Policy and Practice of the Partnership in Team-teaching Classrooms: Ideology and Reality

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Abstract

This study discusses roles and responsibilities in team-teaching by English native-speaking ALTs (Assistant Language Teachers) and JTLs (Japanese Teachers of Language) in English classes at Japanese secondary schools. Mombukagakusho (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) organized a 'JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) Programme' to offer students more opportunities to develop their communicative competence. However, there is much discussion and many difficulties have arisen. This study investigates the complex relationship between the JTLs and the ALTs, described in the policy document. The ALT is positioned in contradictory ways in the document, that is as both an assistant and expert. This is problematic for the relationship the two teachers are expected to form. To overcome these difficulties, a proposal is suggested that the requirements to be met by the ALTs should be modified to ensure they are trained teachers.

Introduction

1. The Objectives of This Assignment

Although team-teaching is performed widely in English classes in Japanese secondary schools, many difficulties can be highlighted in the

partnership between the JTL and the ALT. This study will look at the difficulties related to the two teachers' roles and responsibilities and the difficult situations in English education in Japan caused by teamteaching. This research will examine the complex relationship between the JTL and the ALT seen in the policy document and points out conflicting information in the policy document itself.

2. Background of Team-Teaching

Akira Tajino and Yasuko Tajino (2000) describe how team-teaching with a native English speaker was introduced to the language classroom in Japan, which has typically been seen as teacher-centred and also examination dominated.

The English language classroom of a typical Japanese secondary school language classroom, will have over 30 students who are taught in the Japanese language by the Japanese teacher. It was into such EFL classrooms that team-teaching was introduced. This joint instruction by a Japanese teacher of English (JTE) and a native-speaker assistant English teacher (AET) began at a time when secondary curricula were beginning to focus on oral communication. (Tajino and Tajino, 2000: 4)

Mombusho (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture) (1997) describes how in 1987, it organized a "Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme" to offer the students more opportunities to communicate with native speakers in the classroom: since then, many young people have been invited from foreign countries. Wada (1992)

indicates a positive contribution of team-teaching to Japanese English classroom. Communicative and interactive activities, for example, have been performed in English classes since the strategies of team-teaching were introduced.

3. Difficulty of Team-Teaching and Power Relations of the Two Teachers

However, there seems to be considerable discussion about teamteaching and many difficulties are highlighted when the two teachers are engaged in English education in Japan. In fact, as Kumabe (1996 cited in Tajino and Tajino, 2000: 5) asserts, "many teachers (both_JTEs_and AETs) seem to be confused about their roles and feel anxious about team-teaching". Furthermore, English education in the team-teaching classes does not seem to be performed effectively as a result of this confusion (Kumabe, 1996).

Although Tajino and Tajino (2000) propose a possible solution in the classroom linked with the roles of the JTE, the AET and the students, I would argue that the fundamental problem concerns the Mombukagakusho policy document itself. In fact, there seem to be some contradictions about the position of the AET in relation to JTE and the relationship between them. As a consequence, this conflict can be seen as exacerbating confusion of numerous teachers engaged in English education in Japan.

In addition, when we explore the two teachers' roles and partnership in team-teaching, we probably need to consider issues of their relative status and responsibilities. Creese (1997) has drawn attention to the

power relations between a language specialist and a subject specialist, who work together in multilingual classrooms at secondary schools in Britain. Although her research deals with a different setting, the central issue of the power relations between the two teachers in teamteaching remains the same. Indeed, the issue of power relations may be universal.

Section 1: Classroom Culture and Team-Teaching

1. Difficulty of National Culture

Holliday (1994) points out a problem related to culture, which is interpreted geographically and nationally:

One of the problems is that the most common use of the word – as national culture – is very broad and conjures up vague notions about nations, races and sometimes whole continents, which are too generalized to be useful, and which often become mixed up with stereotypes and prejudices. (Holliday, 1994: 21)

More specifically, he gives an example in the TESOL context and highlights the complexity and difficulty when we explore *national culture* in the language classroom.

