

Australian CIRs in the JET Programme: Their language capital in the context of Japanese internationalisation

JET プログラムに参加した オーストラリア人 CIR の言語資本と日本の国際化

TAKIMOTO Masato

瀧 本 眞 人

Abstract

This paper is a case study of four Australians who participated in the JET Programme as CIRs (Coordinator of International Relations), with a particular reference to their language background and their role in promoting internationalisation in Japan. Bourdieu's capital, habitus, and associated notions are utilised as a theoretical framework. The analysis of the semi-structured interviews with them reveals that there were some mismatches between the expectation of the host organisation and that of the participants, in terms of job duties and their understanding of internationalisation. While all participants evaluated their contribution to Japanese internationalisation positively, their level of satisfaction varied due to such mismatches, particularly in relation to their language usage.

Keywords : JET, CIR, Language Capital, Habitus, Internationalisation of Japan

概 要

本稿は、国際交流員（CIR）として JET に参加したオーストラリア人 4 名に対して実施した半構造化インタビューをもとに、彼らがどのような言語背景をもち、日本の国際化推進のうえでどういった役割を担っているのかを考察した事例研究である。分析の枠組みには、ブルデューの資本・ハビトゥス、およびそれに関連する概念を用いた。

キーワード：JET、国際交流員（CIR）、言語資本、ハビトゥス、日本の国際化

1. Introduction

The JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) Programme¹⁾ was introduced in 1987 in accordance with the push toward promoting *kokusaika* or internationalisation in Japan. A total of 848 Assistant English Teachers (AETs) arrived in Japan in the first year, and all of them were from either USA, UK, Australia or New Zealand²⁾. Ever since, the program has expanded considerably, and the target language now covers

languages other than English. As at 1 July 2013, 4,372 people from 40 countries were in Japan on the JET Programme³⁾. In addition to the language teaching assistant, other categories have also been introduced. Currently, there are three categories within the Programme: CIR (Coordinator for International Relations); ALT (Assistant Language Teacher); and SEA (Sports Exchange Advisor). This paper particularly looks into Australian CIRs as a case study.

As its name indicates, CIRs engage in various activities relating to Japan's internationalisation. They are usually placed at various local government offices or related organisations. According to a brochure⁴⁾, duties of CIRs vary depending on the hosting organisation. The same brochure also states that CIR applicants must 'have a functional command of the Japanese language', because 'Japanese language proficiency is necessary to function in a Japanese office environment.' Partly because of this specific language requirement, the number of CIRs is much smaller than that of ALTs. In more concrete terms, while 232 Australians were in Japan as ALTs as at 1 July 2010, there were only 22 Australians working as CIRs in various parts of Japan, of which eight arrived in July 2010⁵⁾. Among the newly commenced eight, four were from the same state in Australia. This paper specifically examines these four participants. The main objectives of the paper are to investigate: firstly, how the individual language backgrounds (or 'language capital') of these four Australians relate to their role as CIRs; and secondly, the role the Australian CIRs play in the context of Japanese internationalisation. I would also like to address some issues in relation to CIRs and the JET Programme, based on the experiences of these four participants.

2. Theoretical framework

This paper draws upon Bourdieu's⁶⁾ 'capital', 'habitus' and related concepts as a theoretical framework. Bourdieu distinguishes three levels of capitals an individual possesses. These are: economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. These capitals can be accumulated in one's life and can be used as a means of power. Economic capital is directly transferred into money, whereas social capital refers to obligations in a society and includes social networks and connections. Cultural capital may be converted into money in some instances, but it is fundamentally the cultural assets of an individual, including educational qualifications. Furthermore, Bourdieu maintains that cultural capital has three different states: an objectified state, an institutionalised state, and an embodied state. Books, fine art collections or music instruments are examples of objectified cultural capitals. On the other hand, the institutionalised state comprises, for example, university qualifications which are endorsed by social institutions. Embodied cultural capital indicates one's internalised quality, which includes such characteristics as manners, knowledge, or linguistic accents. As such, embodied cultural capital is the 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body'⁷⁾. This is what an individual must accumulate by him/herself, and Bourdieu specifically calls this the 'habitus' of an individual.

Within cultural capital, Bourdieu appears to recognise the importance of language, and uses the term 'linguistic capital' (and linguistic habitus) which is considered to constitute an integral part of one's cultural capital. More specifically, linguistic habitus refers to certain linguistic traits of an individual, such as a particular accent or specific language use, which may distinguish that individual from other groups of people in a society (i.e. as being a member of the 'bourgeois' class or 'peasants' in Bourdieu's examples). In other words, linguistic capital is understood as a certain 'variation' of a language one possesses within a given society. Such linguistic habitus is considered to be part of one's broader habitus, or 'embodied' cultural capital. In this paper, however, I instead use the term 'language' capital/habitus, in order to

specifically refer to one's capital/habitus with regard to a language (i.e. Japanese), and to avoid the confusion with Bourdieu's original notion of 'linguistic' traits being a certain form within one language (eg. French or Japanese)⁸⁾.

