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Improving Assistant Language Teacher &
Japanese Teacher Relations on the JET Program

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The Japan Exchange & Teaching ("JET") Program was started in 1987 by three Japanese government ministries (i.e., the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications) in coordination with the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations ("CLAIR"). The purpose of the program is to increase mutual understanding between Japan and other nations, promote internationalization in Japan's local communities, and improve foreign language education by inviting people from foreign countries to work in Japanese government offices and schools. Since its inception, over 52,000 participants have completed the JET Program, and in 2009, 4,436 participants were welcomed from 36 countries (CLAIR, 2010). Therefore, the JET Program constitutes a landmark opportunity for Japanese and non-Japanese to engage in positive intercultural relations, but also a challenge, as such contact can sometimes result in organizational problems and interpersonal friction.

Since 1997, I have been engaged in research about the intercultural communication outcomes within the JET Program, namely in the relationships between foreign JET Program participants and the Japanese teachers with whom they work on a regular basis. The focus of this research (Komisarof, 2001, 2004, 2006), as well as the current paper, is upon one subgroup among JET Program participants: Assistant Language Teachers ("ALTs"), who constitute approximately 90% of the current participants (CLAIR, 2010). ALTs' charge is to work closely with Japanese Language Teachers at the primary through secondary school levels in order to improve foreign language instruction and to participate in events that will create opportunities for cultural exchange. Typically, ALTs are employed for one to three years on renewable annual contracts, with exceptional ALTs

being allowed to teach for up to five years.

First as an ALT on the JET Program (1990-1992) and later as a researcher, I have spoken to many ALTs about both their struggles and successes in Japan and often wondered, "Why do some people feel positively about their relations with their Japanese colleagues while others do not? Is there some aspect of Japanese culture which, if better understood by JET Program participants, would help them to improve these relationships?" I shall attempt a response to these questions in this paper. Namely, I will pinpoint five intercultural "hot spots," or unwritten rules for building relations among Japanese coworkers, that pose great challenges to ALTs. These hot spots challenge ALTs largely because the ways in which Japanese workers build positive collegial relations differ from those in their heritage cultures. However, if ALTs adapt well to these rules, positive relations with coworkers often result; furthermore, since ALTs spend many hours at work, their overall experiences in Japan tend to improve along with their collegial relations. This paper shall not only identify these intercultural hot spots, but also include a brief analysis of how ALTs tend to perceive and adapt to them based on interviews done in Komisarof (2001). Finally, recommendations will be proposed for ways in which ALTs can work to improve collegial relations.

Hot Spot #1: Treatment as a Foreign Guest

Many ALTs are granted extra status as foreign guests in Japan (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 1990; McConnell, 2000), which results in both positive and negative reactions among ALTs. During my research (Komisarof, 2001), all of the Caucasian ALTs whom I interviewed described receiving extra attention and status as foreign guests. ALTs of Asian heritage, such as Asian Americans, reported similar treatment, but they said that compared to their Caucasian ALT colleagues, they "blended in" more and received comparatively less special treatment. Unfortunately, in this particular study, I was unable to locate any ALTs of African heritage to be interviewed. In future research, I hope to compare their experiences to those of European and Asian heritages.

Such treatment as guests was viewed either positively or negatively by ALTs depending upon the context. In general, they felt closer to colleagues when they received benefits or help which fulfilled needs that they highly valued. For example, ALTs appreciated when their workloads were lightened by exemptions from meetings which they thought were superfluous. Furthermore, ALTs felt grateful if Japanese coworkers helped them when they were unable to accomplish tasks alone (e.g., teachers helping ALTs who couldn't speak Japanese to buy *shinkansen* tickets or translating docu-

ments so the ALT could read them).

