andrew: how are you?
 9 Class: I'm fine (1) how are you?
 10 Andrew: I'm fine (2.5) okay (.) please turn to page 30 (.) and 31 (1.5) we're doing
 11 Lesson 5 (1) doing Lesson 5 (10) so you have your strawberries (.) please put
 12 these (.) on five places (.) okay? (2) so, put your strawberries (.) on five (0.5)
 13 different places (3.5) okay? (4) so put your strawberries on five places
 14 (2)
 15 Nakano: okay?

16 (3)
 17 Andrew: for example (3) one strawberry here (1.5) here (.) okay? on five different places
 18 (7.5)
 19 anywhere is fine
 20 Class: ((Students put their strawberries))

(Mr. Nakano, July 11, 2011)

As shown in this excerpt, when the bell rings (Line 1), Mr. Nakano is still distributing plastic strawberries to each student (Line 2–4) and Andrew is looking at the teacher’s manual (Field notes, July 11, 2011) until Mr. Nakano signals, “okay” (Line 4) to remind him that it is time to start class. Andrew replies back (“okay” in Line 5), quickly closes the manuals, and begins class by greeting the students. Andrew says to the whole class, “good afternoon” (Line 6) and the students greet back to him, repeating, “good afternoon” (Line 7). The greeting further includes asking each other how they are doing. This is an example of what Goffman (1981) called “interpersonal verbal rituals” in which highly “conventionalized utterances” (p. 21) take place as a routine to signal the beginning of the class. Following two and a half seconds of pause after the opening ritual, the first activity is explained. Andrew asks students to open their textbooks (Line 10) and announces what they are going to learn that day (Lines 11). After 10 seconds of a long pause waiting students to open their textbooks, Andrew refers to the strawberries that Mr. Nakano has just distributed to each student (“so you have your strawberries” in Line 11) and further explains what to do with them, saying, “please put these (.) on five places” and then repeats it two more times (Lines 11-14). While monitoring, Mr. Nakano never takes over the whole class communication, other than briefly asking, “okay?” (Line 15). Then Andrew further demonstrates what to do and monitors the students (Lines 17-19).

In Excerpt 2, Mr. Nakano distributes learning materials (=artificial strawberries) before class and Andrew gives directions about them in class. On the surface, the class seems to proceed without lapses or confusion about giving directions as if both the teachers are working together based on the same lesson agenda, knowing exactly what they are going to do in class. The reality is, though, that neither had discussed the lesson in advance; Andrew only figured out what page he should start with by observing Mr. Nakano and the students before class. When he is not prepared, like this day in Excerpt 2, he quickly runs through the textbook and teacher's manual and learns what to do.

This excerpt also highlights how the scripted lesson plans may serve not only Japanese teachers but also ALT. Since the teacher's manual is written in Japanese, Andrew could only look at the English part and identify which activity he is supposed to teach that day and how. For instance, the direction given in Lines 10-13 can be found in a lesson plan scripted in English: "Open your textbook to pages 30 and 31. Choose five places and put one *ohajiki* on each picture" (MEXT, 2008c, p. 74). Seemingly, Andrew quickly understood that Mr. Nakano had brought artificial strawberries instead of *ohajiki*, Japanese flat marbles, given that he gave students the right instruction accordingly. Thus, English scripts may serve not only Japanese teachers who need assistance with oral English or classroom English but also English speaking ALT who do not read Japanese but need to read and understand the lesson plans.

While Ms. Mizuno tries to add original activities in her lessons, Mr. Nakano does not add anything but simply allows Andrew to proceed further. In addition, compared to Ms. Mizuno, Mr. Nakano communicates with Andrew very little. Although

I observed direct interactions between the two teachers, it happened only when some kind of intervention was necessary in class. Such lack of interaction between the two teachers often puts Andrew in a position where he has to read and comprehend the situations himself and act accordingly.

Ms. Shiratori. In her interview, Ms. Shiratori echoes the other two teachers about the role *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] plays in their team-teaching but further addresses how it is used, to lead to such “success.” In our second interview after school, I was trying to ask Ms. Shiratori how she manages to teach Foreign Language Activities with Andrew when she has no time to discuss lesson plans with him:

- | | | | |
|----|------------|---------------------|--|
| 1 | Horii: | あのう、ALTの先生が、じゃ、指示を | <i>Well, without discussing, like the</i> |
| 2 | | この時は出して、じゃ、この時は先生が | <i>ALT would give directions here, and</i> |
| 3 | | こうして、とかっていう打ち合わせも | <i>well, here, you do this, (I hardly</i> |
| 4 | | なく、でも何かそのぎこちなさとか、 | <i>saw) anything that did not seem to</i> |
| 5 | | そういうのが全然... | <i>go smoothly...</i> |
| 6 | Shiratori: | そうですかねえ。 | <i>Is that so?/Really...</i> |
| 7 | Horii: | はい。 | <i>Yes.</i> |
| 8 | Shiratori: | 何かもう自分でももう全然ねー、もっと | <i>Well, I (haven't done enough) at all,</i> |
| 9 | | もっといろいろ打ち合わせしたらきっと | <i>and it would probably be exciting if</i> |
| 10 | | 楽しいんだろうけどー。多分、私やっぱ | <i>(we) could discuss more... Probably</i> |
| 11 | | りALTの先生がーずいぶんノートを読ん | <i>I (think) the ALT is reading the</i> |
| 12 | | でくださってる。いや、私はもう勿論読 | <i>(English) Notebook very well. I</i> |
| 13 | | んでるんですけどー、やっぱり読んでる | <i>mean, of course, I read it, too, but</i> |
| 14 | | から、ま、やっぱりこう時間がない分、 | <i>because (we both) read it and since</i> |
| 15 | | お互いやっぱりノートを読んでる分、ま | <i>(we) have no time and we read the</i> |
| 16 | | それができるのかなーと思って。だっ | <i>Notebook, well, I think we can do</i> |
| 17 | | て、お互い読んでなかったら、それ | <i>this (way). If we don't read it, that's</i> |
| 18 | | 絶対無理や(huh huh huh) | <i>absolutely impossible (huh huh huh)</i> |

(Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 21, 2011)

First, I complimented her on her instruction, saying that I did not observe anything that did not seem to go smoothly in their classes even though they had not planned the lesson together (Lines 1-5). Then, before I finished my turn, Ms. Shiratori interrupted

me and questioned my comment by saying, “そうですかねえ [Is that so?/Really...]” (Line 6). Again, this is a typical Japanese normative speech act to avoid accepting compliments and to humble her/himself (Saito & Beecken, 1997; Yokota, 1986). Following my reconfirmation of my compliment in Line 7, Ms. Shiratori further humbled herself by pointing out that she had not done enough and addressing how she could have done better (Lines 8-10) before she finally reached her real response in Lines 10-18. In Lines 10-18, she explains why and how her lessons with Andrew go well despite their lack of collaboration in lesson planning and discussions. Like the other two teachers, Ms. Shiratori also points to *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] as an anchor to her lessons. She further acknowledges that Andrew reads through the textbook (and its teaching manuals) as well (Lines 10-12). She does not forget to mention that she reads through the textbook (Lines 12-13) and concludes that lessons work out only when both the teachers read through the textbook and prepare for the lesson (Lines 15-18).

Ms. Shiratori does not take the initiative in instruction as Ms. Mizuno does. Like Mr. Nakano, she allows Andrew to lead the class most of the time. It is always Andrew who first decides when to move on to the next activity and tells students what to do. However, while Mr. Nakano usually positions himself on the side by the window and hardly ever takes over the whole class conversation, Ms. Shiratori mostly stays behind her desk in the front corner and more actively participates in the conversation. Excerpt 3 presents one such example in which Andrew initiates the transition from one activity to another while Ms. Shiratori translates his instruction for the students. Before this whole class conversation took place, Andrew had just announced to the students that they were

going to learn the twelve months of the year and had checked what the word “months” is in Japanese.

Excerpt 3 (June 20, 2011)

- 1 Andrew: oka:y (.) so please look at page sixteen (.) page sixteen
 2 Shiratori: **hai juuroku juunana peeji o ne akete kudasai**
 yes 16 17 page O IP open please
‘Okay, please turn to page 16 and 17.’
 3 Andrew: you have to match the months to the festivals (.) okay? draw a line between the
 4 months and the festivals
 5 (3)
 6 Shiratori: **tsuki no** calendar **to** festival **yakara ne ((a student sneezes)) ano: iroirona**
 month of and so IP we:ll various
‘Connect between calendar of the months and, since (it) is the festivals, well, different
 7 **gyooji ga aruno o ne sen de ne musunde kudasai**
 events S exist O IP line with IP connect please
events with lines’
 8 Andrew: for example for example
 9 Shiratori: **imakara ree o shimasuyo tte**
 now example O do QT
‘(Andrew says) that now (he is/we are) going to do example(s).’
 10 Andrew: ((draws a line between January and a picture of kadomatsu, a Japanese New Year’s
 decoration))

(Ms. Shiratori, June 20, 2011)

As indicated in Line 1, Andrew takes the initiative in making a transition from the previous activity to a new one. He first calls for attention by using the word, “oka:y” and then gives a specific instruction to students, asking them to turn their textbooks to the designated page. Ms. Shiratori follows Andrew, exactly translating what he has just said, including the transitional word, “oka:y” (Line 1) as “*hai* [yes/okay]” in Japanese (Line 2). Next, Andrew gives students a further direction, which is to draw lines between the months and the festivals/events in the textbook (Lines 3-4). In Lines 6-7, Ms. Shiratori again translates Andrew’s instruction into Japanese. In particular, in Line 6 she speaks out loud her translating process: “festival *yakara ne*, *ano: iroirona gyooji ga ...* [since (it) is festivals, (it means) various events ...].” By repeating the word, festival, that Andrew used, and further hedging (“*ano: [we:ll]*”), Ms. Shiratori seems to

seek the right word in Japanese before translating it. Further, in Line 8, Andrew says, “for example, for example” and Ms. Shiratori translates by reporting with the quotation marker “*tte*” what he said: “*imakara ree o shimasuyo tte* [(Andrew says) that now (he is/we are) going to do example(s)].” Thus, Excerpt 3 demonstrates how Ms. Shiratori allows Andrew lead the class while participating in the whole class conversation herself mainly by translating Andrew’s instructions into Japanese. Although this was a typical form of interaction with Andrew giving the original instruction and Ms. Shiratori translating, there were times when she took over the class and gave instructions herself. But such moments took place only as interventions following the directions initiated by Andrew, not as an initiated change of activity as Ms. Mizuno does in her class.

Similar to Mr. Nakano, Ms. Shiratori hardly interacts with Andrew. A few seconds of information exchange before class is the time when Andrew catches up with what they had done the previous week (since he teaches the sixth graders only every other week). My field notes describe one of such moments as follows: “Andrew goes up to her (=Ms. Shiratori) and she does a little bit of ‘*uchiawase* [discussion]’ over what to do next with him. Still she sticks to Japanese” (Field notes, July 11, 2011). On another day Ms. Shiratori was running a little late because she was speaking with a few students before class. When she finished talking with them, she apologized to Andrew, “すみません、アンドリュー先生 [Sorry, Mr. Andrew]” in Japanese and then walked to her desk in the front corner to let Andrew begin the class (Field notes, July 4, 2011). Interestingly, Ms. Shiratori seems to stay in Japanese most of the time when she communicates with Andrew, even though he does not speak the language. While Andrew is overall very skillful at ‘reading’ situations based on the limited information

he gathers from the teachers as well as from the surrounding contexts, there were moments where/when he did not seem to comprehend. Excerpt 4 below is one of such examples. In this class, students were learning the twelve months in English. This excerpt took place when they were working on an activity from *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] in which students were asked to connect and draw lines between Japanese seasonal events in illustration and the months they are celebrated in. Andrew reported to me that this activity was particularly challenging for him since he is not fully familiar with Japanese culture (Field notes, June 20, 2011). In addition, the answer key is provided only in Japanese in the teacher's manual with no explanation about what each event is. And the illustrations provided in the textbook are so simplified that even Ms. Shiratori had to refer to the manual to check the answer key and explain what the events were to the students (Field notes, June 20, 2011). Consequently, there were multiple times where Andrew seemed lost, not knowing the answers or the events depicted in each picture. In the following excerpt, Ms. Shiratori and the students were discussing a Japanese festival “お月見/*otsukimi*,” the full moon viewing, in September.

Excerpt 4 (June, 20, 2011)

- 1 Students: ((chatting))
- 2 Shiratori: **otsukimi:** (.) **odango:** **tte iu** (.) **odango** (.) ((to students))
the full moon viewing dumplings QT sat dumplings
'The full moon viewing... (It is) called dumplings... dumplings...'
- 3 **odango tte nan te iu-n?**
dumplings QT what QT say-Q
'How do you say odango?'
- 4 Student: **dango!**
'dumplings!'
- 5 Andrew: xxx okay (.) I'll find out later (.) okay next (1.5) next

(Ms. Shiratori, June, 20, 2011)

Although the audio-recorder only caught students' chatting in Line 1, my field notes record that prior to Ms. Shiratori's turn in Lines 2-3, Andrew had asked her what *Otsukimi* [the full moon viewing] was in English (Field notes, June, 20, 2011). Ms. Shiratori's utterance in Lines 2-3 is an attempt to explain to Andrew what the celebration is about. She first repeats the word, *otsukimi* that Andrew had asked about. Then referring to the picture in the textbook of *odango*, Japanese dumplings, which the Japanese people eat to celebrate the full moon, she repeats the word *odango* [dumplings] twice with a gesture, trying to show the shape of dumplings with her hands (Line 2). While repeating the word in Japanese, she tries to recall its English translation. Then she turns to the students and asks what it is in English (Line 3). In Line 4, a student shouts the same Japanese word, "*dango!*" Hearing only the Japanese words, "*otsukimi* [the full moon viewing]," which he asked about and "*odango* [dumplings]" which Ms. Shiratori and the students could not provide the translation of in English, Andrew remained lost. With a smile, Andrew decides to dismiss it, saying, "okay, I'll find out later" and moved on, saying "next" (Line 5).

Excerpt 5 below shows another occasion in the same activity in which Andrew seemed lost again (Field notes, June 20, 2011), when Ms. Shiratori was trying to explain what the Japanese people do when they celebrate tooji, Midwinter, in December. When this excerpt took place, a student had been called on and was standing in front, connecting and drawing a line between Midwinter and December on the board. The two teachers and students were watching him to see if he would get the correct answer or not. Since each seasonal event in *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] is depicted in illustration, students need to identify which event the pictures represent.

Excerpt 5 (June, 20, 2011)

- 1 Shiratori: **de ne** (.) **geshi** **no ne** (.) **choodo hantai ni narimasu** (.)
and IP Midsummer of IP exactly opposite to become
'Yes, and (this) is exactly opposite of Midsummer. Does anyone
- 2 **dareka wakaru hito** **[itemasu ka?]=**
anyone know person is Q
know (what it is)?'
- 3 Student A: **[hai**
Yes
- 4 Shiratori: **=geshi** **no cho** (.) **soo** (.) **hantai ni narimasu kore** (.) **ichi ga**
Midsummer of exa... yes opposite to becomes this position S
'(This is) exa... yes, opposite of Midsummer. The location is (opposite)'
- 5 Students: ((chatting, giggling)) (8)
- 6 Student B: **onaji de::su**
same is
'(I got it) the sa:me.'
- 7 Student C: **Tooji**
'Midwinter.'
- 8 Shiratori: **tooji** (.) **seekai desu ne** (.) **tooji ni natta ra nihon dewa** (.) **ne** (.)
Midwinter correct is IP Midwinter to became if Japan in IP
'Midwinter. (It) is correct. When (it) is Midwinter, in Japan
- 9 **mikan rui o ne** (.) **ano: ofuro no-naka-ni** (.) **ano** (.) **bathtub n-naka-ni:**
orange kinds O IP well bathtub int well into
(we) put oranges, orange, oranges in the bathtub,
- 10 (.) **mikan** orange **datoka ne iroiro ko: irete ne** (.) **karada o ...**
orange etc. IP different like put IP body O
well into the bathtub and body...'
- 9 Student D: **sensee** (.) **mikan rui tte** (.) **donna mon ireru-n-desu ka?**
teacher orange kind IP what kind thing put-E-F Q
'Teacher, what kind of oranges do (we) put?'
- 10 Student E: **Yuzu**
'yuzu'
- 11 Student F: **Yuzu**
'yuzu'
- 12 Student G: **hoka wa?**
else Q
'Anything else?'
- 13 Shiratori: **yuzu** (.) **yuzu yu toka ne** (.) **mikan muide: ne irema:su**
yuzu yuzu bath CP IP orange peel IP put
'Yuzu, like yuzu bath. (We) peel and put oranges.'

(Ms. Shiratori, June, 20, 2011)

While waiting for the student to finish connecting the month and event, Ms. Shiratori asks students a question about what the event is. In Line 1, she first shifts her conversation to the whole class (after speaking to just one student) using a conjunction “*de* [and]” and then gives students a hint about which event is depicted in the picture

from *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook]. She tells them that the answer is the antonym of *geshi* [Midsummer] and asks if anyone knows what the answer is (Lines 1-2). Student A raises his hand (Line 3) but is not noticed or not acknowledged by Ms. Shiratori. Ms. Shiratori repeats the hint she has just provided (Line 4). After eight seconds of pause as indicated in Line 5, the whole class conversation is brought back again when Student B shouts, “*onaji desu* [(It) is the same/(It) is correct],” agreeing with the student who just finished connecting the month and event. Then, Student C provides the answer, saying, “*tooji* [Midwinter]” (Line 6). Ms. Shiratori repeats Student C’s answer, “*tooji* [Midwinter]” and confirms that it is correct, saying, “*seekai desu ne* [(It) is correct]” (Line 8). Then follows the interesting part in which she attempts to explain what *tooji* [Midwinter] is by describing what the Japanese people do to celebrate it. Her explanation is again based on the matched picture in *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] where a girl is in the bathtub with a kind of orange. Ms. Shiratori describes that the Japanese people put oranges in the bathtub around Midwinter (Lines 8-10). Here, Ms. Shiratori seems to attempt to make her statement comprehensible, particularly to Andrew. For instance, she uses a more general word, *mikan* [orange], instead of specifying the kind used for bath in Japan. Given that multiple students and Ms. Shiratori mentioned it (Lines 9-13), they seem to know that the Japanese people traditionally use not just any kind but a specific kind of orange, *yuzu*, for the bath. Ms. Shiratori’s almost unnecessary choice of such a general word seems to be intended for Andrew who probably knows the word, orange, but not *yuzu*. Second, in her description Ms. Shiratori attempts to use English words. In Lines 9-10, she rewords “*mikan* [orange]” and “*ofuro* [bathtub]” into English words, “orange” and “bathtub.” Further,

she even pronounces the word “orange” with the English stress on the first syllable instead of on the second as she would have using an Japanese accent. Thus, even though Ms. Shiratori stayed in Japanese and Andrew did not understand what she said in this excerpt, Ms. Shiratori’s effort and attempt to communicate with Andrew is still evident in her use of simplified Japanese and English words.