As mentioned above, people use these capitals for their own benefit and to gain profit. Social and cultural capitals may not be utilised as directly as economic capital to get effective returns. However, these two capitals can sometimes work as rather powerful 'symbolic' capital, which may also generate profits in some instances.

Another important notion within Bourdieu's framework is the 'field'⁹⁾. A person's certain practices and behaviour should be understood as the interaction between his/her habitus and a given social environment, rather than as a product of the habitus alone. Such an environment is referred to as a 'field', which is sometimes also called a 'market' or 'game' by Bourdieu¹⁰⁾. One uses his/her own capitals differently, depending on the requirements of a given field. Furthermore, a field may allow one's certain capital to be converted into a different capital. For example, a higher education qualification ('institutionalised' cultural capital) can lead to an attractive job in a certain field, whereas it may be useless in another field. Therefore, it is crucial to discuss the capitals of an individual in a specific field. In this study, it is the participants' role as CIRs and the associated environment which constitutes the field. In other words, I will discuss how the capitals, in particular, the participants' individual language capital/habitus, are used in the field as a CIR.

3. Methodology and participants

The data on which this paper is based were collected through semi-structured interviews with four participants. The interview was conducted in January 2011. All four participants started as CIRs in July 2010. Therefore, at the time of the interview, they all had experienced their job for approximately half a year. I, as a researcher, visited each of their hosting organisations in Japan, and conducted the interviews which lasted for approximately an hour each. The language for the interview was never planned in advance, but all participants used Japanese in the interview, with some infrequent code-switching to English observed. Therefore, fortunately, in addition to their own report and self-evaluation about their own Japanese language habitus, it provided me with an invaluable opportunity to learn about their actual language use in the context of their habitus.

As mentioned above, eight new Australian CIRs arrived in Japan in 2010, among which four were from the same state in Australia. All four happened to study Japanese language at the same Australian university (X-University), although they may have studied at different times. Note that at X-University, the Japanese

Table 1: Brief profiles of the participants

Name	Hosting organisation	University education	Japanese language
Kara	Board of Education, S Town (Shikoku)	BA (Japanese), Master (Translation)	Fluent; self-reported that speaking is weaker than reading/writing
Mike	Board of Education, O Town (Shikoku)	BA (Japanese), Honours (Japanese Translation)	Fluent (spent two years in Japan as a student); confident speaker
Zoe	Town office, O Town (Kyushu)	BA (Media Studies), Diploma (Japanese)	Reasonably fluent
Luna	City office, N City (Kyushu)	BA (Archaeology), Master (Interpreting and Translation)	Mother is Japanese; born in Japan; migrated to Australia when 8 y/o

language was taught from Level 1 (beginner) to Level 12 (advanced) when they studied Japanese there, and all of them completed Level 12. A brief description and background of the four participants is summarised in Table 1 above.

4. Findings

4.1 Language capital and language habitus of the participants

Here, the main focus will be placed upon examining the participants' language capital, and in particular, individual Japanese language habitus. Needless to say, besides the Japanese language capital discussed here, all of them possess English-based capital, or 'English language capital'¹¹⁾ as well.

Within Bourdieu's¹²⁾ framework, the academic qualifications each participant possesses are part of the capital (institutionalised state), and are relevant here. In order to participate in the JET Programme, one must have a minimum of a bachelor's degree. All four participants fulfil this requirement, as shown in the table above. In terms of their qualifications relating to the Japanese language, they vary. While Kara has a Bachelor of Arts degree in Japanese and a Master's in (Japanese) translation, Zoe has a diploma in Japanese (which is equivalent to an undergraduate Japanese language major at X-University). Luna is a holder of a professional master's degree in interpreting and translation, as well as formal accreditation (NAATI¹³⁾) as an interpreter and translator. Mike has an honour's¹⁴⁾ degree in Japanese translation.

