RAISING CHILDREN AS BILINGUALS: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF EIGHT INTERNATIONAL FAMILIES IN JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

RAISING CHILDREN AS BILINGUALS: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF EIGHT INTERNATIONAL FAMILIES IN JAPAN

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Eight families with Japanese mothers and English-speaking fathers were followed from the 1990s to 2007 as they strove to raise their children as bilinguals. The issues that were investigated were: (1) the language environments afforded; (2) factors influencing family decisions in creating those language environments; and, (3) conclusions about the efficacy of different language environments for raising bilingual children.

Parental sacrifice was evident. Some mothers suppressed their native Japanese language and culture as they tried to afford their children solid backgrounds in what they considered a high-prestige language (English), while some fathers changed jobs in order to spend more time at home. Some families also moved in order to be near desirable schools.

An optimal English environment at home was the key to success. Fathers spent quality time with their children every day, reading English books, doing homework together, talking about school activities, and reading bedtime stories. Families provided children with many English videos, DVDs, and other audiovisual sources. Summer travel to the father's country for summer camps and other enjoyable activities, especially spending time with English-speaking cousins, promoted positive images of English language and culture.

Mothers faced issues of identity, power relations, and gender roles. The

mothers' own experiences of learning English played a crucial role in the choices they made in raising their children as bilinguals. Typically, power relations between husbands and wives were determined by the wives' self-perception of being subordinate to their husbands.

The results indicated that different theories of bilingual child-raising, no matter how stringently followed, did not seem to matter; what mattered was balancing the time the child spent with each parent. Usually before parents expected it, the child's own identity asserted itself in the pursuit of particular language environments, and progress toward fluency was sometimes erratic, as in the case of one boy whose development in both languages appeared to be delayed but who later was viewed as having native-speaker proficiency in both languages. Overall, more important than any particular method or theory, sustained sincere efforts and flexibility can produce bilingual children.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all the participating families: mothers, fathers, children who kindly showed their interest in my study, for their generosity in sharing much of their precious time thinking and talking about their bilingual home planning, and mothers' experiences of their own English education, and for trusting me to tell their private life stories. I would like to thank Drs. Marshall Childs and Kenneth Schaefer. I am most thankful to Dr. Kenneth Schaefer for having supported me throughout all the long years from the beginning of my master's degree study. I would also like to thank Dr. Kathryn A. Davis, Dr. Kimi Kondo-Brown and other researchers who provided me deep insight for my study. I am grateful to my family members; my husband Richard, my mother, Yae, my sons, Hiroyuki and Christopher, who supported me throughout the years. I could have not completed the study without the help of these people.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Daddy, I'm not going to speak English after my next birthday." This is what Christopher told his father during a service at an international church in Tokyo just before his sixth birthday. His father was both shocked and perplexed by the statement. Although his English ability was not equivalent to that of a native speaker of the same age, his parents had no doubt that Christopher was growing up bilingually.

Christopher's father is British and his mother (myself) is Japanese. Both parents had endeavoured to provide sufficient Japanese and English input. They had done this through reading Japanese and English books to Christopher, watching English and Japanese videos with him, and speaking to him in both languages since he was born. Christopher had also regularly visited his father's family in the United Kingdom once a year.

However, when he became six years old, Christopher started to exhibit a strong desire to establish his own identity as a Japanese person. At that time, he had often been called *gaijin* (foreigner) at his kindergarten, and he was extremely sensitive about it. Christopher might have thought that if he stopped speaking English his Japanese friends would accept him more fully as a Japanese, because language is a key symbol of identity.

Since then we have not forced Christopher to speak English. At first, he avoided any possible contact with English. He did not even want to say "Hello" to anybody. If somebody started speaking to him in English, he ignored it. He did not watch any videos or read any books in English.

Based on this experience, I began to observe my family as well as other families whose situations were similar—one parent Japanese, the other non-Japanese. Some of the children maintained two languages and others chose only one language as Christopher had done. I learnt that although their home environments appeared to be much alike, some turn out to be bilinguals and others not. The question arose in my mind: What makes children decide to choose/shift their language and construct their bilingual identity? I started to question what social-psychological factors could influence children's choice of language.

My interest in bilingualism, which had been latent since the painful incident, increased as I started to collect data from bilingual families for my research. I suggested to Christopher that we should study English together, and he accepted my suggestion. We resumed studying English as a second language at home. During the summer of 1999 we took our annual family trip to the United Kingdom during the summer holidays and an unexpected thing happened. Christopher started speaking English again. It was a delightful surprise.

Motivated by my experience as a Japanese mother of a bicultural child, I became interested in the factors influencing the language choices and identities of bicultural children. Upon further reflection, I became interested in the choices parents were making vis-à-vis their children's language environment and how the language-learning experiences of Japanese mothers affect their children's identities. Furthermore, I became interested in exploring how these experiences were manifested in the language choices of their children.

Concerning bilingualism in a monolingual society such as Japan, Yamamoto (1995) stressed that "…being bilingual is basically a matter of choice…If children fail to become bilingual, it is not considered to be a failure in the society" (p. 80). Harrison, Bellin, and Piette (1977), who interviewed 311 mothers, concluded that mothers played an important role in their children's language choice. They found that children chose a language for social and psychological reasons rather than for linguistic reasons, and their language development was greatly influenced by their mother's language behavior.

This study is focused on the language environment of bilingual families from the perspective of how Japanese mothers' experiences affect the development of their children's identity as learners of English, how features of their identity are manifested in the family's choice of language at home and the outcomes that result from these factors. From my initial observations of

bilingual families, I found that some Japanese mothers gave up speaking their native language in order to create an English-speaking environment for their children. If the construction of the children's language environment was indeed a matter of choice, as Yamamoto (1995) proposed, a question arises: What makes parents, and particularly Japanese mothers in this case, invest such an enormous amount of effort and energy into developing and maintaining the father's tongue, English?

I begin in Chapter 2 with definitions of bilingualism, the theoretical background of bilingualism, and discussions of bilingualism in Japan and international marriage in Japan. In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology, data collection procedures, participants, and treatment of the data. Chapter 4 tells the stories of the eight participating families. In Chapter 5, the family situations and their linguistic strategies are analyzed. Chapter 6 is a follow-up account of the situations of six of the families that were contacted in 2007. In Chapter 7, I summarize the findings, draw conclusions, and suggest implications for successful bilingual child raising.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The term "bilingual" refers to someone who knows two languages (Wei, 2000). The degree of access to the two languages varies along psychological, social, sociological, socio-cultural, and linguistic dimensions (Jwan & Ogechi, 2004). According to Mackey (2002), there is a distinction between individual bilingualism and social bilingualism. In the following section, the definitions of bilingualism and the basic concepts of individual bilingualism and social bilingualism are reviewed.

Defining Bilingualism

Because bilingualism is made up of complex cognitive and linguistic processes, finding an appropriate definition of bilingualism has been a major challenge in research on bilingualism. Baetens Beardmore (1986) discerned 35 types of bilingualism while Mackey (2002) listed 90 categories according to language use. Another authority cited school curricula and four other educational categories (Nakajima, 1998). As a result of the complex aspects of bilingualism, definitions of bilingualism have varied over time.

Early linguists (Bloomfield, 1935; Haugen, 1953; MacNamara, 1966; Weinreich, 1968) described bilingualism in terms of categories, scales and dichotomies. Haugen (1953), for instance, proposed that:

> Bilingualism is understood . . . to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce complete, meaningful utterances in the other language (Haugen, 1953, p. 25).

Weinreich (1968) defined bilingualism as "alternately using two languages" (p. 5), while Bloomfield (1933) stated that:

> Bilingualism is the native-like control of two languages. . . Of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative. (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 56)

MacNamara's (1966) definition appears to be a melding of the definitions provided by Haugen, Bloomfield, and Weinrich. MacNamara defined bilinguals as those who possess at least one of the language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) in a second language, even if such skills are minimally developed.

Problems with Early Definitions

These early definitions were problematic because they were arbitrary, ambiguous, and contradictory (May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004). For example, Weinreich's (1968) definition of "alternately using two languages" (p. 5) does not indicate a minimum or reasonable level of bilingual proficiency (May et al., 2004). Bloomfield's (1935) definition of "native-like control of two languages" (p. 56) assumes that one is bilingual if one has only the highest levels of language ability in both languages. May et al. (2004) questioned what was actually meant by "native-like control" of a language; does it mean

the easy use of idioms in the language or is it the ability to speak and write complex grammatical constructions with native-like control? Another problem concerns assessment and the value of certain linguistic functions. How is "native-like control" of a language determined? Is fluency in a language superior to metalinguistic awareness or knowledge of a language?

Another problem with early definitions of bilingualism is that they are either too broad or too narrow. Haugen's (1953) and Weinreich's (1968) definitions include any person who can make a meaningful utterance in more than one language. Bloomfield's (1935) definition, on the other hand, encompassed only those with highly developed language abilities.

Early definitions of bilingualism also did not consider the complexity and variability of bilingualism among speakers. They described bilingualism as focused specifically on speaking and ignored reading, writing, and listening. MacNamara's (1966) definition is the only one that refers to all four language skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing (May et al., 2004).

Relevant Factors in the Definition of Bilingualism

As noted in the previous section, definitions of bilingualism have varied widely. These definitions have been influenced by notions such as bilingual achievement, the age when two languages were acquired, the relative status of the languages in a society, and the societal background of the bilingualism.

Looking first at bilingual achievement, Cummins (1978) divided bilingualism into three categories according to achievement: balanced bilingualism, which is also called equibilingual or ambilingual (Baker, 2001), dominant bilingualism, and double limited bilingualism. The definition of balanced bilingualism varies amongst researchers. Cummins (1978) defined balanced bilinguals as those whose two languages have reached an adequate level for their age; balanced bilinguals are those individuals who have developed two languages equally (Baker, 2001).

However, Fishman (1971) claimed that almost no one has equal ability in two languages and that most bilinguals alternate in using their two languages for different functions or purposes. For example, one might use Japanese at home and English in business. Baker (2001) stated that the concept of balanced bilingual might present a problem in that while command of both languages might be equally developed, both might be relatively underdeveloped. According to Cummins (1978), if the two languages are not equally developed, a speaker is classified as a dominant bilingual. This means that one language has developed as expected for the age of the speaker while the other is weaker. According to Baker's (2001) view of balanced bilinguals, all or most can be categorized as dominant bilinguals. Double limited bilinguals, or semilinguals, are those who have not acquired either of the languages for their age level. The concepts of balanced bilinguals and

semilinguals create the problem of how and who measures the ability of both languages.

A second yardstick is the age when the two languages were acquired. This can be further subdivided into simultaneous and successive bilingualism in denoting when contact with each language began. Simultaneous bilinguals obtain opportunities to be exposed to two languages from an early stage. For instance, bilinguals whose parents speak to them in different languages are often simultaneous bilinguals. On the other hand, successive or sequential bilinguals start acquiring one language first and later a second language comes into their lives. For example, some children acquire their mother tongue at home and later are introduced to a second language at kindergarten or when they move to different areas or countries where other languages are spoken. McLaughlin (1987) drew an arbitrary line between simultaneous and successive bilinguals at three years of age, suggesting that as the optimal age for language acquisition. However, considering individual differences in the pace of children's language development and their particular environments, attempting to draw a line at the age of three is problematic.

Coordinate bilingualism and compound bilingualism develop in early childhood and are classified as forms of early bilingualism. A third type is late bilingualism, which develops when a second language is learned after age 12 (Romaine, 1995). In coordinate bilingualism, the child learns the languages in separate environments, and the lexicons of the two languages are kept

separate with each word having its own specific meaning. When the two parents have different mother tongues and each parent speaks only his or her own mother tongue to the child, the child can develop coordinate bilingualism. The child constructs two separate linguistic systems and can handle each of them easily (Cook, 2002). Compound bilingualism occurs when both parents are bilingual and both parents speak to the child in both languages indiscriminately. In this case, the child grows up to speak both languages effortlessly and without an accent, but has difficulty mastering both languages. Late bilingualism is developed after late adolescence for language learning. In such cases, it is speculated that the ability to acquire their second language through immersion in a community that speaks the language primarily involves implicit memory. In contrast, when individuals acquire a second language through formal classroom studies, explicit memory is more heavily involved (Cook, 2002).

A third classification of bilingualism relates to one's mother tongue. The notion of additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism was first advanced by Lambert (1977). This distinction was based on the social status or power of the first language when in contact with a new community. According to Lambert (1977), in an additive bilingual situation, adding a second language does not replace the bilingual's first language or culture. For instance, English-speaking children who are new to Japan generally learn Japanese without losing their English because of the positive attitude towards

English that Japanese people generally have. On the other hand, immigrants whose first language is valued as less important in a society are pressured to conceal it within the dominant language society. As a consequence of learning the dominant language, they might lose their native one, which is called subtractive bilingualism.

A final classification is the societal background in which the two languages are acquired. Elitist bilingualism, as the term indicates, is a situation in which generally well educated, privileged members in a society choose a language. They are likely to be appraised as being bilingual. Taking two examples in Japan, the first case is when parents who go abroad for academic or business purposes create opportunities for their children to learn a language spoken elsewhere. In the Japanese context, these children are called "returnees," (*kikokushijo*) and often they are more or less bilinguals. The second case occurs when parents who value educating their children in a bilingual situation send them to an international school. Currently, not only internationally married parents, but some Japanese couples also send their children to an international school hoping that they grow up bilingually. In contrast, folk bilingualism is a situation in which, for example, minority ethnic groups, such as immigrants, learn the societal language as a means of survival and as a consequence become bilinguals.

While varying definitions have served a purpose in drawing attention to certain aspects of bilingualism, the significance of these definitions is that

some of them refer to characteristics of individuals and others to characteristics of social groups. Linguists and psychologists have paid primary attention to the individual mental and cognitive properties of bilinguals and have attempted primarily to characterize social groups in terms of the configuration of the languages based on sociological and institutional features.

Individual Bilingualism

Individual bilingualism refers to a state in which one speaks two or more languages (Hamers & Blanc, 2005). Individual bilingualism can be investigated from various angles such as bilingual achievement, the age when the two languages were acquired, the relation of the second language to one's mother tongue, and the societal background in which the two languages are acquired. Patterns of language use in interlingual families have been reported to greatly vary, as has the demonstration of children's bilingual/multilingual abilities (Yamamoto, 2005).

As noted previously, no single definition of individual bilingualism is broad enough to cover all instances of individuals who are called bilingual. Definitions range from native-like control of two or more languages to possessing minimal communicative skills in a second or foreign language. As May et al. (2004) pointed out, the definition of native-like control excludes most individuals and is problematic. Most researchers prefer definitions that

concern possessing minimal communicative skills in a second or foreign language because these can serve as a beginning point from which a variety of bilingual skills can develop, including biliteracy (Cummins, 2000).

Social Bilingualism: Diglossia

Social bilingualism, or diglossia, occurs when, in a society, two or more languages are spoken (Hamers & Blanc, 2005). Ferguson (1959) first defined diglossia as follows:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation. (p. 335)

Fishman (1967) expanded the concept of diglossia by introducing the notion that diglossia could be extended to situations found in many societies where forms of two genetically unrelated languages occupy high (H) and low (L) niches, such that one of the languages is used for religious, educational, literacy, and formal purposes, while the other language is used for informal purposes. Fishman (1967) argued that the term *bilingualism*, referring to individual linguistic versatility, should be distinguished from the term *diglossia*, referring to societally held norms governing differential functional

allocation of codes. The description of the relationship between diglossia and bilingualism is depicted in Figure 1.

		Diglossia	
Individual bilingualism	+	1. Both Diglossia and Bilingualism	3. Bilingualism without Diglossia
	–	2. Diglossia without Bilingualism	4. Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism

Figure 1. Diglossia and bilingualism.
Adapted from *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.) (p. 45), by C. Baker (2001). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cell 1: Diglossia and bilingualism. Both individual bilingualism and diglossia exist in a language community. Almost everyone can have both high and low language (Baker, 2001).

Cell 2: Diglossia without bilingualism. Two languages existing within a particular geographic area constitute bilingualism without diglossia. Particular groups in the area speak different languages. In Switzerland, for example, different language communities (e.g., German, French, Italian, and Romansch) are found in different areas. Another example is the case in which a ruling power group normally speaks only a "high" language, and those with less power speak a "low" language. For example, when India was a colony, English was the high language spoken by the ruling elite, and the masses spoke low, native languages (Baker, 2001)

Cell 3: Bilingualism without diglossia. Nearly everyone is bilingual and one language is not restricted to a particular purpose. It may be predicted that speakers of the high language might obtain more power through its usage

while speakers of the low language might become less powerful, less useful, and of lower status (Baker, 2001).

Cell 4. Neither bilingualism nor diglossia. Fishman (1980) explained this cell as "the outcome of uninterrupted (i.e., uncompartmentalized) bilingualism…" (p. 10). Korea, Yemen, Cuba, Portugal and Norway, which have experienced relatively little immigration within the past three generations, are classified in cell 4. Romaine (1995) posited that diglossia, in its purest form, can be conceived of as the use of high or low language, which is a function solely of social context, and not of the social identity of the speaker. Thus, in diglossia, context controls language use.

This section has been a discussion of disparate definitions of bilingualism and factors that define bilingualism. Clearly, bilingualism is made up of complex cognitive and linguistic process. In addition, individual and social bilingualism were differentiated. Individual bilingualism refers to situations in which people speak two or more languages, whereas social bilingualism refers to a state in which two or more languages are spoken in a society.

Theoretical Background of Bilingualism

In the last 30 years or so, linguists and scholars have attempted to explain the mechanism of bilingualism from cognitive and socio-cultural perspectives. This section provides an overview of some of those theories.

Cognitive Perspectives

Early theories of bilingualism posited that bilingualism had negative influences on individuals. As early as 1890, Laurie (cited in Baker, 2001) claimed that intellectual development does not advance as bilinguals acquire two languages; rather, intellectual and mental development diminish. This theory is known as Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP), the notion that two languages exist separately and work independently in the thinking system. The theory is based on the idea that the human brain has limited capacity and, therefore, learning a second language lessens the capacity for the mother tongue or vice versa (Baker, 2001). Using the example of minority children speaking their mother tongue at home, this theory suggests that learning a second language hinders the full development of the mother tongue.

The Separate Underlying Proficiency theory was discredited, based on studies that showed that children in mainstream groups develop both mother tongue and functional proficiency in a second language (Bostwick, 1999; Genesee, 1987; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). In addition, children who learn more than one language can apply skill from one to the other language. These phenomena were explained by a theory in opposition to the Separate Underlying Proficiency theory called the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) or the Iceberg Theory. This theory proposed that the two languages used by an individual, though on the surface apparently separate,

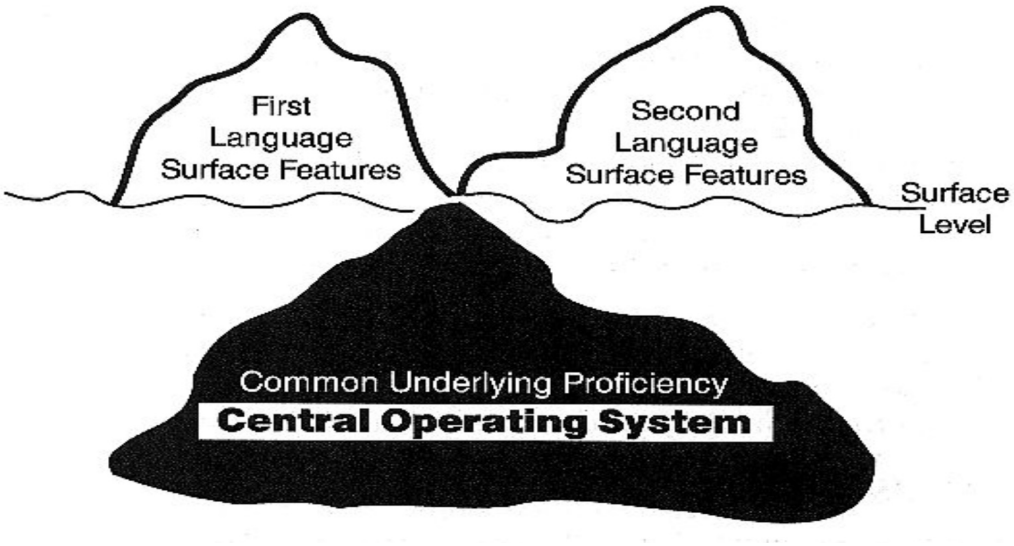


Figure 2. The Iceberg (CUP) Model
Adapted from *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.) (p. 165), by C. Baker (2001). *Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.*

function through the same central cognitive system. The Common Underlying Proficiency model can be pictorially represented (see Figure 2) in the form of two icebergs. The two icebergs are separate above the surface; that is, two languages are visibly different in outward conversation. Underneath the surface, however, the two icebergs are fused such that the two languages do not function separately. Both languages operate through the same central processing system (Cummins, 1979, 1980, 2000).