In short, Ms. Shiratori communicates with Andrew very little and even when she does, she mostly stays in Japanese. Like Mr. Nakano, she also allows Andrew to lead the class but participates in instruction by translating and occasionally giving additional instruction as needed. But again, all her communication takes place almost exclusively in Japanese. Since Andrew does not speak Japanese, he is sometimes unable to join in the classroom conversation, and yet still has to move on, despite being lost.

***Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], Intensification, and Deskillling of Teachers: A Reality.** So far I have illustrated how *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] plays a central role in Foreign Language Activities at Seto Elementary School. The textbook as well as its teacher’s manual provided the content and structure of each lesson both for the three Japanese teachers and for the ALT, Andrew, to team-teach in class without meeting and planning lessons together in advance. As all three Japanese teachers pointed out, their instruction is almost entirely dependent on a tacit agreement to come prepared to class by reading the textbook (and its teacher’s manual) and following it. Based on the shared lesson plans from the teacher’s manual, both the Japanese teachers and Andrew manage to follow the other teacher or lead the class with very limited direct interaction. That said, it was also evident that such lack of communication and collaboration in lesson planning put more burden on Andrew who had to ‘read’ the situations and adapt his

instruction accordingly, constantly figuring out what was going on since the classroom conversation often took place in Japanese which he does not understand, where to start and what to teach, and whether he should follow the teacher (like in Ms. Mizuno's class) or lead the class (like in Mr. Nakano and Ms. Shiratori's classes). At least the Japanese teachers did not have to deal with any such uncertainty.

MEXT (2007) associates the intensity of workload in the teaching profession in Japan in recent years with more truancy, violence, bullying in schools, working hours, and fewer breaks. Seto Elementary School teachers are no exception in this regard. In particular, in the year 2011, when the data collection took place at the school, the new curriculum implementation was taking place not only in foreign language education but also in other academic subject areas. All the textbooks were drastically revised due to the curricular change in the Course of Study and the content was increased by 20%. Ms. Mizuno, Mr. Nakano, and Ms. Shiratori were in fact teaching Foreign Language Activities on top of teaching new content using new textbooks in multiple subject areas. In my numerous conversations with the principal at Seto Elementary School, I was repeatedly informed that the teachers at the school were all over-worked (Field notes, June 20, 2011). They often stayed after school, working until 10pm. Some came to school to work on weekends. Consequently, many excellent teachers with great enthusiasm were leaving the profession; in fact, the principal receives multiple requests for early retirement from teachers each year. Given such a work overload, Ms. Mizuno, Mr. Nakano, and Ms. Shiratori literally had no time to plan lessons together with the ALT, Andrew; additional "givens" were that they lacked professional training and support, and that Andrew had no teaching experience or training prior to coming to

Japan. Thus *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] along with English scripted lesson plans in the teacher's manual were certainly “an efficient, practical, and sensible solution to the several ‘givens’ within the school” (Apple, 1993/2000, p. 124). Ms. Shiratori discloses her thoughts on using *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] in one of our interviews as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|------------|----------------------|--|
| 1 | Horii: | で、英語ノートを使われて一、教えられ | <i>And, (you've) been using Eigo</i> |
| 2 | | るの、今年は一 | <i>Nooto and teaching since this year</i> |
| 3 | Shiratori: | えーと、去年[からですねー。 | <i>Uhm, [since last year</i> |
| 4 | Horii: | [から | <i>[Since...</i> |
| 5 | Shiratori: | そうです、そうです。 | <i>Yes, yes.</i> |
| 6 | Horii: | あ、そうですか。 | <i>Oh, really.</i> |
| 7 | Shiratori: | はい、はい。 | <i>Yes, yes.</i> |
| 8 | Horii: | ど、どうでした？ どうですか？ | <i>H, how was it? How is it?</i> |
| 9 | Shiratori: | 私はもうやりやすいですー。だからもう、 | <i>For me, it's easy to use. So, uhm</i> |
| 10 | | いや、だからまあ、こういうんね、なん | <i>well, so, like, uhm, compared to</i> |
| 11 | | か、あのう、昔と私がやっぱり比較して一 | <i>what we used to do, I think, like</i> |
| 12 | | 思うのは一、やっぱりこう、かん、は | <i>uhm, of course (it) would be great</i> |
| 13 | | ねー、そりゃ自分がカリキュラムとか考え | <i>if (I) could develop a curriculum</i> |
| 14 | | たらいいんでしょうけど、やっぱり系統性 | <i>myself, but I feel (more)</i> |
| 15 | | とか一、やっぱり専門の方が考えられ、 | <i>comfortable (using) the one experts</i> |
| 16 | | て一きちっと作ってるものの方が自分とし | <i>professionally created considering</i> |
| 17 | | ても安心できるし一、ま、子供たちも、何 | <i>things like coherence. I assume</i> |
| 18 | | かまあ無理なく、レベル的についてこれる | <i>they developed something children</i> |
| 19 | | ものをきっと考えてくださってるだろうか | <i>can follow at the appropriate level</i> |
| 20 | | ら、私はありがたい(hh)です。何も無い | <i>without difficulties. I am grateful.</i> |
| 21 | | ところでしていくの、大変です。 | <i>It is hard to do everything from</i>
<i>scratch.</i> |

(Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 21, 2011)

In Lines 1-8, I am trying to ask what Ms. Shiratori thinks of *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook]. Ms. Shiratori immediately replies, “私はもうやりやすいですー [For me, it's easy to use]” (Line 9). Then, after a long stretch of hedging in Lines 9-12, she

admits that it might be good if she could develop a curriculum herself (Lines 13-14) but then contrasts herself with language education specialists who developed the curriculum and *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] (Lines 14-17). She explains that she “安心できる[feels comfortable]” using *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and her students should be able to follow it without difficulties (Lines 14-19). In other words, she argues that both she and her students benefit from using *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] because it was professionally developed by language education specialists who can consider “系統性 [coherence]” and supposedly the level appropriate for her students. Then in Line 20, she reiterates that she appreciates the textbook and admits, “何も無いところでしていくの、大変です。 [It is hard to do everything from scratch]” (Lines 20-21). Later, she concludes:

だからほんとにもう、さっきからお話してるように、私は、あー、何か教えるべきものがあるてありがたいなあぐらいでしか、考えられなかったもので、何か、あ、この通り、ま、教えていったらいいのかなーぐらいしか。

[So, really, as (I) have been telling you, I could only think like, “Well, (I) am grateful for that (now) I have something I’m supposed to teach.” So well, (I was only thinking that I) should just teach exactly following this (=Eigo Nooto)]

(Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 21, 2011).

While *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] may be saving a number of over-worked teachers like Ms. Shiratori, the consequences of such “an efficient, practical, and sensible solution” (Apple, 1993/2000, p. 124) also need to be discussed. Ms. Shiratori’s

comments above for using *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] resonate with how Apple (1993/2000) describes the current working conditions of teachers in general. Using the concept of intensification, he argues that it may result in sacrificing the curricular and instructional quality:

More and more has to be done; less and less time is available to do it....

Intensification leads people to “cut corners” so that only what is “essential” to the task immediately at hand is accomplished. It forces people increasingly to rely on “experts” to tell them what to do and to begin to mistrust the expertise they may have developed over the years. In the process, quality is sacrificed for quantity. Getting done is substituted for work well done” (p. 119).

Both Ms. Shiratori and Mr. Nakano have been involved with foreign language education in elementary schools for over a decade. However, as Apple argues, intensification in their teaching profession may result in “the deskilling of our teachers” (p. 117; see also Apple, [Education and Power]). In Ms. Shiratori’s case, her comments above illuminate how she relies on language education experts who created *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and is given almost no space and time to explore, access, and make use of the expertise she had developed over the course of years in her teaching career. Instead, she “mistrust(s)” (p. 119) and overlooks her skills and experience.

Issues with the deskilling of teachers are even more acute with Mr. Nakano. He was a highly motivated language learner who used to take private English (and German) lessons when he lived in Europe for three years. He also self-reports that he is proficient enough in English to freely communicate with English speakers. Even though I did not have a chance to measure or examine his English proficiency myself, given the

Japanese normative speech act of self-humbleness that he seems to follow as indicated earlier, I assume his proficiency level would be no lower than what he claims it to be. In addition to having an English proficiency high enough to conduct lessons in Foreign Language Activities, he had been actively involved with foreign language education at his previous schools, studying and developing curricula and teaching English. In one of our interviews, he describes how he used to develop curricula in the past:

- | | | | |
|---|---------|---|--|
| 1 | Horii: | あの、教材なくて一あの一作ってらっ
しゃった時ってどうでした？やっぱり、
もっと大変でした？ | <i>Well, how was it when you didn't
have teaching materials and were
creating (them)? Was it harder?</i> |
| 4 | Nakano: | それはそうですねえ。やっぱり、何をしよ
か一から始まりますし。え、英会話をする
ために、必然性がないといけないんじゃない
か、とかねいろいろ考えてやってた時期
はあったから、交流を、ま、日本人学校の
時は、交流いう形で外国人の人とふれあう
ような感じで、こう、カリキュラムを作ろ
うとしてたし、そのう、附属時代は、やっ
ぱり、子供たちが求めてくるような、英会
話が必要になるようなシチュエーションを
作ろうみたいな感じで、いろいろと場の設
定とか考えてた。 | <i>Yes, I think so. I mean, we'd need to
start everything from scratch. There
were times when (I) was thinking like
there needs to be necessity of
speaking English (in class), so at
Japanese school (in Austria), (I) was
trying to create a curriculum that
aimed to interact with foreign people
and uhm at the lab school, well, (I)
was trying to set situations, like
creating situations in which children
would want to or be pushed to
communicate in English.</i> |

(Mr. Nakano, Interview, June 27, 2011)

In Lines 1-3, I ask Mr. Nakano how he used to create instructional materials before *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] was published when they had nothing official from the government to teach. He first responds to the last part of my questions, agreeing that it was hard to create teaching materials because he had to do everything from scratch (Lines 4-5). In Lines 5-6, Mr. Nakano explains the concept behind the curricula he developed at a Japanese school in Europe and a laboratory school in Marunaka city. For instance, at the laboratory school in Marunaka city, he created a curriculum on Japanese

food in which students discussed, cooked, wrote recipes in English and sent the recipe book to a school in the United States (Mr. Nakano, Interview, July 21, 2011). However, none of this knowledge, skills, and experience was explicitly displayed at all in his Foreign Language Activities classes at Seto Elementary School. Apple (1993/2000) explicates how such deskilling of teachers may take place:

[W]hen individuals cease to plan and control a large portion of their own work, the skills essential to doing these tasks self-reflectively and well atrophy and are forgotten. The skills that teachers have built up over decades of hard work—setting relevant curricular goals, establishing content, designing lessons and instructional strategies, “community building” in the classroom, individualizing instruction based on an intimate knowledge of students’ varied cultures, desires, and needs, and so on—are lost. (Apple, 1993/2000, pp. 117-118)

The gap between Mr. Nakano’s past and his current curricula and instruction is large. The curricular shift that he undertook—from his original curricula he tailored for his own students to a scripted, ready-made curriculum that aims to serve all students in the nation—has certainly impacted his instruction. While he used to plan lessons to offer students ample opportunities for authentic communication in English, now he only follows *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and barely participates in instruction in class.

In this section, I have discussed factors and consequences of placing *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] at the center of curriculum, lesson planning and instruction at Seto Elementary School. Apple’s (1993/2000) concept of intensification helps us make sense of how and why the teachers rely on *Eigo Nooto* in their lesson planning and instruction in class. While teaching Foreign Language Activities, the Seto Elementary teachers

were also teaching new content using new textbooks in other academic subjects. In addition, because he came to the school only once a week, the ALT Andrew's schedule was packed with teaching classes and spending time with students all day. Thus, the teachers' intense workloads gave them no time to plan lessons together although they were encouraged to teach together by the government as well as the principal. Under such circumstances, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] with scripted lesson plans in its teacher's manual certainly served as a means to overcome their lack of meeting and preparation time and still enable them to manage to team-teach Foreign Language Activities together. However, since the teachers only needed to follow *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], the teachers rarely had a chance to access or develop their expertise they had developed or were continuing to develop through lesson planning and teaching. In Mr. Nakano's rather extreme case, his English proficiency, knowledge and skills previously used to develop innovative curricula, and his teaching experiences abroad were almost completely absent and sacrificed to *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] in his class. Thus, the fundamental condition and goal of Foreign Language Activities at Seto Elementary School was to follow *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], a condition that caused them to overlook the teachers' individual professional backgrounds related to foreign language education. Such a condition certainly pushes teachers toward *deskilling* themselves, which ultimately impacts students' learning experiences.

Next, we delve into the teachers' classroom interactions. In the following section, I present an in-depth analysis of classroom interactions between the teachers and students in Foreign Language Activities at Seto Elementary School. In particular, I focus on the ways in which Ms. Mizuno, Mr. Nakano, and Ms. Shiratori discursively

perform their role(s) and construct their teacher identities in interactions with their students, as well as the ALT, Andrew.

Negotiating Teacher Roles and Identities in Classrooms

As was noted in the Introduction, researchers have reported that Japanese teachers have shown a tendency to take more peripheral, passive roles when they team-teach with native speaking teachers (e.g., Aline & Hosoda, 2006; Miyazato, 2009; Tajino & Walker, 1998). In a similar vein, but with more focus on the specific and local context, this section presents the more current reality at Seto Elementary School where the textbook, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], plays the essential role of providing overworking teachers with content and structure of lessons for Foreign Language Activities. As I demonstrated earlier, in their interviews, the three teachers, Ms. Mizuno, Mr. Nakano, and Ms. Shiratori, all pointed to *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] as the key to easing their intense workloads and enabling them to team-teach Foreign Language Activities with the ALT, Andrew. Despite such a shared perspective, the three teachers' participation in instruction was observed to vary in degree and in style in their classrooms. For instance, Ms. Mizuno always took the initiative in giving instruction whereas Mr. Nakano mostly let Andrew lead the class. Ms. Shiratori also allowed Andrew to lead the class but often intervened by translating and adding more directions and information. Compared to Mr. Nakano and Ms. Shiratori, Ms. Mizuno interacted with Andrew the most. While Ms. Mizuno and Mr. Nakano communicated with Andrew in English, Ms. Shiratori almost exclusively stayed in Japanese even though Andrew did not understand the language.

In this section, I take a further step and reconsider these characteristics of the three teachers' instruction in order to present a more in-depth, nuanced understanding of the reality at the school. Through a detailed, micro-discourse analysis of their discursive practices in classrooms, I examine how these teachers position themselves or try to "think and act something like" (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 19) a language teacher in Foreign Language Activities. I explicate how they discursively construct their teacher identities through assuming multiple roles in different ways at different moments. Drawing on Aline and Hosoda's (2006) work as a starting point, I begin my analysis by identifying roles that the Japanese teachers take in class. The authors identified four major types of teacher role or participation pattern by physical and interactional characteristics. The "bystander" role may be recognized when a teacher "moves out of the main interactional space at the front of the classroom to a position at the side of the room or to the back of the classroom" (p. 9) and does not participate in the classroom interaction unless some communication difficulty arises. The "translator" role is manifested "through verbatim translation by HRT (=home room teacher) of what the ALT says" (p. 11). A teacher may perform the "co-learner" role by "position[ing] him/herself with or among the students, facing the ALT, and participat[ing] in the activity as a student" (p. 13). When participating in instruction as a "co-teacher," the teacher would be "in the main sequence of instruction and directly instructing the students" (p. 15) together with the ALT. As will be exemplified below, all four types were observed in my data. However, while Aline and Hosoda (2006) successfully identified the major roles teachers may possibly take in class, this study further explicates the processes and ways in which multiple roles may shift and flow moment-

to-moment in classroom interactions. Although the excerpts quoted below are lengthy, I intentionally selected each to illustrate the dynamic, fluid, and complex nature of the teacher roles. This section elucidates how performing multiple roles in Foreign Language Activities leads to the (re)construction of individual teacher identities.

Ms. Shiratori. In Foreign Language Activities, Ms. Shiratori is frequently observed behind her desk in the front corner of the classroom while the ALT, Andrew, mostly stands at the front around the podium. Other times, she walks around between desks when monitoring, but she rarely stands side-by-side with Andrew. In one of our interviews, Ms. Shiratori describes her major role when team-teaching with ALT as follows: “本当にもう普段しているような感じで、私がもう ALT の先生が言ってることをやっぱり子供たちも分からないからー、こう言ってるんだよーっていうぐらいのは、もうずっとしてました [Really, so just like I normally do, because children do not understand what ALT say, I have been doing like I (translate and tell them) what (ALT) are saying]” (Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 13, 2011). While Ms. Shiratori assumed the translator role as her primary role in class, in my observation, she never stayed in this one role but rather shifted to another, or simultaneously took multiple roles, which overall displayed multiple, dynamic processes of her teacher identity construction in interaction.

Excerpt 6 demonstrates an example of the translator role that Ms. Shiratori performed in one class, where she verbatim translated what Andrew said. This excerpt took place after the class finished the opening greeting as always. Andrew had just announced that they were going to learn months of the year.