The most remarkable diversity is found in the embodied capital, or language habitus of these four Australians. Kara, who grew up in a family where English was mainly spoken but with a mother who had a non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic background, always had an interest in languages. She started studying Japanese at high school (Year 10), and completed the high school certificate level Japanese. She also studied Japanese as an 'enhancement' subject¹⁵⁾, and at X-university, completed levels 7 to 12. Kara then went to a university in Japan as an exchange student for a year. Furthermore, she graduated with a Master's degree in Japanese translation at X-University. She reported that she decided to complete the postgraduate degree, because she became interested in translation which was taught in one of the advanced-level Japanese subjects. According to Kara, she likes reading Japanese but feels less confident when speaking. Kara's Japanese language habitus is solid and strong, supported by her keen interest in the language. The interview was solely conducted in Japanese (albeit with occasional code-switching), and I had little problem understanding her. Her language habitus appeared to meet the criteria set for the field as a CIR.

Mike has gone through a similar pathway to Kara in terms of their history of Japanese language learning. However, Mike's learning experience has not always been a happy one. This derives from the fact that his family moved to Japan and lived there for two years when he was a junior high school student. In Japan, he acquired Japanese quickly at a local junior high school. Upon his return to Australia, Mike continued to study Japanese at high school, but he found it too easy. He explained the high school level Japanese as follows: 'もう、簡単すぎました [...] その時はやっぱりほかに勉強できる方法もなくて [...] 仕方なく ([it was] really, too easy [...] at that time, you know, there wasn't another alternative to study, so [...] reluctantly)'. He also reported that even the Japanese subjects offered at university were never challenging. The only exception was the Level 10 subject at X-University. He says, '10の翻訳通訳はすごく難しかった、ぜんぜん、なんていうの、慣れてなくて、もう、なんか、なんていうの、どんなふうに翻訳通訳したらいいかわからなくて ([In Japanese Level] 10, translation and interpreting was very difficult, really, I mean, [I was] not used to [it], so, well, I mean, [I] didn't know how I should translate and interpret)'. After completing a BA, he decided to do Honours in Japanese translation. Switching to

English for this part of the interview, he explained the reason as follows: ‘I did just normal arts degree, I thought with just this, no one’s gonna hire me, cuz, it’s just arts, everyone has arts, so I thought I should do honours’. One can see here that Mike was very conscious about the potential connection between his cultural capital and economic capital, or the possibility of converting his language capital into economic capital. Probably because of his earlier experience in Japan, Mike’s spoken Japanese sounded very natural. His language habitus appeared to be robust. He was also very confident in speaking the language.

Zoe’s language habitus is different from the above two. She studied French at high school, but did not enjoy learning the language. After completing a bachelor’s degree in media studies, she went to Japan on a working holiday visa and stayed there for one year teaching English. After she went back to Australia, Zoe decided to study Japanese at a Technical and Further Education institute (TAFE). She chose TAFE because it was cheaper than university study, and she wanted to make sure if she was motivated enough to commit herself to learn the language. In other words, Zoe was very careful in investing her resources, and did a thorough calculation to see if the investment was worthwhile for the future accumulation of her language capital. She found learning Japanese extremely enjoyable, and decided to make a serious commitment. She subsequently went back to university to complete a diploma in Japanese, which is equivalent to an undergraduate major. Zoe successfully completed all upper level subjects from Level 7 to Level 12 as a part-time student. Zoe started studying Japanese at the age of 23 years, which is much later than the other participants. Perhaps because of this, one can see that she was rather careful with her investment. Among the four participants in this study, I judged that the language habitus of Zoe was the weakest. As she reported in the interview, some duties in the field as a CIR, such as organising cultural events from scratch, can be a little too demanding in terms of the required language level for her. However, she seemed to have little problem communicating in everyday life situations in Japan.

The language habitus of Luna is also remarkably different from the other three. She was born in Japan and lived there until her family migrated to Australia when she was eight years of age. Her mother is Japanese, and father is American. At home, while her father speaks to her in English, she always replies in Japanese. Luna completed just a part of Grade 2 elementary school education in Japan. In Australia, she started her schooling at a local state school where she acquired English naturally and quickly. She also attended Japanese supplementary school on Saturdays until the family moved inter-state. At high school in the new state, Luna completed the ‘first language stream’¹⁶⁾ of the high school certificate level Japanese in Year 10, two years earlier than normal. Before moving to the new state, she was surrounded by many Japanese-speaking friends, but she did not have any contact with Japanese people (except for her own family) after moving. When she became a student at X-University, she took Japanese Level 12 in her first year, and she enjoyed it immensely. She made many Japanese-speaking friends as well. She explained: ‘日本人がいっぱいいるってわかったの、大学入ってからでしたね、日本人いるーと思って、いっしょうけんめい友達作って、で、大学でも日本語いっぱい話す機会作って ([I] realised that there were many Japanese, it was when I entered university, [I] realised many Japanese were [there] and, tried [my] best to make friends, and, at university too [I] made opportunities to speak Japanese a lot)’. Luna subsequently enrolled in Japanese Level 10. She reported as follows: ‘翻訳通訳じゃないですか、10は、で、それがすごいおもしろかったの、こっちのほうに進んだって感じで ([Japanese Level] 10 is translation and interpreting, you know, and, [I] enjoyed it thoroughly, so [I] chose this pathway)’. She clearly stated that unless she had studied this subject, she would never have thought about choosing interpreting and translation as a possible career. In other words, Luna found a new insight into a possible use of her own language capital through undergraduate studies at the university. One can clearly see that the language