Neither the Separate Underlying Proficiency theory nor the Common Underlying Proficiency theory can fully explain either the negative or positive cognitive development of bilinguals. Cummins (1976) and Toukomaa

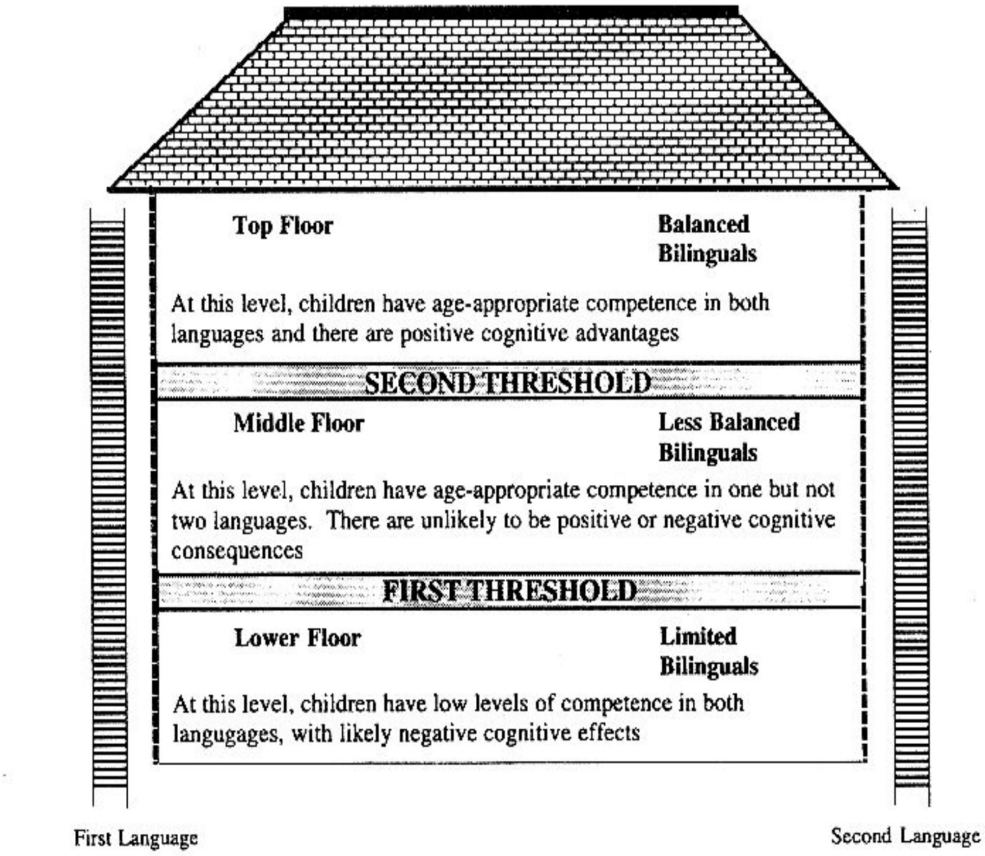


Figure 3. The Thresholds Model.

Adapted from *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.) (p. 168), by C. Baker (2001). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) proposed the Thresholds Model. This theory suggested that the development of two or more languages in a balanced bilingual moves upward through three identifiable levels, crossing two distinct thresholds in between levels. Positive cognitive advantages are only achieved when the first and second thresholds have been crossed.

The Thresholds Model resembles a three-storied house. On the first floor of the house children have low levels of competence in their first and second languages compared with others in their age group. They cannot communicate well and may not do well in the classroom in either language. On the second floor are those who have developed one of the languages adequately for their age. These bilingual children neither suffer from nor receive benefits by being partial bilinguals. The residents of the third floor are called balanced bilinguals; they have well-developed skills in two languages for their age. They enjoy cognitive benefits from being bilinguals (Baker, 2001).

Cummins (1979) advanced the Thresholds Model to further describe how the degree of development of two languages is interrelated by proposing the Developmental Interdependence hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the second language competence of bilingual children is relative to the first language that has already been acquired. The more developed the L1, the easier it is to develop the L2. The less developed the L1, the more difficult the achievement of bilingualism is (Baker, 2001).

In a later paper, Cummins (1984) distinguished between basic interpersonal communication skills and cognitive/academic language proficiency. In Figure 4, the ordinate axis shows the degree of cognition demand needed in communication, and the abscissa axis indicates the amount of contextual support in communication.

Context-embedded communication refers to a type of communication in which non-verbal communication can be used. In contrast, few aids and supports are available in context-reduced communication. Having a short chat on the street with friends is cognitive undemanding. Language activities requiring a heavy cognitive load, such as giving a presentation on a difficult issue, is cognitively demanding communication. According to Cummins (1984), context-reduced, cognitively demanding communication in the fourth quadrant develops reciprocally with first language fluency. On the other hand, the first quadrant type of second language proficiency develops independently from fluency in the first language.

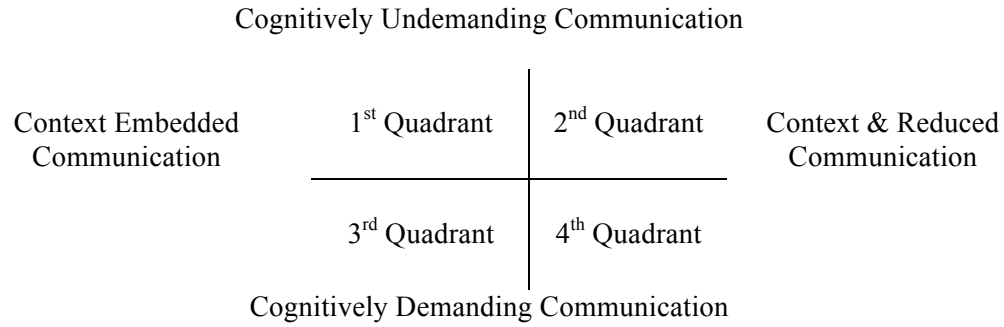


Figure 4. Distinction between interpersonal communication skills and cognitive/academic language proficiency.
Adapted from *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (3rd ed.) (p. 172), by C. Baker (2001). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Social-Cultural Perspectives

Macroscopic Model

Allard and Landry (1986, 1994a, 1994b,) attempted to disentangle the complex factors influencing additive bilinguals in their principal environments such as home, school, and community by sorting out the essential conditions and analyzing the language environment. This Macroscopic Model is based on the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (ELV), which consists of three categories of socio-structural factors: demography, institutional support, and status. The term ethnolinguistic vitality was developed by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) and is defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (p. 308). Later, this notion was advanced to subjective assessment of a group's vitality by its members (Giles et al., 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981). Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) created the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire to measure subjective ethnolinguistic vitality.

As Figure 5 shows, influential factors for bilingual development comprise the four levels of sociological, socio-psychological, psychological, and language behavior. The type and degree of bilingualism can be predicted by analyzing the language environment. According to the Macroscopic Model, the types of bilinguals and the degree of bilinguality may be influenced by the interactive patterns of the factors in the first three levels.

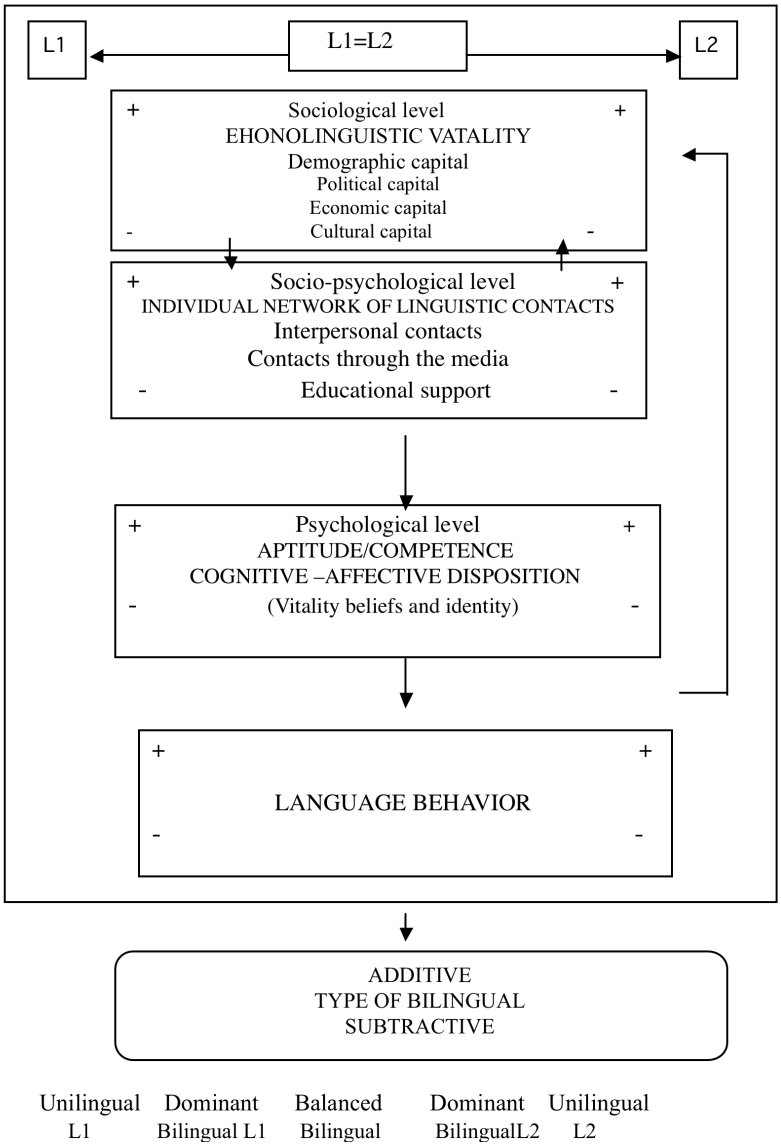


Figure 5. Macroscopic model of determinants of additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism.
Adapted from Landry and Allard, Ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs and language maintenance and loss. *In W. Fase, K. Jaespaert, & S. Kroon (Eds.) Maintenance and loss of minority languages.* (1992).

At the sociological level, the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality is modified to demographic capital, political capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. Demographic capital means, for example, the number of members in ethnolinguistic groups, the proportion of the total population, the birth rate, and the rate of immigration and emigration (Allard & Landry,

1994a, p. 21). Political capital refers to government aid, economic capital is empowerment from the field of commerce and industry, and cultural capital includes support in the fields of culture, media, education and religion.

The second stage of the model is the social-psychological level. As defined by Giles et al. (1977), ELV does not mention how subjective vitality is fostered, but this model suggests that it is developed through contact with ethnolinguistic groups, or an *individual network of linguistic contact* (INLC). The INLC includes those with whom bilinguals have contact and in which language they communicate in their daily lives. These factors, in turn, influence their bilingual development.

At the psychological level, the subjective representation of vitality includes issues such as a learner's language learning aptitude, competence, beliefs and attitude toward ethnolinguistic vitality. Even if there is a supportive language environment at home, school, and within the INLC in the society to foster the acquisition of two languages, psychological factors also influence a bilingual's language behavior.

ELV can be evaluated with three classes of objective factors: status, demography, and institutional support. Briefly stated, the status factors include variables that reflect a group's economic and political power, its social status, its social-historical standing, and the status of the ethnic language(s) relative to the various out groups. Demographic factors refer to the total population of the group, and its concentration and distribution over a

territory; the number of mixed marriages, birth rates, and patterns of immigration and emigration are relevant variables here. Institutional support factors refer to the degree of support the group and its language enjoy in the various informal and formal institutions of the society, such as in the home, the mass media, and education.

Giles et al. (1977) hypothesized that each of these factors affects the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group positively or negatively. They further proposed that ethnolinguistic communities could be meaningfully grouped according to the above three factors on the basis of information such as available historical, sociological, and demographic data. Using such a framework, ethnolinguistic groups can be classified as possessing high, medium, or low vitality, which helps define and compare ethnolinguistic groups across cultures. It is argued that the higher the vitality, the more likely a group and its language are to survive as a distinctive entity. So far, my discussion has focused on "objective" assessments of ELV. But do ethnolinguistic group members perceive their situation along the same lines as the objective analysis? Their subjective assessment may be just as important in determining interethnic group behavior; for instance, members may underestimate or exaggerate the ELV of the in-group or of the out-group. A combination of objective and subjective measures might provide a better understanding of relations among groups in terms of their ethnolinguistic vitality.

In L1, the "high" language can be described as that spoken by a majority of the population while the "low" language is used by a minority group (Baker, 2001). As noted previously, Fishman (1980) described the distinction between high and low as classical/formal language and vernacular language.

Ethnolinguistic vitality has led to a number of studies (e.g., Allard & Landry, 1986, 1994b; Kraemer, Olshtain & Badier, 1994; Labrie & Clement, 1986). Allard and Landry (1994c) used a questionnaire to measure the relationship between the degree of ELV and the frequency of language use in Canada. The results of that study showed that there was a strong relationship between the two factors. This supports the notion advanced by Fishman (cited by Allard & Landry, 1994a) that "The use of the mother tongue in minority groups should be more frequent in domains associated with intimacy and less frequent in domains associated with status" (p. 36).

Kraemer et al. (1994) conducted a study employing the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Bourhis et al., 1981). The results indicated that the perception of ethnolinguistic vitality was related to attitudes toward the target ethnic groups and target language and to individual networks of linguistic contact in the L2 for the Israeli Arab group (p. 90). Kondo (1997) examined the reflections of a group of second-generation heritage language learners (*shin-nisei*) concerning their individual networks of linguistic contact to analyze psychological factors influencing their language maintenance. The

findings showed the assimilative pulls of a dominant culture, with Japanese mothers playing a central role in passing on Japanese language skills to their children.

Whereas Kondo's (1997) study was concerned with individual networks of linguistic contact, Yamamoto's study (2005) examined language use of cross-native/community language (CNCL) families, specifically interlingual families of a Japanese parent and a Filipino parent with their offspring living in Japan. Yamamoto examined whether the native language of the parent originally from the Philippines was used in communication among the family members, and whether the native language was employed exclusively or complementarily.

The findings revealed that there was a less frequent use of the Filipino parent's native language(s) in comparison to the Japanese parent's native language. Yamamoto had previously studied Japanese-English interlingual families (Yamamoto, 2001, 2003) and had found a less frequent use of the native language of the non-Japanese-speaking parent in comparison to that of Japanese-speaking parent and the employment of a language not native to either parent in Japanese-non-English CNCL families. The results of these studies suggested that the how and why of language use in CNCL families might be language-sensitive and not necessarily related to the language proficiencies of the family members or ease of access to a language community in the close vicinity. Yamamoto (2005) also pointed out that

parents whose native language is placed in competition with more "powerful" languages, such as the mainstream language of the surrounding community or, significantly, a language with greater international prestige, can have complex feelings about their own native language, especially in regard to their relationships with their children.

Language Learning and Attitude

Language attitude is an influential factor in language behavior according to the Macroscopic Model. Baker (2001) defined attitude as "…a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior" (p. 61). Baker also referred to attitude change, an important concept in the study of bilingualism: "Attitude change is essentially a cognitive activity yet is formulated through social activity" (p. 106). One's attitude changes not only because of individual needs but also because of social needs such as security, status in a group, and social demand (p. 105). Baker provided some assumptions about factors influencing attitude change, such as growing older, dramatic experiences, and effects emanating from community, parents, peer groups, institutions, mass media effects, and rituals.

A number of linguists and scholars have conducted studies of the relationship of attitudes to learning and language use or choice in different contexts. Yoneyama (1979) used a questionnaire to study attitudinal and motivational factors among 123 Japanese junior high school students. Lewin

(1987) investigated the relationship between attitude and language choice (English L1 and Hebrew L2) at home on English-speaking immigrants to Israel. Oller, Hudson, and Lie (1995) explored the relationships among various attitudes related to language learning and attained proficiency of Chinese ELS students. Koizumi and Matsuo (1993) examined attitudinal and motivational changes over one year in 296 Japanese seventh-grade students learning English. Oliver and Purdie (1998) examined the attitudes of 58 bilingual children towards their L1 and L2. They also investigated the attitudes bilingual children attribute to parents, teachers at school, and their friends in the context of the home, the classroom, and the school playground. Baker (1992) conducted a study of 797 bilingual Welsh teenagers on the nature and attributes of attitudes to bilingualism. He used five variables that were considered to have a relationship to language attitudes: gender, age, language background, type of school, and ability in Welsh. The findings indicated that attitude toward bilingualism is related to the youth culture of teenage years while institutions such as family and school are less related to these attitudes. The results also revealed that individual attributes such as gender, age, and ability in Welsh had little influence on attitudes.

Identity

Identity has been used in many ways for a variety of purposes in the social sciences, and a substantial number of researchers have been concerned

with the notion of identity. General concepts of identity include all the features that distinguish one person from others, such as images, beliefs, and/or feelings. This notion extends from the self/personal/ego realm grounded in individual features (e.g., one's personality, physical appearance, behavior patterns, and occupation), to the social dimensions found in the relationships between the individual and social groups. National, social, ethnic, cultural, and language identities can be included in the second category. It is important to understand that these forms do not exist by themselves; each is a component of identity or self.

As identity is a complex concept, it might help to clarify it by categorizing self/ego identity as personal identity and others such as national/ethnic/social/cultural/language identities as social identity. The sections that follow provide discussions of personal identity, social identity, and the relationship of identity to language learning.

Personal Identity

Erikson (1968) stated that ego identity develops through a reciprocal relationship with other individuals. The mutuality of self and others is maintained throughout one's lifetime in a variety of contexts including parent-child relationships, friendships, and wife-husband relationships. Through the experiences of reciprocal action, ego identity develops over a lifetime.

As an example of the application of relatedness to the development of personal beliefs, Sugimura (2000) summarized two important studies of

relatedness by Gilligan (1982) and Josselson (1987). Gilligan (1982) investigated the moral judgment of women and men by conducting interviews with a wide spectrum of age groups. She found that women tend to make value judgments on the basis of human relationships, compassion, and responsibility, whereas men tend to value judgments more according to rules and rights. Analyzing the identity development of female university students from the perspective of their mental vitality and dynamism, Josselson (1987) found that the development of female identity relies on the reaction to significant important people in their lives, while men tend to be controlled by objective criteria of success, such as economic success or earning a degree. In contrast to this finding, Archer (1992) criticized the distinction made between women and men's identity development from a feminist perspective. She pointed out that regardless of gender, it is impossible to develop one's identity without considering relationships with others. Although Archer (1992) disagreed with Gilligan (1982) and Josselson (1987) over gender specificity in regard to the importance of relationships with others, they all agreed that relationships play an important role in identity development.

Social Identity

Social identity can be seen as the various ways in which people understand themselves in relation to others, and how they view their past and future (Peirce, 1995). According to Peirce, while personal identity is the sense

of assurance of "who I am," social identity is a stable sense of belonging to specific social groups or organizations such as family, occupation, or school. Various roles that one plays (e.g., mother or father) are categorized as part of this social identity.