Excerpt 6 (June 20, 2011)

- 1 Andrew: okay. so please look at page sixteen (.) page sixteen
 2 Shiratori: **hai juuroku juunana peeji o ne akete kudasai**
 yes 16 17 page O IP open please
 ‘Okay, please turn to page 16 and 17.’
 3 Andrew: you have to match the months to the festivals (.) okay? draw a line between the
 4 months and the festivals
 5 (3)
 6 Shiratori: **tsuki no** calendar **to** festival **yakara ne ((a student sneezes)) ano: iroirona**
 month of and because IP well various
 ‘Connect between calendar of the months and, since (it) is the festivals, well, different
 7 **gyooji ga aruno o ne sen de ne musunde kudasai**
 events S exist O IP line with IP connect please
 events with lines’
 8 Andrew: for example for example
 9 Shiratori: **imakara ree o shimasuyo tte**
 now example O do QT
 ‘(Andrew says) that now (he is/we are) going to do example(s).’
 10 Andrew: ((draws a line between January and a picture of kadomatsu, a Japanese New Year’s
 decoration))

(Ms. Shiratori, June 20, 2011)

In Line 1, Andrew asks, “Okay, please turn to page 16 and 17” and Ms. Shiratori immediately translates his question, saying, “*Hai juuroku, juunana peeji o ne akete kudasai* [Okay, so please look at page sixteen, page sixteen]” (Line 2). Next, in Line 3, Andrew gives a specific direction, asking them “to match the months to the festivals” and rephrasing, “draw a line between the months and the festivals.” After three seconds of pause, Ms. Shiratori starts to translate Andrew’s direction (Lines 6-7). Notice how she is trying to translate verbatim, where she first addresses the word “festival” that Andrew used (Line 6), then hedges, “*ano*: [well]” (Line 6), looking for the right word for translation and finally provides the translation, “*iroirona gyooji*” (Lines 6-7). Further, Andrew says, “for example, for example” in Line 8 and Ms. Shiratori immediately translates, “*imakara ree o shimasu yo tte* [(Andrew says) that now (he is/we are) going to do example(s)]” (Line 9). More precisely, she ‘reports’ what Andrew said by adding the quotation marker “*te*” (Line 9).

Excerpt 6 demonstrates how Ms. Shiratori performs the translator role in class where she tries to translate exactly what Andrew says. The turn-taking is fairly patterned as Andrew first says something and Ms. Shiratori next translates. While I observed many such clear-cut instances, I found more complex, obscure examples where Ms. Shiratori simultaneously performs multiple roles or shifts from one role to another. Excerpt 7 presents one such example in which Ms. Shiratori simultaneously takes multiple roles by answering Andrew's questions herself instead of having the students answer themselves. The excerpt also shows how her roles shift by participating in instruction in different ways. In this excerpt, Andrew is in the middle of introducing the target phrases, 'can .../can't ... ,' and had just written them on the blackboard.

Excerpt 7 (July 4, 2011)

- 1 Andrew: if this is "I (.) ca:n (.) swim", what does "I" mean in Japanese? I
 2 Student: I
 3 Student: I
 4 Shiratori: **ne jibunwa (.) ne (.) watashiwa bokuwa tte iu koto ne**
 IP self IP I (neutral) I(for boys) QT say thing IP
'Right, (it) means "self," "I (neutral)," "I (for boys)," right.'
 5 Andrew: can (.) **nihongo de?**
'In Japanese?'
 6 Shiratori: **dekiru (.) ne**
 can IP
'(It's) "can".'
 7 Student: **Dekiru**
'can'
 8 Andrew: swim?
 9 Students: [swim
 10 Student: **[oyogu**
'swim'
 11 Shiratori: **dakara can swim de oyo-? (.) [geru (.) =**
 so by swi- can
'so "can swim" (is) can? swim'
 12 Students: **[geru**
'can'
 13 Shiratori: **= oyogu koto ga dekiru tte iu nihongo tte oyogeru tte iu desho?**
 swim thing S can QT say Japanese QT can swim QT say right?
'(We) say 'oyogeru' instead of the Japanese (phrase) 'oyogu koto ga dekiru,' right?
 14 **nihongo dewa ne, tanshukushitemasu yo (.) [ne (.) hai**
 Japanese in IP shorten IP IP yes
In Japanese (it is) shortened. Yes.'

15 Andrew: [okay repeat after me (.) I can
 16 Swim
 17 Class & Shiratori: I can swim
 18 Andrew: one more time (.) I can swim
 19 Class & Shiratori: I can swim

(Ms. Shiratori, July 4, 2011)

From Lines 1 through 10, Andrew first goes through the meaning of each word in the target phrase, “I can swim” with the students. In Line 1, Andrew asks students to translate the first person pronoun in singular, ‘I,’ into Japanese, saying, “What does ‘I’ mean in Japanese?” But a few students only repeat the pronoun and do not provide the translation, indicating that they may not have understood Andrew’s question (Lines 2-3). Then, in Line 4, Ms. Shiratori (instead of helping students understand the question) provides the answer, even giving three different varieties of the first person pronoun in Japanese. In Line 5, Andrew asks another question again, saying, “Can? *nihongo de* [In Japanese]?” This time he makes his question more comprehensible to the students by only referring to the word that needs to be translated (instead of using a longer phrases such as ‘What does ... mean?’ as he did earlier in Line 1) and using Japanese, “*nihongo de* [in Japanese]?” with a rising intonation to indicate that it is a question. Despite Andrew’s effort to make his utterance comprehensible to the students, before any student replies Ms. Shiratori answers again (Line 6) and is followed by a student repeating her “answer” (Line 7). In Line 8, Andrew still keeps his question fairly simple by only referring to the target word, “swim” with a rising intonation. This time finally one student provides the translation, “*oyogu* [swim]” in Japanese (Line 10) while a few other students just repeat the word after Andrew (Line 9). Here, in this segment, Ms. Shiratori does not translate Andrew’s questions verbatim like she has in other parts but

provides the answers (= the meanings) instead of having the students to do so.

Despite Andrew's attempts to help students, not Ms. Shiratori, answer his questions (by making them more comprehensible), Ms. Shiratori answered Andrew for the students, anyway, while she was simultaneously providing the students with the meaning of the individual words that Andrew posed. In other words, by providing the answers, Ms. Shiratori was fulfilling the learner role while simultaneously performing the (co)teacher role to the students by providing the new information (=the meaning of the words).

After the translation is provided by a student in Line 10, Ms. Shiratori checks students comprehension to see if they understand what "can swim" means as a phrase (Line 11). She first elicits completion of her utterance with a rising intonation followed by a very short pause: "*oyo-* [swim]?" She then simultaneously completes her utterance with students, as shown in Lines 11 and 12 ("*oyogeru* [can swim]"). In Lines 13-14, she continues to explain how the phrase, "can swim," can be translated into Japanese. She explains that one word, "*oyogeru* [can swim]," can be used instead of the longer phrase of "*oyogu koto ga dekiru* [can do swimming]" in Japanese. By using this example as an analogy she seems to try to help students understand why the English phrase "can swim" with two words (=a longer phrase) may be translated into one word "*oyogeru* [can swim]" in Japanese. After a brief pause in Line 14, Andrew cuts in and leads the choral repetition (Line 15). The class and Ms. Shiratori repeat after him in Lines 17 and 19 as they are guided by Andrew in Lines 15-16 and 18. In this second half of the excerpt, Ms. Shiratori takes over the floor in classroom conversation. She is not translating what is said in English but is rather, providing additional information intended to help students for better understanding. On the contrary, Andrew's

participation is relatively limited when Ms. Shiratori takes over the floor since the conversation takes place in Japanese. Thus, Ms. Shiratori seems to have briefly taken the co-teacher role until Andrew intervenes to begin the choral repetition. Once the choral repetition begins, Ms. Shiratori backs off and repeats after Andrew with the students, thus taking a co-learner role.

Overall, this excerpt demonstrates how the roles that Ms. Shiratori performs shift and/or coincide moment-to-moment. When Ms. Shiratori takes over the student role and answers to Andrew's questions as shown in the first half of the excerpt, her discursive role seems to function as a teacher and a learner simultaneously. When she directly instructs students, briefly taking over the floor in classroom conversation, she takes the co-teacher role. But as soon as the choral repetition starts, her role suddenly shifts to that of the co-learner as she repeats after Andrew with the students. Thus, this excerpt highlights the multiplicity and fluidity of roles that teachers may perform in classroom interaction.

Ms. Mizuno. Unlike Ms. Shiratori, Ms. Mizuno is often seen at front of the classroom around the podium with Andrew during Foreign Language Activities. As I have noted, she mostly takes the initiative in instruction during Foreign Language Activities. While Andrew takes the initiative in the other teachers' classes, deciding when to finish an activity and move to another, in Ms. Mizuno's class she almost fully takes that role and controls the organization of the lessons. As documented earlier in this chapter, she might briefly whisper to Andrew to have him give directions to students. I also often spotted Ms. Mizuno directly instructing students herself instead of having Andrew do so. Overall, among the four roles identified by Aline and Hosoda

Particularly, Ms. Mizuno tended to take over the classroom conversation and to lead the class longer than Andrew. As I demonstrate in the following excerpts, Andrew did (or could) not participate in instruction while she was directly instructing the students because she mainly spoke Japanese.

Excerpt 9 demonstrates how Ms. Mizuno takes over and leads the class.

Through this process, her role shifts from the translator role to the (co-)teacher role.

Before this excerpt took place, the students were individually working on an activity in which they were asked to connect months of the year to Japanese seasonal events in the textbook (MEXT, 2008d).

Excerpt 9 (June 6, 2011)

- 1 Andrew: okay, let's find the answers
2 (4.5)
- 3 Mizuno: **hai, dewa** (.) **kotacawase ikimasu yo:::** (.) **daijoobu kana:?** (1.5) **chotto**
okay now check answers go IP okay Q a little
'Okay, now let's check the answers. (Are you all) okay (=ready)?'
- 4 **jishin ga naidesu ne:** (2) **dewa, sekkaku ne: mae ni mottekiteru kara**
confidence S do not have IP now even IP front to bring since
(You look) a little less confident. Now, since (I) brought (the computer) to the front,
- 5 (1) **yubisashite morao kana to omoimasu** (.) **wakaru tokoro kara de**
point at have (you) Q QT think know place from with
(I) would like to have you point at (the answers). (You) may (start) with the ones
- 6 **iidesu yo**
good IP
'you know.'
- 7 Students: **hai hai hai hai hai hai**
'Here, here, here, here, here, here.'
- 8 Mizuno: **hai** (5) **sensee wa pasokon de tsunagimasu** (4) **motto wakaru yooni** (1)
yes teacher S computer with connect more know in order to
'Okay, I'm going to connect (months and events) on the computer. (To the student)
- 9 **2 gatsu ga** (1.5) **koredesu**
February S this
'make it clearer. February is this.'
- 10 (2)
- 11 Student: **setsu|bun?**
'(Is it) setsubun [the day before the beginning of Spring]?''
- 12 Mizuno: **[setsubun? (1) hai** (.) **ja kokodesu** (.) **doodesu ka?**
yes well (it is) here how Q
'(Is it) setsubun [the day before the beginning of Spring]? Okay, (it's) here. How is it?'
- 13 Students: **iidesu, iidesu**
'(It's) good, (it's) good.'

(Ms. Mizuno, June 6, 2011)

After individual work, in Line 1, Andrew initiates a whole-class discussion to check the answers with the students. Following four and a half seconds of pause (Line 2), Ms. Mizuno first translates Andrew's utterance verbatim and moves on to her own speech in Line 3. She first checks with the students by asking if they are ready (to check the answers) in Line 3 and adds her comment, saying they do not look so confident (Lines 4-5). After two seconds of pause in Line 4, Ms. Mizuno gives a specific direction to the students, telling them exactly what to point at the events on the screen (Lines 4-6). In Line 7, students raise their hands, saying "*hai* [here]" and Ms. Mizuno calls on one student saying, "*hai* [yes]" in Line 8. The student comes up to the front, taking five seconds displayed as a pause in the transcript (Line 8). Ms. Mizuno tells the students (and the whole class) that she is going to connect the month and event for the student ("*sensee wa pasokon de tsunagimasu* [I'm going to connect (months and events) on the computer.]), followed by four seconds of pause, while the student does so on the screen, pointing at the month and event (Line 8). Ms. Mizuno tells the student to make it clear to the class (Line 8) and shows the line on the computer in Line 9. Following another two second of pause (Line 10), the student gives the answer, "*Setsubun* [the day before the beginning of Spring]?" (Line 11), hedging with a rising intonation, showing that she is unsure about the answer and is asking for affirmation. Ms. Mizuno repeats the answer partially overlapping, points to the event that the student chose for an answer, and asks the whole class if that is correct or not (Line 12). The class affirms her answer, individually saying, "*iidesu* [(it is) good]" in Line 13.

This excerpt illustrates how Ms. Mizuno's role shifts as her participation in instruction changes. Ms. Mizuno is performing the translator role when she translates exactly what Andrew says to the students. Her translator role shifts as she begins to produce her own speech, adding further instructions. For instance, in Excerpt 9, she tells the class what to do next, calls on a student, helps the student complete the task, and leads the whole class to check her answer together. On the contrary, Andrew remains silent due to his lack of Japanese proficiency since the whole class conversation mostly takes place in Japanese as Ms. Mizuno leads the class. In fact, in the excerpt, Andrew did not get any turns to participate in instruction except for the initial move. Clearly, Ms. Mizuno's participation in instruction was dominant in this excerpt.

Among the three classrooms I observed at Seto Elementary, Ms. Mizuno's class was the only class in which the Japanese teacher took the central role not just momentarily but for sustained periods while the ALT remained silent. Oftentimes, Ms. Mizuno began with the translator role translating Andrew's utterances into Japanese and then took over the central role by gradually adding further directions and information. Sometimes, she did everything from the very beginning with no participation/intervention from Andrew. For instance, in one class Andrew spoke only two words, "very good," four and a half minutes into an activity session at which point Ms. Mizuno entirely took the lead and directly instructed the students herself (Ms. Mizuno, June 20, 2011). Given that research has shown Japanese elementary school teachers' tendency of taking passive roles in Foreign Language Activities, Ms. Nozomi's case uniquely presents an example of how Japanese teachers may take more active, central roles in instruction even if they are not highly proficient in English.

Mr. Nakano. Mr. Nakano was often found standing by the window and rarely stood at the front with Andrew in class, positioning himself in the periphery of the class. As such, he mostly took either the bystander role, observing the class by the window or the co-learner role, repeating after Andrew with the students in choral repetitions. Given his higher English proficiency, knowledge, skills, and experience related to language teaching and learning, it is clearly his explicit choice not to intervene but let Andrew take the initiative in class. In fact, in one of our interviews, he reveals that he tries “訳しすぎないこと [not to translate too much]” in class (Mr. Nakano, Interview, June 27, 2011). I also witnessed this attitude in his class during my observations as follows:

Mr. Nakano doesn't translate. He waits. He asks the kids if they understood what Andrew said and most of the kids raised their hands. Then Mr. Nakano goes through what Andrew said with the kids explaining what it was. (Field notes, June 6, 2011)

Excerpt 10 depicts such a moment when Andrew is trying to explain an activity to the students in English and Mr. Nakano does not immediately translate what Andrew says (as Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori would have likely done). Before the conversation in this excerpt occurred, Andrew introduced new vocabulary of different locations including park, department store, bank, fire station. He first showed pictures from the textbook and asked the students what they were in Japanese and gave the English translation. Then he led the choral repetition in which he demonstrated and the students repeated after him. During this time, Mr. Nakano was standing by the window and repeated the words with the students (taking the co-learner role). Excerpt 10 takes place

intervenes again and this time he gives students a hint, telling them that it is a game and asks them if they understood what the game is about. Here he still does not give the answer (=translation). In Line 9, a student finally responds in Japanese and begins to demonstrate his comprehension by explaining what students are asked to do. Before the student finishes his turn, Mr. Nakano confirms the student's comprehension and briefly gives further information on how to finish the game (Line 10). Student replies, saying, "okay" (Line 13), and demonstrates his understanding. Thus, this excerpt reveals that unlike the other two teachers, Mr. Nakano does not easily choose the translator role but instead briefly takes on the co-teacher role by checking students' comprehension. However, such interventions are usually brief and minimum and consequently, Mr. Nakano tends to remain in the peripheral, bystander role in class.

Despite an implied negative impression of the bystander role, Aline and Hosoda (2006) argue that this role needs to be reexamined:

While the role of bystander may at first appear to be passive, it can serve an important function in the management of classroom interaction. The multitude of functions performed in this role has for the most part been overlooked in research. From our observations and analyses it is apparent that the bystander role ... serves a significant function in the classroom deserving of further research to look beyond the purely managerial role in order to understand how it may function to further language learning and interaction between the ALT and students (p. 16)

In the case of Mr. Nakano's class, his minimum intervention in the classroom interaction appeared to create more opportunities for direct interaction in English

elicits completion of the sentence from the students, saying “I can? Or Andrew can?” to remind the students to use the target phrase when they guess and name the action in the game (Lines 4-5). In Line 6, Student B responds to Andrew with an action verb “folk-dance,” demonstrating his comprehension and participation in the game. Andrew gives a clarification request, asking, “What?” in Line 8 and Student B repeats his utterance verbatim, saying, “folk-dance” in Line 9. Mr. Nakano merely praises Andrew’s moon-walking with Student C and other students, as expressed in Lines 7, 10, and 11, but does not directly participate in the main conversation between Andrew and the students. Instead, he remains in the bystander role. In Line 12, Andrew again elicits response by repeating the target phrase with a rising intonation. This time, Student D responds in a full sentence, saying, “Andrew can walk” in Line 14. Then in his response, Andrew provides corrective feedback using a recast, first pointing to the corrected part, “moon-walk,” then affirmatively evaluates Student D’s response, saying “good,” and finally giving the reformulated sentence (Line 15). Then Student E asked Andrew what “moon-walk” is with a rising intonation (Line 16) but Andrew either does not hear or ignores him. He moves on and calls on another student to come up and perform a new action (Line 17).