habitus of Luna is quite different from other participants in many ways, especially in that she has used Japanese at home. According to Luna, she feels that her Japanese and English are reasonably well-balanced, and that she is comfortable in using either of them.

While the language capital of each participant, in particular their individual habitus, shows much diversity, it is clear that their university education has had noteworthy impact on the formation of their language habitus, or more broadly, on their cultural capital. In particular, university education seems to have provided them with an opportunity to consider their language capital from the perspective of its future conversion into a profession, or economic capital. In addition, the examination here also reveals that the four participants particularly reported that the study of interpreting and translation at university had a visible impact on the formation of their language capital, and also in their choice of becoming a CIR. One can see that the language education at university indeed can influence the participants' future career options, which is closely related to their future formation of economic capital, as well as symbolic capital.

4.2 Motivation for participation

It is interesting to examine the reasons why the participants decided to take part in the JET Programme. For both Mike and Zoe, the motivation directly and specifically relates to their language capital. That is to say, both of them wanted to strengthen or further consolidate this kind of capital. Zoe explains this as follows: ‘日本語をもっと上手になれる [ママ] ために、CIR の仕事を選びました (so that [my] Japanese gets better, [I] chose the job of CIR)’. Similarly, Mike wanted to go to Japan so that he could maintain the language and further consolidate it. He felt as follows: ‘日本語が [...] 使う機会が少なくなって、で、そろそろ日本に戻らないと、絶対忘れてしまうと思って (the opportunities to use Japanese became less frequent, so, unless [I] return to Japan soon, [I] thought [I] would definitely lose [it])’. Both of them reported that they intentionally chose the CIR but not the ALT because they thought a CIR's position would require more extensive Japanese language use, which contributes to the consolidation of their Japanese expertise. In addition, Mike thought that experience as a translator and/or interpreter would be an advantage for his future career.

Kara's reasoning was slightly different. She firstly evaluated her own language capital objectively, and then decided that the CIR would be a job that matched her capital. In other words, Kara felt that she was overqualified for the ALT position. This is evidenced by her remarks: ‘大学院で翻訳勉強していますので、それに関する仕事を、あの、探しました ([I] have studied translation at graduate school, so [I] sought a job relating to it)’. She was quite specific about the particular part of her language capital, which is the translation skill (language habitus) that she acquired through postgraduate study and qualification (institutionalised state of cultural capital). Therefore Kara felt that she was already equipped with language capital which was ready to be used. Interestingly, Kara also stated that the JET Programme itself was not particularly appealing. However, she admitted that ‘ジェットじゃなかったら日本で生活できない (unless it's JET, [I] cannot live in Japan)’. For Kara, the JET Programme provided a good opportunity to live in Japan where she wished to find a more permanent job as a Japanese-English translator. Therefore, for Kara, the CIR position was regarded as a reasonable and convenient stepping stone within her own career plan. Similarly, Luna reported that working as a CIR would be ‘大学卒業して、初めて社会人になるためのステップ (the first step of becoming a working member of society after graduating from university)’. She saw it as a training opportunity for the future. Luna also considered the job of a CIR as follows: ‘いろいろ優遇されているから本当の仕事ではない ([JET participants] are treated very well in various ways so [it's] not a real job)’. For both Kara and Luna, living and working in Japan itself was perceived to be valuable

in their career paths. It may also be possible to understand that for both Kara and Luna, this was a good occasion to accumulate areas of cultural capital other than language habitus, including their ‘social capital’. In fact, Luna explained one of the reasons for enjoying her position as follows: ‘いろいろな人に会っていろいろコネクション作ったりする (meeting various people, [I] make various connections)’. At least, given Luna’s language habitus as a self-claimed balanced bilingual, it is considered that she does not have as much motivation as other participants to invest into language capital itself.