The sense of belonging to specific groups becomes psychologically relevant in comparison with other groups to which one does not belong. Tajfel (1974) developed the best-known model of social identity. He elucidated social identity in terms of inter-group behavior by employing four related concepts: social categorization, awareness of social identity, social comparison, and psychological distinctiveness. Tajfel (1981) defined social identity "as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 69). In this model, social identity is conceptualized by categorizing the social world into in-groups and out-groups based on their similarities regarding actions, intention or behavior and distinguishing oneself as a member of the in-group.

Tajfel's (1981) social identity model is based on the assumption that human beings seek positive social identity. He claimed that individuals become aware of their social identity by being a member of a group. When the status of the group to which one belongs is evaluated higher than other groups, the self-esteem of its members is raised as well. Tajfel and his associates found that categorization of groups—even if the categorization is

based on small differences—causes inter-group comparison and psychological distinctiveness, and results in in-group favoritism.

Deschamps and Devos (1998) also pointed out that social categorization not only reduces the in-category differences but also can lead people to have a dichotomous concept of the world. As a result, they can hold discriminatory attitudes towards members of out-groups. In addition, they stated that an emphasis on categorization results in increases in in-group favoritism or inter-group differentiation (sociocentrism) and autofavouritism or differentiation between self and others (egocentrism) (p. 9).

Language Learning and Identity

Researchers investigating bilingualism and language learning have also recognized the importance of identity. Some of the most important studies are Heller's (1987) study of the relationship between the role of language and that of ethnic identity formation, Gumperz's (1982a, 1982b) studies of communicative phenomena in face-to-face interaction and social identity, Ochs' (1993) investigation of language socialization and social identity, and Norton's (2000) constructs of investment and situated identity, which have helped frame a large number of studies on these issues.

Heller (1988) investigated bilingual children's ethnic identity formation based on the belief that participation in ethnic social networks is the principal factor in ethnic identity formation. She proposed that language is a symbol of

ethnic identity and ethnic relations as well as a means of communication. She argued that the use of language plays an important role in ethnic identity formation because participation in activities and forming social relationships in ethnic groups is achieved through language. Language is a tool to make sense out of shared experiences, without which it would be almost impossible to become an ethnic group member.

Heller (1987) introduced the postmodern concept of social identity expressed as a site of struggle and change over time, with relation to symbolic power and material power, as migrant women experienced learning a second language. She also developed the notion of investment, adapting Bourdieu's (1994) notion of cultural capital in relation to identity and power. She stated that the perceived notion of motivation by many theorists misses the relationship between power, identity, and the individual's commitment to learning the target language.

Adopting Heller's position, Norton (1995, 1997, 2000) emphasized the role of social identity in language learning. She stated that second-language theories fail to take account of the relationship of social identity and power in language learning. She defined identity as "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (Norton, 1997, p. 401). She constructed this notion of social identity related to power based on West's material relations of power and identity; Bourdieu's (1994)

symbolic capital and identity; Weedon's (1987) attempts to integrate language, individual experiences and social power into the notion of subjectivity; and Cummins' (2000) coercive and collaborative power.

Extending Bourdieu's (1994) notion of identity and investment, Mckay and Wong (1996) investigated adolescent Chinese immigrant students. Their findings supported the idea of learners as complex social beings by describing how the students carried out complex tasks such as establishing ethnic/cultural identity, meeting demands of parents, responding to gender expectations, and performing academically while learning a new language. They studied the learners' investment in the four language skills and concluded that investment can be selective among the four language skills, depending on the perceived value of those skills in terms of how an individual's identity is defined, as well as social and academic demands (p. 604).

People who have intercultural experiences often suffer from communication problems. Gumperz and his associates (1982a, 1982b) suggested that face-to-face interaction difficulties can be caused by integral differences in styles of discourse. Different ethnic groups use different communication skills because of their cultural and ethnic backgrounds. There are also different ways of using language. Thus, how well one can function in intercultural communication affects social identity formation.

Based on this relation of discourse skills and social identity, Minami (2000) investigated returnees in order to assess what social experiences made them identify themselves as Japanese. He inferred that maintaining participation in routine daily practices within a culture helps construct social identity. The findings suggested that there are both distinct and subtly different communication strategies in each culture that are linked to social identity construction.

Ochs (1993) argued that although language is essential to understanding social identity, and social identity is closely related to language acquisition, social identity and language are distinct. In other words, the relationship of language to social identity is rather indirect as it cannot be encoded. She stated that social identities are formed by performing social acts and displaying certain stances through the use of language. Social acts refer to socially recognized, goal-directed behavior; for example, making a request, contradicting another person, or interrupting someone. Stances include displaying a socially recognized point of view or attitude (Ochs, 1993, p. 288). She pointed out the important influence of mothers on the construction of social identity in their children.

There have been other contributions to the notion of social identity and language learning and bilingualism. Archer (1999) conducted semi-structured interviews with 31 young adults in Quetta, Pakistan. The informants reported their own social perceptions and behaviors in relation to four interrelated

components: customs, language, politics, and religion. The findings indicated that the informants considered themselves to be a group that shared behaviors and qualities with its members.

Miller (1999) studied the relationship between discourse and the construction of identity in Queensland. In interviews, she investigated the pathways of three high school students who were of non-English speaking backgrounds from their arrival in Australia to full integration within a high school. The findings showed that language acquisition and use, institutional contexts, and identity were all interrelated.

Some researchers (e.g., McKay & Wong, 1996; Peirce, 1995) have questioned the way in which second language acquisition theorists have understood the language learner's relationship to the social world. Peirce (1995) asked why learners communicate successfully in some situations, while in others they falter or remain silent. Rejecting the idea that this can be sufficiently explained by personality traits such as introversion and extroversion or by a lack of motivation, Peirce argued that a learner's ability to speak is also affected by relations of power between speakers. Structural inequalities such as racism, sexism, and classism can limit learners' exposure to English as well as their opportunities to practice it.

Peirce (1995) also questioned the concept of instrumental and integrative motivation that have been especially influential (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) in the field of second language acquisition. Peirce believed

that instrumental motivation (learning a language for a specific reason, such as seeking employment) and integrative motivation (learning a language to become part of a particular community) fall short in describing the language learner's situation because they assume a static identity and a singular desire on the part of the language learner.

To better represent human complexity and account for the ambivalence that learners sometimes feel in the process of language learning, Peirce suggested that the concept of "investment in the target language" might be a useful complement to theories of language learning. Investment describes the complex dynamic relationship between the learner and the social world. In her study of immigrant women learning English in Canada, Peirce (1995) found that the women sometimes had ambivalent feelings about speaking English. This hesitation seemed to come from their resistance to the identities others were creating for them, not from a lack of motivation. For example, one woman avoided talking with native speakers of English because she did not want to be identified as an immigrant, an identity that she understood to have negative connotations. Another learner, a middle-aged woman working with native-speaking teenagers in a fast-food restaurant, chose to confront similar barriers to her use of English by "claim[ing] her right to speak" (p. 23). When her native-speaking co-workers told her to clean up even though they had nothing to do, she positioned herself as a parent and them as children. This

allowed her to assume more power in the conversation to get more equitable treatment.

Some major studies on the identity of Japanese bilinguals have been conducted by Kondo-Brown (2000) and Kanno (2003). Kondo-Brown (2000) investigated the acculturation process and identity development of six bilingual heritage university students (*shin-nisei)* in Hawaii. Kanno studied the relationships over a three-year period of four Japanese returnees (*kikokushijyo*) between bilingual and bicultural identity, and bilingualism. Both researchers found that identity is closely associated with the use and choice of language. A significant aspect of Kanno's (2003) study was that, although previous studies focused on returnees' problems with re-entry, readjustment, language acquisition, or attrition, and largely ignored their individuality and humanness, Kanno's study is an account of returnees' experiences in Canada and Japan using their own words relative to high school and college and how changes in social context and maturity affected their identities. One of the more salient findings was that upon their return to Japan, the returnees' identities changed from being "non-native speakers" in Canada to being recognized much more positively as bilingual in Japan.

Summary

In this section, I have described the theoretical background of bilingualism from cognitive, social, attitude, and identity perspectives. In

contrast to the Separate Common Proficiency Theory, the Common Underlying Proficiency Theory (Iceberg Theory) proposed that two languages used by an individual, although they appear separate on the surface, function through the same central cognitive system.

The Thresholds Theory was put forward to address shortcomings with the Common Underlying Proficiency Theory, which does not mention either the negative or positive cognitive development of bilingualism. The theory suggests that positive cognitive advantages are only achieved when the first and second thresholds have been crossed.

The Macroscopic Model represents an attempt to disentangle the complex factors influencing bilinguals in the environment such as home, school, and community. This model clarified the essential conditions and analyzed the language environment based on the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. Language attitude is an influential factor in language behavior.

Many studies have been framed by the work of four authors: Heller's (1987) study examining the relationship between the role of language and that of ethnic identity formation, Gumperz's (1982) study of social identity and communicative phenomena in face-to-face interaction, Ochs' (1993) investigation of language socialization and social identity, and Norton's (1995, 1997, 2000) constructs of investment and situated identity.

Norton (1995, 1997, 2000) emphasized the role of social identity in language learning. She claimed that Second Language Acquisition theories

fail to take account of the relationship between social identity and power in language learning. She defined identity as "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (1997, p. 401). Norton constructed this notion of the relationship between social identity and power based on Bourdieu's (1977) definition of symbolic and cultural capital and identity, Weedon's (1987) concept of subjectivity, and Cummins' theories about coercive and collaborative power (2000).

The current study is framed mainly by Norton's theory of identity. Drawing mainly on Weedon, a feminist poststructuralist who attempts to integrate language, individual experience, and social power into the subjective experience of the individual, Norton introduced a postmodern concept of social identity, viewing it as multiple, a site of struggle, and changing over time according to the individual's relation to symbolic power and material power in second language learning. Norton also developed the notion of investment in language learning, adapting Bourdieu's (1977) concept of cultural capital to the relationship between identity and power. Norton proposed that the notion of motivation utilized by many theorists does not take into account the relationship between power, identity, and the learners' commitment to learning the target language.

Bilingualism in Japan

Although Japan is considered a monolingual society, individual bilingualism also exists. The potential groups of bilinguals consist mainly of Japanese returnees—young Japanese who lived abroad for a number of years and return to Japan. There are also Japanese studying a foreign language; ethnic minorities living in Japan (mainly Korean or Ainu, an ethnic group living in Hokkaido and speaking a language different from Japanese); and the families of international marriages. Bilingualism in these groups of people—except the last category—is not related to this study. However, important background information to this study is an understanding that the demographics of these groups of people; this information might help create a bilingualism map of Japan and the problems they face.

Minorities Residing in Japan

Since the Meiji Restoration, the idea that the Japanese had a linguistic and ethnical identity as a mono-ethnic and monolingual nation has been emphasized (Maher & Yashiro, 1991). Regardless of the fact that schools have been accepting many non-Japanese students, the idea prevails that Japanese culture and language are the hallmarks of a racially and linguistically homogeneous nation. Nonetheless, bilingualism in Japan calls to mind stereotyped "English-Japanese" bilinguals. As can be seen in Table 1, there are over 1.5 million non-Japanese registered residents coming from a

variety of language backgrounds. They are potential bilinguals. Minority languages these days are not only the Korean and Ainu languages, which

Table 1. *The Number of Non-Japanese Residents Living in Japan: 2003*

Nationality	Total	Permanent residents	Others
Total	1,851,758	713,775	1,137,983
Asian	1,371,171	648,620	722,551
Korea	625,422	522,301	103,121
Thai	33,736	3,918	29,818
China	424,282	74,523	349,759
Philippines	169,359	32,825	136,534
Vietnam	21,050	5,801	15,249
North America	63,201	9,079	54,122
South America	334,602	47,511	287,091
Brazil	268,332	31,218	237,114
Peru	51,772	13,980	37,792
Europe	55,288	6,089	49,199
Africa	9,694	1,084	8,610
Oceania	15,898	844	15,054
Stateless	1,904	548	1,356

Source: Ministry of Justice, *Zairyu gaikokujin toukei* (Statistical chart of foreigners living in Japan).

have long been recognized, but also languages of so-called Newcomers, such as returnees from China, refugees from Indochina, and immigrant workers from Brazil and Peru. The Japanese government has at last acknowledged that fact, and Japanese schools are facing bilingual education problems that they have not experienced before.

Korean bilinguals (*zainichi*) comprise the largest portion of minority groups, with 625,422 Koreans living in Japan; this figure represents 40.9% of all registered foreigners. Looking back in history during the colonial period, many Koreans were forced to come to Japan as soldiers or to look for work or a place to live. Zainichi Koreans consist of those people and their families, including the second, the third and fourth generations.

Koreans in Japan

In 1947, the Civil Information and Education Section of the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers issued an order that Korean children living in Japan must comply with the School Education Law (Lee, 1981, cited in Cary, 2001). In the following year, on January 24, 1948, the Ministry of Education issued directions to the governors that Korean children of school age must be enrolled either in a state elementary school or junior high school as were Japanese children (Nada, 1995, cited in Cary, 2001). Five years later, in 1953, the Ministry rescinded its requirement for attendance at Japanese schools and Korean children were then able to enroll in Korean schools if they preferred. There are about 150 Korean schools throughout Japan and approximately 10% of *zainichi* Korean children attend them.

Ainu (Native Japanese in Hokkaido)

Ainu, the native Japanese in Hokkaido, have their own way of life, culture, and language. Hokkaido had been inhabited long before *Wajin* (Japanese people) came there from Honshu. After Wajin flowed into Hokkaido from the late 15th century to the middle of the 16th century, the lifestyle of the Ainu began to change. Under the Meiji Government, the Ainu were forcefully assimilated, being compelled to change their names to Japanese names from 1873. According to Ogawa (1997), in 1899, the government established "Ainu elementary schools" in the areas where many Ainu lived. The main objectives were to teach the Japanese language and culture, forcing the Ainu to abandon their own traditions and language. Under this social tide, many parents thought that the Ainu language was no longer of use to their children. They renounced the Ainu language and traditions, which they thought to be a cause of bullying at school (Ogawa, 1997).

In 1994, 23,830 of the residents in Hokkaido said that they were Ainu (Ministry of Justice, 2003). Among Ainu people under 80 years of age, fewer than ten percent could speak the Ainu language fluently. However, a movement to preserve the Ainu language started in the 1960s. Although the historical backgrounds of the *zainichi* Korean and Ainu are different, both peoples were deprived of the right to preserve their language and culture by being forced to use the Japanese language and become a part of the dominant

Japanese culture and society. Even now, bilingual education for *zainichi* Korean and Ainu cannot be guaranteed.

Kikokushijyo: Returnees

Another potential bilingual group is *kikokushijyo* or returnees. As the number of Japanese companies operating abroad increases, more Japanese families are transferred to overseas posts. As the result of a family's movement, children go either to local schools or a Japanese school.

The duration of stay in a foreign country defining *kikokushijyo* varies. One definition states that those who live in a foreign country for more than one year as a result of a parent transfer are *kikokushijyo*. Other definitions specify two to five years, but for children it is defined as children who live in a foreign country for at least one year with their families. Children who live abroad for more than one year for the purpose of studying are not called *kikokushijyo.*

According to the Ministry of Education and Science, more than 10,000 Japanese schoolchildren have returned to Japan each year since 1985. In 1999, 12,241 children who lived abroad for more than one year returned. This compared with the 5,900 children who came back in 1979—or about half the number 20 years later. The number of schoolchildren living abroad during 2000 increased to 49,463 from 24,289 in 1979.

In 1999, 11,536 Japanese children residing in Asian countries attended Japanese schools while 3,115 more went either to local schools or international schools. In North America, only 544 children went to a Japanese school while 7,345 were educated in local schools.

Yashiro (1991) provided an interesting case that demonstrates the attitude of Japanese parents toward English education. Yashiro reported that some local schools in North America and Europe that had many Japanese students and attempted bilingual education received complaints from parents claiming that teaching in Japanese might hinder the acquisition of English. Taking into consideration the popularity of sending children to local schools in North America, together with the situations reported by Yashiro, it is not difficult to infer that many Japanese think that the English language is socially valuable and useful for their children's future. The returnees' willingness to maintain the foreign language that they learned is high. According to Yashiro's questionnaire results (1991), 92% of the participants indicated that they would maintain the foreign language.

Summary

In this section, individual bilingualism in Japan was discussed. Despite the idea shared by many people that Japan is a monolingual and monocultural society, several bilingual groups, include *zainichi* Koreans (Koreans living in

Japan), returnees (*kikokushijo*), and *Ainu* (the people who originally inhabited in Hokkaido), can be found.

International Marriage in Japan

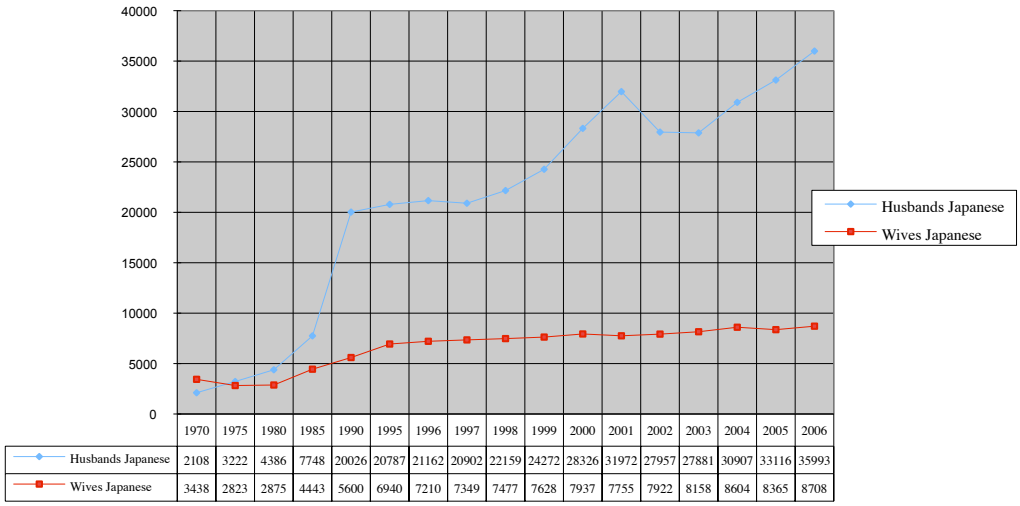
According to the 2004 statistics from the Ministry of Justice, the number of people going abroad for business, sightseeing, and study exceeded 1.6 million a year. At the same time, there were more than five million people coming to Japan to sightsee, seek work opportunities, and study Japanese. As these numbers increase, the opportunities for Japanese to meet non-Japanese partners also increase. Consequently, the number of Japanese marrying other nationalities has been growing. According to the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, of the 740,191 marriages in Japan in 2003, 36,039 were of mixed nationalities, with men marrying 27,881 non-Japanese women, while women married 8,158 men who were not Japanese.

The term international marriage, which is a direct translation from Japanese of *kokusai kekkon*, and widely used in contemporary Japan, means marriage between a man and woman of different nationalities. However, the terms "intermarriage" or "mixed marriage," which indicate marriage between couples from different nationalities, races, tribes, or religions, are more common in English. The term *international marriage* was not employed from the beginning but rather the terms *naigai kon* (inside-outside marriage) and *zakkon* (hybrid, cross, or mixed marriage) were commonly used. The question

arises: when did the term *international marriage* replace these terms? Due to the progression of modernization and internationalization in Japan, the general use of "international" might have caused its replacement of those earlier terms (Koyama, 1995). Because *international marriage* sounds more sophisticated than *naigaikon* or *zakkon*, the term *international marriage* is used hereafter when referring to this type of marriage. The attitude of many Japanese towards international marriages has not always been positive. As Takeshita (2000) noted, the negative images of international marriages have ameliorated recently.

Contemporary International Marriages

Takeshita (2000) suggested four possible reasons for a shift from the essentially negative view of international marriage to the more positive and even glamorous images of recent times. First, Japan's increased economic power, which emerged during the 1960's, lessened the tendency of Japanese to view international marriages as unequal power relationships. Second, the Tokyo Olympics brought thousands of foreigners to Japan, and more widespread access to world news showed that international marriages were not unusual. Third, the marriages of internationally known Japanese women married to non-Japanese men (e.g., John Lennon and Yoko Ono) improved the image. Finally, since the nationality law was revised in 1950, marrying non-Japanese no longer meant the loss of citizenship for Japanese women.