This excerpt illustrates how interaction takes place spontaneously and directly between Andrew and the students without Mr. Nakano’s intervention. Turns are equally distributed between Andrew and multiple students. In addition, the interaction is spontaneous and bidirectional; students not only respond and answer Andrew’s questions but they also spontaneously ask him questions in English. More importantly, in this excerpt we find at least two instances of negotiation for meaning, and one

instance of corrective feedback. In one instance, responding to Student A's clarification request in Line 2 ("What? *nani* [what]?"), Andrew rephrases his original direction ("Now, uh, do your own, your own gesture" in Line 1) using expressions that students know ("What is this? What is this?" in Lines 4-5) and eliciting the answer by saying, "I can? Or Andrew can?" (Line 5). In the other instance, Student B responds to Andrew's clarification request ("What?" in Line 8) by repeating his original utterance ("Folk dance" in Line 9). As researchers have empirically shown, such interaction involving negotiation for meaning creates opportunities for L2 learning (e.g., Long, 1983; Pica, Young, & Doughty, 1987; Varonis & Gass, 1985). Further, when Andrew reformulates Student D's answer, saying, "Moon walk. Good. Andrew can moon-walk" (Line 15), there is uptake of his correction from Student E in Line 16, in which he repeats the corrected part, saying, "Moon-walk?" with a rising intonation, indicating that he is asking for Andrew's confirmation. Although the reaction does not come from Student D who was corrected, there is possibility of L2 learning by Student E who was watching/observing the interaction involving corrective feedback between Andrew and Student D (e.g., Ohta, 2001). Overall, Mr. Nakano seems to play a critical role in creating such L2 learning opportunities by not deliberately choosing to join the classroom interaction that takes place in English between Andrew and the students. Compared to Ms. Shiratori and Ms. Mizuno's examples where they intervene and translate Andrew's utterances, interaction without the teacher's intervention like that in Mr. Nakano's class seems to facilitate more direct, spontaneous, and multidirectional interaction in English. Thus, this excerpt gives an empirical evidence of the significant

role that the bystander role may play in facilitating interactions that have been shown to promote L2 learning.

Discussion. This section illustrates how the three Japanese teachers at Seto Elementary School discursively construct their roles in classroom interaction with the ALT, Andrew, and their students. These data point to the dynamic, multiple, and fluid nature of teacher roles that they performed in interaction. Although the three teachers equally agreed that they follow *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and its instructional materials to team-teach with Andrew without planning lessons together, they demonstrated a range of instructional styles, adopting varied roles along multiple dimensions. For instance, when teaching with Andrew, Ms. Shiratori and Ms. Mizuno often took the translator role because, as Ms. Shiratori commented, the students would not understand what Andrew says. However, both demonstrated different patterns in their instructions. While Ms. Shiratori might briefly take the co-teacher role to supplement Andrew's instruction with more specific directions and information after translating his utterances, Ms. Mizuno often went further and longer, taking over the central instructional role in Japanese while Andrew remained silent for several minutes at a time. In contrast to those two teachers, Mr. Nakano did not take the translator role in class. In fact, he appeared to be intentional in taking a bystander role, keeping his interventions brief and minimum. Consequently, in his class, there seemed to be more direct, authentic, and spontaneous interaction in English between Andrew and the students than in Ms. Mizuno or Ms. Shiratori's classes. Although Japanese elementary school teachers are generally encouraged to actively engage in co-teaching, Mr. Nakano's case suggests that taking the bystander role can be a better alternative under

certain circumstances in creating more L2 interaction and learning opportunities, particularly when Japanese teachers do not use much English in their instruction.

In the following section, I shed light on the social and political dimensions of the observed classroom practices at Seto Elementary School, situating them in a particular language policy context. I reframe the construct of the language teacher or elementary school teacher identity as a new language policy process of Foreign Language Activities. By adding the lens of language policy to the analysis, I explore larger sociopolitical implications to better understand why the teachers positioned themselves in the ways they did in their Foreign Language Activities classrooms.

Identity Construction, Classroom Practice, and Language Policy

The official foreign language education policy of Foreign Language Activities addresses who should be teaching Foreign Language Activities as follows:

指導計画の作成や授業の実施については、学級担任の教師又は外国語活動を担当する教師が行うこととし、授業の実施に当たっては、ネイティブ・スピーカーの活用に努めるとともに、地域の実態に応じて、外国語に堪能な地域の人々の協力を得るなど、指導体制を充実すること。

Homeroom teachers or teachers in charge of foreign language activities should make teaching programs and conduct lessons. Effort should be made to get more people involved in lessons by inviting native speakers of the foreign language or by seeking cooperation from local people who are proficient in the foreign language, depending on the circumstances of the local community.

(MEXT, 2008a)

In this policy statement, the MEXT clearly envisions “homeroom teachers or teachers in charge of foreign language activities” as the primary instructors who create lesson plans and conduct lessons in class themselves. The MEXT further specifies the role of “native speakers of the foreign language” and “local people who are proficient in the foreign language” in their commentary, stating, “授業における外国語を用いた具体的な活動の場面では、ネイティブ・スピーカーや外国語が堪能な人々とのコミュニケーションを取り入れる [in certain activities that (ask students) to use the foreign language in class, (homeroom teachers should) include communication (opportunities) with native speakers and proficient speakers of the foreign language]” (MEXT, 2008b). Although the MEXT (2006) reports that Japanese teachers were taking the primary role in English Activities more than 90% of the time, a gap between the statistic report and the actual, local realities has already been pointed out (e.g., Aline and Hosoda, 2006). Given the fact that ALT had a tendency to take the central role when team-teaching with Japanese teachers in Foreign Language Activities, this policy proposed a drastic change in instruction, asking a number of teachers to reverse the team-teaching relationships that both Japanese teachers and ALT have built in their classrooms. Now that the policy has been put into practice, it is particularly important to examine the impact of the policy on local classroom practices.

This chapter has illustrated a reality of the situation of Foreign Language Activities at Seto Elementary School after the new language policy was issued in 2008. Interestingly, there seems to be evidence of the possible impact of the policy change on the classroom practices there. According to the principal, prior to the official implementation of Foreign Language Activities in 2011, the Japanese teachers were not

really taking the initiative in Foreign Language Activities while the ALT always took the central role, doing all the fun games (Field notes, June 20, 2011). Ms. Shiratori also described that before the policy was issued and implemented, “(ALT と) 一緒にいても、ほとんど、ALT の先生が中心でやってくださった [Even when (she) was (teaching) with (the ALT), the ALT was mainly leading (the class)],” including lesson planning and bringing all the instructional materials to class with him (Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 13, 2011). Not knowing what would be taught in advance, Ms. Shiratori reported that she mostly ‘backed off’ in class, at most occasionally taking the translator role at best. The principal realized that “ALT に丸投げしていたんでは、先生方の力がつかない。 [The teachers would not be able to develop their skills if they keep entirely relying on the ALT]” (Field notes, June 20, 2011) and encouraged the teachers to take more initiative in class and start teaching Foreign Language Activities themselves. The principal’s intention seems to have been communicated with the teachers as reflected in Ms. Mizuno’s interview. When I asked her to tell me how she became involved with Foreign Language Activities, she told me as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---------------------|---|
| 1 | Horii: | あの、どうやって、あの、せん、あの一、 | <i>Well, how, well, uhm, did you</i> |
| 2 | | もともと外国語活動 [ていうのに。 | <i>(become involved) with Foreign Language Activities?</i> |
| 3 | Mizuno: | [そうですね。もとも | <i>Well, basically, Foreign Language</i> |
| 4 | | と外国語活動は基本、高学年のものですよ | <i>Activities are for 5, 6 graders. So</i> |
| 5 | | ね。ということで、私がここの学校に来た | <i>When I came to this school last</i> |
| 6 | | 時に一、5年の担任になったんです一。 | <i>year, I became a homeroom teacher of a fifth grade class.</i> |
| 7 | Horii: | それ、いつぐらいの話ですか。 | <i>When was that?</i> |
| 8 | Mizuno: | 去年、ここの学校に来た時に、5年生の担 | <i>When (I) came to this school last</i> |
| 9 | | 任になって、もう今年から、もう英語がほ | <i>year, I became a homeroom teacher of a fifth grade class and</i> |
| 10 | | ら、えっと、授業に、全部もう教科になっ | <i>well, this year English became,</i> |

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|
| 11 | てしまって、だから去年からもう英語はも | <i>uhm well, a class, like became a</i> |
| 12 | う毎時間きちんと毎週せんかったらいかん | <i>complete subject, so since last year</i> |
| 13 | ですっていうことになっとったんです。 | <i>it has turned out to be like (we were told that) we have to properly do English every class, every week</i> |

(Ms. Mizuno, Interview, June 6, 2011)

In Line 1, I asked Ms. Mizuno how she became involved with Foreign Language Activities. In her response in Lines 3-6, she points out that Foreign Language Activities are required in fifth and sixth grades and then tells me that she was assigned to teach a fifth grade class when she first started working at the school. Then, after replying to my question in Line 7, telling me that she joined the school last year (Line 8), Ms. Mizuno describes the official implementation of the new policy as “今年から英語が、... 全部もう教科になって [English completely became ... an academic subject this year]” (Lines 9-11). She further explains that the fifth and sixth grade teachers were told that they would have to teach English every week (Lines 11-13). Although Ms. Mizuno did not make it clear, it seems that it was the principal who mandated the teachers to start teaching English themselves as the policy needed to be put into practice in 2011. Now the teachers come prepared to class in Foreign Language Activities, reading *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and the teacher’s manual and thus have become more actively involved with teaching English with the ALT. For instance, Ms. Mizuno mainly plays the central role in team-teaching with Andrew, taking the initiative and directly giving instruction to students in class. Ms. Shiratori also goes beyond the translator role, though briefly but often taking the co-teacher role.

Overall, the official implementation of Foreign Language Activities accompanied with the principal’s encouragement appears to have pushed the teachers to

more actively and/or variably participate in instruction at Seto Elementary School.

While the activities observed at Seto Elementary School align with what the MEXT envisions of Japanese homeroom teachers in team-teaching, conformance with the top-down policy might not result in the best practice from the pedagogical perspective.

Although Mr. Nakano did not take active roles unless needed, his intentional choice of taking passive roles in team-teaching actually created more opportunities for his students to directly and spontaneously interact with Andrew than the roles adopted by the other two teachers. Thus, in particular cases such as the one at Seto Elementary School, where teachers tend to stay in Japanese in Foreign Language Activities, taking passive roles or simply “backing-off” might be a better alternative for students’ L2 interaction and learning.

In addition to the top-down force mentioned above, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] also played a major role at Seto Elementary School, providing the ‘over-worked’ teachers with the means and materials to teach Foreign Language Activities themselves. More precisely, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] was placed at the center of the school curriculum, lesson planning, and instruction at Seto Elementary School. All three teachers individually claimed that they could team-teach Foreign Language Activities with Andrew thanks only to *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] especially since their intense workloads gave them and Andrew practically no time to plan lessons together in advance. Scripted lesson plans in the teacher’s manual served both the Japanese teachers and Andrew as an anchor in class as they constantly referred to them to figure out what the other teacher’s intentions/agendas are, adapt her/his instructions accordingly (e.g., deciding whether or not and how to lead/intervene the class), and

anticipate what would come next. It provided the teachers, particularly Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori, with opportunities to take more central roles. Certainly, at Seto Elementary School *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] served as *de facto* policy of Foreign Language Activities that the teachers abided by and fully relied on, shaping and driving the classroom practices in their classrooms.

Findings here reveal how a top-down policy may variably impact classroom practices. For example, while the top-down pressure from the government and the principal pushed Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori to take more primary roles in class, it appears to have pushed Mr. Nakano in the opposite direction, where at Seto Elementary School, his expertise on language teaching was reflected in his taking passive roles in Foreign Language Activities. Generally, Mr. Nakano was always cooperative during my visits but he was not the most talkative person particularly in our interviews. Compared to the other two teachers, his responses tended to be more general and brief. Although he willingly answered all my questions, he did not really go further than what I asked. However, there was one particular moment when he explicitly showed that he wanted to say something more than what I had asked. As shown in the excerpt below, towards the end of our first formal interview session, I told him that I had asked all the questions I wanted to ask him. Then I asked him if there was anything I could do to help. By saying this I was signaling that I was ‘wrapping up’ our conversation before ending our interview session. Rather unexpectedly, Mr. Nakano shared more about what he used to do at his previous schools as follows:

- | | | | |
|---|--------|---------------------|--|
| 1 | Horii: | 後、何か、お手伝いできることとか、あり | <i>And if you could let me know if</i> |
| 2 | | ましたら、えー、んとー、言って頂け | <i>there is anything I could do to</i> |
| 3 | | ましたら。 | <i>help...</i> |

- 4 Nakano: そうですね、あの、あーもう一つ、＝ Yes, well, uhm one more thing,
- 5 Horii: はい Yes
- 6 Nakano: ＝補足で言うんだったら、以前は何もない *If I could add something, when (we)*
7 時はね、外国語活動で何かをするという *had nothing, (I) used to teach like*
8 感じでやってたんですよ。今は、外国語か *we do something with/in foreign*
9 つ、外国語 *language activities. Now foreign*
language ...
- 10 Horii: 外国語活動でっていう *In foreign language activities...*
- 11 Nakano: 外国語を使って、何か作るとかね、例え *Like making something using a*
12 ば料理を作るとか、 *foreign language, for example,*
cooking
- 13 Horii: あー、前は *Oh, in the past...*
- 14 Nakano: うん、考えてた。だから、総合的な学習の *Yeah, I was planning (like that). So I*
15 一つとして外国語をとぼくは考えてたの *was thinking of foreign language as*
16 で。んだら、今度文科省の方から明確に外 *part of Integrated Study. Then, now*
17 国語かつ、外国語をこう教えましょういう *the MEXT explicitly announced that*
18 のが出たから、もうそれでもう考え方も *we should teach a foreign language,*
19 うきっちりそっちの方向に変えたので *so I completely shifted my*
perspective in that direction
- 20 Horii: でも、流れとしては反対ですよ *But doesn't it (=the new direction)*
go against the trend?
- 21 Nakano: (huh huh huh) *(huh huh huh)*
- 22 Horii: あのー、いえ、こんな言っちゃダメです *Well, no, I should not say this, but if*
23 けど、先生がされてたこと大分進んでいら *so, it sounds like what you used to do*
24 っしかったようですね、それやったら。 *was far ahead (of Eigo Nooto*
[English Notebook])
- 25 Nakano: (huh huh huh) だから、イマージョン学習で *(huh huh huh) so you know*
26 すか？あんなのを勉強したりして、やって *immersion learning? I studied it and*
27 たりしたんですよ、以前。 *used to do (=develop curricula)*
- 28 Horii: あーそうなんですか。 *Wow, is that so!*
- 29 Nakano: はいはい。ま、それこそ、そんな全部は *Yes, yes. Well, but of course I can't*
30 ね、できないんで、まね、まねごとです *do everything, so it was like pre-*
31 けど、やってた。 *pretending, but I was doing (it).*

(Mr. Nakano, Interview, June 27, 2011)

In Lines 1-3, I ask Mr. Nakano if there is anything I could do to help, trying to wrap up our conversation. Given that I had the impression that Mr. Nakano did not talk much in the interview, I did not expect that he would want to add something and actually initiate our conversation (Line 4). Following my short reply, “yes” in Line 5, Mr. Nakano begins to describe the concept he used to draw on when he was developing English as a foreign language curricula at his previous schools. In Lines 6-9, he explains that the goal at the time was for students to do activities in a foreign language. I was a little confused by him saying, “外国語活動で一何かをする [doing something with/in foreign language activities]” (Line 7) and made a clarification request by repeating the part, “外国語活動で [with/in foreign language activities]” (Line 10). Then, in Lines 11-12, Mr. Nakano gives me specific examples, which followed by my response (Line 13) that signals my comprehension. Further in Lines 14-19, Mr. Nakano shares how he understood and interpreted the policy change that took place in 2008 when *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] was published. When the Course of Study was revised and Foreign Language Activities were officially included in the national curriculum in 2008, Mr. Nakano interpreted the policy change as the shift from learning languages by doing activities to just teaching a language. He further added that he “考え方をもうきっちりそっちの方向に変えた [completely shifted (his) perspective in that direction]” (Lines 18–19). Thus, Mr. Nakano explained the gap between his past and current instruction as the result of the policy change. Further in Lines 20 and 22–24, I complimented his previous work for going beyond what the MEXT proposed in the new curriculum. In Lines 21 and 25, Mr. Nakano, as always, responded to my compliments

with giggles, avoiding explicitly accepting them but at the same time implying that he did not reject or disagree with them either, which is a normative speech act in the Japanese culture (Saito & Beecken, 1997; Yokota, 1986). In fact, he further continued to display his knowledge about language education by using the term, “イマージョン学習 [immersion learning]” as shown in Line 25. Mr. Nakano was telling me that he had studied “イマージョン学習 [immersion]” and previously applied it to his instruction (Lines 25–27). Again, he hedges, saying, “ま、それこそ、そんな全部はね、できないんで、まね、まねごとですけど [Well, but of course I can’t do everything, so it was like pre-, pretending],” but confirms “やってた [but (I) was doing (it)]” (Lines 29-31).

Overall, the above excerpt demonstrates the complex impact of top-down policy on local practices and individual teachers. It also suggests a complex reality that teachers are facing every day. Given Mr. Nakano’s intense workload and busy schedule, given the lack of time to plan lessons with Andrew, and Andrew’s lack of teaching experience and training, following *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and making an effort to create more opportunities for authentic interaction between Andrew and the students in class, even when it means adopting a more passive role, were realistic and practical solutions and an act of agency on his part.

This chapter has detailed how a top-down policy in foreign language education locally impacts classroom practices in multiple, complex ways. I argue that top-down policies overlook sociopolitical circumstances particular to the local contexts and the intellectual and pedagogical resources individual teachers could bring to the classroom,

and thus, may negatively impact classroom practices. At Seto Elementary School where *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] dominantly shaped content and instruction, Mr. Nakano's expertise related to L2 teaching and learning was completely overlooked. In addition, since the teachers did not speak English as much as they were expected (mainly by the MEXT through *Eigo Nooto* [English notebook]), more active participation in instruction resulted in more interaction in Japanese with the Japanese teachers and less interaction in English with Andrew. Under such circumstances, taking passive roles including bystander and/or co-learner roles, though deviating from the top-down policy, may be the better alternative pedagogically, creating more authentic L2 learning opportunities for students.

Looking at classroom practices through the lens of language policy also allows us to recognize the gaps and negotiations between the top-down and bottom-up forces in the language policy process. Although "with very limited resistance" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 76), a close, in-depth examination of classroom practices has illustrated how the three teachers "engage in situated behaviors that are both constrained and enabled by existing structures, but which allow the person to exercise agency in the emerging situation" (Sutton and Levinson, 2001, p. 3). With their many "givens" that constrain their working conditions Mr. Nakano's intentional choice to take more passive roles as well as Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori's compromise to use Japanese in class was definitely a form of bottom-up negotiation of the policy, offering evidence of their teacher/professional agency. Indeed, identifying and describing a range of bottom-up efforts as acts of teacher agency within a particular policy context is one of the significant findings drawn by working closely with the Seto Elementary teachers.