One can recognise a clear relationship between the position of CIR and participants’ future career aspirations. They all took the opportunity to work as a CIR in Japan in the broader context of their career development. That is to say, all four perceived their experience as a CIR as something that could be converted into economic capital. In the cases of Zoe and Mike, their motivation appears to be more directly targeted at building their language capital for the future. However, expanding language capital itself is understood by them as a means of having an easier access to future employment opportunities. Zoe’s dream is to work in Australia as a teacher at a bilingual school where Japanese and English are both used for instruction. Here, the connection between the language and economic capitals is easily recognised. Mike also has a concrete vision, as he wants to work in a federal government organisation where he can use his Japanese habitus. For him, to find a job that requires Japanese proficiency is a logical choice. His explanation is as follows: ‘じゃないと、もったいない [...] 使えるから使いたいのもある (otherwise, [it will be] a waste, and also, [I] want to use [it] because [I] can use it)’. Luna and Kara also have a clear intention to utilise their language capital in the future. In the case of these two, their career goals are more specific, probably because of their postgraduate qualifications. While Kara wants to work as a translator in a particular Japanese company, Luna wishes to engage in interpreting and translation in some way or other.

The discussion in this section reveals that, although their motivation to participate in the JET Programme as CIRs may not be exactly the same among the four participants, they all chose to apply for the position by considering the language requirements for CIRs in light of their own language capital. Interestingly enough, none of the four reported that they chose to apply for the position because of the importance of promoting internationalisation, which is clearly stated as the main objective of the position. Furthermore, they see a clear positive link between their experience as a CIR (which contributes to accumulating their cultural capital, and also social capital) and their future career prospects (which relate to economic capital, and also to some extent symbolic capital). In other words, they decided to invest their time and efforts as CIRs in the hope that it would eventually produce some profit in the form of gaining economic and other forms of capitals.

4.3 Use of the language capital in the field

As mentioned above, the field¹⁷⁾ in this paper specifically refers to the environment where the participants work as CIRs. All of the four have utilised their language capital, or more particularly, Japanese language habitus extensively in their field. In fact, they do not have much opportunity to use English: they all reported that they usually communicated in English only when they speak with other ALTs who live in the same region. Mike commented on his limited use of English as follows: ‘中学校の英語の先生も小学校の英語の先生も僕に対して日本語で話してくる、もう、ぜんぜん英語使わない (middle school English teachers, elementary school English teachers, [they] all speak to me in Japanese, [I] don’t use English at all)’. Despite such claims, an interesting fact which was common to all participants surfaced from the interview. It is the fact that their Japanese language habitus is regarded as ‘additional’ to the fundamentally

required English language capital. This seems to be self-evident, because otherwise, there is little point in recruiting a non-Japanese person for such a position. However, this simple fact sometimes frustrated the participants. For example, while they intend to make full use of their Japanese language habitus, all of them are required to teach various English language classes as CIRs. While they claim that they do not use English at all, they actually do when they teach English and this was something that they did not like. The nature of such language classes differs from one host organisation to another. For example, Zoe teaches English to adult learners, mostly elderly citizens, while Mike teaches English at a kindergarten. What makes them different from ALTs is, however, that they in fact possess substantial Japanese language capital, which typical ALTs do not. That is, while ALTs are responsible for teaching mainly at junior or senior high schools as an ‘assistant’, CIRs are mobilised to teach small children or adults autonomously where skills to communicate in Japanese are deemed to be critical. However, neither Kara nor Mike, at least, expected such a role as an English teacher to be an integral part of the role of a CIR. Kara reported that she was not really happy with these teaching duties, and that she always complained about this with other CIRs. She reported that teaching English was notably typical for those CIRs who were placed in rural areas. Zoe said teaching was not particularly an issue for her, but she knew some CIRs who were not happy about the teaching responsibilities given to them. She also mentioned that her duties were not too much different from those of ALTs. Luna, too, feels that her language habitus can be more effectively used, and mentioned that there must be many other people who were more suitably qualified to teach than her. Besides teaching English, other common duties among the four include organising various cultural events, participating in local and special functions, or writing a feature article regularly in the local newsletter.

All four participants mentioned that s/he anticipated interpreting and translation to be their central responsibility. However, in reality, only Luna has played a significant role in this area. Kara and Mike voiced clear disappointment because of this, although both of them were reasonably happy with their overall job responsibilities. On the contrary, Luna engages in interpreting and translation activities extensively, which makes her extremely satisfied. In a way, her case is the only example where a participant believes that his/her perceived language capital reasonably matches the requirements of a CIR in the field. (Note, however, that even Luna is not really satisfied with such duties as teaching English or visiting kindergartens.) Therefore, both Luna and also the hosting organisation appear to be utilising the language capital she possesses fairly efficiently. She, for example, accompanied the mayor of N City and other delegates as an official interpreter when they visited a sister city in Australia, and she interpreted conversations and all official speeches made by both the Japanese and Australian sides. This directly contributed to Luna’s contentment. Kara once heard about the role Luna played and commented that: ‘最初はうらやましかったです ([I] envied [her] at first)’.