	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Husbands Japanese	2108	3222	4386	7748	20026	20787	21162	20902	22159	24272	28326	31972	27957	27881	30907	33116	35993
Wives Japanese	3438	2823	2875	4443	5600	6940	7210	7349	7477	7628	7937	7755	7922	8158	8604	8365	8708

Figure 6. Transition of number of marriages classified by gender.

Source: Statistics and Information Department of Ministry of Health and Welfare. "*Heisei 15nen Jinko doutai toukei nenho*" (Annual Report of Transition of Population 2006).

Figure 6 shows that while international marriages increased year by year, the number of all marriages in Japan decreased from 1,029,404 in 1970 to 740,191 in 2003. The most remarkable feature is that the number of Japanese men married to non-Japanese women greatly exceeded the number of Japanese women married to non-Japanese men. In addition, the number of Japanese men married to non-Japanese women increased approximately 13.26 times whereas the number of non-Japanese men married to Japanese women increased 2.37 times between 1970 to 2003. One possible reason for this rapid increase of Japanese men marrying non-Japanese women is that the number of marriages to women of other Asian nationalities jumped dramatically around 1990.

As the number of international marriages grows, the number of children born to these families increases, despite the fact that the overall birth rate in Japan has declined. It is significant that, although only 0.74% of the babies born in 1988 were those of international families, the rate increased by 2.59 times to 1.9% in the 14 years to 2003. However, the number of babies born among international families started to decline in 2002, in concert with a general reduction in the total number of births. The survey also showed that the number of babies born to Japanese fathers and non-Japanese mothers increased 2.3 times in 14 years, from 5,538 in 1988 to 12,690 in 2003. The number of babies born to Japanese mothers and non-Japanese fathers grew steadily by 1.97 times, from 4,484 in 1988 to 8,832 in 2003.

Studies of Bilingualism in International Families in Japan

In this section, relevant studies undertaken on bilingualism within international families in Japan are reviewed. These studies can be divided into two categories: (a) case studies of bilingual children conducted to analyze their language development, and (b) survey studies designed to obtain an overall view of the language environment of international families and identify factors contributing to their becoming active bilinguals.

The most comprehensive surveys on international families have been conducted by Yamamoto (1991b, 1999, 2001, 2003). She investigated patterns of language use among family members—between spouses, between

parents and their children, and among siblings. She also studied parents' attitudes toward bilingualism and the problems facing international families. These studies are pivotal surveys to obtain a wide picture of bilingualism in Japan and therefore it is necessary to discuss the findings in some detail.

Yamamoto (1991a) conducted a case study in which she observed the linguistic development of Pamela, whose mother was Japanese and father American. Yamamoto collected data by tape-recording Pamela's utterances from the age of one year old each month for three years and kept a journal of her bilingual development. She then analyzed the data from phonological and syntactic points of view, and investigated the factors influencing code-switching and language shift. The findings indicated that learning a language involves not only cognitive ability and cognitive maturity but also an awareness of the syntactic differences between the two languages and the social and cultural environment where the language is being learned.

In a 1985 survey, Yamamoto (1987) investigated families with a native Japanese-speaking parent and an English-speaking parent, along with their children. The study showed that English was used more as a means of communication between parents. Concerning the language of communication between the parents and children, there was a tendency for the children to use each parent's native language. Among siblings, most children chose to communicate in Japanese.

Yamamoto's 1990 survey study (Yamamoto, 1995) was a replication of her 1985 survey. The findings were broadly similar: the children used English to communicate with English-speaking parents. She also analyzed the patterns of language use between spouses, parents, and children, and among siblings. She identified four patterns of language use between spouses, who were a native speaker of English and a native speaker of Japanese.

1. A receptively bilingual household; each spouse uses only her/his native language productively (2%).
2. A monolingual household; both spouses exclusively or mainly use the same language, the native language of either the English partner or the Japanese partner (65%); of these households, English was used by 45% and Japanese by 20%.
3. A productively bilingual household; at least one spouse (possibly both) can use either language (34%).
4. An L3 household; as a common language, both spouses use a third language, which is the native language of neither.

Oka (1987) conducted a survey on language use in international families consisting of one Japanese parent and one who was not a Japanese speaker. Thirteen participants spoke English, and the others were speakers of German, French, and Spanish. The results showed that wives and husbands had a tendency to communicate in the same language. In addition, the

Japanese mothers usually used Japanese when talking with their children while the non-Japanese fathers often used their own native languages with their children.

Both Yamamoto (1990) and Oka (1987) reported results similar to those of Yamamoto's 1990 study (Yamamoto, 1995), which indicated that the same language (pattern 2) is used between spouses. Yamamoto provided a possible explanation of why English is chosen most frequently as a means of communication; the English proficiency of the Japanese spouses is relatively high because they have studied English for at least six years in secondary school. The complementary pattern is not true of spouses who are native speakers of English. The results also revealed that for self-evaluated bilingualism, 50% of Japanese claimed to be bilingual whereas the proportion for native English speakers was 30%.

Yamamoto's survey results also showed four patterns of language use between parents and children:

1. Each parent uses her/his own native language (one person-one language) (51%).
2. At least one parent uses both languages (one person-two languages) (29%).
3. Both parents use only the societal language, Japanese (4%).
4. Both parents use the minority language only, English, not the societal language (16%).

Yamamoto suggested that various patterns of spouse language choice might be a reflection of the parents' preference for using their own language and cultural heritage, or a reflection of pragmatic issues (p. 72). Establishing a close relationship can be accomplished using a familiar language and a parent's conscious decision to create more linguistic input for the child (p. 71).

Yamamoto (2001) reported similar results for international (she uses the term *interlingual* here) families' language use. In this study, she also investigated the parental language used in talking to the child and the child's language use with English-speaking parents. The data showed that all the children whose parents used English in speaking to them also communicated in English to the English-speaking parent. In addition, all the children whose parents used only Japanese in communication with them spoke only in Japanese to English-speaking parents

Kameda (1997) interviewed ten bilingual families in Japan and analyzed the main factors influencing success in bringing up children bilingually. Kameda explained the main themes as nurture/nature, minority-language mothers versus minority-language fathers, parental laxness and uncertainty, frequency (or long duration) of trips overseas. These themes were the foundation of preliminary hypotheses for a bigger project.

Muranaka-Vuletich (2002) examined the effect of parental input on a child's language production by investigating the mixed utterances used by a Japanese-English bilingual child and her Japanese mother, using Japanese as

the matrix language. The definition of language mixing was any utterances in which two languages were used. Muranaka-Vuletich hypothesized that if children's utterances are modeled on the input from their parents, then the child in this study should have very similar language mixing patterns to those of her mother. The child's family adopted the "one parent-one language rule" from the time that the child was born. Her father spoke English to her and her mother spoke Japanese. English was the stronger language for the child throughout the study, as judged by her parents and school teacher.

Data were collected by visiting the participants' home every four weeks for 18 months when the child was between 5.1 and 6.8 years of age. Two types of conversations were tape-recorded on each occasion: conversations among FB, her mother and the investigator, and conversations between FB and her mother. There were 21 visits, 19 of which were tape-recorded (approximately 19 hours of total recording time). The data were collected in her father's absence so that the child would have natural settings in which to speak Japanese. Follow-up interviews were conducted with the mother and the father when it was necessary to clarify issues. Throughout this investigation, it was apparent that the mother mixed languages, but her mixing pattern was in line with that of a Japanese native speaker. Mixed utterances were used in accordance with the standard Japanisation rules. These Japanisation rules were applied not only phonologically, but also

grammatically. It was found that because the mother mixed languages, the child also mixed languages, although with different patterns.

In addition, the mixing patterns of the child changed as she grew older; she used more single English words, started inserting longer sequences of English words when she was speaking Japanese, and started using intersentential switches. Thus, her Japanese did not deteriorate; however, the proficiency balance between the two languages shifted toward English.

Based on the results of this study, Muranaka-Vuletich (2002) developed the hypothesis that language-mixing patterns can be affected by the balance of the stronger and the weaker language, and not simply by the level of fluency of the speaker in each of the two languages. The results suggest that consideration of parental input alone is not sufficient to predict a child's language mixing patterns.

Problems Facing International Families

The problems that a considerable number of international families face involve providing sufficient opportunities to enhance their children's reading and writing skills. Responsibility for non-school language literacy is left to the parents. Another problem mentioned by Yamamoto (2001) is that international families are conspicuous because they adopt language, behavior, lifestyles, and cultures that differ from those of all-Japanese families. For those whose parents are not Asian, their children's physical appearance might

cause them difficulties. Yamamoto (1995) asked whether children in international families had experienced any problems due to their *gaijin-ness* (i.e., foreign appearance), their bilingualism, or their biculturalism. About one-third (35%) of the families answered positively, leading Yamamoto to conclude:

> Being bilingual is basically a matter of choice, not necessity for survival in this society, where Japanese is the mainstream language. It is safe to assume that children in international families should be at least monolingual in Japanese, since the native language of at least one parent is the societal language. Thus, if they fail to become bilingual, it is not considered to be a failure in the society, though it may be regretted as a lost opportunity. If, on the other hand, they do achieve bilingual proficiency, especially when the other language is in English, which is highly valued in Japanese society, it is as if they had been given a wonderful gift, something envied by monolingual Japanese. (1995, p. 80)

Noguchi and Fotos (2001) employed a questionnaire in order to identify factors influencing children to become active bilinguals. They investigated several variables that were hypothesized to be connected to children's bilinguality: (a) the sex of the native English-speaking parents, (b) the children's age, (c) birth order, and (d) each parent's language skills. The participants evaluated their own and their children's proficiency in both English and Japanese. The findings revealed no significant difference in bilinguality between the group of native English-speaking fathers and the group of mothers. However, if this factor was linked with birth order, the second children of native English-speaking fathers appeared to be less likely

to become an active bilingual. As for the children's age, no significant loss in ability was found with advancing age. Concerning the parents' language ability, the authors reported no notable difference in children's bilinguality when the parents were active or passive bilinguals.

Harrison, Bellin, and Piette (1977) reported on the importance of the mother's role in the children's language choice. They stated, "reasons for choosing one language rather than another were social and psychological rather than linguistic...the mother's language behavior was a major influence on the child's language development [and] the vast majority of children were linguistically as their mothers intended."

The main focus of previous studies in Japan was bilingual children's development of two languages and how parents can provide the best environment for them to acquire two languages. As Yamamoto (1995) concluded, "Being bilingual is basically a matter of choice...If [children] fail to become bilingual, it is not considered to be a failure in the society." If what she says is true, why do international families in Japan bring up their children bilingually? No study has been conducted to attempt to answer that question.

Summary

In this section I discussed contemporary international marriages, bilingualism in international families in Japan, and problems facing international families. Takeshita (2000) proposed possible explanations for the shift from essentially negative historical images of international marriages towards more positive images in recent times.

Studies undertaken on bilingualism within international families in Japan were also reviewed. Comprehensive surveys were conducted by Yamamoto, who investigated the development of two languages, how parents could provide the optimal language environment, and patterns of language use among family members.

Research Questions

I learned from early general observations of bilingual families that many Japanese mothers give up their native language to create an English-speaking environment. This observation is supported by Yamamoto's (1995) research. The question arises: What makes parents, particularly Japanese mothers, put an enormous amount of energy into developing and maintaining the father's tongue, English? This investigation entails questions of bilingual families' language environment choices.

We need to know what language environments the participating families create, what factors influence their choice of language environments, how

Japanese parents' experiences affect the development of their children's linguistic identities, how features of their identity are manifested in the family's choice of language at home, and the outcomes that result from these factors.

With regard to parents' choices of language experiences, the range of potential choices is broad and includes choosing where to live (in the English-speaking country or Japan, and if Japan, where in Japan), choosing the right mix of home schooling and formal schooling, finding the best school (including gaining admission and paying for it), and setting up the situation at home (choices as to books, television, and the amount and nature of parental supervision). These are often agonizing choices, and as such, they are constantly in the minds of parents in bilingual families.

With regard to outcomes resulting from parental actions, the range of results is broad and the analysis cannot be restricted to causes and effects of parental actions. Additional factors include the emerging personalities of the children themselves and the impact of outside events, such as job changes, on family lives. The optimal research design for addressing these questions is a longitudinal design that explores the depths of parental perceptions, and later of the children's accomplishments and perceptions.

In view of these considerations, the research questions for the present study are as follows:

1. What kind of language environment the participants had?
2. What factors influenced these families' decisions about their language environments, based on established theories on bilingualism and the historical background of international families in Japan?
3. What conclusions can be drawn about the efficacy of different language environments for raising bilingual children?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study is an investigation of the language environment of bilingual families, the relationships that parents they have with their children, the factors influencing their choice of language, and the outcomes of those choices. In order to understand the participants' language situations accurately and their beliefs about their situation, data for the study were collected using qualitative research methods. Watson-Gegeo (1988) explained that qualitative inquiry is an umbrella term for various interpretative research approaches and techniques including ethnography and case studies.

A case study approach was chosen to investigate the practices and beliefs of eight bilingual families living in Japan, analytically and holistically, organically and culturally, and using mixed methods (Stake, 2000). Employing Stake's listed aims for case studies, this research investigates: (a) the nature of the case, (b) the case's historical background, (c) the physical setting, (d) other contexts (e.g., economic, political, legal, and aesthetic contexts), (e) how these factors might be applied to other cases, and (f) how common or particular a given case may be.

In order to obtain sufficient information and data about the participants themselves and their situations, data were collected through prolonged observation, in-depth interviews, and questionnaires. Besides these techniques,

I also kept a reflective journal to triangulate the data. The following section describes in detail the techniques for collecting data.

Data Collection

The first part of this section describes the techniques used in gathering data. It is followed by a chronology of the study.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was the first technique used. To obtain a good understanding of the world in which the participant families lived and how they created their environment and meaning in their lives, I observed the families both at home and in other settings. Spradley's (1980) basic steps of observation were followed: (a) find a field site, actors, place, and activities; (b) conduct descriptive observation to obtain a general view of the actors, place, and activities; (c) decide on research questions; (d) decide on the observation units and conduct focused observation; (e) find a conceptual framework to analyze the data obtained from the observation; (f) conduct selective observation; (g) analyze the data; and (h) write the research paper. This section provides details concerning the observations in the chronological procedure.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was used to obtain background information about the participants. This maximized the time that could be spent for subsequent in-depth interviews. The participants were asked to complete the questionnaire prior to the interviews based on guidelines formulated by Baker (1992) and Davis (1995).

Interviews

Following the administration of the questionnaire, I conducted in-depth interviews with the participants. The main objective was to ask the families to verbalize the parents' and their children's life histories pertaining to language learning, attitudes toward bilingualism, and to have them identify their target cultures and languages. During the first period of data collection, unstructured interviews were conducted in order to establish rapport with the participants and ensure that the interview process allowed them to nominate topics and issues important to them. Intentionally, the interviews were not recorded in order to allow the participants to feel that they could talk freely.

During the second period of data collection, creative interviewing techniques (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997) were employed. According to Holstein and Gubrium, drawing on Douglas (1985), the interview needs to create an atmosphere of *mutual disclosure* by showing the researcher's willingness to share his or her feelings and ideas with the participants. If the

researcher shares feelings and beliefs freely, the participants are more likely to reveal their thoughts and beliefs in a similar manner. Therefore, the question that I asked initially was an intentionally vague one such as, "Could you tell me anything about using two languages at home?" This second series of interviews was conducted in Japanese with the Japanese mothers and in English with the fathers. The interviews were recorded and transcribed by me for later analysis.

Reflective Journal

I recorded my reflections in a journal, including my concerns and feelings about the study and the issues that it raised from the perspective of both researcher and participants. The aim of keeping the journal was not only to analyze my own views toward the issues investigated in the study, but also to create a structure for the study.

Chronological Description of the Data Collection

In this section, the data collection procedure is described chronologically. Four stages were involved. The first stage (1993-1996) involved conducting a single auto-ethnographic case study to better understand my own child's bilingual language development and issues that might be related to bilingual education. During the second stage (1996-1999), I observed several bilingual families in keeping with Spradley's second-stage

approach. My observations provided a general view of the actors (bicultural families), place, environment, and activities. After this, I carefully read the notes that I had taken before and after observations, and then decided on my research questions. In the third period (1999-2001), I negotiated access to eight bicultural families and conducted focused observations, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews to obtain more detailed pictures of the participants. In the fourth period (2007), I conducted follow-up studies in order to understand the outcomes to date of the different families' approaches.

August 1993-September 1996

Initially, I began this study by investigating my family in order to answer a preliminary question: What social and psychological factors influence a bilingual child's language choice and development? I started to track my son Christopher's language development and interaction with people around him by tape-recording his utterances. I also kept a journal in order to better understand his bilingual relationships objectively and subjectively. Specifically, what bilingual kinship did my British husband and I choose? What bilingual issues did we discuss? What factors influenced our decisions? What beliefs did we have concerning our child's bilingual education?

September 1996-September 1999

To deepen my understanding of the language environment of bilingual families, I informally observed four other international families in which the mother is Japanese and the father is a native speaker of English. They were members of *The Multicultural Families Association*. We met regularly at monthly meetings and gradually began to socialize outside the context of those meetings.

Through my contact with these families, I began to develop an understanding of different aspects of their daily activities: the type of TV programs or videos that they had their children watch, what books they liked to read to their children, what cultural activities they participated in and their children's social networks both at school and at home.

From observations and home interviews, I noticed that the use or choice of home language varied significantly, and the children's bilingual proficiency also differed. Although these families lived within the same metropolitan area and appeared to share a similar bilingual environment, the language policies in their homes differed greatly. A common observation was that all the Japanese mothers were extremely eager to maintain and develop their children's English proficiency. Given this observation, I decided to focus not only on the question of what kind of relationships bicultural parents had with their children (an issue that I had looked at from the beginning of the study), but also what factors influenced these decisions. In particular, I

became increasingly curious about Japanese mothers' interests in their children's proficiency in English.

September 1999–March 2001

During the third period, I began to focus on the questions generated during the second period, and added three more questions: What makes parents, particularly Japanese mothers, channel an enormous amount of energy into creating optimal circumstances for helping their children develop and maintain the father's tongue? What is the role of parents? How do the parent's values, attitudes, and/or identity influence educational choices made on behalf of their children?

On Sunday mornings from September 1999 to July 2001, I met the participating families at an English-speaking church in central Tokyo, where the parents attended a service while the children attended Sunday school. After meeting with the Sunday school teachers and children, I volunteered to help the teachers. Later, some of the parents and I met near the church to share information and ideas on children's education in general and bilingualism in particular.

During this period, I employed two more data collection techniques, in-depth interviews and questionnaires, to obtain types of information that otherwise might not have been gathered. The interviews covered everything from the participants' language environment to the parents' and children's life

histories of language learning, as well as the parents' beliefs. I also conducted in-depth interviews with 15 other international families who have different bilingual relationships. This was done to gather comparative information about other bilingual families' language relationships and the choices that those parents were making to promote their children's language development.

October 2007

A questionnaire and interviews were used to conduct follow-up inquiries. The questions administered to the children concerned: (a) the use of languages to the people with whom they communicate, (b) the language activities of the children at home and outside of the home, (c) their subjective assessment of their bilingual abilities, and (d) if they have taken any examinations in either language. The last question was asked in order to obtain an objective assessment of their language abilities. The questions administered to the parents were concerned with: (a) the type of schools the children attend, (b) how long they had spent in their husband's country, (c) if they followed any educational/bilingual education policies when deciding their children's bilingual education/formal schooling, and (d) if they employed home language planning to foster their children's language development or any other activities at home.

Participants

The eight participating families were international married families, all with a Japanese mother and an English-speaking father living in Japan. The following is the brief description of the families in the year 2000, when the first stage of the interviews was conducted. The participants' names have been changed to protect their privacy.