Chapter Five

Satsuki Laboratory School

This chapter details another facet of Foreign Language Activities in Japan by examining practices at Satsuki Laboratory School, and again demonstrating how teacher identity and classroom practices shape a dynamic, *de facto* language policy. Unlike the Seto Elementary teachers, Ms. Nozomi as a novice, full-time Japanese teacher of English was given ample time to plan and discuss lessons with an experienced ALT, Michael, who had been teaching English in various settings in Japan for ten years. In addition to her rather privileged circumstances, her perception and confidence of her English proficiency shaped her overall language teacher identity and impacted her instruction.

I first outline the structure of Ms. Nozomi's Foreign Language Activities lessons to contextualize my analysis of her classes. I then examine how Ms. Nozomi performs her teacher roles in her classes. Through an in-depth, micro discourse analysis of classroom interactions in Ms. Nozomi's class, I document the ways in which her English teacher identity is discursively negotiated and (re)constructed in relation to the ALT, Michael, and her students. I particularly highlight the dynamic, complex nature of identity construction processes. In the discussion section of this chapter, I draw on the ethnography of language policy to reconsider identity construction in the context of the new language education policy of Foreign Language Activities. I discuss how Ms. Nozomi's local practices and identities interrelate to each other and thus impact, negotiate, and (re)create a "*de facto*" (Shohamy, 2006) language policy.

Unlike the Seto Elementary teachers, Ms. Nozomi does not have her own classroom and moves from classroom to classroom teaching English to fourth through sixth graders in 12 different classes. There are 40 students in each class at Satsuki. A few students are returnees from English-speaking countries and are fluent in English. Many students take private English lessons after school and already know what they are learning in Foreign Language Activities.

Lesson Planning, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook], and Instruction

Ms. Nozomi notes that she plans all lessons herself (Ms. Nozomi, June 10, 2011). In contrast to the limited circumstances the Seto Elementary teachers were facing, she teaches only English as an English teacher and devotes her entire preparation time to plan lessons for Foreign Language Activities. Ms. Nozomi understands that the policy of Foreign Language Activities aims to “form the foundation of pupils’ communication abilities through foreign languages and her lessons need to include communication-oriented activities in order for students “(1) To experience the joy of communication in the foreign language; (2) To actively listen to and speak in the foreign language; (3) To learn the importance of verbal communication” (MEXT, 2008a). As a novice teacher, she repeatedly expressed her struggles with planning such activities and asked me for advice. Ms. Nozomi also had ample time to regularly meet and discuss lesson planning with the ALT. In fact, many game ideas, she reports, come from Michael, the ALT, who has lived in Japan teaching English for ten years.

Ms. Nozomi seems resistant to following exactly *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] because many students are taking private English lessons after school, and she thinks that “そのままテキスト使ってもつまらない [using the textbook as is is

boring]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 5, 2011). She fully covers the target vocabulary and expressions, listed in each chapter, but only occasionally employs activities from the textbook. In fact, throughout my class visits and observations, I never observed students opening *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] in class. While this does not necessarily mean that Ms. Nozomi did not use *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] at all, she was omitting certain activities that require students to look at the pictures in the textbook. Such activities mostly included listening and/or writing activities. Instead of taking an easy path of doing “listen to the CD and match the pictures” activities from the textbook, Ms. Nozomi sometimes creates her own materials. One time, she created video-recordings of her students’ classroom teachers answering her questions in English and used them as a listening activity. In general, she searches and creates materials on her own, even though audio and visual materials are available online and in print free of charge from the MEXT. One day students were learning the “I can/can’t” expression using different action verbs. Ms. Nozomi was covering exactly the same vocabulary listed in the textbook but did not use any pictures from it. Instead, she searched relevant illustrations on her own and brought different pictures. On another day students were singing a song of the 12 months that was completely different from the one in the textbook. Thus, Ms. Nozomi uses *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] selectively and minimally.

Typically, Ms. Nozomi’s lessons are structured in the present-practice-produce (PPP) sequence (Ellis, 2003; Skehan, 1996) along with routinized greetings at the beginning and end of class. First, Ms. Nozomi and Michael present and demonstrate target sentences in dialogue. After their demonstration, the teachers usually ask students

to translate the target sentences to check students' comprehension. Then, Michael takes over the class and leads choral repetition of the target vocabulary and expressions. The choral repetition is followed by more communicative activities such as pair work and games, sometimes taken from the textbook. Many communicative activities often involve some kind of game. Students often played games such as bingo, charades, and different kinds of card games. All the cards I saw in my observations were hand-made by Ms. Nozomi.

The following sections illustrate how Ms. Nozomi's English teacher identity was discursively constructed in classroom interactions, while collaboratively working with the ALT, Michael. The previous chapter focused on the instructional roles and patterns to illustrate the elementary school teacher identities that the teachers at Seto Elementary were constructing. While Ms. Mizuno did display multiple roles and patterns in her instruction, there was another dimension that seemed more salient in her identity construction process. Thus, in this chapter, I focus more on her perception of her English proficiency which, in turn, impacted the ways that her identity as a novice, proficient, English teacher was negotiated and performed in relation to the ALT, Michael, and her students in classrooms. I use an in-depth, micro-discourse analysis of classroom interactions to identify and examine occasions of such identity negotiation and construction to better understand a local classroom reality.

Negotiating Teacher Roles and Identity in Classrooms

As noted in Introduction, research indicates that the majority of the Japanese elementary school teachers report to feel they lack sufficient English proficiency to teach English in Foreign Language Activities (Butler, 2004; MEXT, 2006d). Even

many licensed Japanese teachers of English (JTE) in secondary schools report not feeling confident speaking English with ALT in front of their students in class and tend to take peripheral roles regardless of their proficiency levels (e.g., Kachi & Lee, 2001; Miyazato, 2009; Tajino & Walker, 1998). In contrast to such general understandings of the Japanese teachers presented in the literature, Ms. Nozomi appears to be very confident of her oral English proficiency and does not seem to feel hesitant speaking English with the ALT in front of her students. She expresses her confidence in one of our interviews:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|------------------------|---|
| 1 | Horii: | 先生は、例えば、その心がけていることっ | |
| 2 | | て、今の時点でね、どんなこと心がけ | |
| 3 | | てます？自分の役割として？ ... | <i>What are the things, for example, you keep in mind? At this point, what are the things you keep in mind? (How do you understand your role(s)?)</i> |
| | | | |
| 4 | Nozomi: | うーん (4) まだできてないんですけどー、 | <i>Uhm (4) I haven't been ablt to do (it well) yet, but</i> |
| 5 | | できるだけ私が（英語を）喋れる分、ALT | <i>since I can speak (English), I'd</i> |
| 6 | | の先生と生のコミュニケーションを子供た | <i>like to show children authentic</i> |
| 7 | | ちに見せてー、んでまあどんなこと言っ | <i>(English) communication with the</i> |
| 8 | | るかなっていうのを、ま、英語でコミュニ | <i>ALT as much as I can, well, like</i> |
| 9 | | ケーションしたらこんな感じやでっていう | <i>what we are talking about, English</i> |
| 10 | | か、そういうのをいろいろ見せていきたい | <i>communication would be like this,</i> |
| 11 | | なあというのは思ってるんですけど。 | <i>and things like that.</i> |

(Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 19, 2011)

In Lines 1-3, I ask Ms. Nozomi a general question about “心がけていること [things she keeps in her mind]” when teaching English in Foreign Language Activities and further specify the question by adding “自分の役割 [one’s role(s)].” I am asking these questions to learn about how she understands her roles and what she tries to do in class. After thinking through for a few seconds (“うーん [uhm],” followed by four seconds of pause, as shown in Line 4), Ms. Nozomi first cautions, saying, “まだできてないんで

すけどー [I haven't been able to do (it well) yet]" (Line 4) to show her humility before disclosing what she is about to boast about. Following the hedging, she reveals that she tries to demonstrate authentic communications in English with the ALT, Michael, in front of her students as much as she can since she “（英語を）喋れる分 [can speak (English)]” (Lines 5-11). Thus, Ms. Nozomi explicitly expresses her confidence of her English oral proficiency and her desire to demonstrate it in front of her students.

Indeed, Ms. Nozomi speaks English (and Japanese) in and outside the classroom. For instance, she usually greets her students in English when she sees them in the hallway. In addition, before and between classes, Ms. Nozomi often enjoys a few minutes of chatting with the ALT, Michael, as they walk to different classrooms together. Occasional laughter would accompany them. Topics they talk about range from the lunch they are having to what they did on the weekend. Ms. Nozomi is aware that her chats with Michael in the hallway display her high oral English proficiency not only to her own students in Foreign Language Activities classrooms but also to the whole school community outside the classrooms (Ms. Nozomi, Interview/Fieldnotes, July 5, 2011).

Interestingly, following her comment above, Ms. Nozomi further shared her thoughts about her role(s) in class as follows:

1	Nozomi:	結局 ALT 使うのもーその（日本人の）先生	<i>Then the reason why using ALT is</i>
2		が（英語が）できないから（.）ALT の先生を	<i>because (Japanese) teachers can</i>
3		(1)英語を喋る(1)マシンじゃないですけど。	<i>not (speak English) (.) It's not like</i>
4		でー、まー結局 (3) やろうけど私はどう	<i>using ALT as an English speaking</i>
5		したらいいんやろうとすごく思っでー	<i>machine, but And then (3) I really</i>
6		(1.5)（私が英語が）できるからって、こ	<i>wonder what I should do</i>
7		う英語でばーっと喋っても、子供も引いて	<i>(1.5) If I speak English too fluently</i>
			<i>(and fast) just because (I) can, the</i>

- 8 しまうやろうしー。どう、どう、どうした
9 らいいのかなあ。で、逆にこう私 ALT の
10 先生と楽しそうに喋ってると、子供はよけ
11 いに距離を感じてしまうかもしれへんし。
kids would be intimidated. What, what should I do. And if I look I'm having fun chatting with the ALT, the kids may feel even more distanced.
- 12 Horii: 先生両方できるもんね。だか、日本語と英
13 語と両方できるでしょ。
Since you can do both. So you can (speak) both Japanese and English.
- 14 Nozomi: どうしたら。
What should I (do)?
- 15 Horii: だか、それをどう上手く使うかやね。
So, (it is the mater) of how to use it (language skills)
- 16 Nozomi: 何かありますか。
Do you have any (advice)?
- 17 Horii: うーん。
Uh::m...

(Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 19, 2011)

Ms. Nozomi appears to regard ALT's role as “英語を喋るマシン [English speaking machine]” (Line 3) who helps Japanese teachers who are usually not proficient in English (Lines 1-2). In fact, she always lets Michael lead choral repetitions in class. In addition, because of her high English proficiency (as stated in Line 6) and the way in which she understands the reason to hire ALT, she assumes that there is a gap between generally perceived Japanese teachers (who are not proficient in English) and herself (who is proficient in English). She feels a little lost, saying, “私はどうしたらいいんやろうとすごく思ってたー [I really wonder what (I) should do]” and asks me for an advice (Lines 14 and 16). Overall, she feels her role should be different than that of ALT's because she does not want to intimidate her students by “英語でばーっと喋[る] [speaking too fluently (and fast)]” (Line 7).

In class, Ms. Nozomi uses both English and Japanese. She mainly communicates in English, speaking clearly and slowly, keeping sentences short and simple to make

sure her input is comprehensible to her students. She occasionally switches to Japanese for those matters she wants to make sure that everyone understands (e.g., giving complicated instructions for quizzes, assignments, games, and so forth). Also when she monitors individual students, she particularly pays attention to those who are falling behind and often translates and explains what Michael says for them. Overall, in contrast to the Seto Elementary teachers who have been pushed to drastically expand and reconstruct their professional identities as elementary school teachers due to the new policy, Ms. Nozomi is a product of the policy as a newly hired full-time English teacher at Satsuki Laboratory School. By communicating in English, she demonstrates her competence as a proficient English teacher and works to construct her English teacher identity. By using both English and Japanese, Ms. Nozomi presents herself as a bilingual teacher who can communicate with both Michael and students in class.

Ms. Nozomi may also be viewed as a less common example among Japanese teachers in not being hesitant to take a central role and speak English in class when teaching with ALT, particularly given that Japanese teachers have a tendency to take peripheral roles in such contexts (e.g., Aline & Hosoda, 2006; Kachi & Lee, 2001; Miyazato, 2009; Tajino & Walker, 1998). Together with Michael, Ms. Nozomi usually positions herself at the front of the classroom and equally participates in instruction: giving directions, calling on students, and managing class. In classroom interactions, she displays multiple roles, including all the types identified by Aline and Hosoda (2006). For instance, she takes the co-teacher role when demonstrating target phrases to the students with Michael. Many times, these roles overlap or appear simultaneously. She also yields the leading role to Michael in choral repetitions (the bystander role) and

takes the co-learner role by repeating the target phrases with her students. What seems more salient in my data is how the combination of and ratio between the multiple roles observed in class shape the overall impression/perception of whether the teacher is taking a central or peripheral role. In Ms. Nozomi's case, the co-teacher role was most frequently observed compared to the other roles. In fact, the choral repetition was about the only time that she backed off, taking, instead, the bystander/co-learner roles and repeating phrases after Michael with the students. Yet while taking the bystander role, she often monitored students and individually translated for a few students who do not know English at all (the translator role). But when the conversation takes place with the whole class, Ms. Nozomi generally took the co-teacher role instead of the translator role, asking students to translate what Michael said. Thus, multiple roles shift and flow moment-to-moment in classroom interactions with her students and ALT, indicating the fluid, complex nature of language teacher role and identity.

I also observed that there were moments when her confident bilingual teacher identity was suddenly challenged in class. Those moments seemed to occur when her positionality was determined from the NS – NNS dichotomous perspective, particularly in relation to the ALT, Michael. At such moments, the power imbalance between Ms. Nozomi and Michael seemed discursively evident, which positioned Michael as one of the “only legitimate speakers and ‘owners’ ” (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 257) of English and Ms. Nozomi as one of what Pavlenko (2003) calls, “second class citizens” (p. 251; see also Braine, 1999). Even though researchers have argued for the ideologically and socially rather than linguistically constructed nature of the NS – NNS dichotomy and critiqued “the native speaker fallacy” (Phillipson, 1992; 1996) in the TESOL profession

(Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Pavlenko, 2003), there is still evidence that the NNS teacher identity is negatively perceived as inferior, deficient, “perpetual L2 learner” (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 259; see also Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Kachi & Lee, 2001; Liu, 1999; Miyazato, 2009; Pavlenko, 2003).

As exemplified below, I present a more in-depth, nuanced interpretation of Ms. Nozomi’s identity construction as a bilingual teacher. Through a micro discourse analysis of classroom interactions, I illuminate how her language teacher identity is discursively challenged and negotiated between her bilingual self and NNS self in classroom interaction.

“Don’t forget!”: As Competent, Confident Bilingual Teacher. As a bilingual teacher, Ms. Nozomi mostly stayed in the target language, English, in class even when her students speak to her in Japanese. Since she perfectly understands what her students say in Japanese, she is able to communicate with them while staying in the target language, but switched to Japanese when she had to give specific task/game directions. Excerpt 12 illustrates how Ms. Nozomi performs a role as bilingual teacher through using two languages and accessing her local cultural knowledge in her classroom interaction with her students. In this class, students are learning the twelve months in English. They first sang a song about the twelve months of the year several times along with the CD, as suggested in the teacher’s manual (MEXT, 2008e). However, Ms. Nozomi searched and selected a different song on her own instead of using the one in the textbook. This excerpt took place when Michael was reviewing the lyrics of the

song, which goes, “don’t forget, December” after naming each month starting from

January.

Excerpt 12 (June 17, 2011)

- 1 Michael: and she (=the singer on CD) says (.) don't forget, you know, don't forget?
 2 Nozomi: in Japanese (.) [don't forget
 3 Michael: [don't forget
 4 Student A: **don kihooote**
 'Don Quixote'
 5 (1)
 6 Nozomi: ((to StudentA)) [don't say that (2) ((to Student B)) [yes?
 7 Michael: ((to class)) [don't forget (2) ((to Student B)) [yes?
 8 Student B: **don kihooote**
 'Don Quixote'
 9 Nozomi: a::h no:::
 10 Students: (3) ((chatting, laughing))
 11 Student C: **sore omise ya** hhhhhh
 that store copula
 '*That's a store!*'
 12 Nozomi: that's the name of the shop!
 13 Michael: don't forget (.) No? (1) What does don't forget mean?
 14 Nozomi: don't forget (.) **wasure-nai-de** (.) **wasureru-na** (.) **wasure-nai-de tte iu**
 forget-not- forget-not forget-not- QT say
 '*(It) means don't forget, don't forget, don't forget.*'

(Ms. Nozomi, June 17, 2011)

In Line 1, Michael calls students' attention to the part “don’t forget” of the song they are learning and poses a question by raising the intonation. Following Michael's somewhat vague question accompanied only by rising intonation, Ms. Nozomi further specifies what students are asked to do by simply adding “in Japanese” and locates what is to be translated into Japanese by repeating the phrase “don’t forget” (Line 2). Immediately after their question, Student A makes a pun on the phrase for the name of a local store, “*don kihooote* [Don Quixote],” instead of translating it into Japanese (Line 4). Given that the teachers do not call on him by saying, ‘yes’ as they would normally do, it seems that Student A privately makes the pun staying seated at his desk. However, he is close enough or loud enough to be heard by Ms. Nozomi. She quickly notices the joke and

responds to him, saying, “Don’t say that!” (Line 6). Michael, on the other hand, seemingly does not either hear or understand Student A’s joke and completely overlaps with Ms. Nozomi’s utterance (i.e., “don’t say that”) by simply repeating the target phrase, “don’t forget” (Line 7) and further looks for someone to translate the phrase into Japanese. As shown in Lines 6 and 7, the two teachers simultaneously call on one student, Student B, who then repeats the same pun, “*don kihooto* [Don Quixote]” (Line 8). Ms. Nozomi immediately dismisses the joke again by saying, “a::h, no:::” (Line 9). Now the whole class hears the joke and starts to chat and laugh (Line 10). Although Ms. Nozomi is aware that the class seemingly understood the joke, she still points out that “*don kihooto* [Don Quixote]” is the name of a store in the area (Line 12). Interestingly, prior to her comment on the pun in Line 12, Student C makes exactly the same comment in Japanese in Line 11. Although it is not clear from the transcript or the audio data whether or not Ms. Nozomi heard or noticed Student C’s comment, in either case, she did provide Student C and possibly other students with the opportunity to learn how to pronounce the comment she/they spontaneously made in English at the moment she/they said it. Finally, seeing no one is providing the translation, Ms. Nozomi responds to Michael’s explicit question, “what does ‘don’t forget’ mean?” in Line 13, and translates the phrase switching from English to Japanese, as shown in Line 14.