It is easy to talk about, for example, the learning problems of a particular group of students as being influenced by 'Arab culture', or 'Confucian culture'; but such cultures, if indeed they are identifiable, are so complex and vast that they are no longer useful devices for investigating what is happening in the classroom between

people. (Holliday, 1994: 21)

Then, he suggests that 'it is necessary to be far more precise than this' (Holliday, 1994: 21). Furthermore, Holliday (1994) proposes a 'smaller culture', which focuses on individual classrooms included individual teachers and students instead of national culture. Spack has expressed a similar view that "teachers and researchers need to view students as individuals, not as members of a cultural group" (1997: 772). Atkinson also claims that "all cultural groups are made up of individuals" (1999: 641). Nevertheless, he argues, "one's personal makeup may also have cultural roots" (1999: 642) and he describes the paradox of individuality and culturality. Finally, he concludes that we may need to understand classroom culture from both individual and national cultural point of views (Atkinson, 1999).

2. Cultural Complexity in the Classroom

Holliday (1994) proposes the interpretation of classroom culture not only from a national cultural viewpoint but also from various viewpoints.

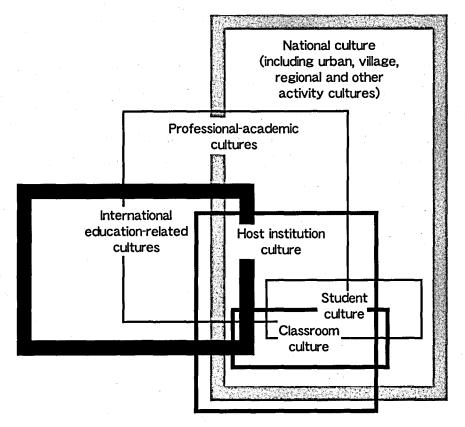


Figure 1 Host Culture Complex (Holliday, 1994: 29)

It is important to look at the classroom culture in terms of wider cultures. The classroom is part of a complex of interrelated and overlapping cultures of different dimensions within the host educational environment. (Holliday, 1994: 28)

I would like to focus on *Figure 1* presented by Holliday (1994) because it describes complex cultural issues in the classroom systematically and visually. According to Holliday, classroom culture is situated in complex cultural interrelations, which consists of the following six cultures: (1) classroom culture, (2) host institution culture, (3) student culture, (4) professional academic culture, (5) international educational-related culture and (6) national culture.

I would like to consider a classroom culture at a secondary school in Japan. If figure 1 is applied to this context, (1) 'classroom culture' can be 'an English classroom', (2) 'host institution culture' is 'a junior high school', (3) 'student culture' will be 'Japanese students', (4) 'professional academic culture' could be 'Japanese secondary school teachers', (5) 'international education-related to culture' is probably 'the JET Programme and ALTs from English speaking counties and (6) ''national culture' can be 'Japanese culture'.

Holliday (1994) also asserts that learning and teaching methodologies also involve cultures and they affect classroom culture as well. This research focuses on the teaching strategies of 'team-teaching', which is performed widely and becoming common in English education in Japan. It also focuses on the classroom culture, which is created by the two

teachers, who have different nationalities: one is the JTL who shares the same background of national culture with the students and the other is the ALT who is from an English speaking country; both will be investigated.

3. Team-Teaching with a Native English Speaker

Holliday suggests "the professional-academic cultures of teacher groups were depicted as being a major source of influence within the classroom culture" (1994: 69). Medgyes (1992) has expressed a similar view that, although there is a trend in English language teaching (ELT) which is focused on the learners rather than the teachers, teacher-centred research should be increased because the learners are guided by the teachers themselves.

In fact, Medgyes focuses on the issue related to the two types of teachers, which are native-speaking EFL teachers (NESTs) and nonnative-speaking EFL teachers (non-NESTs) and he discusses both teachers' differences including advantages and disadvantages. In addition, Medgyes (1994) also explores collaboration between NESTs and non-NESTs both outside and inside the classroom based on his surveys and his own teaching experience in Hungary. Furthermore, he has also drawn attention to the fact that team-teaching is one of the productive teaching strategies of further education. However, although teamteaching is a useful strategy for language teaching, I would ague that we need to consider the two teachers' positions and their relationship to promote the effectiveness in the classroom. Otherwise, we cannot expect efficient team-teaching lessons.