On the other hand, while Zoe did not voice any explicit dissatisfaction with teaching English, she reported that she felt overwhelmed from time to time with regard to her overall duties. For instance, organising various events using Japanese was quite demanding for her. She also stated that she did not like the Japanese office environment where everyone worked in an open space without talking to each other. At the time of the interview, she told me that she was thinking about returning to Australia after just one year. It appears possible to interpret this case as an example of a mismatch between the actual language capital and the requirements in the field. In fact, this appears to be a case where the participant feels that her language capital is not quite up to the level required to function as a CIR in the field she was placed.

On the contrary, Kara and Mike’s cases are opposite. They feel that their perceived language capital was underutilised, which also results in a mismatch. However, in the case of Kara, she tried hard to

actually modify her role content so that her language capital could be more effectively utilised. For example, she initiated setting up a Wikipedia page in English for her town, and planned to translate the town's homepage into English. Furthermore, she drew up a project proposal to promote high school students' exposure to real English using Skype. Kara mentioned that she had been lucky because the mayor was approachable, and the town was small enough to be flexible. Similarly, Mike reported that he was the first ever CIR for the town, and as such, nothing was fixed. Therefore, as long as he himself took the initiative, his proposals usually received approval. In addition, the nature of his job was about to change considerably when high school students in his town would start visiting Australia on a study trip. These two cases show that the proactive actions of a CIR could influence the nature of their responsibilities in the field. Both Kara and Mike reported that they both thought about going home to Australia after one year at the outset, partly because they were placed in such remote, small rural towns. Interestingly, they both decided to stay on, which is a clear contrast to Zoe. Kara even mentioned that she would like to stay for five years, which is the longest allowed for a CIR. Luna also told me of her desire to stay on at least for another year. This implies that disparity in terms of language capital and actual language use in the field may indeed influence the retention of CIRs.

4.4 ALTs from the viewpoint of CIRs

Throughout the interview, a recurring topic emerged, relating to the role of CIRs vis-à-vis ALTs. As mentioned above, there are about 10 times as many Australian ALTs as CIRs. Because of the limited number and their distinctive language capital, it is natural to see CIRs as an elite group. Kara, for example, expressed this in English as: 'ALTs will look up CIRs'. According to her, it is not only because CIRs speak Japanese fluently but also because most CIRs have lived in Japan before and know the Japanese way of life. This indicates that their capital can in fact function as powerful 'symbolic' capital vis-à-vis ALTs, although it does not produce any direct economic return. All four participants in this study actually spent considerable amounts of time and effort to assist the ALTs around them. Examples they provided included: taking ALTs to hospital when they were unwell; taking them to purchase a mobile phone and so on; or acting as an interpreter when required. Mike reported that he often heard people say if any problem would arise, one could leave it to a CIR.

This systematic differentiation between the two job types seems to operate quite effectively. On one hand, it works as a sense of pride for CIRs, whereas for an ALT, a CIR is a good role model to aim for, or else represents someone whom s/he can rely on when in trouble. The gap between the two job categories is considerable and distinguishable, especially symbolically, which is mostly attributable to the differences in terms of their own language habitus. In particular, the separation of job categories appears to enhance a feeling of self-esteem on the part of CIRs. This may well explain why teaching English is not popular among the CIRs examined here. For example, Zoe said that for those CIRs who really wanted to make use of the language (ie. Japanese), 'ALT のような [英語を教える] 仕事は大変 (a job [of teaching English] just like an ALT is awful)'. This discourse implies the view that a CIR should never do something which 'even' an ALT can handle. Similarly, Kara explains the position of CIRs as a 'big brother' for ALTs. Here, too, the two categories are perceived as vertically positioned, rather than being horizontal or on equal footing.

Interestingly, not only JET participants but also hosting organisations may distinguish the two jobs rather distinctively. Luna reported that her supervisors were much stricter on her at the workplace. While two ALTs who arrived at the same city at the same time with Luna are allowed to spend their free time as they like (such as by playing games on a computer or listening to music), such a thing is never allowed for

Luna. She also mentioned that her supervisors felt the ALTs were wasting too much of Luna's 'valuable' time by asking her for help too often. Here, one can see that Luna's time is obviously more highly regarded than that of the ALT's.

4.5 Role of Australian CIRs in the discourse of internationalisation

In the discourse of Japanese *kokusaika* (internationalisation), Americanisation and the promotion of American English are often said to be equated with internationalisation, and other varieties of English are considered as only peripheral¹⁸⁾. However, there was no evidence to show that the four participants were treated as 'peripheral' participants. For example, Kara's hosting organisation traditionally hosts Australian JET participants, and she claims that Australians are liked and well received by the community. None of the four participants reported that they were discriminated in any way by the fact that they were from Australia.