Excerpt 12 presents an example of “language play as fun,” defined as language used primarily “to amuse oneself and have fun” (Broner & Tarone, 2001, p. 365; *see also* Cook, 1997; 2000; Tarone, 2000). In this excerpt, students are playing with phrases, “don’t forget” and “*don kihooto* [Don Quixote],” that sound similar to them and make a pun on the former instead of translating it into Japanese as asked by their teachers.

Although the pun was made in Japanese, Ms. Nozomi plays a significant role in turning this utterance into an authentic language learning opportunity by joining the students' language play in the target language. By knowing both the Japanese and English languages, Ms. Nozomi immediately recognized the pun made by Student A and B and quickly responded to (i.e., dismissed) it. Accessing to her local knowledge of the community, she understood that "*don kihooto* [Don Quixote]" refers to the name of a store in the area, not to the famous Spanish novel, which created humor in their comments and caused laughter among the students, and further explicitly pointed that out to Student B and to the whole class. Thus, her bilingual/bicultural competence was demonstrated not only in explicit ways such as by translating into Japanese as shown in Line 14. What is more salient in this excerpt is that a teacher's bilingual/bicultural competence may unfold in more subtle ways. In Ms. Nozomi's case, her bilingual competence to notice the similarities in sound between the two phrases "don't forget" and "*don kihooto* [Don Quixote]" along with her local knowledge about the store named "*don kihooto* [Don Quixote]" enabled her to comprehend the pun, which further shaped her reactions and responses to the students who performed the language play. Furthermore, by joining the language play while staying in the target language, Ms. Nozomi created the opportunity for students to learn English in an authentic way. Thus, through her interaction with her students in English, Ms. Nozomi positions herself as a competent and confident bilingual/bicultural teacher who is not only proficient at producing spontaneous speech in English but also competent to access to and apply the local knowledge to a given situation to create authentic opportunities for language learning.

“18th! 18th!”: As a Non-Native Speaking Teacher. While Ms. Nozomi takes advantage of knowing both the target and local languages and cultures to maximize opportunities for students to interact in English, her classroom interactions illustrate the more complex and dynamic/fluid nature of being a bilingual teacher. Despite her confidence in her English oral proficiency, Ms. Nozomi occasionally positions herself or is positioned as nonnative speaker (NNS) teacher within the NS/NNS dichotomy. For instance, she always has Michale lead choral repetitions because she thinks that “発音はネイティブの先生にしてもらった方がいい [it’s better to have the NS teacher do the pronunciation]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 5, 2011). The following excerpts illuminate how Ms. Nozomi’s positionality of teacher identity momentarily shifts from that of a confident and competent bilingual teacher to a NNS teacher who cannot help him/herself but needs help from a NS teacher with pronunciation.

Excerpt 13 illustrates how Ms. Nozomi positions herself as a NNS teacher. When this excerpt took place, students were individually writing sentences down to prepare for their self-introduction speech. They had been asked to include (but were not limited to) their names, what they can do (e.g., swimming, playing the piano, cooking, etc.), and their birthdays in their introduction, as suggested in the teacher’s manual (except for the birthdays) (MEXT, 2008d). Due to the policy which explicitly discourages teachers from teaching reading and writing in English in Foreign Language Activities (MEXT, 2008a), Ms. Nozomi specifically instructs students that they may write words/sentences in Japanese characters, katakana:

スペルは習ってないので (1) カタカナで書いてもいいです。... スペル
 ができる人スペル書いてもいいけど、スペルまだみんな習ってないから
 、カタカナで書いていいことにします。

Since (you) have not learned spelling (=writing) (1) you may write in
 katakana. ... Those who know how to spell (=write) may write (the) spelling, but
 since we have not learned spelling (=writing) yet, (you) may write in katakana.

(Ms. Nozomi, July 1, 2011)

As students write their speeches, Ms. Nozomi and Michael walk around, monitoring how
 students are doing, and individually answering questions.

Excerpt 13 (July 1, 2011)

- 1 Student: **Sensei**
'Teacher'
- 2 Nozomi: **ha:i**
'Ye:s'
- 3 Student: **e: 6 gatsu sa:: 18 tte kore de ii?**
 uhm June IntP QT this good
'Uhm, speaking of June 18th, is this good?'
- 4 Nozomi: 18th (1) 18th (1) 18th
- 5 Student: hmm?
- 6 Nozomi: **un,** 18th (3.5) 18th
'Yes'
- 7 Student: **e? [doo iu koto?**
 what how say/mean thing/matter
'What? What (do you) mean?'
- 8 Nozomi: [18th hhh (4) 18th
- 9 Student: huh huh huh huh (3) wha(hh)::t
- 10 (4)
- 11 Nozomi: ((to class)) okay 2 minutes (1) 2 minutes (1) ((to Michael)) Michael (.) can you
- 12 say 18th (.) cause they have no idea what they're gonna write in katakana 18th
- 13 Michael: Okay

(Ms. Nozomi, July 1, 2011)

In this excerpt, a student first calls Ms. Nozomi (Line 1) in Japanese and Ms. Nozomi
 responds also in Japanese saying, “*ha:i [ye:s]*” (Line 2). The student then asks her if
 what he wrote in which he meant June 18 is correct or not (Line 3). As shown in Lines

4, 6, and 8, Ms. Nozomi repeatedly points to the word “18th” and pronounces it for him with no noticeable Japanese accent but the student does not seem to get it. Instead, he asks her, “*e? doo iu koto? [What? What do you mean?]*” in Line 7 first in Japanese. However, his question in Line 7 was answered by simply repeating the target word in Line 8. Still not knowing what to do, the student makes a joke about it by laughing and switching to English asking “*wha:t?*” as shown in Line 9. In Lines 11-12, Ms. Nozomi finally calls Michael and asks him to pronounce the word for the student (and other students).

Lines 11–12 show what the student’s issue is; he is trying to spell out the word, 18th, in katakana but does not seem to understand what to fix in his spelling. What is needed from the teacher helping the student in this particular case is the knowledge of the katakana writing system to spell out English words rather than the ability to perfectly pronounce or spell the word in English. Although Ms. Nozomi identifies and signals his inaccurate spelling of the word in katakana by simply repeating it, she does not provide further assistance. Having the NS teacher pronounce the word, as she does in Lines 11–12, does not resolve this issue. It is unknown where Ms. Nozomi’s intention of making this request lies, but it certainly created a temporal shift in her identity.

This excerpt reveals how Ms. Nozomi’s bilingual teacher identity momentarily shifts to a NNS teacher identity in classroom interactions. By indirectly displaying her knowledge of the katakana writing system and presenting her perfect pronunciation of the target word, Ms. Nozomi is consistently performing her bilingual teacher role while interacting with her student. In contrast, however, in Line 11 when she turns to Michael

and asks him to pronounce the word for the student, even though she just perfectly pronounced it herself, Ms. Nozomi positions herself as a NNS teacher, in contrast to the NS teacher, Michael, so that he could provide with an authentic pronunciation for the students.

“Shake Your Hands!”: Vulnerability of NNS Teacher Identity. Excerpt 14 shows how Ms. Nozomi is positioned as a NNS teacher in class. In this class, students are learning seven different action phrases: clap your hands, shake your head, snap your fingers, shake hands, say okay, make a face, and blow a kiss. Michael first showed pictures of each action placing them on the blackboard, introduced the target action phrases, and led the students to repeat the phrases after him. Following the demonstration and choral repetition led by Michael, students were engaged in a total physical response activity in which the teachers sang a song, “if you are happy and you know it...” using the target action verbs and students respond by doing the actions. The whole activity, including the song and the phrases, did not come from the textbook but was originally designed by Ms. Nozomi and Michael. And Ms. Nozomi had created all the pictures of each action phrase herself. This excerpt takes place when Ms. Nozomi takes over and begins to lead the class.

Excerpt 14 (June 10, 2011)

- | | | |
|----|----------|---|
| 1 | Michael: | o:h nice (1.5) you do it |
| 2 | Nozomi: | okay (.) if you are happy and you know it, clap your hands |
| 3 | Class: | ((clap twice)) |
| 4 | Nozomi: | if you are happy (.) which team? (h huh hh) if you are happy and you know |
| 5 | | it, snap your fingers |
| 6 | Class: | ((snap fingers twice with some clapping sound)) |
| 7 | Nozomi: | if you are happy and you know it, shake your hands |
| 8 | Class: | ((clapping sounds)) h huh huh huh |
| 9 | Nozomi: | Shake your ha:nds |
| 10 | Class: | (2) ((chat)) |
| 11 | Michael: | shake (.) hands |

- 12 Nozomi: oh shake hands (0.5) shake hands
 13 (0.5)
 14 Student A: **ore sa: atteta**
 I IP was right
 'I was right.'
 15 Student B: **hun?**
 'Huh?'
 16 Nozomi: shake [ha:nds
 17 Student A: [sheiku (.) shake hand
 Shake
 18 Student C: SHEIKU: [HANDO!
 shake hand
 19 Student D: [SHA::::KE
 20 Nozomi: huh huh
 21 Student E: shake hands **tte kikoeru**
 QT sounds like
 '(It) sounds like (the teachers are saying) shake hands'
 22 Nozomi: shake your hands?
 23 Michael: no, shake hands
 24 Nozomi: shake hands
 25 (2)
 26 Michael: yea(h)h shake your hands ((shaking his own hands))
 27 Nozomi: .h huh
 28 Class: (7) ((chatting))
 29 Nozomi: Okay
 30 Michael: all right

(Ms. Nozomi, June 10, 2011)

Directed by Michael in Line 1, Ms. Nozomi takes over and leads the class (Line 2). As Lines 2-8 show, Ms. Nozomi randomly picks one of target action phrases and incorporates it in the song so that the students would respond by doing the action. When she says, "shake your hands" in Line 6, clapping sound occurs (Line 7). Recognizing students' lack of comprehension from their clapping sound since shaking hands would not involve any clapping, she attempts to signal their error and elicit the expected action from the students, repeating the phrase again, "shake your ha:nds" (Line 8). After two seconds of pause while Ms. Nozomi was allowing students to figure out what the expected action was (Line 10), Michael corrects her by reformulating her erroneous utterance (=recast) in Line 11. Ms. Nozomi immediately notices the error and reformulates it herself (=uptake) (Line 12). However, whether or not her utterance

(“shake your hands” in Lines 7 and 9) is erroneous depends on whether she was referring to the action of two people shaking hands (e.g., as part of a greeting) or one person shaking her/his own hands (e.g., as in waving or drying). Ms. Nozomi’s utterance was viewed as an error from Michael’s perspective because the target phrase was “shake hands.” Although this could have turned into a learning opportunity for students by demonstrating and explaining the difference between the two phrases instead of treating it as an error, it was Michael who decided and treated it as an error and provided corrective feedback.

What happens after this corrective feedback episode is very interesting. In Line 14, Student A claims to Ms. Nozomi that he was correct, getting attention from at least one other student who says “hun [Huh]?” as shown in Line 15. Ms. Nozomi responds to Student A and Student B, and repeats the reformulated phrase, “shake hands” in Line 16. Following Ms. Nozomi, Student A in Line 17 and at least three other students repeat the phrase even adding some humor to it as shown in Lines 18, 19, and 21.

In this excerpt, two errors—Ms. Nozomi’s “erroneous” (from Michael’s point of view) production (= “shake your hands”) and students’ incorrect action (= clapping instead of shaking hands) of the target phrase—occur almost simultaneously and complicate our understanding of the interaction between Ms. Nozomi and her students. First, it is not 100% clear from the data whether, by being correct, Student A means that he correctly did the action or accurately knew the phrase. In fact, the timing is very interesting for Ms. Nozomi when he boasts about his correctness in the very next turn, after her own “error” was corrected by Michael. In addition, Student B’s response “hun [Huh]?” in Line 15 is also not so clear, either, whether it was really meant to be a

clarification request or simply to signal his attentiveness. What is clear, though, is that Ms. Nozomi stays in the target language and inputs the target phrase (“shake hands”) for Student A and B, and Student A and other students spontaneously repeated the phrase after her. Thus, the co-constructed interaction between Ms. Nozomi and students, starting with Student A in Line 4, certainly created an authentic learning moment for the students. While the students were only expected to comprehend the target phrase Ms. Nozomi produced and act it out accordingly, they actually learned to produce the phrase themselves.

Later in Line 22, where Ms. Nozomi again asks Michael if “shake your hands” could be acceptable or not, she simply repeats the phrase with a rising intonation. Michael is also brief in responding and explaining it to Ms. Nozomi. In Line 23, he immediately dismisses her version, “shake your hands” with the answer “no” and provides the target phrase of their lesson “shake hands.” Further, after two seconds of pause (Line 25), Michael explains what “shake your hands” could mean by verbally repeating the phrase while simultaneously making a gesture of shaking his both hands (interestingly, instead of shaking his own hands as in waving) (Line 26). Ms. Nozomi replies with a brief laugh (Line 27).

This excerpt presents another example where Ms. Nozomi’s teacher identity shifts between a competent bilingual teacher identity and a fluid, vulnerable NNS teacher identity. At the beginning, Ms. Nozomi was performing a competent bilingual teacher identity who can perfectly take over what the NS teacher does, which lasts until Michael suddenly provides corrective feedback on her “erroneous” utterance from his perspective because the target phrase was ‘shake hands.’ She immediately notices the

gap and reformulates it herself in the very next turn and by doing so, Ms. Nozomi in fact presents herself as a good language learner. However, she most certainly is not performing a learner role in the sense of Aline and Hosoda's (2006) study in which Japanese homeroom teachers would participate in activities, positioning themselves as co-learners "with or among the students facing the ALT" (p. 13). Instead, Ms. Nozomi remains in a teacher role standing at front facing her students, as both a competent, confident bilingual teacher and a NNS teacher who may be suddenly corrected in front of students in the middle of her instruction. Later, she further positions herself as a NNS when she asks Michael to confirm her "error" again. Overall, this excerpt reveals how an authentic learning moment may happen for students to spontaneously learn to produce the target language as the result of co-constructed interaction between the teacher and students in the target language. However, while performing a competent, bilingual teacher may be key in the creation of such learning moments, this excerpt also provides evidence of the fluid, often vulnerable nature of bilingual language teacher identity.

"Do you bow in America?": Asking for Validation From NS. Excerpt 15 illustrates how the two teachers' different language identities—NS and NNS—play out in classroom interaction particularly when their opinions toward the target language culture are in conflict. Prior to the conversation presented in this excerpt, the students had individually introduced themselves in front of the class. The typical speech consisted of greetings (i.e., 'hello'), her/his name, birthday, and what s/he can do, and closing (i.e., 'thank you') as modeled by Ms. Nozomi: "Hello, my name is Nozomi Kawakami. I can play the piano and I can sing. My birthday is August 26th. Thank you"

(Ms. Nozomi, July 1, 2011). When all the 40 students finished, Ms. Nozomi made a comment on their performance. First, she commented in English, simply saying, “Okay, it was (2) it was great, it was great” (Ms. Nozomi, July 8, 2011). Then she switches to Japanese and elaborates on her comment:

2つ、先生、いいなと思ったことがあります。一つ目は (0.5) 誰も下向いて喋ってなくて、上向き加減の人もおったけど、ちゃんと前を見て喋ってたところ、すごくよかったと思います。で、さい、二つ目は: (1) 最後まで終わった時に: (1) thank you って ((accompanying a bow)) する人が殆どいた。で、これはアメリカでは絶対、ありえへんことで—(1) こう、日本でこう、あり、ありがとうございますって言った時にお辞儀するやんか、これ、先生すごく日本の良いところやと思ってて: (1) うん、すごく良かったなと思いました。

[There are two things I thought were good. First, none of you were looking down when you spoke. There were some who were looking up a little, but I think it was very good that (you all) spoke looking ahead. Then, whe-, second, (1) most of you did like “thank you” ((accompanying a bow)) when you finished (your speech). And this would never happen in America. (1) Like, in Japan, we bow like this when we say ‘arigatoo gozaimasu [thank you],’ right? I think this is a really good part about Japan; Yes, I thought (this) was really good.]

(Ms. Nozomi, July 8, 2011)

Ms. Nozomi makes two positive comments on the students’ performance in Japanese. She first compliments all the students for looking ahead while speaking. Next, she

points out that most of the students bowed when they said, “thank you” in closing. Further, she attempts to extract one specific, unique aspect of the Japanese culture by contrasting it to that of the American culture. More specifically, she first displays her knowledge of the target language culture, saying, “これはアメリカでは絶対、ありえへんことで: [this (=bowing when saying ‘thank you’ in this context) would never happen in America],” and further guides the students to access to their own cultural/Japanese knowledge on the Japanese custom of bowing. Finally, she positively evaluates the custom of bowing as “すごく日本の良いところ [a really good part of Japan].” Thus, Ms. Nozomi affirms her students’ integration of the unique and good aspect of the Japanese culture into their discursive practices in the target language instead of subtracting it. Simultaneously, she presents herself as a bicultural teacher who displays her knowledge on the both target and local cultures.

Excerpt 15 takes place immediately after Ms. Nozomi’s comment above. The conversation continues with Student A, who asks Ms. Nozomi about cultural understanding of bows in the United States.