Family 1: Japanese mother Akiko, American father Adam, 13 year-old Al, and eight year-old Agatha lived in a large condominium located very close to central Tokyo. Adam was an American working for a securities company, and Akiko was a *sengyo shufu*, a professional homemaker, who took care of her family.

Family 2: Japanese mother Beniko, American father Benjamin, and their two children, Barbara, aged eleven, and Bart, aged nine, lived in a coastal town in Chiba prefecture, about 70 minutes from central Tokyo by train. Benjamin taught English at two high schools in Tokyo, ran English conversation classes for children and adults in a town adjacent to Tokyo, and taught classes at home. Beniko also taught English classes to local children at home. Some of Barbara and Bart's friends came to these classes to study English.

Family 3: Japanese mother Chikako, her husband, Christian, and their two children, Chuck, aged nine, and Clara, aged four, lived in an apartment in eastern Tokyo. Chikako and her husband ran a successful English school in

the area. Christian taught English at high schools and universities as well as helping at his wife's school.

Family 4: Japanese mother Emiko lived with her husband, Edward, and her son, Earl, in her parent's house, which was located in a Tokyo suburb. They moved into the second floor when her young brother moved out. Edward was a professor at a university that was located nearby. Emiko taught English part-time at a high school for a couple of years, but her main job was teaching English to local people, including children, in her home.

Family 5: Japanese mother Fumiko, her husband, Fred, and their daughter, Fiona, age six, lived in western Tokyo. Fred worked for a Japanese company, and Fumiko was a doctoral student at a Japanese women's university.

Family 6: Haruko, Japanese mother, and Herbert, English-speaking father and their son, Harry, aged seven, lived in the western part of Tokyo. Herbert was a university professor and Haruko was a homemaker who quit working after Harry was born.

Family 7: Kikuko, Japanese mother, and Kevin, English-speaking father and two daughters; Kim, ten yeas old, and Kate, eight years old, lived in an area adjacent to Tokyo. Kevin worked for a prestigious Japanese company and Kikuko was a homemaker.

Family 8: Miku and her family: British husband, Michel, and two daughters, Mary and Molly, lived in a fashionable residential area in a suburb

of Tokyo. The daughters were 9 and 14 years old and they studied in an international school. Michel worked as a professor at a Japanese university in Tokyo, and Miku was a homemaker.

Credibility

Davis (1995) stated that establishing research credibility, which can be compared to internal validity, is essential for qualitative studies. Credibility is enhanced by using strategies such as prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential analysis, and/or member checking (Davis, 1995; Denzen & Lincoln, 1994). In the present study, all these strategies except negative case analysis and referential analysis were used to ensure credibility.

Prolonged Engagement and Persistent Observation

According to Davis (1995), duration and frequency are essential to fulfill prolonged engagement and persistent observation (p. 445). In order to meet this requirement, this study was based on informal observation over three years and frequent observation during one year of the participating families. This was sufficient to collect the data for full descriptions of the cases in the early phases, and to set up long-term relationships that, in six of the eight cases, permitted a follow-up study in 2007. The follow-up study contributed to the study's credibility by encouraging long-term reflection. In

at least one case, a respondent who had been thinking about a question originally asked in 2000 finally gave a well-considered answer in 2007.

Triangulation

The second procedure employed to ensure credibility was triangulation. Looking at the participants and the surrounding environment from multiple angles provided a three-dimensional view and more accurate information. Brown (2001) listed seven types of triangulation: data, investigator, theory, methodological, interdisciplinary, time, and location. The present study employed methodological triangulation using multiple data-collecting procedures, observation, interviews, and questionnaires as well as data triangulation, which meant gathering information from multiple sources. For this study, mothers, fathers, and children participated.

Peer Debriefing

The third procedure used to establish credibility was peer debriefing, which is equivalent to investigator triangulation. I explored various research methods, including data collection and analysis techniques, with the cooperation of two research peers. Both were employing qualitative methods in their own dissertations studies at Japanese graduate schools. Data analysis was also carried out with the cooperation of the two research peers. To obtain additional objective points of view, regular feedback was received from

professors that I was consulting with. After transcribing and classifying the interview data, I asked them to read the transcripts and field notes to check the classifications that arose from the data.

Member Checking

Member checks refer data and interpretations back to data sources for correction/verification/challenge (Davis, 1995, p. 437). In order to conduct member checking, I had meetings with my participants individually to verify both my analyses and interpretation of the data.

Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which a study can be generalized or the degree to which results obtained in one setting can be applied to other contexts (Brown, 2001, p. 326). One procedure that increases transferability is providing thick description. Davis (1995) explained that "the interpretive qualitative concept of *thick description* involves an emic perspective, which demands description that includes the actors' interpretations and other social and/or cultural information" (p. 434). I strove to provide enough details from the participants to allow readers to draw the same conclusions when applied to their own situations.

Analysis

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1998), data analysis should be done in two stages: In the first stage, analysis is an ongoing part of the data collection that takes place in the field; in the second stage, analysis occurs after data collection, as the researcher develops, categorizes, and interprets the data.

The use of these procedures during the first period of data collection, which involved observation and unstructured interviews, enabled the focus of the study to be narrowed. Decisions were made concerning the types of techniques to be used in gathering data, and analytic questions were developed both for further observation and in-depth interviews.

After completing the data collection, the descriptive data needed to be catalogued. According to Bogdan and Bilken (1998), the procedures for developing classification categories are, first, to identify regularities and patterns in the data. This was accomplished while I was transcribing information gained in the interviews. The next step was to determine major categories (themes and chapters) and sub-categories. The classifications were then checked with my research peers. Subsequently, the data were reviewed again and classified according to the categories.

Ethical Considerations

Other issues were considered in the areas of participant observation, interviews, and data analysis, including participants' rights, interests, and sensitivities (Principles of Professional Responsibility in Spradley, 1980). I initially provided information concerning informed consent orally and in written form to the participants, as well as information regarding the nature and purpose of the study and the in-depth interview and observation requirements. A questionnaire was distributed and participants were advised of the duration and frequency of the observations and interviews in addition to the possible benefits and risks of participating in the study (Kvale, 1996, p. 112). I also explained that confidentiality was assured and that their data would be kept private. A consent form (Appendix A) was prepared in both Japanese and English and, following an oral explanation of the research aims and their careful reading of the documents, participants were asked to sign it. During the observations and interviews, I took care to ensure the privacy of the participants' data and I checked that the data analysis provided by them was correct.

CHAPTER 4

STORIES OF BILINGUAL FAMILIES

In this chapter, I describe the eight participating families' stories, focusing on their bilingual language, schooling decisions, and other related issues. The observations in this chapter were made in the years 1996-2000.

Family 1: Akiko, Adam, Al, and Agatha

Akiko's family lived in a large condominium located very close to central Tokyo. Akiko and her husband, Adam, an American working for a securities company, had two children, Al and Agatha. Both children went to an international school. Akiko took the children to the school bus stop (about a 10-minute car ride) every morning. She was a full-time homemaker who took care of her family.

Language Use

Akiko and Adam tried to create an English-speaking atmosphere to compensate for the disadvantages their children faced in acquiring the English language since Agatha and Al were born and raised in Japan. They tried to use English as much as possible at home because everything that the children heard from television or neighborhood conversations was in Japanese. Akiko explained which language she uses in her family:

> It was strange and not polite if I spoke English when some friends were around, so I spoke Japanese. Otherwise, with only Al or with the three of us, we tried to use English. I mean we are so keen to bring him up in English since he was the first child. (Interview in Japanese, October, 15, 2000)

Akiko admitted that she used some English words in Japanese sentences or some formulas, trying not to be impolite to the other Japanese in the conversation. She stressed that she tried harder with the bilingual education of Al because he was the first child.

Her husband could speak some Japanese, so they were quite flexible in their language use. It all depended on whom they were talking with. It was the same with the conversations inside their home. When they were talking to a similar bicultural or English family, they spoke English; otherwise, they spoke Japanese. She was not sure why, but this was probably because Adam's Japanese was not as good as Akiko's English.

Akiko tried hard to provide an optimal English-acquiring environment for Al; with that effort, she thought that Japanese would dominate their linguistic environment. She also made an effort to find a playgroup for English-speaking children before Al started kindergarten. She contacted *Gaikokujin zuma no kai*, a nation-wide group of foreign wives married to Japanese men, who organized playgroups to enhance the opportunities for English-speaking or bilingual children residing in Japan to compensate for the lack of English input.

They were very keen to bring up their children as bilinguals, and she thought that her husband shared the same idea, though her husband was more patient than she was.

> I give all the credit to my husband for English education. I don't think I could do the same. But Al started rejecting speaking English after he joined a kindergarten.
> (Interview in Japanese, October 15, 2000)

Although Akiko was interested in her children's English education, her husband was helping because he was even more interested in ensuring that Al acquire English. She believes that her husband was the key person for English education. However, they were concerned that Al started becoming reluctant to respond in English after he started kindergarten.

Al

Al: From a Japanese Kindergarten to an International Kindergarten

Owing to Akiko and Adam's efforts, Al was growing up bilingual. When they needed to consider his preschool education, they thought that it would not be too late to send him to an international school starting in the elementary grades, because the nearest international school was too long a commute for a young child. Therefore, they decided to send him to a private Japanese kindergarten, expecting that they would maintain his English at home.

> Akiko: Al wanted speak Japanese more. We talked to him in English but he responded in Japanese.
> T: To your husband?
> Akiko: Al managed to talk to his dad in English, and then he was beginning to reply in Japanese to his dad as well. Al told me once: "I'm Japanese, mom. I speak Japanese with my friends all day so don't ask me to speak English only at home." He must have found it hard to switch from Japanese to English. (Interview in Japanese, October15, 2000)

What surprised them was that many international schools accept only a few children a year from the elementary level. Eventually, they found a couple of schools that they liked enough to consider moving close to. They decided that Al should take the entrance-screening test at these schools. He passed one school's screening procedure up to the third level, but not the fourth level screening which is a test of a child's English grammar (e.g., the use of third person -*s*). This was probably because Al had not studied English formally. Al had a chance to retake the test, but Adam did not like the way that the school tested his son's English ability. In the meantime, Al was accepted at another school, where Akiko and Adam decided to send him.

Al entered an international kindergarten. He quickly adjusted and made many bilingual friends. He tended to mix with friends who were so-called "doubles"—two nationality children—more than with native speakers of one language. According to Akiko, children in the international school had a tendency to form groups according to their national background. Because of this, when Al was in first grade, his class adviser recommended to Adam and

Akiko that they create more opportunities for him to play with native English-speaking friends.

From S International School to a Local Japanese-speaking School

At the end of the second grade, Adam and Akiko decided to move to a neighbouring prefecture for family reasons. So Al moved out of the S International School and entered the second grade of a local elementary school.

Adam and Akiko were worried about Al adapting to the new Japanese-speaking environment, where all the subjects were taught in Japanese because he had not experienced this before. Even though some of the subjects, such as social studies, science, and mathematics, were not very advanced at the second grade level, Al's Japanese language skills had not reached a satisfactory level for a second grader. In order to catch up with the other students, his new class adviser assigned him some extra practice in written Japanese every day.

In the early stages of his settling down in the new school, Al looked very different from the other students as he had long dyed hair that made him look a bit like a girl; as a result, he was easily accepted as a foreigner. There was a queue to ask for his autograph in his classroom, which pleased him. He gave his autograph in English. In this way, he gradually started to mingle with the other students in his class without experiencing major difficulties.

The classes were shuffled when he moved to the third grade. In the new class, Al was bullied by some very strong girls who ridiculed his ponytail and long hair. In his second-grade class, his differences had been taken positively, but now his foreignness was not accepted.

Al was not physically or psychologically weaker than any of the other children in the bullying group. Akiko saw the bullies teasing him on the way home for several days in a row. Al's response was to chase the girls and boys individually in order to confront the bullying. After returning home from the incident, he told his mother that all the problems were solved.

Agatha

The central interest and concern for Akiko and Adam after Al was born was his English education. They did everything possible to create the best language environment for Al. However, Akiko admits that they did not spend a great amount of energy or time for their daughter's English education. Agatha had a good deal of English input in her environment by having Al's friends around. They were all native English speakers from his international school. Because she was acquiring English naturally without much support from her parents, Akiko and Adam started to believe that it might be easier for their second child to acquire a second language. They decided to send Agatha to a local Japanese speaking kindergarten for two years: *nensyo* (for three-and four-year-olds) and *nenchu* (for four-and five-year-olds).

Just before Agatha's last year of kindergarten, Akiko and Adam thought about moving her from the Japanese-speaking kindergarten to a partially English-speaking kindergarten to give her a better bilingual environment. But they wondered if it was a good idea to take Agatha out of the kindergarten where she had spent two years with her favorite teachers and friends. Akiko studied the curriculum carefully to choose the best level of English for Agatha. Considering, for example, the amount of English input Agatha could have in the new kindergarten for a year, Akiko and Adam made a decision to move Agatha to the new language environment.

In this kindergarten, the teachers, who were native speakers of English, conducted all the activities in English. However, the children were also assigned one activity in Japanese as an extra-curricular activity after class.

An American Home Schooling Program for Al and Agatha

While their children were attending school in Japan, Al and Agatha started a home schooling program developed by a well-known American elementary school to maintain Al's English so that he could rejoin an international school when the family moved back to Tokyo. After school, Al was supposed to do the home schooling for about three hours per day. His father was in charge of the program, so he spent three hours every day instructing Al. When his father had to go on a business trip, he recorded the instruction on tapes. (He even knew when Al became sleepy, so he would

record “Al, wake up!” on the tape). Since Al had not passed the fourth screening for the first international school, Adam felt it was his responsibility to teach his children his language.

Moving Back to a Metropolitan Area

Although Al and Agatha felt that American home schooling was a great help in improving their reading and writing, Adam and Akiko started thinking that maintaining both home and school programs for Al would be difficult, and that home schooling alone would be insufficient to maintain their children’s English ability. Therefore, they considered moving back to Tokyo again for the children’s education.

Initially, they wished to move back to the western area of the city where they had lived before, so Al could go back to the international school that he had attended before they moved. However, they also needed to consider the bilingual education needs of Agatha, who was in the third grade of elementary school.

The Cost of Education

To transfer Al to S International School and Agatha to an international school would cost 4 million yen a year just for tuition. Many parents who send their children to an international school receive subsidies for education and housing costs from the father’s company. Without company subsidies, it

was too risky to make a commitment to send two children to the expensive International School.

On top of the tuition, the cost of housing needed to be considered. If Adam and Akiko looked for a location that would be conveniently close to S International School, the size of the apartment that they could afford would be too small for four people to live comfortably.

What Akiko and Adam said in the interview shows how determined they were that their children would have a bilingual education. Akiko said, "S International School is worth moving house to bring up our kids bilingual for their future."

When they took into account all of the factors that they felt were important, one school, K International School, was left on the their list. It was located in the eastern part of Tokyo, where they could afford an apartment with a reasonable amount of space. The tuition was also reasonable; they could send two children to that school for one child's tuition fee at S International School. As for the level and quality of education that K International School offered, it was quite comparable to the other international schools in Japan. They made the decision to send both of their children to K International School, and they bought an apartment in the area where K International School was located. Unlike some of the other international schools, the school did not emphasize Japanese language education because they employed the International Baccalaureate course

curriculum. What concerned Akiko and Adam was that both children began to lose their ability to write Japanese, as the school did not teach Japanese. As a result, they started thinking about changing their children's school to one that offered Japanese language education.

After long consideration and discussion with their children, Akiko and Adam decided to move their two children out of the K International School. Al wanted to go back to S International School, and Agatha expressed a preference for a local Japanese school. Their parents agreed with both children's decisions. Al and Agatha were both pleased because they could go to the schools that they chose.

Akiko's Beliefs Concerning Bilingual Education

Akiko talked about her strong beliefs about her children's bilingual education:

> English is an international language … English is extremely important in the world today. If my children can't learn English, taking advantage of father being a native speaker, that is my responsibility. I think, bringing up *double* kids bilingual is the parents' role. (Interview in Japanese, October 15, 2000)

Akiko believed that educating the children in English was the parents' role, because Al and Agatha did not choose their parents or choose to be *double kids*. In her interviews, Akiko repeatedly said, "I want my children to go over to the other side; being a good speaker of English is not good enough."

For Akiko's children to become good speakers of English was not enough for her. It was important that they became *native speakers* of English. She said that her experiences living in the United States had convinced her of this idea because she had had a difficult time as a non-native speaker of English there.

> I think the Japanese educational system is *kanri kyoiku* (custodial education), I don't want my children to be controlled by the Japanese government, what they want the children to be.
> (Interview in Japanese, October15, 2000)

Akiko's term, *kanri kyoiku,* implies that schools control students too much, with a disregard for freedom. The reason for educating Al and Agatha in an international school was not only to achieve bilingualism; Akiko also believed that the Japanese educational system was designed to control children's knowledge and their way of looking at the world. In her interviews, Akiko repeated these ideas often.

Akiko believed that her children could learn Japanese by living in Japan. Even if their Japanese ability was not native, that was fine with Akiko as long as she could communicate with them in Japanese.

Akiko's Experience with English

Akiko's grandparents had migrated from Japan to the Philippines, where they ran a restaurant. Although her mother and her aunt were born there, they returned to Japan when Akiko's mother was three years old due to

World War II. Her grandmother spoke Tagalog very well. Her aunt, who was older than her mother, learned to speak English and Tagalog before they left the Philippines. Her family used some English and Tagalog words at home and this was the first contact with a foreign culture that Akiko remembers. Following their return to Japan, her aunt worked as an interpreter at an American army base near Tokyo. Akiko said,

> The things such as chocolate that my aunt gave me were fantastic. I thought that America was a great country. On top of that, I longed for her look and her atmosphere of an American woman. (Interview in Japanese, October15, 2000)

She told me that the sophisticated atmosphere of her aunt, and the American chocolate influenced her to become fond of English after she started studying it in junior high school.

When Akiko was a junior high school student, she listened to an English program called *Hyakumannin no Eigo,* "English for a million people." She could hear native speakers using English there. One of the program's bilingual English teachers, Yoko Nomura, made a big impression on her. However, after she started high school, she lost interest in English. "It seemed to me that the teachers were making English grammar difficult on purpose as if the teachers were saying that English was not interesting. Until then I liked English, but I started to think that English was difficult and bothersome," she explained. She was also fond of studying Japanese language and literature,

and as she lost her interest in English, her interest in the Japanese language increased again.

When it came time to choose a university and a major, Akiko's father selected a university for her, and advised her to major in English, as this would give her more opportunities to obtain a better job than studying Japanese literature. However, she found it very difficult to learn English vocabulary and grammar when she was preparing for the university entrance examination. She thought that it might be more enjoyable and easier to study Japanese literature than English, which was not her strong subject at that time. Therefore, Akiko decided to major in Japanese literature at the university.

She knew very well that in the Japan of the 1970's, majoring in Japanese literature at a four-year college did not provide very many job opportunities for Japanese female university students. While female students who were studying at junior colleges obtained prestigious jobs like those at the first rate *shosha* trading companies, the best job she could hope for was to work for a publishing company where she would start by serving tea, a Japanese convention for newcomers. As female employees at publishing companies pursued their careers, they might be lucky enough to be allowed to write articles. As this was not what she hoped to do as a university graduate, Akiko spent a lot of time thinking about her future. During this time, one of her high school friends started thinking about going to the United States to study. Her friend's idea stuck in Akiko's mind. She thought,

> If I could speak English, I could become a flight attendant after graduation. I thought that would be better than becoming *Ochakumi*, a person who serves tea in an office. I thought if I could speak English, I might have better and wider job opportunities. (Interview in Japanese, October15, 2000)

She asked her parents for their permission to study at an American university, fully expecting to be rejected. Much to her surprise, her mother granted her request.

She explained her plans and objectives to her parents for studying in the United States. She was planning to enter an ESL course at a university for nine months to improve her English in order to take the JAL (Japan Airlines) flight attendant test. She thought that she could stay in the United States for nine months at most because she was approaching the age limit to take the examination for flight attendants. She left for the United States after taking a leave of absence from her university in her third year. Some former Japanese flight attendants told Akiko that being a flight attendant was not as attractive a job as she thought. It was not rewarding and was very hard work. That was enough to change her mind. While she was in the United States, she also met the man who would become her husband.