If ALTs felt relatively self-sufficient and did not need such support, which typically occurred after their initial periods of adjustment to Japan, then they usually felt excluded by treatment that was either unusually positive or negative based solely upon their nationality. Instead, they wanted to be treated similarly to their Japanese coworkers. As one ALT explained:

Basically [my colleagues] treating me like anybody else makes me feel included—not really treating me special or treating me negatively. . . . I think both kind of make you feel like an outsider. . . . So the times that they just treat me as another teacher . . . are the best.

This culturally-ingrained preference among ALTs for uniform treatment stands in stark contrast to the meaning in Japan behind such behavior toward foreign guests, which is frequently extended to convey respect, care, and kindness. The contrast between Japanese peoples' and ALTs' interpretations of the same behavior is a striking example of intercultural *miscommunication*.

Specifically, ALTs felt excluded in two types of situations: first, when they were helped by colleagues in matters in which they perceived themselves as self-sufficient. One common example occurred when Japanese teachers spoke English to ALTs who were at the time communicating competently in Japanese, as when this ALT was conversing with a group of coworkers and was suddenly joined by an English teacher:

Someone told me in Japanese, "It's still raining out." And the English teacher said in English, "It's still raining out." I think that's offensive because I was actively engaging with another Japanese teacher in Japanese, so I obviously understood, but she still made a point of translating.

Also, compliments by coworkers about ALTs' abilities to perform everyday functions in Japan, such as sitting in the traditional Japanese position of *seiza*, speaking Japanese, and using chopsticks often made ALTs feel like outsiders after they had acclimated to Japan (e.g., "Your *seiza*/Japanese language/chopsticks ability is very good."). As one ALT explained, "With these comments, even though they're small, they never let me forget that I'm a foreigner and that their expectations for me are different." In other words, since Japanese would not compliment each other on their ability to use chopsticks, sit *seiza*, or speak Japanese, many ALTs interpreted these comments negatively since they wanted to be treated similarly to the Japanese.

Recommendations for Improving Relations:

1. ALTs and Japanese would be wise to recognize the different mean-

ings of special treatment for guests in their cultures. As previously explained, such behavior often has a positive, respectful meaning in Japan. At the same time, in many of the countries represented on the JET Program, equal and similar treatment extended to all people is seen as a prerequisite to a truly multicultural, accepting society. Therefore, Japanese teachers and ALTs should attempt to accept such differences.

2. ALTs need to recognize the positive side of special treatment as guests, as they often depend upon such help to get important needs met.
3. Since the Japanese cannot always know when ALTs want to be treated as guests or the same as the Japanese, it is important that ALTs do not rush to judge Japanese colleagues negatively when their expectations are not fulfilled.
4. When favors or other acts of kindness are performed by Japanese teachers for ALTs (for example, giving gifts, making invitations to after school clubs, and translating documents into English), these are attempts to build positive relations. If ALTs reciprocate, they can build relationships through a common method in Japan: the cycle of giving and receiving kindness and favors (*"on"*). ALTs whom I have interviewed, for example, practiced English conversation with colleagues, volunteered to assist coworkers to reduce their workloads, and bought souvenirs for coworkers (especially food) while traveling.

Hot Spot #2: Conflict Avoidance vs. Direct Expression of Feelings

Japanese are usually expected at work to communicate in a style that is non-confrontational and conflict-avoiding (Barnlund, 1989; Hofstede, 1991; Tezuka, 1992; Gudykunst & Nishida, 1994; Morisaki & Gudykunst, 1994; Goldman, 1994; McConnell, 2000). This pattern conflicts with the communication styles of many ALTs, who tend to express more directly and openly their opinions and feelings. Most of the ALTs interviewed thought that daily communication was often ineffective and frustrating due to their colleagues' indirect, non-confrontational communication style. One ALT described:

I tell people, "If you don't like my idea, please tell me, it's really OK," but they won't tell me if they don't like it. I'm always second guessing what they're thinking. . . It's really tiring.