4. Team-Teaching in Japanese Secondary Schools

There are several studies which have dealt with team-teaching in Japanese secondary schools. Sturman (1989), for example, describes the confusion of the teachers in team-teaching and the various ranges of practice in team-teaching classes, which may have been caused by lack of precise guidelines as follows:

Although broad outlines do exist, most Japanese teachers (JTs) and NSTs (Native Speaker Teachers) are still confused about how best to work together. This has led to wide variation in the practice of team-teaching in Japan from the ideal full and complete cooperation between the two teachers, to situations where the NST merely sits in a corner until s/he is asked to "model read" the text. (Sturman, 1989: 68)

He then presents a successful team-teaching example, which has been conducted in junior high schools in Koto-ku (a division of Tokyo) entitled 'the British Council Koto-ku Project'. Although the project is different from JET Programme, which is adopted widely in Japanese secondary schools, Sturman (1989) points out an interesting perspective related to equal responsibilities of the two teachers.

Both teachers (a JT and a NST) ... should stand at the front of the class; both teachers should be equally involved in all stages of the lesson; both teachers should be equally responsible for initiation, drilling, pronunciation, explanation, monitoring, and checking. (Sturman, 1989: 74)

He suggests the positive evaluation of the team-teaching practice that "the cooperation between the teachers is seen as the most positive feature of the project, although the degree of involvement varies from teacher to teacher according to personality and degree of confidence" (Sturman, 1989: 75). He concludes that the Koto-ku Project is successful and encourages teachers in Japan to do team-teaching positively (Sturman, 1989).

However, Stein (1989: 239) argues, "the project represents a successful example of a program which is 'quite different to most situations in Japan'". Stein (1989) then highlights some differences between the Koto-ku Project and 'Native Speaker In the Classroom (NSIC) Programme', in which he was involved for more than two years. One of the main differences between the two programmes, Stein (1989) points out, is the teachers' role. According to Stein (1989), the two teachers' responsibilities are not equal because the JT's responsibility is much more than the NST's. The details of his indication will be discussed in the next section.

A later study by Goldberg (1995 as cited in Tajino and Walker 1998) also highlights the confusion related to team-teaching and describes the evidence, which is due to the lack of knowledge for both JTEs and ALTs.

I think one of the biggest problems is that a lot of schools request ALTs but don't really know what to do with them once they arrive. ... Also, some JTEs just don't know how to team teach effectively. As for the ALTs, although we arrive having received teaching manuals and a little training as part of our orientation, most of us don't have any experience team-teaching either. If either the ALT nor the JTE can offer each other guidance, problems arise. (Goldberg, 1995:11 in Tajino and Walker, 1998)

Tajino and Walker (1998) then propose 'team learning' in the teamteaching classes including both two teachers and the students. Tajino and Tajino (2000) also propose some specific patterns of team-teaching classes based on the idea of 'team-learning'. However, I would argue that when the teachers themselves do not know their roles and responsibilities in team-teaching, how can they 'team learn', including the students in the process? I would assert that it is probably more important to make clear the two teachers' roles and responsibilities based on present conditions, not only in the classroom but also including preparation and evaluation before we think about the ideal teamteaching lessons.

Also, when team-teaching is discussed, we need to consider the issue of 'native speaker'. Phillipson (1992) raises a question for the current roles of native-speaker-teachers with regard to language inheritance, which can be also an important argument in English education in Japan.

The native-speaker-teacher ideal has remained as a central part of the conventional wisdom of the ELT profession. As with many hegemonic practices, there has been a tendency to accept it without question. (Phillipson, 1992: 15)

In addition, Rampton (1990) criticises the notion of 'native speaker' and expresses that 'expertise' should be regarded highly rather than the 'nativeness' such as "expertise is learned, not fixed or innate" (Rampton, 1990: 98).