Summary of Akiko and Adam's Family

Akiko wanted her children to become native speakers of English, by which she meant not just being "fluent in English." When she was studying in

the United States, she learned that, no matter how hard she studied English, she could not get past the wall between "non-native speaker" and "native speaker of English."

Adam was also determined to raise his children bilingually. He believed that mothers, in general, worked hard for their children's education. He believed that what made the difference between success and failure was the father's effort. As a result, he placed first priority on the children's education. The family even moved their house to provide an optimal English environment to Al.

Family 2: Beniko, Benjamin, Bart, and Barbara

Beniko lived with her husband, Benjamin, and their two children, Barbara, aged eleven, and Bart, aged nine, in a coastal town in Chiba prefecture, about 70 minutes from central Tokyo by train. The vast majority of the area's population is Japanese. Generally, families with children in the area are motivated to have them learn English. Benjamin taught English at two high schools in Tokyo, and ran English conversation classes for children and adults in a town adjacent to Tokyo. He and Beniko also taught English classes for local children in their home. Some of Barbara and Bart's friends came to these classes to study English.

Language Use

Beniko and Benjamin usually communicated in English, and Benjamin spoke English to his children. Barbara and Bart had been taught to speak English with their father at home and outside of the house. When their father was home, they all spoke English. This was one of the rules that they made for language use in their family.

When their daughter Barbara was born in the United States, they decided to bring her up bilingual. While in the United States, they were not worried about the amount of English input that she received, but when she returned to Japan, Beniko was concerned about the influence of Japanese, and was determined to create an English atmosphere at home. Therefore, even Beniko spoke only English at home with her daughter, who at that time was two years old. They watched English television programs and videos, read only English books, and listened to NHK English programs. She tried to avoid speaking Japanese inside the house. When Barbara turned three, Beniko and Benjamin started to search for a good kindergarten for her. They decided to send Barbara to a private bilingual kindergarten. It was not a so-called international kindergarten; it was a kindergarten mainly for Japanese children who would spend some hours speaking English. She could not speak Japanese well because she had been raised in an English-speaking atmosphere, but when she started spending most of the day with Japanese friends in

kindergarten, she started learning Japanese. At the beginning of this study she used both languages, although Japanese was the weaker of the two.

When Barbara was two years old, her younger bother Bart was born. Beniko tried to spend as much time with Bart's English education as she had with Barbara, but she admitted that she was too tired to make the same effort with her son. However, Bart managed to make satisfactory progress with English because he was surrounded only by English speakers before joining a group of Japanese children. Although he could not speak Japanese when he started kindergarten, as soon as he adapted to the Japanese-speaking atmosphere, Japanese became his dominant language. It was as if he had forgotten English completely.

Benjamin spoke English with his children even around their friends and he switched to Japanese around their Japanese friends. As Bart's Japanese proficiency increased, he tried hard to communicate with his father in English, but the proportion of time spent speaking Japanese was increasing.

When their father was not present, however, the children tended to speak Japanese. Beniko tried to speak English to her children as well, but because their proficiency in English was different, she used English and Japanese equally with her daughter, and used Japanese more than English with her son. Barbara sometimes used English with Bart, but Bart always spoke Japanese to his sister. Both children went to a local elementary school. Most of their friends were Japanese monolingual children.

Television and Videos

Beniko allowed the children to watch only English television programs such as Sesame Street and other bilingual programs. They watched Sky Perfect, which is a satellite broadcast providing many bilingual programs such as those on the Cartoon Network. The children also watched English videos, which were bought in the United States, to control language input from the mass media.

When both children started elementary school, they wanted to watch Japanese television cartoon programs like Pocket Monsters in order to have common topics to discuss with their classmates. Although Beniko allowed them to watch a limited number of Japanese programs, she made it a rule that they could not watch violent cartoons and the television had to be turned off when they were eating a meal together. Beniko believed that was unacceptable for her children to watch television just to kill time.

As for watching movies, at the beginning of the study they watched only English movies. Beniko thought that the children did not think about watching movies in Japanese because they had been watching movies in English since they were babies.

Struggling with Acquiring Two Language

The interview extract below reflects Beniko's inner struggle on both language acquisition and language use in her family.

T: Do you speak English when there are four members of your family together?
Beniko: Always in English.
T: You speak English at home all the time. What about when you are outside home?
B: When Benjamin is not with us, we speak Japanese.
T: Outside as well?
B: Well, ah-outside, well, and inside as well. After all, we use more Japanese inside and outside of our house these days.
T: Inside the house, too?
B: Ah~, not 100% English, now.
T: You mean to mix up two languages outside the house, using more Japanese, and outside the house…
B: Of course Japanese. But they know it is a must-rule that they have to speak English with their father. They keep it up for 100% anytime everywhere they are.
T: What about when they are playing with their friends?
B: Yes, of course in English even if there are their friends, the children speak in English with their father. Their friends acknowledge it. Nobody feels out of place speaking English at all. Everybody is used to it.
T: Benjamin speaks Japanese to their friends and speaks English to your children.
B: English. Yes, my husband and children use English all the time to communicate with each other. I mean our daughter… So the son, well communication or something… a little bit, or not at all, well… (long pause) (laugh) He cannot speak English… He ends up speaking Japanese.
T: Bart speaks in Japanese with his father? His father replies in English?
B: In English. Bart tries really hard to say anything he can in English, but as we can imagine there are some things he can't say in English. He has to rely on Japanese … yes."
T: The same thing happens outside the house?
B: Yes, all the same, not different at all. Yes, well.
T: The same inside and outside the house.
B: To their father.
T: They use Japanese outside the house or they mix up two languages?
B: They mix up. Inside the house, too. Now… (laugh) To me. More Japanese? Perhaps.
T: I think there is their father, they basically speak in English, right?
B: Yes, of course, in English. They think it's natural to speak English. So they speak English to their father all the time. Yes, it's the same even now.

> B: But my son … after all, either language is … at this stage, so he needs to acquire either Japanese or English, the other language is not acquired? Well, neither language is O.K. well, ah (laughing). (Interview in Japanese, November 5, 2000)

Beniko had believed that becoming bilingual was a "must" for her and her husband after Barbara was born. However, according to the interview extract shown above, she was struggling between the ideal bilingual environment and the degree of achievement she was planning with her husband, and the reality; Bart had not been able to keep up with their plans. Her description of the bilingual environment went like this: "Both children speak English all the time either inside or outside of the house. When Benjamin is not in the conversation, they use Japanese. But they always speak English with their father inside and outside the house even when their friends are there." Beniko admitted, "Only Barbara can communicate in English with her father well but Bart struggles to get his message across, and he uses more Japanese even with his father these days." Finally, she started talking about Bart's linguistic problems.

Barbara and Bart

Because Barbara was the first child, Beniko and Benjamin were enthusiastic about her bilingual education. Accomplishing their plans to have an optimal linguistic environment was easy because she was born in the United States and spent the first two years there. When the time came to

return to Japan, they were worried about creating a good bilingual environment in Japan. Their worry was unnecessary. Barbara started to acquire the two languages almost simultaneously. She started to speak English after her first birthday in the United States and after she came to Japan at the age of two, she immediately started acquiring Japanese easily. Even after she started attending a local Japanese-speaking elementary school, her code switching was satisfactory. She created a world of English and Japanese for herself.

Bart, on the other hand, was speaking only English until he entered kindergarten. Soon after he joined a group of Japanese children, his language shifted from English to Japanese. After that Bart showed symptoms of semi-lingualism. He could not communicate perfectly either in English or in Japanese. His explanation for not being able to speak English as fluently as his sister was that Barbara was born in the United States and she is American, but he was born in Japan. Barbara disagreed that her English was fluent just because she was born in America. However, she did not deny that she was American. In fact, she was very pleased that she was called "American." Bart's ability to write *kanji* (Chinese characters) was particularly lagging behind that of other children in his age group. His pretext for this was that he was *Eigo-jin*, an English-speaking person, so he did not need to study Chinese characters as Japanese did. Beniko's concern was that he made an excuse for the fact that neither language was his native tongue.

Summer School

Every year, Beniko's family spent one month in the United States during the summer holiday to make up for the lack of English input in Japan. For the last two summers before 1970, Barbara and Bart attended a summer school in the United States that was organized for children who were behind in their regular classes. The school was also designed to be fun and was very enjoyable for both Barbara and Bart.

Barbara's Worry

On the first day before leaving for the summer school site, Barbara was very nervous and worried about joining an unfamiliar group of children in the United States. Although she believed that she was American and could speak English, she was aware that she was different from Americans living in the United States. She also worried that her English was not as fluent as a "real American." After spending the first week at the summer school, Barbara became accustomed to the summer school surroundings and started to enjoy the activities with new friends.

The Summer School Program

The atmosphere of the American summer school was very relaxing and homey. The program itself was designed to be expansive; there was a tea

break around 10:00 am and long breaks between classes. The program consisted of Mathematics, English, Art, Music, and other classes that regular schools have. The students enjoyed making various crafts in art class everyday that they brought home to show their parents. One of the special characteristics of the program was the field trips. On the field trips, the children were able to enjoy activities such as bowling, canoeing, day camping, and swimming in the lakes. Barbara and Bart liked the summer school because of these activities, which they rarely experienced in Japan.

After one summer at the summer school, Barbara and Bart had met good teachers and made some good friends. They went to the same summer school the following year and found some of the same teachers and friends there. This made the summer school more enjoyable, and visiting the United States a more meaningful yearly event. They felt that one month was very short and they looked forward to going to the United States every summer to attend the summer school. Beniko thought that Bart's English ability was not good enough to participate in activities with children who were native speakers of English. However, helped by the physical activities, Bart did not feel that he had many difficulties communicating with other children in the same class.

The curricula in American summer schools vary depending on the grade and the location of the school. Beniko heard that some summer schools were focused on intensive academic study and that others were designed to give

children an enjoyable time while helping them improve their weaker school subjects. She felt that she was lacking information on the curricula of summer schools, and she was interested in researching different programs in different areas.

Beniko's Beliefs about Bilingual Education

Repeatedly in her interviews Beniko said, "Becoming bilingual for my children is a must for me and my husband. It's not a choice." While they were in the United States, she did not have any doubt that Barbara was growing up able to speak English. However, after they came back to Japan when Barbara was two years old, Beniko became determined to raise her to be bilingual. She clamed that it was her responsibility as a mother to provide her children with an English environment, even if it was not sufficient, to compensate for the lack of input by their father, who often did not return home before their bedtimes.

She also believed that they should take advantage of having a native speaker of English at home.

> Japanese people are keen to practice English with native speakers, people are envious to have a native speaker at home, so if my children don't learn English, it's *mottainai*.
> (Interview in Japanese, November 5, 2000)

She said *mottainai* several times in her interviews, indicating that it would be a tremendous pity if her children failed to acquire good English from the better environment they had, compared to other Japanese families.

Beniko's Experience with English: Wanting to Be Better than Mom

Beniko first studied English at a junior high school in Tokyo. Although she was excited about studying a foreign language when she started, English turned out to be her weak subject. Her test scores were not as good as she had expected. In addition, she started falling behind in the class and losing confidence. When her mother saw her struggling, she told her, "I loved studying English and was good at it. Why are you so bad at English?" That was a shocking criticism for Beniko. She said to herself, "My mother did it. Why can't I do as well as my mother did?" After this, in the second semester of her first year, she began considering attending a cram school. Her mother found a cram school near their house, and Beniko agreed to go to there to catch up with her English class. She studied English grammar with a Japanese English teacher, but she thought that the teacher was elderly and the lessons were not particularly interesting. However, she gradually started understanding the English lessons at school.

Beniko did not enjoy "school English," but she enjoyed listening to the radio English programs on NHK (National Radio Broadcasting) and those on FEN (Far East Network). Among all the programs that she listened to, she

particularly liked *Kiso Eigo* (Basic English), which was one of the NHK English programs for junior high school students. She wanted to become like Kumiko Torigai, one of the teachers in the program, who was a simultaneous interpreter. She thought that it would be wonderful to use both English and Japanese freely as she did, and to be able to communicate with many people worldwide.

Beniko took an interest in American and other cultures. She tried to study other languages such as French and Spanish by listening to radio programs on NHK. However, she preferred English. She said, "English sounded best to my ear." Eventually, she began to think about studying in the United States. In her second year of high school, her dream came true. Her parents gave her permission to apply for a scholarship to study in the United States for one year. She was accepted by an American organization.

The first thing Beniko realized in the United States was that the English that she studied in Japan was different from what she heard in the United States. Everything she saw and heard was new to her. The one-year stay in the United States was a pleasurable experience. She stressed that she learned a great deal because she went abroad when she was young. She learned new expressions and words very quickly. Moreover, she still remembered them. She believed that it would have been a very different experience if she had gone there later in life.

While in the United States, Beniko had no contact with any Japanese. After six months, she called her parents in Japan. No Japanese words came out of her mouth because she had not used any for six months. She did not lose her mother tongue, of course, but she could not produce sentences to express her ideas and the marvellous experience she was having. She was also afraid to lose the one language she was not using. Since that time, she believed that if that she wanted to keep a language, it had to be used constantly.

After returning to Japan, Beniko found a job working for an English conversation school. One of her friends arranged a date for her with one of the teachers working there and that was how she met her husband.

Summary of Beniko and Benjamin's Family

Beniko had a strong belief concerning her children's language education; becoming bilingual was a "must" for her children. Beniko was motivated to study English because she wanted to become better than her mother at using English. Once she became interested in English, her role model was Kumiko Torigai, who appeared on an English radio program. Beniko also applied numerous strategies to help her children learn English. She had a strict rule that the children could watch only English videos and TV programs. What they also did to make an optimal language environment was to take the children to the United States every year for a summer day camp.

Family 3: Chikako, Christian, Chuck, and Clara

Chikako lived with her husband, Christian, and their two children, Chuck, aged nine, and Clara, aged four, in an apartment on the east side of Tokyo. Chuck was born in Spain and the family moved to eastern Tokyo when Chuck was one year old. Until Clara was born, they lived with Chikako's parents, and Chikako's brother and aunt who spoke only Japanese. When the study began they were living in their own house near Chikako's parents' house. Christian is a native speaker of English and also speaks fluent Spanish as well as conversational Japanese. Chikako is a native speaker of Japanese and a fluent English speaker.

Chikako and her husband ran a successful English school in the area. In addition, her husband also taught at a high school. Their son went to a local elementary school, and their daughter went to a local kindergarten. They considered sending their son to an international school when he was five years old. However, at that time, all the international schools were located in central Tokyo or western Tokyo. They gave up the idea because they lived in eastern Tokyo and both worked in the area. After their daughter was born, an international school opened in eastern Tokyo within commuting distance, so they could foresee sending their children to that international school in the future.

Language Use

Chikako and Christian tried to maximize the English input that their children received at home by communicating in English frequently. Christian always spoke English to their children. Chikako also tried to use English with their children, but usually she spoke more Japanese than English to them. Their son, Chuck, always spoke English to his father, and Japanese most of the time to his mother. Their daughter, Clara, always communicated with her mother in Japanese. She was encouraged to speak English with her father, but because she learned Japanese from her brother, she tended to use Japanese when speaking to her father more than Chuck did.

Chikako and Christian had the same home language policy. They wanted to create the best language acquisition environment for their children, but they believed that it should be natural rather than artificial.

Television, Videos and Books

As a part of the home language policy, Chikako did not allow the children to watch Japanese television programs because they watched Japanese TV programs at their grandparent's house as much as they wished. However, after the children began socializing with their friends at kindergarten, they wanted to watch the Japanese programs that their friends watched so that they could join in their conversations. Knowing that, Chikako allowed them to watch a limited number of programs every week. Although

Chikako only allowed them to watch English videos at home, they knew that they could ask their father to watch Japanese videos, as he was not as strict as their mother.

Chikako and Christian bought all the books that they read to their children in the United States when they took an annual trip back home. Christian's parents also sent books as presents. This was a home language policy in Chikako's family: to read only English books. However, Chuck went to a local elementary school, so he brought back some Japanese books that he borrowed from the school library and Clara enjoyed reading these books together with her brother. Christian read English books to the children before they went to bed and Chikako read to them in Japanese.

Other Language Input

Chuck used to go to one of the English classes his parents ran, but when the study began he had found it difficult to study with his father. Meanwhile, the daughter still enjoyed the class with her father. The son also used English workbooks bought in the United States. Most of the children's friends were Japanese monolinguals. However, they occasionally met the children from international families. In order for their children to have native English input, Chikako's family spent at least one month in the United States where her husband's family lived. In the summer following the first interviews, they were planning to send their children to a summer camp in the United States.

Chikako's Beliefs About Bilingual Education

Chikako wanted her children to become bilingual naturally. She did not force her children to learn two languages equally. However, she believed that there were more important things to emphasize in her children's education. First, it was important that they find their special ability or dreams and pursue them. She also thought that they should speak perfect Japanese because they lived in Japan. From her experience, she also believed that English could be learned even if one started late, but one had to start to study Japanese at a very early age to become a native speaker of that language. For example, she thought that to be able to appreciate a drama such as *Mitokomon* (a well-known Japanese Samurai drama) one had to be fully immersed in Japanese culture. She did not want her children to be immersed in American culture and the English language at the expense of their Japanese culture and language. She believed that she was the only person in her family who could bequeath Japanese culture and language to her children.

Chikako's Experience with English: Raised to be a Fluent Flight Attendant

Chikako's father was interested in languages, particularly French, because he used that language for his business. Chikako remembered that her father struggled to learn French vocabulary by sticking vocabulary cards all over their house. He hoped to make a good environment for his children so they would become fluent in foreign languages because he had had such a

hard time learning French. Her father wanted Chikako to become a flight attendant, which was the symbol of English fluency for Japanese people of her father's age. He tried to give her positive images of flight attendants directly and indirectly by taking her to the airport and talking about the job. Chikako believed that she decided to grow up to be a flight attendant when she was very young because of her father's influence.

Chikako's father also took her to many kinds of international exhibitions, and provided her with English tapes when she was an elementary school student. In her first summer of junior high school, her father took Chikako and her brother to an English camp in Guam. She liked it so much that she started thinking of going to an international high school. Chikako's father wanted to send his children to an international school, but this dream did not become a reality. When Chikako had to decide which high school to apply for, she believed that her father would permit her to go to an international high school or even abroad. However, her family opposed the idea of an international school. In the end, she agreed to go to a Japanese high school on the condition that it was to be followed by an American university. The high school that she entered had a music course; this is where she became interested in music, particularly singing. She gave up the idea of becoming a flight attendant, and decided to go to an American university to study music. When she entered a university in the United States, Chikako was not able to get a score of 550 on the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language), so

she had to take an intensive English course for three months before starting her undergraduate coursework. After she was accepted into the undergraduate music course, she became aware of a huge gap between Japanese and American musical standards. She lost her confidence in singing and dancing, and decided to return to Japan without completing the course. Although she lost hope of pursuing her chosen career, while she was in the United States something very important happened to her. Her host family introduced her to an American man who became a close friend.

After she came back from the United States, she got a job working as a tour guide, which involved taking Japanese tourists to foreign countries. She had difficulty with her Japanese at this job. Her boss suggested that she practice polite Japanese and study Japanese history to be a better guide. As a student, she had disliked studying anything Japanese including the Japanese language. She had a good knowledge of world history because she had always been interested in Western countries, but little knowledge of Japanese history. Still, she made a great effort to improve her Japanese and gain more knowledge of Japanese history and culture while she was working as a tour guide.

Summary of Chikako and Christian's Family

Chikako's father brought her up to become fluent in English. Later in her life, she discovered that she had ignored acquiring some aspects of the

Japanese language and culture because of her interest in Western culture. Learning from her experience, she wanted to keep a balance of both cultures when raising her children. Chikako wanted her children become bilingual naturally; however, she and Christian controlled the videos and TV programs that their children could watch. They allowed the children to watch only English programs, knowing that the children watched Japanese programs freely at their grandparents' house. As for schooling, because they lived quite far from international schools, they sent their children to local Japanese schools. That complex situation was what they meant when they said that they were raising the children bilingual in a natural way.