Excerpt 15 (July 8, 2011)

- | | | |
|----|------------|--|
| 1 | Student A: | Amerika de sore yattara do: nan
America in that do how Q
<i>‘What would happen if (you) did it in America?’</i> |
| 2 | Nozomi: | Amerika de (.) so Mike
America in
<i>‘In America’</i> |
| 3 | Michael: | ye:s |
| 4 | Nozomi: | Michael |
| 5 | Michael: | ye:s |
| 6 | Nozomi: | Is there any bow in [(America)? |
| 7 | Class: | [(noises and chat) huh huh huh huh (.) huh huh huh h uh |
| 8 | Michael: | what? |
| 9 | Class: | [huh huh huh huh |
| 10 | Nozomi: | [is there any (.) bow in in America? |
| 11 | Michael: | any what? |

- 12 Nozomi: do you bow (.) [in America?
 13 Michael: [bow?
 14 Nozomi: Yeah
 15 Michael: a:::h (.) in front of the class (.) yes
 16 Nozomi: really?
 17 Michael: when you have an audience (1) and thank you
 18 Student B: **onion no toki?**
 onion of when
 'Onion time?'
- 19 Michael: audience
 20 Class: (4.5)((students loudly laugh and chat))
 21 Michael: does anybody know audience in Japanese (.) audience
 22 Class: (3)((chat))
 23 Michael: what's audience in Japanese (.) yes
 24 Student C: **Okyakusan**
 'Customer'
- 25 Michael: sorry?
 26 Student C: **Okyakusan**
 'Customer'
- 27 Michael: (1) yeah yeah (.) good
 28 Class: o::h o:::h ((clapping))
 29 Nozomi: wait, but (.) how about self-introduction toda:y? like everybody said
 30 Nozomi: thank you [but in America no
 31 Michael: [(ah thank you) that's okay
 32 Nozomi: yeah, but in America there's no like thank you, right?
 33 Michael: face to face (.) no (.) in front of the class (.) to everybody [that's okay
 34 Student D: [a:: so:yu: koto ka
 oh like that thing Q
 'Oh, that's what it is'
- Class: [(3)((chat))
 36 Nozomi: [o::h (1) okay

(Ms. Nozomi, July 8, 2011)

In response to the comment made by Ms. Nozomi above, Student A raises a very simple, reasonable question in Japanese: “*Amerika de sore yattara do: nan* [What would happen if (you) did it in America?]" in Line 1. Prior to her question, the students were positively recognized for keeping the Japanese custom when speaking English even though, according to Ms. Nozomi, it is never observed in the United States. How would bowing be received if they did it in the United States? Instead of answering the question herself, Ms. Nozomi switches to English and turns the question to Michael (Lines 2-12). However, by posing questions such as “Is there any bow in America?” (Lines 6 and 10) or “Do you bow in America?” (Line 12), Ms. Nozomi deviates from Student A’s

original question. While Student A's question asks for more information based on her full acceptance of Ms. Nozomi's previous account on bowing in the two cultures, Ms. Nozomi's questions were to ask Michael to confirm and validate that account. After taking 11 turns going back and forth with Ms. Nozomi in a loud classroom (Lines 2-14), Michael finally understands the question and briefly replies, "a:::h (.) in front of the class (.) yes" in Line 15. Michael's reply surprises Ms. Nozomi, as expressed, "really?" with a rising intonation in Line 16 and is further followed by his explanation and demonstration of supposedly accepted bowing in the US in Line 17. Then in Line 18, one student (Student B) immediately expresses her uncertainty by trying to translate what Michael has just said ("when you have an audience" in Line 17), "*Onion no toki?* [Onion time?]." She translates the word 'when' but tries to simply repeat the other words "we have an audience" after Michael, which results in "Onion [onion]." Michael immediately notices that the word 'audience' needs to be clarified. He first repeats the word in Line 19 and then asks the class to see if anyone might be able to tell the meaning in Japanese in Line 20 and 23. In Lines 24 and 26, Student C provides the meaning of the word that is followed by Michael's approval in Line 27 and applause from the class in Line 28. However, there is no translation of the whole utterance or any comprehension checks and it is not clear if the students understood what Michael meant at this point.

The discussion further continues. After remaining silent while Michael and the class were figuring out the meaning of the word 'audience,' Ms. Nozomi brings the discussion back to the question she posed on bowing in the United States. In Line 29, she interrupts Michael and the class by saying, "wait," and specifies the context of her

previous question, asking Michael, “how about self-introduction today?” She then provides the answer to her own question, saying, “everyone said thank you, but in America no,” and asks Michael to agree with her by demonstrating what the majority of the students in the class did—bowing while saying ‘thank you’ (Lines 29-30). Her simplified language and a gesture of bowing as shown in Lines 29-30 display how she tries to make herself and her conversation with Michael comprehensible to the class. In Line 31, still not fully agreeing with Ms. Nozomi, Michael replies, “that’s okay.” He does not necessarily disagree with Ms. Nozomi but tries to accept what the students did. In Line 32, Ms. Nozomi still does not fully accept Michael’s compromised reply, shown in her reply, “yeah, but” and presents her statement (“...but in America there’s no like thank you...”) and further asks him for his full agreement (“right?”). Finally in Line 33, Michael draws a line, by saying “no” and “that’s okay” between the contexts of bows accepted and not accepted in the United States in his understanding (“face to face, no, in front of the class to everybody, that’s okay”). Following a student’s (and possibly other students’) full acceptance and understanding of Michael’s statement (“*a:: so:yu: koto ka* [Oh, that’s what it is]” in Line 34), the conversation is finally settled with Ms. Nozomi’s acceptance of his opinion expressed as “*o::h, okay*” in Line 36.

Overall, this excerpt illustrates how one aspect of the target language culture is negotiated between NS and NNS teachers in classroom interaction. Although both Ms. Nozomi and Michael offer approval to their students who bowed at the end of their self-introduction speeches, they seem to take different approaches to accepting it based on the different agendas. Ms. Nozomi tries to convince Michael (and the students) that the Americans never bow when they say “thank you.” In contrast, Michael argues that it is

“okay” to do so in front of the class. As discussed above, prior to the conversation between Ms. Nozomi and Michael, Ms. Nozomi had already made a comment on bowing in the United States to the students in Japanese where she emphasized a unique aspect of the Japanese custom by contrasting the differences between the Japanese and American cultures. Based on her comment made in Japanese, then, Ms. Nozomi’s agenda was to obtain validation on her opinion from the NS teacher, Michael. However, Michael had not known about Ms. Nozomi’s comment because he is not proficient enough in Japanese to understand it. Observing that many students were bowing when they said ‘thank you,’ Michael’s agenda was to understand the students’ bowing as an acceptable manner from his NS, American point of view. Thus, in this excerpt, while Michael tries to stretch his understanding of the US cultural norms on bowing to find commonalities in the two cultures, Ms. Nozomi tries to maintain the core, more stereotypical view to present differences between them. Although neither perspective was really incorrect, it was the NS, cultural informant, Michael, who practiced the absolute authority over which knowledge to validate. Despite her attempt to negotiate with Michael, Ms. Nozomi was pushed to dismiss her opinion and agree with Michael’s.

This excerpt can also be understood as an example of identity negotiation, illuminating how Ms. Nozomi’s English teacher identity is challenged and negotiated in relation to NS Michael. When Ms. Nozomi was speaking to the students in Japanese and then switched to English to ask Michael a question on behalf of Student A, she was demonstrating her bilingual competency. As she attempts and fails to obtain validation of her account on bowing in the US from Michael, her competent bilingual teacher identity was suddenly challenged and negotiated. Furthermore, since this conversation

of negotiation took place in front of the students and was attempted to be made comprehensible to them, such a publicly disclosed negotiation places Ms. Nozomi in a more vulnerable position and may challenge her professional knowledge and qualifications as English teacher. Thus, this excerpt highlights the fluid, dynamic nature of identity construction while documenting how Ms. Nozomi's English teacher identity shifts between the competent, confident bilingual teacher and vulnerable, inferior NNS teacher.

Identity Construction, Classroom Practice, and Language Policy

Ethnography of language policy views language policy as process, foregrounding the local agency. What is happening in a local context with regard to a language policy can be understood as a *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006) that is (re)created by local practitioners through interpretation and appropriation depending on the local context and circumstances. In this chapter I examined a new language policy process of Ms. Nozomi's class in which her teacher identities interact with her actual classroom practices. Her bilingual teacher identity was constructed based on her confidence in speaking English in front of her students. There were also moments when the confident, competent bilingual identity she enacted was challenged and shifted to a more vulnerable, dependent NNS identity suddenly imposed on her. Thus, this chapter reveals how Ms. Nozomi's perception of her English proficiency shaped her overall language teacher identity and ultimately impacted her instruction. My micro discourse analysis further revealed the ways in which her language teacher identity may be challenged and negotiated in more sudden, spontaneous, and subtle ways.

The new foreign language education policy of Foreign Language Activities suggests that 学級担任の教師又は外国語活動を担当する教師 [Homeroom teachers or teachers in charge of foreign language activities] plan and conduct lessons while inviting “ネイティブ・スピーカー [native speakers]” or “外国語に堪能な地域の人々 [local people who are proficient in the foreign language]” in their classes (MEXT, 2008a). Aligned with the policy, Satsuki Laboratory School has hired Ms. Nozomi as a full-time English teacher who should be in charge of all the English classes at the school. Homeroom teachers do not teach English and are not present in Foreign Language Activities. As the schools’ only full-time English teacher, Ms. Nozomi takes full responsibility for planning and conducting lessons in Foreign Language Activities while team-teaching with the ALT, Michael. Interestingly, in her own interpretation, ALT are hired to support Japanese teachers as an “英語を喋るマシン [English-speaking machine]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 19, 2011) because generally Japanese teachers are not proficient enough to teach English. As a highly proficient speaker of English, Ms. Nozomi makes an effort to fill the gap between what she believes the MEXT’s assumptions are toward Japanese teachers and what she actually is. She reveals that she does not want to intimidate her students by speaking like a NS teacher. In class, instead of trying to act like a monolingual NS teacher speaking only English, she chooses to present herself as a bilingual teacher using both English and Japanese.

The policy also exclusively focuses on oral communication in the target language as expressed in the overall objective section:

外国語を通じて、言語や文化について体験的に理解を深め、積極的にコミ

コミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度の育成を図り，外国語の音声や基本的な表現に慣れ親しませながら，コミュニケーション能力の素地を養う。

To form the foundation of pupils' communication abilities through foreign languages while developing the understanding of languages and cultures through various experiences, fostering a positive attitude toward communication, and familiarizing pupils with the sounds and basic expressions of foreign languages.

(MEXT, 2008a)

Ms. Nozomi fully understands the policy's emphasis on oral communication. Her intention to reflect it in her instruction was evident throughout our formal and informal conversations, as she repeatedly discussed how she could better plan and conduct communicative activities and asked for my opinion. In her effort to increase oral communication in English in her class, Ms. Nozomi clearly regarded her high English proficiency as a strength, as she frequently mentioned it in our conversations and tried to create her version of effective teaching based on what she could do. As a highly proficient speaker of English with fairly little accent, Ms. Nozomi stayed in English most of her class time while actively participating in instruction. In order to provide students with ample exposure to authentic English, she frequently engaged in spontaneous conversations with Michael in English in front of her students, making sure that the conversations were comprehensible to them. As a bilingual teacher, she created authentic language learning moments in ways that monolingual ALT could not. She was able to reply to her students in English even when they talked to her in Japanese. She further helped them say what they wanted to say but did not know how in English at the moment they wanted to say it. Thus, it was evident that the way in which Ms. Nozomi

understood the policy was translated into how she presented herself in class based on what she could do as a bilingual teacher.

As illustrated above, throughout my fieldwork, Ms. Nozomi's confidence in her English proficiency was explicitly stated and observed in her practice. The micro-discourse analysis of classroom interactions further revealed the dynamic, fluid, complex nature of teacher role(s) and identities that Ms. Nozomi enacted as an English teacher in her Foreign Language Activities classrooms. While she generally performed a competent and confident bilingual teacher identity in class, there were moments in which her confident bilingual identity was challenged and negotiated, particularly in relation to the ALT, Michael. In such moments, she either placed herself or was placed in the NS – NNS dichotomy in front of students, placing Michael in the absolute superior position. For instance, she believes that ALT who are native speakers of English should work on pronunciation and thus, Michael should always lead choral repetitions. Indeed, the choral repetitions were the only kind of activity that she never took over in class. In other moments, such as when she made grammatical errors or her opinion differed from that of Michael, her confident, bilingual teacher identity was suddenly challenged, which always placed her in a vulnerable position, dependent on his linguistic and cultural knowledge as the only legitimate NS. Overall, this chapter presents one particular set of practices related to the new language education policy of Foreign Language Activities in Japan. It also conceptualizes how the constant shifting of their positionality in class shapes teacher classroom practices, which ultimately creates and recreates a dynamic, *de facto* language policy.

Chapter Six

Conclusion:

Negotiating Teacher Identities and Creating *de facto* Policies

The top-down policy of Foreign Language Activities has dramatically impacted local classroom practices at Japanese elementary schools, pushing Japanese homeroom teachers to start teaching English themselves regardless of their individual backgrounds and circumstances. Teaching and speaking English to students in class certainly challenges many Japanese teachers to reconsider and demands that they drastically alter their professional identities as they begin to “think and act something like” (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 19) a language teacher in Foreign Language Activities. As a language teacher myself, I empathized with what these teachers were experiencing. This new policy raises important questions. How do they navigate this context in order to teach English when they are not proficient or not confident of their oral English proficiency? How do they plan and conduct lessons when they have no previous training in language teaching? How do they even have time to plan lessons when they also have to teach new content with new textbooks in math, science, and other academic subjects? Nonetheless, the MEXT (2006) unequivocally reported that the majority of the teachers were successfully team-teaching English with English-speaking ALT. My immediate reaction to this report was that it grossly simplified the reality. I wanted to understand what local Japanese elementary school teachers were going through in their classrooms, from their own perspectives, and the reality of how this policy was actually being enacted on the ground.

This study was inspired by and aligned with a body of literature on language policy that acknowledges the critical roles that local practitioners play at “the epicenter of the dynamic process of language policy making” (García & Menken, 2010, p. 262). I have spotlighted the core of the policy process, pointing to multiple, local, dynamic, *de facto* policies that teachers created in their classrooms. This study offers two contrasting stories of two elementary schools in Japan—one neighborhood school in a local city area with three homeroom teachers and one elite, laboratory school in a metro area with a novice, English teacher. In this conclusion chapter, I present a synthesis of findings drawn from this study, addressing each one of my research questions. I then offer a set of implications and suggestions for future research and better practice.

Research Question One

How do Japanese elementary school teachers variably interpret and understand the language education policy of Foreign Language Activities in general and their roles within the policy context in particular?

The policy of Foreign Language Activities exclusively emphasizes the development of students’ oral communication abilities (MEXT, 2008a; Appendix A). Given the historically established tradition of the grammar-translation focused curricula and instruction, as discussed in Chapter two, this new policy certainly created a radical shift in the history of foreign language education in Japan. As the only English teacher at Satsuki Laboratory School, Ms. Nozomi fully understood the policy’s exclusive focus on oral communication. Our interviews as well as our informal conversations indicated her intention of and struggles with reflecting it in her lessons, as she repeatedly asked me for advice, discussing how she could better plan and conduct communicative

activities. However, Ms. Nozomi was resistant to exactly following the textbook, because she thought that “そのままテキスト使ってもつまらない [using the textbook as is is boring]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 5, 2011). Instead, she sought to establish her own instructional style and create her own communicative activities. For instance, throughout our formal and informal conversations, Ms. Nozomi repeatedly expressed her confidence in her high English oral proficiency. She described how she tried to demonstrate spontaneous, authentic communications in English with the ALT to her students as much as possible since she “（英語を）喋れる分 [can speak (English)]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 19, 2011).

Part of her struggle appears to be related to her positionality in her Foreign Language Activities context, considering the way she described her roles and identities in relation to ALT in our conversations. She expressed her understanding of ALT’s role as “英語を喋るマシン [English speaking machine]” who support Japanese teachers with low proficiency (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 19, 2011). Because of her confidence in her oral English proficiency, she assumes a gap between typically perceived Japanese teachers (who are not proficient in English) and herself (who is proficient in English). That said, Ms. Nozomi does not want to intimidate her students by “英語では一っと喋[る] [speaking too fluently (and fast)]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 19, 2011). Further, despite her only slight accent in English, she distances herself from the NS ALT, positioning herself as a NNS, saying, “発音はネイティブの先生にしてもらった方がいい [it’s better to have the NS teacher do the pronunciation]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 5, 2011). Overall, Ms. Nozomi clearly understood the policy’s

emphasis on oral communication and recognized her strength as a highly proficient speaker of English. However, assuming the possible gap between typical Japanese teachers and herself, she tried to establish her own teacher identity based on her strength. Instead of projecting herself to the Japanese teachers in the textbook and the teacher's manual by following the lesson plans, she tackled with planning her own communicative activities. At the same time, she often positioned herself as a NNS in relation to NS ALT. As I summarize in the next section, this dynamic, ambivalent nature of her role/identity as an English teacher was also discursively evident in her classroom interactions.

In contrast to Ms. Nozomi and her working conditions as a novice-English teacher at an elite laboratory school in a metro area, the three homeroom Seto Elementary teachers were more experienced teachers at a public neighborhood school in a local city. In their interviews, the teachers described how the policy of Foreign Language Activities impacted their practices at the school. Ms Shiratori described that before the policy was implemented, “(ALT と) 一緒にいてても、ほとんど、ALT の先生が中心でやってくださってた [When (she) was (teaching) with (the ALT), the ALT was mainly leading (the class)]” (July 13, 2011). Upon the official implementation of the policy in 2011, described by Ms. Mizuno as “今年から英語が、... 全部もう教科になって [English completely became ... an academic subject this year]” (Ms. Mizuno, Interview, June 6, 2011), the teachers were encouraged to start teaching Foreign Language Activities themselves by their principal. While Ms. Nozomi could devote her entire preparation time to planning lessons for Foreign Language Activities,

the Seto Elementary teachers had no time to discuss or plan lessons together with their ALT before class and yet, they were expected to team-teach together. While Ms. Nozomi disregarded *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] because “そのままテキスト使ってもつまらない [using the textbook as is is boring]” (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 5, 2011), all three teachers at Seto Elementary School claimed that the textbook played a major role in their lessons. Ms. Shiratori argued that it was reliable because it is “専門の方が考えられて一きちっと作ってるもの [the one experts professionally created]” (Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 21, 2011). Mr. Nakano simply explained their situation: “ほんとに今は、あの、文科省のね、英語ノートがあるので一、あれがないとちょっと、打ち合わせとか大変だと、作らないかんですからね。 [Really, now, well, we have *Eigo Nooto* from MEXT. Without that, it would've been hard, (holding) meetings and so forth. (We) would have had to create (lesson plans from scratch)]” (Mr. Nakano, Interview, June 27, 2011). Both Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori indicated that there was a tacit agreement that they always come prepared to class reading *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and teacher's manual and try to exactly follow the lesson plans in class. As I summarize in the next section, both the Japanese teachers and Andrew managed to follow their counterpart other teacher or lead the class based on the shared lesson plans read in the teacher's manual. Overall, at Seto Elementary School, teachers reported that they relied heavily on *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] when teaching in Foreign Language Activities.