The next section will investigate more details of team-teaching based on the Mombusho policy document, which described the AET's position in relation to the JTE and their partnership both within the classroom and outside the classroom.

Section 2: Complex Relationship

between the JLT and the ALT*

1. The ALT's Status

The Mombukagakusho policy document often uses the term JTL^{*}, which refers to 'Japanese Teacher of Language' including teachers of English, French and German and ATL^{*}, which refers to 'Assistant Language Teacher' also including teachers of English, French and German. However, more than 90 percent of Japanese students learn English at secondary school, so I would like to focus on English teachers as representatives of foreign language teachers in Japan.

Fundamentally, the ALT's status at Japanese secondary school is as an assistant rather than a teacher. A section entitled 'ALTs' Duties' in the Mombusho policy document clearly states that their duties are mainly to assist the JTL as follows:

[•]For the purposes of this study and because of the confusion of abbreviations in the literature, only the terms Japanese Teacher of Language (JTL) and Assistant Language Teacher (ALT), both whom teach English, will be used.

- (1) Assist with classes taught by the JTL
- (2) Assist with the reparation of supplementary

teaching materials

- (3) Assist with language training/practice for JTLs
- (4) <u>Assist</u> with the instruction of "foreign language speaking societies" and other extra-curricular activities
- (5) Provide language information for teachers'

consultants and JTLs

- (6) Assist with foreign language speech contests
- (7) <u>Assist</u> with other duties as specified by the participant's

host institution (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8)

Even more specifically,

... the duties of the ALT at school are to <u>assist</u> the JTL in developing students' communicative abilities in the language and to serve as a cultural resource person so that students can develop a capacity for understanding foreign cultures and customs. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8)

This ALTs' position as assistants may be reasonable because, although all JTLs are qualified teachers described in the policy document as requiring "the relevant teaching certificates as provided for by the Educational Personnel Certification Law or other relevant statutes" (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 9), there seems to be no specific requirements for native English speakers to be ALTs in Japan. For this reason, the ALT's role and responsibility should be that of an assistant because many of them are not qualified teachers. Nevertheless, the policy document seems not to have consistency for the ALT's position as an assistant. The details will be discussed in the following section.

2. Teaching in the Classroom

First of all, the relationship between the JTL and the ALT in the classroom will be examined. In the classroom, the policy document describes the relationship between the two teachers as follows:

They plan lessons together, teach together and evaluate the effectiveness of their lessons together. So team-teaching here is a concerted endeavour made jointly by the JTL and ALT. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 14)

In this respect the two teachers positions are equal and there seems to be no hierarchical differences between them. In this context, there seems to be a contradiction in the policy document because it emphasizes the two teachers' equality. Nevertheless, one of the ALT's duties at school is supposed to 'assist with classes taught by the JTL' but it does not describe the ALT's role based on the assistant in the former statement. It is clearly seen that there is inconsistency in the document here. It is possible that this contradiction in the policy document causes the confusion in the team-teaching classes linked with the roles and responsibilities between the JTL and the ALT.

In addition, there is a section called *Keys to Successful Team-Teaching*' in the policy document and the section is divided into three parts: (1)

Planning, (2) Classroom Activities and (3) Evaluation. In these parts, equality and corroboration between the JTL and the ALT are also highlighted. I would like to analyse each part focusing on the two teachers' roles and their responsibilities and investigate the difference between the policy and the practice.

2-1 Planning

(A) The first key to successful team-teaching is cooperative lesson planning by the JTL and the ALT. Before each lesson the pair should discuss together the aims of the lesson, the materials to be used, and the teaching procedures they will follow. (Mombusho, 1994: 21)

(B) Assist with classes taught by the JTL (Mombusho, 1994: 8)

Although the policy document explains the ALT's duty in the classroom is to "assist with classes taught by the JTL" (Mombusho, 1994), "cooperative lesson planning by the JTL and the ALT" (Mombusho, 1994) is suggested at the same time. What should the two teachers do in the process of lesson planning? How can they manage to do 'cooperative lesson planning'?