Family 4: Emiko, Edward, and Earl

Emiko lived with her husband, Edward, and her son, Earl, in her parent's house in a Tokyo suburb. They had moved to the second floor when her younger brother moved out. Edward was a professor at a nearby university, and Emiko taught English part time at a high school for a few years, but her main job was teaching English to local people, including children, in her home.

Language Use

Emiko was fluent in English and she said in her interviews and questionnaire that she always spoke English to her husband and son. She also

communicated in English with Japanese/English bilingual friends, and she used English with bilingual Japanese friends unless they spoke Japanese to her, or she mixed the two languages with whomever she spoke. She watched television programs and videos, and read books and magazines in both languages in Japan, whereas she listened to music and the radio only in English.

Her husband, Edward, said that he spoke English to Emiko and his son, and more English than Japanese to his bilingual speaking English friends. He communicated with bilingual Japanese friends equally in both languages. He always read books and newspapers in English, but he watched television and movies in Japanese too.

Their son, Earl, always spoke in English to his father, mother, and grandparents in the United States. He communicated in Japanese with his friends at the international school he was attending and in English and Japanese equally in the classroom. However, once outside the classroom, he spoke mainly Japanese with his friends. He watched television and videos and read books and comics in English more than in Japanese, and he always listened to music in English.

Schooling

Earl was born in 1989 in a suburb of Tokyo. He attended a local kindergarten. He started practicing the alphabet with his mother from a very

early age, and after he mastered it, he began working on English workbooks for native speakers his own age that his mother had bought in the United States. His mother read to him from both English books and Japanese books every day, so he started reading English books by himself later on. Although he could read English books, Emiko thought that teaching him writing was very strenuous for both of them. After Earl entered a local elementary school, she decided to have him go to *Kumon*[1] where he could practice simple English sentences, words, and calculations repeatedly. He had to do school homework, Kumon English and Mathematics, as well as English workbooks that he had already been doing.

Kumon

Earl was initially reluctant to do the *Kumon* lessons because that meant that he had to do extra studying, but Earl began to like it very much after he realized he was better at it than other English students. In English class at *Kumon*, the students practiced pronunciation with magnetic cards that had English words written on them; however, the teacher asked Earl to model these English words because his pronunciation was so close to native. That was another thing that Earl liked about *Kumon*. What also encouraged him was if a student's level was two academic years ahead in a subject, he could

[1] Kumon is a franchise cram school, with locations throughout Japan. The school teaches mathematics, Japanese, and English. Students are given worksheets weekly to complete at home.

be a member of "G League," where he would be invited to participate in various special events. For these reasons, Earl continued *Kumon* until he changed from his elementary school to an international school at the beginning of fourth grade in April.

The Decision to Transfer to an International School

At first Emiko and Edward did not think about sending Earl to an international school. When Emiko found out that one of her friends had decided to transfer her son to an international school, she started to think, without consulting her husband, that it might be possible for her to transfer Earl to the international school, and that neither the distance nor cost would be a problem. When Emiko told him of her plans, Edward's had a negative reaction. He thought that it was too expensive and too far away from where they lived. At that time, they were planning to go back to the United States in two years, so it was a reasonable argument to transfer Earl to an international school to prepare him for studies in English. Emiko also confessed that she had grown tired of educating him in two languages, and that it was a great burden for her. They decided to have an interview at M International School after Earl finished the third grade at the local elementary school.

It was a traumatic experience for Earl to have an interview with the principal and to take a test on the first day at the school. A couple of teachers together with the principal sat down in front of Earl and his parents and asked

him some basic questions in English. This was not difficult for Earl because his oral ability was sufficient. He was then asked to take a short written test, which was mainly focused on reading and vocabulary, in the next room, by himself. After the test, a teacher came into the room where Earl and his parents were waiting and explained the results. The teacher who conducted the written test said that spelling was his weakness. He was asked to write words such as *coat*, *boat*, and *boa*. Because he was so nervous about not remembering how to spell, Earl was almost crying. He was then taken to class for the first time to meet his classmates. When he came back from the trial lesson, he was almost crying again, but his mother told him how wonderful it would be to come to this school; he could have McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and long summer vacations. Earl started to smile and said, "Yes, mommy I like this school." It was very easy to persuade Earl!

Earl came back from his first day of class crying and told his mother that he did not want to go to school again. He said to her, "I'm the most stupid one in the class. I cried a lot secretly at school." He could not understand what the teacher was saying, so his responses were slower than the other students. Earl's grades had been above average in the local Japanese elementary school, so he was shocked at his first experience in an international school. Even though he was crying and saying that he did not want to go back to the school again, he knew he had to. Although this hardship continued for three days, he overcame it.

Emiko's Experience with English

When Emiko was small, her mother, who used to be a high school English teacher, had used a great deal of English at home. There were sufficient English materials for children such as tapes, records, and books available around her. Her aunt, who lived nearby, also brought lots of English materials to add to the collection. Emiko remembers that she had been exposed to English input every day at home although she was brought up in an ordinary Japanese family. Emiko remembers her mother saying, "Wash your hands" in English when she came back from school every day.

Kyoiku Mama

Emiko's mother had been very strict with her children's education. She was a *kyoiku mama* (education mama). She spent a great deal of money and time on her children's education. Emiko started to go to one of the most difficult cram schools to prepare for junior high school examinations from the end of fourth grade of elementary school. She commuted to the cram school three times a week, taking a train that took one hour or more one way. On days when she did not go to cram school, she had to study for several hours at home to prepare for examinations. Her mother hired a tutor to come to her house to help her with her homework. When the tutor was not teaching her, her mother was sitting right next to her to answer the questions she had. Following the cram school regulations, she also had to take a Sunday test so

her achievement could be assessed using the *hensachi z*-score (standard deviation *z*-score). At the end of the sixth grade, Emiko took the entrance examination for a very competitive women's junior high school in Tokyo. She passed.

Emiko remembers that her mother was a perfectionist. When the score on her English test was 95, her mother was unhappy. Because her mother expected Emiko to obtain perfect scores, even after she went to junior high school, the tutoring by professional teachers continued: Emiko's mother for English, and her father for mathematics, until the end of high school. One of her parents always sat next to her when she studied. She was not worried about not understanding the schoolwork because she could ask somebody when she needed help. Her mother knew what she was studying at school and when the tests were scheduled. Emiko completely relied on her parents academically.

Emiko's mother controlled what television programs she and her brother could watch. She allowed them to watch only educational programs. They could not read comics in front of their mother. Their mother taught English privately for local people at night as well as at a junior high school. She asked Emiko's grandparents to look after her and her brother while she was teaching. That was the time they could watch television programs and read comic magazines freely.

Later in Emiko's life, her mother told her that she regretted that she left her children with their grandparents while she was teaching English for hours, and that she did not always have supper with them. She also said that good mothers should stay with their children all the time and always have supper together. She regretted that her children did not grow up as she expected because she did not do what a "good mother" should have done. However, from Emiko's point of view, that was the only time when she could relax. It was a very precious moment in her day when she could do what she wanted without her mother's control. She thought that she could not have survived otherwise.

Summary of Emiko and Edward's Family

Emiko was fluent in English and spoke English with Edward and Earl all the time, wherever they were. Emiko herself was brought up in an environment in which her mother provided a lot of English input. Her mother was very strict with Emiko, forcing her to study other school subjects as well as English. In bringing up Earl, Emiko thought that she was repeating the same thing that her mother had done to educate her. However, she became tired of teaching English and other subjects at home, so Emiko and Edward decided to change Earl's school from a local one to an international school.

Family 5: Fumiko, Fred, and Fiona

Fumiko lived with her American husband, Fred, and their daughter, Fiona, age 6, on the west side of Tokyo, near an American military base. Her mother had liked studying English very much and Fumiko studied at the same high school as her mother. Fumiko also attended an English-speaking club, of which they were both members. Her mother also appreciated European culture and had traveled to several countries in Europe. Fred and Fumiko met in Tokyo when Fred was working for a Japanese company and Fumiko was a graduate school student.

Language Use

Fumiko and Fred communicated mainly in English. Fred also used English with his daughter, Fiona, most of the time. Fiona tried hard to speak with her father in English. However, Fumiko and Fiona always communicated in Japanese. Fumiko said, “I want to speak with my daughter in Japanese. Japanese is my soul language.” She said that she did not follow the theory of “one parent one language.” Fumiko and Fred attempt to create a natural language-acquiring environment for Fiona although they understood the importance of Fiona’s acquiring her father’s language.

Television, Videos, and Books

Fumiko tried to create a natural environment in terms of the audio-visual programs and books that Fiona encountered. Fumiko and Fred bought Japanese and English videos and books in equal numbers so Fiona could choose whatever she would like to watch or read. Fumiko admitted that she tended to display English videos, like Disney stories, in places where Fiona could find them more easily than Japanese videos. Fiona watched Japanese and English videos and TV programs about equally. However, she read more Japanese books than English books, and she listened to more Japanese than English.

Fumiko's Mother's Impact on Her Life

Fumiko was greatly influenced by her mother. She was impressed by one story in particular from her mother's childhood. She had refused the chocolates offered by American soldiers during the occupation period. Her mother had wished to preserve her Japanese pride and Fumiko felt proud that her mother was a strong-minded woman. In spite of her appreciation for European culture and her love of English, her mother would never give up her native culture.

Fumiko mentioned an incident that had stimulated her to love English. She reported that she once went to the airport to meet her father, who was coming back from a business trip. At the airport, her mother's English-

speaking skills proved necessary. She helped an English speaker who was lost. They both felt very proud when her mother helped that foreigner by speaking English fluently.

Fumiko's Experience Speaking English

Fumiko's mother was proud that she could speak two languages. Fumiko had been encouraged by the family to study language, too. They introduced many role models, such as, Ms. Torigai, who had become one of the first interpreters in postwar Japan. Fumiko thought that her mother spoke English much better than the narrators on local television channels, but despite all her experience with English, Fumiko's mother was a typical Japanese woman in appearance and attitude. Even though she stayed within the Japanese community, she would never abandon studying and practicing English.

Fumiko started studying English in elementary school. The curriculum appeared too simple for her, however, as the children were taught only basic English such as "What's this?" and "What's your name?" She recalled her first experiences expressing herself in a different language as rather enjoyable and fascinating.

After she had entered junior high school, Fumiko started attending an English-speaking club, just as her mother had before her. At first, she was disappointed to hear Japanese students speaking English. She disliked seeing

and hearing English-speaking Japanese. She had the impression that these Japanese students were not as good in English as she and her fellow students had been at the elementary level. Junior high school students spoke English as if it were some artificial language. English had not become their "soul language."

However, Fumiko's attitude changed after she had started studying at junior high school. English lessons became more logical and useful when they were focused on English grammar and structure. She had sometimes had difficulty understanding English as a natural language, but when the teacher explained these unclear moments logically, she began to believe that English should be studied as a language of logic.

Apart from learning English logically, Fumiko desired to feel it physically. She liked listening to songs by the rock group, Queen. She read the lyrics and translated them into Japanese. She was also interested in Michel Polnareff, and she tried to recreate the structure of adolescent identity found in his lyrics. At the same time, she disliked Japanese popular songs.

Fumiko used English for making friends around the globe. In junior high school, through the Ministry of Education, she had nearly 60 pen pals in the United States, Europe, Asia, and Africa. She observed the various features of each nationality. She felt that the pen pals from Eastern Europe treated political and philosophical matters too seriously. Americans appeared less serious and were always saying, "Who cares?" while discussing any serious

topic. They were interested only in food and clothes. Fumiko especially liked British culture and British English; she felt that British and American cultures were not equal. Fumiko and her mother supported feminism, so they favored Margaret Thatcher when she became the Prime Minister of the U.K., but they did not like her ethnocentric policy at all.

Fumiko was interested in English literature, and she wanted to attend Tokyo Women's University, which was well known for its English studies. At that time, it was generally understood in Japan that any person, and especially a woman, who majored in English literature would be more likely to get a prestigious job. Despite her great interest in studying English, she did not think that English-speaking skills were enough for a Japanese woman to get a decent job. Her mother strongly suggested that Fumiko should choose English literature, but Fumiko did not agree.

Fumiko's mother was very sensitive and empathetic about the Japanese language, particularly Japanese *keigo*, or honorific words. Although her father was an educated man, he came from the countryside and he always misused honorific words. Fumiko's mother was always ready to point out and correct his mistakes. She was very strict about Fumiko's Japanese, too. Fumiko believed that this is how she developed her sensitivity for languages.

Fumiko accepted the concept of "one parent one language." Her English ability was far from native- sounding and the same could be said about her husband's Japanese. Therefore, they decided to use their own languages for

their daughter, Fiona. Fumiko believed that English was a language of logic, but Japanese was her mother tongue, the language of her soul. She wanted to sing lullabies in Japanese and build a good parent-child relationship in that language. She recalled that she and Fred never talked about their language policy before the birth of their child, but she was satisfied that both parents had an identical educational policy for Fiona.

When asked about her plan for raising Fiona bilingually, Fumiko said, "I don't think we made rules." She said that her husband bought videos in the United States and displayed these together with Japanese videos, thus letting Fiona choose whatever appealed to her. They tried to provide an environment with easy access to English, but they did not want to force her to watch only English videos. Although they did not openly force her to choose English movies, they tried to influence her choice by displaying her favorite videos, like ballet videos, in English.

As for rules to control the environment, Fumiko said that they had never allowed Fiona to watch television until she was one year old, as they had relied on the Steiner Education recommendation, which suggested that children should not be allowed to watch television or listen to music through artificial devices.

Fumiko insisted that they had not tried to control Fiona's language choice. They had felt that she could become a balanced bilingual naturally.

Fumiko added that it was really sad to know that there was probably no hope for that to happen.

Going to the United States

Fumiko praised her husband's family when they were in the United States. She felt confident because many of her husband's cousins looked after Fiona. Their daughter also gained positive impressions of the family and the country. Fumiko reported that they tried to take Fiona to the United States at least once a year. When they went to the United States or Hawaii, their daughter enjoyed playing with American and Australian children.

Fumiko also expressed concern about the reluctance of their daughter while interacting with children in Hawaii; she did not speak as much as she had previously. Perhaps, she felt self-conscious that her English was falling behind that of other native speakers. Although she thought that her English was not as good as other children, she seemed to enjoy the experience.

In the United States, after her experiences in Hawaii, Fiona expressed her helplessness regarding her grasp of the language. She told Fumiko that she could not understand English. "I don't understand what Jaina is saying," she said. Fumiko was shocked and started rethinking their approach, believing that they needed to focus more on English education and help their daughter become bilingual. However, she was also anxious about making their

daughter a good human being. She felt that becoming a good-natured person was more important than becoming a bilingual.

In spite of Fumiko's realization that it would be difficult for Fiona to become a balanced bilingual, she was resolved that Fiona should be taken to the United States as often as possible. She felt that the fun experiences gained there would help Fiona form positive impressions of the English language and the country, and that might become a stable foundation for studying language in the future. Fiona and her father had a close relationship, and Fumiko realized that that was very important for language acquisition.

Summary of Fumiko and Fred's Family

Fumiko was encouraged to study English because her mother was a good English speaker. Due to her mother's influence, she was comfortable in English language and culture, but at the same time she was also influenced by her mother's pride in being a Japanese woman. In Fiona's language environment, Fumiko and Fred chose a one-parent one-language policy in order to cherish both languages and cultures. However, she admitted that she displayed English videos of Fiona's favorite titles in the front row.

Family 6: Haruko, Herbert, and Harry

Haruko, a Japanese mother, Herbert, an English-speaking father and their son, Harry, aged 7, lived in the western part of Tokyo. Herbert was a

university professor, and Haruko was a homemaker who quit working after Harry was born.

Haruko worked as a designer at a dressmaker's. One of her colleagues had been working in Vancouver for a couple of years before and had made many foreign friends. Once, the colleague invited Haruko to a weekend party, which is where she first met Herbert. They exchanged business cards.

Later, Herbert confessed that he liked Haruko the first time he saw her, but was afraid to say anything as he considered himself to be a stranger at that party. Some time after the party, Herbert asked Haruko's colleague if she (Haruko) could meet with him. Haruko agreed. Her friend said that in spite of the presence of bad foreigners in Japan, Herbert was not like them. He was an honest person, so she decided that Herbert was a good choice to make friends with, but she was not serious about the relationship.

Language Use

Harry spoke English with his father all the time, and Herbert was very happy with the way his son spoke English. He felt that Harry spoke like a native speaker, although he lived in Japan.

When Harry and Haruko were talking in Japanese and Herbert joined their conversation, Harry switched to English, as he felt that "it's embarrassing to speak Japanese to Dad." Harry judged whether to choose Japanese or English by the person's face. Even if a Japanese person could

speak English, he did not want to speak English to them. He was able to switch perfectly. His mother wanted him to become bilingual if possible, as she thought that it would only benefit him. She felt that the ability to speak both languages would give him more opportunities in the future.

They were planning to send Harry to public schools up to junior high school. Herbert visited International Christian University high school and he considered the English education to be good there. If Harry passed the examination, they wanted to send him to that high school so he could be bilingual. Haruko was afraid that Harry would want to live in the United States in the future, as he admired everything American. If Harry chose to go to school in the United States, Haruko said that nothing would be able to change his decision. Haruko was expecting that the day would arrive when Harry would start talking about leaving Japan. That would be his choice, but Haruko feared it.

Before meeting Herbert, Haruko believed that people living in Japan should speak Japanese. On her first date with Herbert, she said that all foreigners in Japan should speak Japanese, but Herbert had been in Japan for only for three months, so the only thing he could say in Japanese was “hello.” Later on, Herbert started communicating with her using high frequency Japanese vocabulary.

Harry realized that his facial features were completely Japanese, and he would be identifiable as such in America. Haruko agreed with him. Even

though Harry wanted to become more American, he worried that he might feel out of place in the United States because of his face. Nobody in Japan regarded Harry as a double kid, and Harry himself had never been aware of being a double kid, so his appearance caused absolutely no problems in the kindergarten he attended.

Haruko was very ardent about her Japanese identity. Herbert had even taken her maiden name. When they got married, she told Herbert that she did not mind changing her surname to his, but she wanted Harry to take her maiden name as part of his. It is impossible to have a middle name in Japan, so if someone desires to keep a second family name, it has to be part of the first name.

English Input to Harry at Home

Both Haruko and Herbert asked Harry to watch English videos and television. Haruko thought that as Harry grew up he would be influenced by his Japanese friends, so if he wanted to watch Japanese television programs, she would let him.

Herbert remained closely connected with his family in the United States and he pursued double aims by traveling to American and meeting with his parents while strengthening his relations with Harry. Harry enjoyed staying in the United States as he found playmates there. Harry was also impressed with

the American educational system, and he was thinking about going to an elementary school there.

Herbert admitted that he had to talk a lot while at work and when he came back home he was very uncommunicative in the evening hours. Despite that, he tried to correct Harry's pronunciation, get him not to avoid pronouns, which are used relatively rarely in Japanese, and to use the verbs and tenses correctly. However, he allowed Harry to watch Japanese movies, as it was necessary for him to remain up-to-date and this helped Harry interact with other kids.

Haruko's Strong Rejection of English

Haruko had always spoken in Japanese, as she had had a strong aversion to English. She had been struggling with English when studying to prepare for her high school examinations and in the university as well. She felt that English blocked her way, and she hated it.

Haruko had never thought of living in America. Before the marriage, she warned Herbert that if he tried to go back to America, the marriage would be over. Obviously, language became a barrier in their relationship. Haruko had a strong feeling of Japaneseness; that was why Herbert decided to apply for a permanent visa in Japan.

When Haruko first met her future husband, she spoke only a few English words and he could not understand her at all. Because Haruko failed

to speak correct English, she developed a kind of inferiority complex. In her early life, Haruko had not felt such hatred towards English. It happened when she an eighth grader in junior high school and she found that memorizing English vocabulary and studying grammar bored her.