On the other hand, a small minority of the ALTs regularly employed a conflict-avoiding communication style with colleagues and thought this helped them gain trust among Japanese colleagues. As one ALT stated, "If I

tried to . . . act more easygoing, accepting, and go along with the flow, then I would be part of the group more often."

Recommendations for Improving Relations:

1. Misunderstandings often occur with ALTs when Japanese do not directly express their thoughts. However, Japanese have their own clearly defined ways of expressing disagreement; even if they do not disagree explicitly, they may use nonverbal signals to do so, such as hesitating when being asked if they agree, or showing a slightly uncomfortable facial expression. If ALTs watch for these signs, they will understand Japanese communication better.
2. If ALTs want to know a colleague's true opinion, then an effective strategy is to ask an open-ended question, for example, "What do you think of this topic?" This should be done *before* ALTs offer their own opinions; this will circumvent colleagues who typically adjust their ideas to match those of the ALT in order to maintain harmony.
3. ALTs can adopt a non-confrontational, easygoing communication style with coworkers, which may help Japanese teachers feel comfortable to express their opinions more openly.

Hot Spot #3: Culturally-Appropriate Levels of Self-Disclosure

In the workplace, Japanese tend to speak in less depth about themselves and about fewer topics than many other Western peoples, such as Americans (Barnlund, 1989). Among Japanese teachers, it is also common to shift with the same person between a formal mode at school, in which little personal information is shared, and more intimate, relaxed conversations outside, for example at bars or restaurants (Lebra, 1976). These patterns prove confusing and even frustrating for many ALTs.

Most of the ALTs interviewed wanted to engage in self-disclosure with colleagues by discussing a broad range of topics, including hobbies, teaching philosophy, opinions about work-related issues, and family information. Generally, they felt accepted and included if they could do so regularly and excluded if they could not. One ALT, however, felt that receiving acts of kindness from colleagues was a satisfying substitute for self-disclosure:

[The Japanese] might be more willing to give you something or do something for you than Americans would. . . In the beginning, maybe the lack of open friendliness [among coworkers] made me feel excluded and felt cold. . . But at the same time, before I came they had donated so many things to me. They might not be very

friendly face to face, but then they did something like that. So I felt included because they've taken care of me.

Another interesting pattern was that ALTs who frequently interacted with coworkers outside of school (for example, at restaurants, teachers' homes, and faculty trips) tended to feel satisfied with the level of information shared with colleagues. Conversely, those who interacted with teachers almost exclusively at work reported that levels of self-disclosure were unsatisfying and caused them to feel distant. This is likely because Japanese tend not to engage in much self-disclosure at work—where personal matters are usually considered private and unrelated to the job at hand. Therefore, ALTs who went out with coworkers put themselves in situations where such sharing became more socially acceptable and likely to occur, while ALTs who encountered colleagues mostly at school found self-disclosure limited and experienced more difficulties developing satisfying human relations.

Recommendations for Improving ALT-Japanese Teacher Relations:

1. ALTs are advised not to take personally a perceived lack of self-disclosure by colleagues, as Japanese tend to be reserved in the workplace about sharing personal information.
2. Rather than sharing personal information, Japanese may show affection through generosity and other kind, helpful acts. Therefore, it is important that ALTs recognize such substitute signals for caring.
3. If more personal conversations are desired, ALTs should meet colleagues outside of school. In such contexts, it is more likely that Japanese coworkers will feel comfortable engaging in this type of communication.

Hot Spot #4: Attendance and Social Dynamics at Social Events After Hours

Japanese workers are generally expected to attend social events with colleagues after work hours and on weekends with greater frequency than in Western nations (Sato & McLaughlin, 1998; Stewart & Bennett, 1991). Invitations to these events generally made ALTs feel included among colleagues, while the perceived lack thereof made them feel excluded. ALTs described invitations to many types of social events, including faculty parties, trips with coworker friends, and meals at teachers' homes.