Although in theory both the ALT the JTL need to be responsible for the class, in terms of planning and delivery, Stein (1989) describes how in practice a JT alone prepares for team-teaching classes with the JT and a NST. In his article, he uses different terms, which are JT and NST but it is possible to replace the JT for the JTL and the NST for the ALT because the roles of two teachers are exactly same in my

assignment.

Although both the JT and NST are equally responsible for the success of a class, the JT's area of responsibility lies principally outside the one-shot class because the JT alone prepares students for the experience by screening the questions they have prepared for the NST, by giving them opportunities to practice asking those questions, by working with them in practicing activities in which they are directly involved, and by giving them a "cultural preview" of a lesson with an NST. (Stein, 1989: 242-243)

Although 'cooperative lesson planning' is suggested in the policy document. Stein's research demonstrates that the reality is completely different and the JTL's responsibility during the planning seems to be much more than the ALT. Although Stein (1989) deals with one of the team-teaching styles, which is called 'one-shot', "where students and ... NSTs see each other only one time" (Stein, 1989: 239), the principle of his indication can be also applicable to the regular scheduled classes because of the difference of conducting classes between the JTL and the ALT. Medgyes (1994) describes the native teacher's situation that "in order to make them (NEST) accessible to everybody, they are torn into as many small bits as there are groups in the school" (1994: 81). Although the total numbers of the lessons are similar, the ALT tends to have as many groups as possible, whereas the JTL usually has several groups but each class consists of 4 continuing lessons in a week. This situation makes it difficult for the ALT to write a whole lesson plan because of lack of continuity. This setting clearly represents the

difference of the two teachers' positions rather than their equality. Consequently, it is probably almost impossible to do cooperative lesson planning completely equally. For this reason, if the two teachers try to do joint lesson planning equally, according to the policy document, it is no wonder that confusion is caused because it does not consider the two teachers' different situations and their positions. Obviously, this confusion will affect actual classroom activities.

2-2 Classroom Activities

- (A) The second key to successful team-teaching is that the JTL and the ALT should, as often as possible, create opportunities in class in which students will be engaged in communicative activities. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 22)
- (B) Assist with classes taught by the JTL (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8)
- (C) ...assist the JTL in developing students' communicative abilities in the language.... (Mombusho, 1994: 8)

Next, classroom activities will be explored. In the policy document, communicative activities are focused on in the team-teaching classes. However, again, there seems to be contradiction in the policy document because according to 'ALTs' duties', the ALT's role in the classroom is supposed to "assist with classes taught by the JTL" (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8), also "assist the JTL in developing students' communicative abilities in the language" (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8). Nevertheless, it does not suggest for the ALT to assist the JTL in the section of 'Keys

to Successful Team-Teaching', which has been seen in (A). In addition, the two teachers' equal assistance and support are highlighted in the section as follows:

The JTL and the ALT should always try to assist and support each other in trying to draw out positive responses from the students. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 22)

Although the JTL and the ALT's equal responsibility is proposed here, it does not always describe their same roles. The JTL and the ALT's different roles are suggested during the activities as follows:

For example, when the ALT is leading an activity, the JTL should check the students' responses, give comments, or invite them to exchange questions or comments with each other. If the students find difficulty in understanding the ALT's explanations, the JTL should complement the words with pictures or flashcards, and vice versa. When the JTL is in charge of activities, the ALT may similarly check the achievement of individual students or groups and give advice to them. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 22-23)

According to this description, the roles of the ALT and the JTL are completely opposite compared to the 'ALTs' Duties' because "when the ALT is leading an activity, the JTL should check the students' responses, give comments, or invite them to exchange questions or comments" (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 22-23) also "if the students find difficult in understanding the ALT's explanations, the JTL should

complement the words with pictures or flashcards." (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 23) These JTL's roles seem to be assisting the ALT rather than the ALT assisting the JTL. Also, the policy document suggests their roles of "vice versa", which is "when the JTL is in charge of activities, the ALT may similarly check the achievement of individual students or groups and give advice to them." (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 23) In this situation, the ALT becomes an adviser or an examiner rather than the assistant.