While *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] served as a tool for the Seto Elementary teachers to save preparation time and still manage to team-teach, it might have

contributed to “the deskilling of our teachers” (Apple, 1993/2000, p. 117). The teachers appeared to have become more reliant on “ ‘experts’ to tell them what to do and to begin to mistrust the expertise they may have developed over the years” (Apple, 1993/2000, p. 119). For instance, in one of her interviews, Ms. Shiratori reveals, “専門の方が考えられて一きちっと作ってるものの方が自分としても安心できるしー [I feel (more) comfortable (using) the one experts professionally created]” (Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 21, 2011), while simultaneously disregarding her own knowledge, skills, and experience. In Mr. Nakano’s rather extreme case, his English proficiency, knowledge and skills to develop innovative curricula, and previous teaching experiences abroad were absent in his class at Seto Elementary School. Interestingly, Mr. Nakano explained the gap between his past and current instruction as the result of the policy change. He interpreted the policy change as the shift from learning languages by doing activities to just teaching a language. He further added that he “考え方をもうきっちりそっちの方向に変えた [completely shifted (his) perspective in that direction]” (Mr. Nakano, Interview, June 27, 2011). Overall, in their interviews, the Seto Elementary teachers described how they placed the textbook, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] at the center of their curriculum, lesson planning, and instruction at the school. They also indicated that their role in Foreign Language Activities was shifting from more passive to more active one as they were pushed to teach English themselves due to the policy implementation.

Research Question Two:

How do teachers negotiate and appropriate the policy in their classrooms?

How do teachers position themselves in relation to the new policy? What

are the particular roles and identities negotiated, constructed, or performed by the teachers as they engage in these new tasks?

In a complex, dynamic process of language education policy at the classroom level, local agents and elements (e.g., instructional materials) interact with each other and shape a local, *de facto* policy (e.g., Menken & García, 2010). One of the key elements of the policy process that repeatedly appeared in my analysis was the textbook, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook]. While Ms. Nozomi regarded *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] as being “つまらない [boring]” to follow (Ms. Nozomi, Interview, July 5, 2011), Ms. Shiratori claimed that the textbook seemed more reliable than creating everything from scratch on her own since it was developed by “専門の方 [experts]” (Ms. Shiratori, Interview, July 21, 2011). Further, the field notes from my classroom observations reveal how the teachers took different approaches to the textbook. Ms. Nozomi covered the target expressions and vocabulary in the textbook but she sought and created materials on her own, often skipping activities introduced in the textbook. In contrast, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] was placed at the center of the school curriculum, lesson planning, and instruction at Seto Elementary School. Particularly, the scripted lesson plans in the teacher’s manual served both the Japanese teachers and the ALT as an anchor in class as they constantly referred to it to understand what the other teacher’s intentions were, adapting her/his instructions accordingly, and knowing what was to come next. As a result, the Seto Elementary teachers have become more actively involved in team-teaching English with the ALT, sharing the same lesson plans.

Although the Seto Elementary teachers equally claimed that they followed *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook] and the teacher’s manual in class, my discourse analysis of

their classroom interactions revealed how they variably displayed a range of instructional roles and patterns in their classroom interactions. When team-teaching with Andrew, both Ms. Shiratori and Ms. Mizuno often took the translator role. However, while Ms. Shiratori briefly took the co-teacher role, adding more specific directions and explanation to Andrew's instruction, Ms. Mizuno often took over the central role. In addition, because both the Japanese teachers interacted with their students almost entirely in Japanese, Andrew had to remain silent. On the contrary, Mr. Nakano did not take the translator role but rather that of bystander, keeping his interventions brief and minimal. Consequently and interestingly, compared to Ms. Mizuno and Ms. Shiratori's classes, more authentic interactions seemed to occur between Andrew and the students in Mr. Nakano's class. Although Mr. Nakano's approach did not fully resonate with the top-down policy that expects Japanese teachers to take the primary role in class, his choice of adopting more passive roles proved to be a pedagogically better alternative under the circumstances.

In contrast to the Seto Elementary teachers who have been pushed to drastically alter their professional identities as elementary school teachers due to the policy implementation, Ms. Nozomi, also a product of the policy, is newly constructing her own professional identity as an English teacher. While the Seto Elementary teachers' professional identities and agency as elementary school teachers were discursively demonstrated through a range of instructional choices (taking passive or active roles in instruction), in Ms. Nozomi's case, it was more of her perception of and confidence in her English oral proficiency that impacted her overall English teacher identity, ultimately shaping her instruction. Generally, as a competent, confident bilingual

teacher, Ms. Nozomi actively participated in instruction with Michael, effectively using both English and Japanese in class. However, my micro-discourse analysis of her classroom interactions further revealed that her confident bilingual teacher identity was challenged and negotiated in more sudden, spontaneous, and subtle ways in relation to the NS ALT, Michael. The examples I shared in Chapter 5 document how Ms. Nozomi was suddenly exposed as a more vulnerable, dependent NNS teacher identity whose linguistic and cultural competence needed to be validated by Michael, the legitimate owner of the language and culture(s), when, for instance, she made grammatical errors or her view about the US culture contradicted that of Michael's.

Implications, Limitations, and Suggestions

This dissertation study has documented the dynamic, complex process of a new language education policy at two elementary schools in Japan. Drawing on the ethnography of language policy, I have illustrated how Japanese elementary school teachers locally created their *de facto* policies in their classrooms through their interpretations and negotiations of the top-down policy of Foreign Language Activities. At Seto Elementary School, the three Japanese homeroom teachers equally attributed their sense of success (managing to teach Foreign Language Activities with the ALT, Andrew, under their limited conditions)" to the textbook, *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook]. In their classes, since they were following the lesson plans from the teacher's manual, lessons seemed to flow without lapses or confusion as if both the teachers knew exactly what they were going to do, sharing the same lesson agenda. These findings suggest that at Seto Elementary School, the textbook served as a *de facto* policy that shaped the school's curriculum, lessons, and instruction. That said, the

teachers' limiting conditions, including their intense workloads and their insufficient English proficiency, were critical factors in their views and practices that did not allow them to explore, access, or make use of their expertise. Although my micro-discourse analysis showed evidence of negotiation in their interpretations and practices of the policy, overall, their exercise of their agency remained limited within the top-down policy context.

In contrast, at Satsuki Laboratory School, Ms. Nozomi was given more time and agency to select content, plan and conduct lessons with the ALT, Michael. She assumed that following the textbook might bore her elite students and decided to create her own activities and materials, only covering the target vocabulary and expressions from *Eigo Nooto* [English Notebook]. In addition, she regarded knowing both English and Japanese as her strength and used both languages in class, presenting herself as a bilingual teacher. Overall, compared to the Seto Elementary teachers, Ms. Nozomi had more time and space, or more precisely, created a larger “implementational and ideological space” (Hornberger, 2007) to practice her agency in the policy process. The top-down policy was not dominant but selectively and partially implemented in her classes. Ms. Nozomi was given time, space, and had the language proficiency to fully exercise her agency to negotiate and recreate the policy while exploring and developing her professional identity and expertise as a bilingual English teacher.

Even though my study was able to address issues asked in my research questions, limitations certainly exist. A more extended period of fieldwork, instead of just two months, could have allowed me to directly observe the impact of the language policy and development of teacher identity as policy process over time. As Aline and

Hosoda (2006) noted, in many public elementary schools including Seto Elementary, language teacher identity has not fully become part of the Japanese elementary school teacher identity yet. It is important to document and examine how Japanese elementary school teachers develop their language teacher identity as they begin to “think and act something like” (Moje & Lewis, 2007, p. 19) a language teacher in Foreign Language Activities. In addition, even though ALT were not the focus of this study and therefore were not recruited participants, this study could have included their voices in the data, particularly since team-teaching was the main form of instruction. Future research may further expand our understanding of the language policy process by exploring other local language policy makers such as local administrators, students, and people in the local community who are “proficient in the foreign language [=English]” (MEXT, 2008a). Particularly, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Horii, under review), there is an increasing number of language minority students attending Japanese public elementary schools. Since Foreign Language Activities primarily aims to serve Japanese students (Horii, under review), it is critical to examine how Japanese homeroom teachers and language minority students negotiate the policy to accommodate their unique situations.

Contribution of This Study

My work contributes to the field of language policy and planning in three important ways. First, this study provides empirical insight into the language policy process in less explored contexts such as foreign language education in Japan. This will be one of the first studies that have documented the impact of the new language education policy, Foreign Language Activities, at the classroom level since its official

implementation in 2011. Second, this work has demonstrated that ethnographic approaches and micro-discourse analysis proved to be the optimal combination to explicate the language policy process at multiple—both macro, top-down and micro, local—levels. I have offered empirical evidence of interactions between the top-down policy and local practices, illustrating how the top-down policy was negotiated to locally recreate *de facto* policies. In particular, by adding the micro-discourse analysis to my investigation, I was able to present an in-depth analysis of the complex, dynamic process of the language policy. I have described “implementational and ideological spaces” (Hornberger, 2007) where teacher identities and classroom practices interacted to create local, *de facto* policies. Last and most importantly, I have documented and conceptualized a particular mechanism of the language policy process that determined local, *de facto* policies. Specifically, I have articulated how local identities come into play in language policy processes. At the two schools, the linguistic, cultural, and professional dimensions of teacher identities mattered in the language policy process. How the teachers perceived their English proficiency, how they physically and discursively positioned themselves in relation to the ALT in their classroom interactions, and whether or not they positioned themselves as English language teachers were, in fact, the key sites where the four teachers practiced their agency, constantly negotiating and recreating their local language policies.

Based on these findings shared in this study, I strongly argue that local practices and agency must be recognized as the core of the language policy and planning process (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Teachers must be given time and space to create their own “implementational and ideological spaces” where they can fully explore and

exercise their teacher identities and agency. Given the long-standing history of the Japanese centralized education system in which homeroom teachers have been only expected to and thus, so used to following the national curriculum and instruction, local, bottom-up efforts must be advocated more explicitly and strategically. First and foremost, Japanese homeroom teachers must know that they are, in fact, active agents, not merely the product or instrument of the policy. They are not blind implementors of the policy but policymakers themselves, constantly shaping and reshaping the policy of Foreign Language Activities that fundamentally and most powerfully impacts students' language learning experiences. Teachers should also acknowledge that policy implementation is not simply the matter of feasibility at the local level. As demonstrated in this study, conformance with the top-down policy may not result in the best practice even from the pedagogical perspective. Thus, daily choices teachers make in their classrooms, be it "deviant" or "conforming," are more likely better or possibly the best alternatives under given circumstances. In order for such locally situated, *de jure* policies to be the best options, teachers' backgrounds and more importantly, their expertise must be fully considered and reflected. However, my study revealed that the intensification in the teaching profession is real and fundamentally impacts teachers' performance in class. Under the current very limiting conditions that probably all public elementary schools in Japan are facing, there needs to be a systematic effort to change their working conditions so that teachers like Mr. Nakano could have time and space to explore what they could try in their classrooms instead of just choosing a passive role as a better option. Or, alternatively, hiring licensed English teachers for elementary

schools may be a practical solution or a better option than requiring already over-worked teachers to teach a foreign language themselves.

Finally, I ask us, researchers, where we locate ourselves in language policy and planning processes, how our work interacts with actual language policy practices. Following many other active researchers (e.g., Canagarajah, 2005; Hornberger & Johnson, 2011; Menken & García, 2010), my study has explored and documented the local practices of the new language education policy. I believe that what counts more now is whether and how our reconceptualized discourse of language policy goes beyond our academic territory and evolves through interactions with real, local contexts of learning.

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Appendix A

Foreign Language Activities in The Course of Study (2008)

Chapter 4 Foreign Language Activities

I. OVERALL OBJECTIVE

To form the foundation of pupils' communication abilities through foreign languages while developing the understanding of languages and cultures through various experiences, fostering a positive attitude toward communication, and familiarizing pupils with the sounds and basic expressions of foreign languages.

II. CONTENT

[Grade 5 and Grade 6]

1. Instruction should be given on the following items in order to help pupils actively engage in communication in a foreign language:

- (1) To experience the joy of communication in the foreign language.
- (2) To actively listen to and speak in the foreign language.
- (3) To learn the importance of verbal communication.

2. Instruction should be given on the following items in order to deepen the experiential understanding of the languages and cultures of Japan and foreign countries:

- (1) To become familiar with the sounds and rhythms of the foreign language, to learn its differences from the Japanese language, and to be aware of the interesting aspects of language and its richness.
- (2) To learn the differences in ways of living, customs and events between Japan and foreign countries and to be aware of various points of view and ways of thinking.
- (3) To experience communication with people of different cultures and to deepen the understanding of culture.

III. LESSON PLAN DESIGN AND HANDLING THE CONTENT

1. In designing the syllabus, consideration should be given to the following:

- (1) In principle English should be selected for foreign language activities.
- (2) Taking into account the circumstances of pupils and the local community, each individual school should establish objectives of foreign language activities for each grade in an appropriate manner and work to realize them over the period of two school years.
- (3) With respect to the instruction on the content mainly concerning language and culture listed in Subsection II-2, teachers should make them link with the content mainly concerning communication listed in Subsection II-1. In doing so, teachers should try to have pupils understand language and culture experientially, avoiding giving too detailed explanations or engaging pupils in rote learning.
- (4) The instruction on the content and activities should be in line with pupils' interest.

Effort should be made to increase the effectiveness of teaching by, for example, taking advantage of what pupils have learned in other subjects, such as the Japanese language, music and arts and handicrafts.

(5) Homeroom teachers or teachers in charge of foreign language activities should make teaching programs and conduct lessons. Effort should be made to get more people involved in lessons by inviting native speakers of the foreign language or by seeking cooperation from local people who are proficient in the foreign language, depending on the circumstances of the local community.

(6) When dealing with sounds, teachers should make active use of audio-visual materials such as CDs and DVDs. The audio-visual materials should be selected according to the actual circumstances of the pupils, school and local community.

(7) Based on the objectives of moral education listed in Subsections I and II of Chapter 1 “General Provisions” and in Subsection I of Chapter 3 “Moral Education”, instruction concerning the content listed in Subsection II of Chapter 3 “Moral Education” should be given

appropriately. The instruction should be in accordance with the characteristics of foreign language activities and should be related to the period for moral education.

2. In the handling of the content listed in Subsection II, consideration should be given to the following:

(1) Consideration should be given to the following points when giving instruction over the period of two school years:

A. When giving pupils opportunities to experience communication in the foreign language, teachers should select appropriate expressions, giving consideration to the developmental stages of the pupils and set communication situations familiar to them.

B. When giving pupils opportunities to experience communication in the foreign language, teachers should focus on the foreign language sounds and use letters of the alphabet and words as supplementary tools for oral communication, in effort not to give too much burden to pupils.

C. Since non-verbal communication is also an essential means of communication, teachers should adopt gestures etc. and help pupils understand their functions.

D. Teachers should enable pupils to deepen their understanding not only of the foreign language and culture, but also of the Japanese language and culture through foreign language activities.

E. When giving pupils opportunities to experience communication in the foreign language, teachers should mainly set the communication situations and functions listed in the following examples:

[Examples of Communication Situations]

(a) Situations where fixed expressions are often used

- Greeting • Self-introduction • Shopping
- Having meals • Asking and giving directions etc.

(b) Situations that are likely to occur in pupils’ lives

- Home life • Learning and activities at school
- Local events • Childhood play etc.

[Examples of Functions of Communication]

- (a) Improving the relationship with a communication partner
- (b) Expressing emotions
- (c) Communicating facts
- (d) Expressing opinions and intentions
- (e) Stimulating a communication partner into action

(2) Consideration should be given to the following points when giving instruction to each grade, taking the learning level of pupils into account:

A. Activities in Grade 5

Considering that pupils learn the foreign language for the first time, teachers should introduce basic expressions about familiar things and events and engage pupils in communication activities where they experience interactions with one another. Teachers should engage pupils mainly in the activities where the pupils may become familiar with the foreign language or in the activities which are related to their daily lives or school lives.

B. Activities in Grade 6

Based on the learning in Grade 5, teachers should engage pupils in communication activities, focused on interactions with one another, including intercultural exchange activities, in addition to activities related to pupils' daily lives or school lives.

Appendix B

Interview Protocol

1. 教師になられて何年ですか。

How long have you been teaching?

2. 外国語活動をするのは今年が初めてですか？

Is this your first year teaching Foreign Language Activities?

3. 英語をどのように勉強してこられましたか。留学経験などはおありですか。

How did you learn English? Have you studied abroad?

4. 授業準備はどのようにされていますか。特に ALT が来る時などはどうされていますか。

How do you prepare for lessons? How do you prepare for your lessons when you teach with the ALT?

5. 外国語活動を実施するにあたって、教育委員会や校長先生から特に指示などありましたか。

Did you receive any specific guidance from the board of education and/or the principal before teaching Foreign Language Activities?

6. 外国語活動をする時に、気をつけていらっしゃることはありますか？

What do you try to accomplish in your Foreign Language Activities?

7. 外国語活動を教える時と、他の教科を教える時と、何か違うことはありますか？

Do you feel any differences between teaching Foreign Language Activities and teaching other subjects?

8. 外国語活動において、先生の役割とは？どのように理解していらっしゃる
いますか？

How do you understand your role(s) in Foreign Language Activities?

9. 外国語活動をしていて、大変なことやよかったことなどありますか。

Do you have any stories of challenges and/or success?

Appendix C

Abbreviations and Transcription conventions

CP	Conjunctive particles
IP	Interjectory particle
Q	Question Marker
QT	Quotation Marker
.	A period indicates a falling, final intonation
,	A comma indicates a continuing intonation
?	A question mark indicates a rising intonation
()	Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence
()	Words and phrases in parentheses indicate that they are omitted in the Japanese text but supplemented in the English translation lines
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a tiny gap
-	A hyphen indicates a truncated word or adjustment within an intonation unit, e.g., repeated word, false start.
(h)	“h” in parentheses indicates an embedded laughter
<laugh>	Angle brackets enclose descriptions of vocal noises, e.g., laughs, coughs,
(())	Double parentheses enclose transcriber's comments
Words[words]	Square brackets enclose simultaneous talk
=	Equal signs indicate no gap between the two lines

Each numbered lines consist of three lines. The first line is the original transcription, the second line is the transliteration of the original transcripts, and the third line gives you English translation.