While invitations to social events were important in making ALTs feel included, they were only one of several important criteria. In order to feel comfortable, ALTs also indicated that relaxed, informal communication with colleagues was necessary. On the other hand, communication charac-

lized by hesitation and social restraint made them feel excluded.

Recommendations for Improving Relations:

1. In order to demonstrate a commitment to building positive collegial relations, ALTs should attend social events whenever possible.
2. Among Japanese, hesitation (*"enryo"*) to express their needs or opinions often has a positive meaning of courtesy and respect (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992). Therefore, when ALTs see such self-restraint among Japanese at social events (as opposed to informal, relaxed, and spontaneous interactions that make many ALTs more comfortable), they may be interpreting greater social distance than their Japanese colleagues and missing the intended polite meaning of such behavior. If ALTs recognize self-restraint's positive meaning, then they can avoid unnecessary misunderstandings.

Hot Spot #5: Collaborative Projects

The organizational structure of Japanese schools is tremendously interdependent, with teachers working together on many projects to achieve group goals concerned with school administration and program planning (White, 1987; LeTendre, 1998; Sato & McLaughlin, 1998). All of the ALTs interviewed recognized the importance of working in collaborative teams in forming collegial relationships, for example, in planning team teaching lessons and participating in English department meetings.

According to their interviews, ALTs could be categorized into two groups. A small minority of ALTs wanted only minimal involvement in collaborative tasks with coworkers. However, all of the other ALTs wanted to engage in such work with colleagues, hoping to contribute to projects at the levels of planning, decision-making, and execution. For example, one ALT was invited to act as the assistant coach of a student sports team under the guidance of a Japanese teacher. Not only did he help the head coach at daily practices, but he was also given the responsibility to supervise the team when the head coach could not attend. In this manner, to the extent that their limited Japanese ability would permit, most of the ALTs interviewed wanted to enact similar roles as Japanese teachers.

Conversely, ALTs felt excluded when they lacked opportunities to participate in collaborative projects or were prevented from doing work for which they perceived themselves as qualified. As one ALT described when she and her colleagues were marking exams together:

I was only allowed to do one small pocket of work. After that, they were tallying the scores, and I said, "I can add this stack." And they were really adamant that I couldn't. . . Ultimately the responsibility

rests on them if I make a mistake, but it's frustrating that I've got to sit at this table and just watch. . . All of the teachers at that table were doing it. . . So I'm always included, but not really.

Recommendations for Improving Relations:

1. Most ALTs are unable (in terms of Japanese linguistic ability and/or knowledge about the Japanese educational system) to perform all of the duties that are required of Japanese teachers. Therefore, it is not reasonable for ALTs to expect all of the same responsibilities as Japanese teachers. However, ALTs interested in more collaboration and responsibility can inform colleagues about the types of contributions that they would like to make and ask permission to become more involved. When making proposals, ALTs can "sell" valuable potential contributions that their status as native non-Japanese speakers *enhances* (rather than seeking roles that end up in extra work for their colleagues, which some Japanese teachers fear). For example, one ALT was instrumental in establishing a sister school program with his high school alma mater. Furthermore, desire to become involved can be communicated by showing "team spirit," e.g., spending more time at school, attending more meetings, and participating in communal rites such as school cleaning. If Japanese teachers observe ALTs engaging in such activities, they are more likely to accept the ALTs' proposals to become more involved in other school activities and programs.

Conclusion

In this paper, insight has been gained into how ALTs perceive Japanese social norms for building collegial relations, as well as how they can positively adapt to them. Presumably, the next step in improving intercultural relations is for both ALTs and their Japanese colleagues to identify which hot spots are affecting their interactions and make appropriate adjustments to their expectations and behaviors while engaging in intercultural communication. Ideally, the effort to improve relations and work better with each other should be mutual. With both sides attempting to understand each other, communication between ALTs and Japanese teachers should only become stronger and ALTs' tenures in Japan more successful.

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Author Profile

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