This seems not to be equal responsibility in the classroom and also against the idea that "the JTL and the ALT should always try to assist and support each other" (Mombusho, 1994: 22). In fact, the role of assisting has changed completely because it is the JTL who assists rather than the ALT, and the ALT may be seen to be prominent. Stein has expressed a similar view: "the NST's role during the one-shot is in some ways similar to that of an entertainer" (1989: 243). From this viewpoint, the role of the JLT, on the other hand, could be a director who makes a stage for the entertainer. The principle of this idea can be also applicable to not only one-shot classes but also regularly scheduled classes. Even though the ALT works at a fixed school, his/her position in the team-teaching lessons are somehow similar to a star rather than a teacher, because the ALT usually visits as many groups as possible and he/she does not teach certain groups of students continuously.

Consequently, although there is no continuity in the team-teaching lessons, the ALT's role as a star in the classroom will be more influential to the students than the JTL, which may sometimes cause a

problem in the relationship between the JTL and the students. In fact, when the students see the power relationship between the JTL and the ALT in the classroom, and feel that the JTL is under the ALT, it is possible that they may not respect the JTL. This situation is crucial for the JTL because, unlike the ALT, the JTL is supposed to teach the same students continuously.

2-3 Evaluation

Thirdly, evaluation is considered. The policy document states the evaluation of team-teaching classes as follows:

The third key to successful team-teaching is to evaluate each lesson in terms of the effectiveness of procedures and the achievement of aims before the next lesson is planned. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 23)

This seems to be sensible but in the actual situation, both the JTL and the ALT probably tend to be reserved about each other's performance. The reason for this may be linked with the JTL and the ALT's power relations. Now, from the ALT's viewpoint, it may be difficult to criticise the lesson because his/her position is as an assistant and he/ she is not a qualified teacher. This power relation makes it difficult for the ALT to express his/her opinion freely when he/she discusses the effectiveness of the lesson with the JTL, who is qualified and the teacher who is more responsible in the classroom.

However, there is another aspect of the power relationship, which is completely different from the positions between the teacher and the assistant. It is a power relationship between a native speaker and a

non-native speaker. In this case, the power relationship becomes reversed and the ALT's position is predominant here. Although the JTLs are qualified English teachers and they speak English, as Sturman describes "there is great variation in ability; Japanese teachers, in general, are very insecure about their ability to communicate in English" (1992: 152). On the other hand, although the ALT is an assistant, he/ she is a native English speaker. Even though the JTL may not be satisfied with the effectiveness of the team-teaching class, this power relationship makes it difficult for the JTL to evaluate the ALT's teaching performance. This situation makes it complex to evaluate the team-teaching classes properly between the two teachers. Consequently, this could prevent them from creating more productive team-teaching lessons.

3. Teacher Training

Finally, the relationship between the JTL and the ALT from the teacher development aspect will be inspected. The main purpose of the team-teaching between the JTL and the ALT is to 'develop students' communicative abilities'. However, if the JTL's own communicative ability in the target language is not good enough, it may be difficult to introduce communicative activities in the classroom. For this reason, Wada (1992) describes that the aim of team-teaching involves the extra role of improving the JTL's own language ability. The policy document specifies the ALT's duty in this respect and the training and practice for the JTLs are laid down as follows:

(A) Assist with language training/ practice for JTLs

(Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8)

(B) The ALT is also expected to help JTLs further improve their own abilities in the target foreign language through everyday contact with ALTs, in small group meetings, or in more formal seminars. (Mombukagakusho, 2002: 8)

In other words, the ALT is expected to be the language trainer for the JTLs. Although the ALT is an assistant, his/her position will be predominant to the JTLs in this situation. This section will explore the relationship between the JTL and the ALT, which are rather different from that of the classroom.