All participants maintained that CIRs played a significant role in promoting internationalisation in Japan. However, interestingly, while the discourse of Japanese *kokusaika* is often synonymous with the promotion of 'studying English'¹⁹⁾, none of the four stressed importance in this particular aspect. They instead insisted that Japanese society was still quite homogeneous, particularly in non-metropolitan areas, and that CIRs have roles to play here. That is to say, they felt that they were in fact contributing to promoting international exchange by physically contacting local people in the area in which they were posted. They naturally compare Japanese society with that of Australia where a culturally diverse population is just a given fact, at least in the major metropolitan cities. Zoe asserts that there are simply too many Japanese people who have never spoken with a non-Japanese person. Similarly, Kara points out that introducing a foreign culture is extremely important. Luna also claims that meeting with people from overseas is more important for the local Japanese than being taught English in class. All of them work in a considerably small local municipalities, which undoubtedly makes them quite visible. This fact must of course be reflected in their views. However, it should be stressed that teaching English is not regarded as critical for promoting internationalisation, at least for the four participants in this study.

The four participants all emphasised the value of CIRs, and claimed that the JET Programme should continue. They argue that while ALTs may also be able to provide some opportunities for international exchange, the true grass-roots internationalisation can more easily be done if one is able to speak Japanese. Probably because of the distinction between CIRs and ALTs and its implied symbolism as discussed above, all of them clearly stated that CIRs were in a much better position than ALTs to play a pivotal part to support Japanese internationalisation. For example, Zoe says: '私と話したらだいたいわかるから、私のほうが [ALT よりも] 市民と交流ができるという感じです (when [they] speak with me, [they] understand [me] mostly, so I can promote exchange better [than ALTs])'. Here, it is clearly recognisable that they are laying emphasis on their suitability deriving from their language habitus. Nevertheless, the discourse of their usefulness is in a way contradictory. On one hand, they accentuate their supreme position vis-à-vis ALTs on the ground because they themselves possess a suitable and strong language capital, but on the other, they underemphasise the value of language (English) learning by Japanese people (or accumulation of 'English' language capital by the Japanese). This may reflect the very nature of capital. The more exclusive the capital, the more valuable it is. If everybody has a similar language habitus, then it can no longer be powerful as capital, and nor does it possess any symbolic significance either. In more concrete terms, the meaning of their existence as CIRs can only be realised where only they have exclusive access to both English and Japanese as capital. This is also reflected in their view that the most important

requirement to work as a CIR is their Japanese language ability. Another thing that requires attention is that while official documents state that Japanese proficiency is necessary because it is required in the office environment²⁰⁾, the participants see their language capital to be useful not in the office, but rather outside the office where they actually interact with citizens.

The four participants all underscored the contribution they could make in the context of Japanese internationalisation. Nevertheless, as examined in 4.2 above, the motivation to participate in the JET Programme for the four CIRs in this study more directly derived from rather personal interests. They were most interested in accumulating their own capital. Nobody reported that the promotion of internationalisation in Japan itself was the objective of their participating in the JET Programme. Therefore, what they reported with regard to the value of CIRs in Japanese internationalisation can be considered to be something that was discovered after their arrival. Quite possibly, they may have come to realise their usefulness through their actual experience as a CIR in the field. In particular, their role comparison with that of ALTs may have contributed to such a realisation. This interesting aspect requires further examination in a future study.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, various aspects of four CIRs' language capital have been examined. Their individual language habitus and motivation for participating in the JET Programme are diverse, but one can find some similarities as well. For example, in terms of their language habitus, while everyone is considered to fulfil the CIR's requirement of having 'functional' Japanese, the variance is also tangible and significant. Their field or working environment varies too, which is reflected in their job responsibilities. Nevertheless, there are some findings that are more universal. First of all, apparent mismatch was found between each participant's perceived view of their own language capital and actual requirements in the field as a CIR, which in turn becomes a cause of their frustration. Dissatisfaction was clearly identified between the actual job duties given in the hosting organisation and what s/he had thought s/he would be doing before arriving there. More specifically, the participants in this study reported the lack of interpreting and translation related duties as quite disappointing, except for the one participant who was actually reasonably engaged in such activities. Another area of surprise for them was the fact that teaching English constituted such a big part of their actual duty. Even Luna, who is content with her overall position as a CIR, does not fully support the idea of CIRs teaching English. When they do not enjoy being given job duties, some participants, such as Kara, constantly tried to expand and adjust her duties rather proactively. As a result, her duty has changed dramatically and to her liking. This suggests that personal traits or actions may play an important role in a CIR's job satisfaction, as may be the case in many workplaces.

As the brochure²¹⁾ for JET Programme rightly points out, the role of CIRs differs considerably from one organisation to another, and this study endorses such a claim. This multiplicity itself may sometimes result in a mismatch of duties and participant's language capital. Therefore, as this case study shows, there can be some disappointments on the part of participants. Accordingly, both Kara and Mike stress the importance of being flexible when asked about the necessary personal quality for a CIR. That is to say, one must be ready to accept any 'unexpectedness' at various levels, including the place of one's posting (hosting organisation or the 'field'), job descriptions, and so on. From the viewpoint of the organiser of the Programme, the diversity and nature of job duties should be more fully explained in order to minimise the participant's disappointment.

With regard to the role of CIRs in the context of Japanese internationalisation, the participants in this study view their role to be valuable in terms of promoting such a goal. Interestingly, they also perceive that CIRs play a more important role than ALTs, due to the fact that CIRs are equipped with the Japanese language capital which ALTs do not usually possess. In reality, however, the study suggests that the boundary between these two categories can be quite blurred, in particular, in a small rural town or city. Nevertheless, the examination here indicates that the language capital which a CIR possesses can also function as powerful symbolic capital, especially in relation to ALTs. From the perspective of the hosting organisation, one can easily presume that a CIR is more ‘convenient’ than an ALT in that the former may be utilised in a wider job context. However, unfortunately, it is not easy to find too many applicants who possess ‘functional’ Japanese necessary for the CIR position. If so, they should be more careful about the use of this important language capital of the CIR. The interrelationship between CIRs and ALTs appears to be quite dynamic, and it can also offer some interesting insights into Japanese internationalisation. This area deserves further investigation.

In this paper, I have examined the role of four CIRs from one main aspect, their language capital. However, the interview data suggests that there are other important areas to be examined, including, for instance, the relationship with co-workers and supervisors, or non-language habitus of each participant, including their personal traits. In addition, this study is based on the perspectives of the CIRs themselves. As such, other viewpoints, including the hosting organisation, citizens in the local community, or ALTs, would compliment this study by providing a more holistic picture of their role. Furthermore, this case study is based on the experience of four participants, and therefore, one cannot generalise the findings presented here. However, I believe it has presented some meaningful insights which can be further pursued in future studies.

Notes

- 1) This spelling (programme) is used when referring to “JET Programme” as a proper noun in official documents.
- 2) McConnell, Importing, Diversity, 2.
- 3) Kunibetsu sanko ninzû [Numbers of Participants by Country] retrieved on 17 October 2013 from: <http://www.jetprogramme.org/j/introduction/statistics.html>
- 4) JET Programme 2010-2011, 6.
- 5) Kunibetsu sanko ninzû [Numbers of Participants by Country] retrieved on 2 July 2011 from: http://www.jetprogramme.org/documents/stats/2010-2011/2010_Participants_by_Country_J.pdf
- 6) Bourdieu, The Forms of Capital, 241-258.
- 7) Ibid, 243.
- 8) Therefore, “language habitus” in this paper means one’s embodied Japanese (including linguistic, sociolinguistic or socio-cultural competencies) as a result of exposure to the language over the years. On the other hand, one’s “language capital” is broader, and covers, for example, physical Japanese resources one possesses (objectified state), and more importantly, various qualifications regarding the language (institutionalised state). In most cases, however, I use these two terms interchangeably in this paper.
- 9) Thompson, Introduction, 18.
- 10) Ibid, 14.
- 11) Therefore, within Bourdieu’s original framework, one has “linguistic” habitus for English as well as Japanese. For example, their Japanese “linguistic” habitus may have some special traits which differ from a typical native Japanese speaker in terms of pronunciation or language use. However, when one sees it from the perspective of “language” habitus, these “linguistic” characteristics are all inclusive in the “language”.
- 12) Bourdieu, The Forms of Capital, 241-258.
- 13) National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (Australia)

- 14) In Australia, students who complete a bachelor's degree with good academic results can proceed to an honour's program in which they are required to complete a research thesis.
- 15) A high school student can take a university subject and gain credits for the subject upon entry into the university.
- 16) In that state, two streams of Japanese were offered in the state curriculum. This stream is designed for native-speakers of Japanese.
- 17) Thompson, Introduction, 14.
- 18) Kubota, The Impact of Globalization on Language Teaching in Japan, 21.
- 19) Ibid, 15.
- 20) JET Programme 2010-2011 English, 6.
- 21) JET Programme 2010-2011 English.

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