Teacher-training seminars and workshops sometimes are held by the local education authority to improve the JTLs' teaching techniques. In this situation, the improvement of the JTLs' teaching strategies focuses rather on the language itself. The role of the ALT in the seminar is that of a teacher trainer, so he/she also needs to know the pedagogy of language teaching. Thus the relationship between the JTLs and the ALT is not symmetrical and the ALT's position is clearly dominant to the JTLs. There seems to be a crucial issue in this situation because many ALTs have never taken teacher training before they come to Japan. When the ALT does team-teaching with the JTL in the classroom, whether the ALT is trained-teacher or not is not a problem because the JTL usually takes the initiative. However, in teacher seminars, the teacher trainer should be a qualified teacher. Furthermore, he/she should have more pedagogical knowledge than the JTLs.

Wada (1991: 137) quotes a letter written by a Mombusho English Fellow (MEF) in his book and a part of the letter highlights an extreme case. Wada (1991) explains that before the JET Programme started, there was another programme called the MEF Programme initiated in 1977. This programme is almost equivalent to the current JET Programme and MEFs used to have an obligation to write letters regularly to Mombusho. Basically, there is no difference about the duties between the ALTs' and the MEFs'. Accordingly, there seem to be lots of common opinions and feelings between them. For this reason, this letter shows a case that how they feel in the seminar as a teacher trainer.

Teaching is also a problem. I have never really taught before in any structured manner, and here I was, thrown into a teacher seminar, give four hours of "free rein" within my first week. ((Anonymous) (Wada, 1991: 137))

Although the ALT had never taken teacher training before, it is obviously required for him/her possess pedagogical knowledge since the seminar was for qualified English teachers. There seems to be a serious problem here because even though the ALT is a native speaker, it could be extremely difficult to involve as the instructor for the teachertraining seminar.

Phillipson (1992) asserts the notion of language teachers that it is much more important for the teachers to be learnt than to be born as natives. Teachers, whatever popular adages say, are made rather than born, many of them doubtless self-made, whether they are natives or nonnatives. The insight and usage of a language, and their capacity to analyse and explain language, definitely have to be learnt (Phillipson, 1992: 14)

As a consequence, although the ALTs are native English speakers, it is highly doubtful whether the untrained and unqualified ALTs can be the teacher trainers in the teacher seminars.

Conclusion

1. Problems Related to Partnership between the JTL and the ALT

According to the policy document, the ALT is positioned as an assistant rather than a teacher, but his/her role in the classroom seems to be completely different from assisting because the policy document also emphasises the two teachers' equality. In another section, the policy document contradicts itself by describing the two teachers' different roles in the classroom: the JTL's role seems to assist the ALT and the ALT's role seems to be more influential than the JTL. This ALT's role is not only different from assisting but also different in terms of equality. This situation might cause a serious problem in the English classroom, especially the relationship between the JTL and the students, because it may cause the students not to respect JTL's lessons. Unlike the ALT, the JTL is responsible for the classroom continuously and the frequency of the lessons, which the JTL teaches alone, is normally more than team-teaching lessons. So, once the relationship between the JTL and the students is damaged, it would be very

problematic and a difficult situation would remain for the rest of the whole year.

In addition, the ALT's responsibility in teacher-training seminars is problematic because many ALTs are untrained and unqualified teachers and yet they are often required to take a teacher trainers' role. It is clearly not sufficient that the ALTs' native language is English. For teacher training purposes, the ALTs need to be pedagogically trained.

2. Requirements for the ALTs

Rampton (1990) drew attention to the significant clue related to teacher recruitment:

... the notion of expert shifts the emphasis from 'who you are' to 'what you know', and this has to be a more just basis for the recruitment of teachers. (Rampton, 1990: 99)

This notion of the language expert throws an important question on English education in Japan because, according to the policy document, although the ALTs are positioned as assistants, it is clear that they are required to work as language experts. Although there seem to be no specific regulations for the requirements to recruit ALTs at the moment, minimal qualifications should be required in the future, since the ALTs engage in English classrooms as teachers more than assistants, who are positioned equally to the JTLs. Also, if the ALTs are responsible as teacher-trainers in the seminars, they should have more pedagogic knowledge than the JTLs. Being a native speaker itself is not enough for language education. The requirements to be met by the ALT should be established to ensure they are trained and qualified teachers. Further research is expected related to the roles and responsibilities of the two teachers in team-teaching based on professional partnership.

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