Haruko was born in Nagano prefecture and did not want to live in the countryside, even though she thought that living in the countryside would not require English. She was unlucky with her high school experience, as her teacher was unable to speak English at all, and that discouraged her a great deal.

Haruko thought that nothing had changed since she married an American. She was still the person she used to be. She married the man that she loved, and he just happened to be American. She heard about some Japanese who had married Americans because they wanted to speak English or to live in the United States, but she insisted that she would never marry an American for such superficial reasons.

Haruko cooked Japanese food, which Herbert ate with great pleasure; she was also able to cook Western meals for him. Herbert was interested in Asian culture; that was why he came to Japan. He was willing to eat anything she cooked.

Herbert ’s friends were also married to Japanese women, but their children did not speak English well. This worried Herbert, which was why he was interested in raising his children to be bilingual. He spent a lot of time

with his son, Harry, and influenced him to love American culture and the English language.

Herbert was anxious about selecting a good school for his son. He compared all the available schools and tried to decide whether an international school or Japanese school would be best. It was clear that international schools were good, but they were too expensive. First, he wanted to raise his child Japanese, but he also wanted Harry to remain in contact with his relatives in the United States. He wanted Harry to graduate from Japanese school and enter an American university. Herbert did not care if Harry became Japanese, but he wanted him to be bilingual. Herbert felt that becoming bilingual was important for his son's future. For this reason, he insisted on staying in Japan, but he wanted his son to become proficient in English so that he could cope with future challenges and opportunities.

Becoming Bilingual

Haruko considered Harry's becoming bilingual very beneficial. Moreover, Herbert's family is English-speaking, so it was important for Harry to speak English to keep in touch with his family in the United States. As a result, bilingual education was important for Harry's future and his relationship with his family in the United States. Even if her husband had been Japanese, she would have wanted her child to become a good English

speaker, because the ability to speak English creates excellent job opportunities, wider perspectives, and more safety when traveling abroad.

Returning to the United States

Harry's parents wanted to take him to the United States twice a year although it was difficult financially. Visiting the United States and playing with a cousin the same age was good for his English, so they went back to the United States together in the summer and Herbert took Harry there for Christmas. They noticed significant changes in Harry's English when he traveled to the United States twice a year.

Haruko gave the example of Fumiko's family. She mentioned that they had visited Fumiko's family a few days before. Fumiko spoke English to her husband, but Fiona spoke it poorly. Haruko wondered why this was so, in spite of the fact that Fumiko's English was very good. Fumiko's daughter hardly spoke English, but Harry spoke it fluently.

Haruko gave an example of another family, where the father was from Hawaii and remained very close to his family. He looked after his family and his son, and they spent most of their time together. The boy, Kai, liked speaking English. Haruko concluded that when a parent whose mother tongue was English had close relations with a child, the child tended to be fond of English.

Herbert concluded that the children in double families could become bilingual only if both parents actively interacted with them and tried to teach them both languages. He gave examples of American friends who were married to Japanese women, and he mentioned that the children had become bilingual and good English speakers only in one case. He admitted that if a child was close to his father and freely communicated with him then he was able to study the father's language more easily, but if the father was away from home most of the time and devoted less time to his child, then the child would not acquire the father's language correctly. He also mentioned that their frequent trips to the United States helped Harry to strengthen his English.

He gave an example of his friend Bruce, who had two children who were actively bilingual. Bruce never spoke Japanese with his wife and at home he spoke only English. Bruce's children chose to move to the United States and now they had the opposite problem: Their Japanese was fading away. They had stopped speaking Japanese, even to their mother. Herbert believed that keeping a balance of languages was a delicate matter.

Summary of Haruko and Herbert's family

Haruko spoke Japanese with Herbert and Harry all the time. She had a strong negative reaction to English although she believed that becoming bilingual would be beneficial for Harry in the future. Herbert made a great effort to provide sufficient English input for Harry at home. Herbert and

Harry had a very close relationship, as Herbert tried to maximize the time he spent with Harry. They spoke English to each other all the time and they read English books together. That was how Harry received a good English environment at home.

Family 7: Kikuko, Kevin, Kim, and Kate

Kikuko, a Japanese mother and Kevin, an English-speaking father, and two daughters: Kim, 10 years old, and Kate, 8 years old, lived in an area adjacent to Tokyo. Kevin worked for a prestigious Japanese company and Kikuko was a homemaker.

Language Use

Kevin, the father, talked to his wife in English more than Japanese, but Kikuko used more Japanese to communicate with Kevin. Kevin tried to communicate with Kim and Kate in English most of the time. Kikuko said that she spoke Japanese to the daughters although she believed that she should cooperate with her husband to create a more English-speaking environment at home. Both Kim and Kate watched TV and videos, and listened to music mainly in English; however, they read books and comic books in English and Japanese equally.

The Father's Involvement

Kikuko's husband, Kevin, graduated from S University in Tokyo. He had been living in Japan for a long time, and he worked long hours like his Japanese colleagues, so he was rarely at home when the children were small. He was afraid of being rejected by his daughters, so he was indulgent with them. If he started reading an English book and it appeared boring to them, he changed to a Japanese one. There was a period of time when he was speaking English all the time, but he got tired of that because he needed to be patient with his daughters as their understanding of English was partial. However, he tried to have his daughters speak only English at home with him by asking them to tell him everything that happened at school in English. That did not last long, either.

After he had been reading English books every night and helping with home schooling in English for one year, Kevin invented a story of an imaginary classroom with students from all over the world. In this story, the characters in the classroom told lots of interesting facts. The daughters joined in the story and had fun with the imaginary characters. Kevin and the daughters created their own world, where they did not have to do homework or worry about their grades at school; it was a contrast from the real world where they had to do their homework and their mother was strict with them. The daughters imagined that the world of English with their father was full of

fun, but the real Japanese world was not so much fun. In this way, they gained a positive attitude toward English.

Kikuko's Experience Speaking English

Kikuko's mother was a Christian, and studied at a Christian school that placed a strong emphasis on English education. Her mother taught her only basic English words such as *spoon* and *chopsticks*, and English songs. They often had foreign guests at their home. The American friends sometimes brought her delicious cookies, which were very difficult to get at that time. She remembers that she longed for a Western life.

Since her mother was a Christian, Kikuko entered a Christian school where they started studying English. She was assigned to the middle class of English, but she wanted to get to the highest class, although she was not particularly interested in English itself. In the highest class, children read and conversed in English, and they learned English poems at Christmas. In a short time, Kikuko qualified for the top class, and all these activities helped Kikuko improve her English-speaking skills. An English book fair before the summer holidays, where students could buy beautiful English books, provided her with an excellent opportunity to read English books. She had a good English environment. Although Kikuko did not like studying English very much, she enjoyed its exotic character. She had an inferiority complex about her English

skills, especially against the background of a few returnees whose English was the best in the class.

After graduating from a junior college, her mother's missionary acquaintance invited Kikuko to go to the United States, so she went there and entered a secretarial school for one year. After finishing the course, she returned to Japan and got a job as a secretary in a Japanese-American joint venture. She worked as a secretary for an American for one year, and while she was working for the company, she met her husband, Kevin. After they got married in Japan, they moved to the United States and lived there for five years.

Kikuko went to the United States after her husband got a job there and before their first daughter was born. She worked for Hallmark several years. She thought that the United States was a great country for women, and she relied upon affirmative action laws that were designed to protect minorities. She got a job as a typist, but she wanted a better position, a full-time job like a manager. An American friend of hers told her that she might have a good chance, being an Asian female. Kikuko did not understand what her friend meant, but later she found out that companies were obliged to hire a certain number of minorities. It appeared much easier for an Asian woman to get a job at a prestigious company than for any white American, because Asian women were considered diligent and being a minority was an advantage. She wanted to stay with a company that offered good opportunities for women

because such companies were rare in Japan. However, Kikuko got pregnant, and her husband also needed to return to Japan for his job. Kikuko went with him to Japan, but they decided that she would go back to the United States as soon as possible in order for their daughters to settle there and acquire English-speaking skills. Kikuko expected that her daughters would receive better treatment as Asian minorities in the United States, so she did not diligently study Japanese.

The Mother's Responsibility

Kevin, Kikuko's husband, worked hard for his company and came back late at night, so he did not have enough time to spend with his daughters. Kikuko thought that she needed to do something by herself to increase their English input. She thought that the children's education, including language, was a mother's responsibility, so she played a lot of English songs for Kim when she was a baby. They also sang Disney songs and songs called "Sing Along" together. Kim quickly learned these songs by heart even though she did not understand the meaning of the words, and she sang them with perfect pronunciation. The second daughter appeared not to learn the songs as quickly, and during the interview, Kikuko realized that she had devoted more time and energy to the first daughter than to the second one.

Language Planning

Before the girls were born, Kikuko and Kevin did not have any particular language plans or an agreement on how they could raise their daughters as bilinguals, or even if they wanted to raise them bilingual or not. They did not know how long they were going to stay in Japan, so while living in Japan they decided to expose their daughters to as many contacts as possible with local residents so that they could learn Japanese. At the same time, they considered their daughters' English education, because to study in an American school they had to go back to the United States within five or six years. In the end, they stayed in Japan ten years. Kikuko and her husband did not want to send their daughters to an American school in Japan, as they felt the teaching of English was too artificial there.

Kikuko's Beliefs about Bilingual Education

When the elder daughter, Kim, attended a kindergarten at a Japan international school, she was too young to commute to the school, which was located far from their home. Kikuko and her husband decided to transfer her to a local kindergarten. Their desire to return her to an international school to nurture her bilingual ability was a high priority.

To maintain the daughters' bilingual education at home, they started a home schooling program and Kim studied the program materials in English for a year until starting elementary school. They also hired a tutor so that she

could study the schooling program. They took the girls to the United States in the summer and sent them to a daycare summer camp for about two months. Returning to Japan after the day camp, they studied with a tutor for one hour every day to maintain the English level that they had achieved in the United States.

Kevin bought English videos such as Disney cartoons whenever he went to the United States. Eventually, they had more than 400 English videos at home. Their daughters refused to watch Disney videos in Japanese because they felt that the Disney stories sounded less funny in Japanese.

Moving from a Japanese School to an American School

Sending children to an international school required careful attention to issues such as the location of the family and what they could afford. While they were thinking of the limits of home education, the company Kevin was working for offered them financial support to send Kim and Kate to an international school within commuting distance of their home. They thought that it was a great opportunity, and they accepted the offer. However, they thought that as the daughters were brought up in a Japanese educational environment, it might take some time for them to get used to the international school environment. They did not want their daughters' to become depressed because of their inability to speak English like other native speakers.

Kevin thought it would be better to send the girls to N School, an international school, where there were more Japanese and double kids in order to give them a transition period for a couple of years. They hired a tutor to help the girls study so that they could enter N International School. After being accepted at the school, the girls started studying English more with the tutor to prepare to transfer to an American School in Japan, and Kim felt that it was difficult for them since they had to learn two languages and study subjects in two languages.

Summary of Kikuko and Kevin's Family

Kikuko's mother taught Kikuko basic English when she was a child. That was how she became interested in English. She worked in the United States for one year after graduating from school, and she learned that the United States was a better working environment for minorities, particularly women, compared to Japan. Since then she believed that English language skills would be beneficial for their daughters. Kevin supported their daughters' English acquisition, not only by speaking English with them, but also by creating stories about an imaginary world to tell at bedtime, which the daughters really enjoyed.

Family 8: Miku, Michel, Mary, and Molly

Miku and her British husband, Michel, and two daughters, Mary and Molly, lived in a high-class residential area in a suburb of Tokyo. The daughters were nine and fourteen years old and they studied in an international school. Michel was originally from Poland, but he grew up in England. He worked as a professor at a Japanese university in Tokyo, and had been living in Japan for twenty years. Michel had permanent residency in Japan, and he could read and write Japanese without any problem.

Miku's Learning of English

Miku had enjoyed studying English since she was a junior high school student. When studying in the junior high school, Miku had a good English teacher, who strongly emphasized the value of English language learning. Despite her liking of English, Miku thought that she had not studied English hard enough.

As a university student, she majored in English literature, and it happened that her future husband became her professor. After graduating, they got married. Miku said that she entered a perfect English environment, as she was living with her English-speaking husband who was very good in Japanese as well. She acknowledged that his Japanese was superior to her English. In the beginning, her husband spoke more Japanese for her convenience.

Miku wanted to use English just for communicating with people, and she tried hard to communicate in English with people who did not understand Japanese. However, she said that as soon as she found out that the person she was talking with understood Japanese, she lost interest in trying to communicate in English. Consequently, her English ability suffered.

Miku's Responsibility

Miku pointed out that her daughters did not appear Japanese even to other Japanese. Most Japanese thought that they were not Japanese, and that they were English-speaking; they took it for granted that non-Japanese speak fluent English. Strangely enough, in Japan, people who are obviously not Japanese, such as French or Russians, are expected to be able to speak English, and Japanese speak to them in English. In this same way, many Japanese expected Miku's daughters to speak "native-like English," based only on their appearance. Miku felt that, if the daughters could not speak English, it would be a great disadvantage, so it was Michel and Miku's responsibility to create an optimal environment for their daughters to acquire English instruction. Miku said,

> Our daughters didn't choose how they look, I mean not 100% Japanese looking, so it's our responsibility to make an optimal environment for them to acquire both languages. English is a must for them.
> (Interview in Japanese, January 16, 2001)

Koen Debyu (Park Debut)

Miku also related an incident that happened in a park one day:

> I was talking to my daughter in English as usual. I heard mothers in the park whispering "Look, the woman over there is speaking English to the baby, the baby is not Japanese-looking but the woman is her mother? It's strange. She is Japanese and her English is not good at all. Maybe she is a babysitter or something for the baby." But I didn't mind it. I thought these women can't do anything for my daughter, just laughing, so I have to educate my daughter in English. (Interview in Japanese, January 16, 2001)

Playing in a park has an important meaning for Japanese mothers and babies. Parks are not only spaces for children to play in, but also an important place for socializing in both positive and negative ways. Particularly, the very first visit to a park has been called *koen debyu,* or park début in Japan. Mothers become nervous the first time, because they are afraid that they will not be accepted by the other mothers. Miku really wanted to communicate with them using English, but she felt that she did not have a choice. Even if her English was not good enough she had to create an English-speaking environment for her daughters. She knew that nobody else could undertake this work, as her husband was too busy. She understood her responsibility perfectly, and was determined to fulfill it for her daughters.

The Contradiction

Miku admitted that, being a Japanese mother, she thought that her daughters would grow up as Japanese. Miku said, "Of course I wanted to speak with my daughters in my language, Japanese. Yes, I really wanted to communicate in my mother tongue. I wanted to sing Japanese nursery rhymes and read Japanese fairy tales." However, Miku sang Mother Goose songs in English and everything that she said was in English.

Although she had contradictory ideas about their future, Miku wanted to give her daughters the freedom to choose their language: Japanese, English, or both. In order to do that, Miku, as their mother, was determined to help them acquire English although it is a minority language in Japan. This had to be done if they were to consider English beneficial and if they wanted to choose it as their mother tongue.

Struggling to Raise Bilingual Daughters

Before Miku's family moved so that they could send their daughters to a good international school, they lived in Kunitachi on the east side of Tokyo. It is a very popular residential area for both Japanese and non-Japanese. She believed that it would be natural for people living in Japan, including her daughters, to speak Japanese to communicate with Japanese speaking people even in this international neighborhood, and the Japanese influence would be greater than that of English. However, at the same time, she wanted to create

an optimal English environment for her daughters before the Japanese language environment dominated her children's linguistic development. Miku and Michel knew of many examples where double kids of intermarried families living in Japan spoke only Japanese despite the fact that they lived in environments where other people longed for opportunities to speak English. They considered what they should do to avoid that problem for their daughters and decided that they should speak with their daughters only in English. Miku said:

> I really felt speaking English to my daughter was very strange for me because I had never lived in English-speaking countries. I mean my English was not good enough to bring her up in English. I always translated everything even simple sentences. I thought in Japanese first and put it in English. I remember that I wanted to say "stop" my daughter, I thought "*dame*" in my mind and translated it into English "stop" and said it. (Interview in Japanese, January 16, 2001)

Miku therefore made special efforts to create a special space for English in her daughter's mind. She knew that her daughter might have difficulties with the Japanese language in the future, but she did not concern herself with the future at that point. She always spoke with Mary in English and ignored whatever she said in Japanese. She allowed Mary to watch Japanese television with English translations, but other input was in English.

Luckily, Michel had to go abroad for a one-year business trip to other English-speaking countries, such as New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, when their first daughter was two. During their Canadian stay, which was the

longest, they put their daughter in a local pre-school. Surprisingly there were many Japanese families living in that area, so it was like a small Japan. During their contacts with these Japanese families, Mary could not speak Japanese, so she could not join the Japanese children when they were playing. Because the children started to ignore her and excluded her from their games, she started to hate the Japanese. Mary's feelings puzzled Miku and for the first time doubts appeared about whether they had done the right thing or not. When they returned to Japan, they heard about a British School opening in Tokyo. They felt that Mary would not have any problems being accepted, as she had British origins, and her English was fluent enough. However, they eventually sent her to an American pre-school that was near their home because of commuting problems and other reasons. Mary enjoyed playing with her friends, and because she was enjoying going to the pre-school, Miku completely forgot about the problems with the Japanese language that she had in Canada.

Miku observed that her daughter usually switched off Japanese programs on television. She supposed that the negative experiences with the Japanese children in Canada had had a negative impact on Mary. Due to the strict requirements concerning English that were required to be accepted to the American pre-school, Miku was reassured they had been doing the right thing for their daughter. Still, Mary could speak only simple Japanese phrases with her playmates.

When they had to think about her elementary school, they heard about children whose English was weaker and who had failed the entrance examination, and this made Miku even more determined to continue with the English-only policy until Mary passed the entrance examination. After visiting a number of international schools in Tokyo and Yokohama, they found one in Yokohama that they liked. However, because it was far where they lived, they decided to move to the Yokohama area.

Mary's Learning of Japanese

Mary made many Japanese friends in the new environment. Although Miku wondered if Mary could successfully join the group after her negative experiences with the Japanese children in Canada, all her worries appeared groundless. Her daughter started absorbing Japanese, and the children she was associating with used proper Japanese, as their parents were very strict about using correct language. Thus, she learned Japanese easily in the company of these children by copying her friends. During the two years that the family lived in Yokohama, her Japanese improved dramatically.

Because Mary started attending the international school, Miku thought that she did not have to stick with the English-only policy and started speaking Japanese to her, which was what she had really wanted to do. As Mary increasingly used Japanese, she discovered she could communicate better with her mother in Japanese.

Molly, The Second Daughter

By the time the second daughter, Molly, was born, Miku's family did not have a strict English-only policy. As a result, Miku spoke both English and Japanese with Molly. Perhaps that was one reason the second daughter took longer to start speaking. Miku considered the strategy of speaking only English that she had adopted with Mary, but she decided to use both English and Japanese with Molly.

Molly entered an international nursery school, where the children were divided into groups based on language. The first group was made up of only English-speaking children, the second children who spoke both languages, and the third children who only spoke Japanese. Her daughter was placed in the first group. When the three groups of the children played together, Molly could not join the third group. She just remained quiet. In that situation, even those who understood English did not want to say anything in English. Inside the preschool, however, all the children were obliged to speak English all the time.

Miku felt bad for Molly because they had not sent Molly to the international school to speak Japanese. At the same time, Miku was also worried about Molly's command of Japanese. The elder daughter, Mary, was lucky to have a good language environment at the right time and she could acquire Japanese naturally. Miku expected that the same environment could

be created for Molly. At times she felt that the situation was like a bilingual experiment, in which she was using her daughters as research participants.

Mary learned Japanese rather quickly, and when she entered an international elementary school, she got to the native-speaker level in the Japanese class. When it was time to choose a school for Molly, however, it was difficult, as she did not have many Japanese friends. Miku worried about what to do if her daughter could not get to the native-speaker level Japanese class.

The international school finished in June and they spent August in England. Miku thought that Molly could spend July at a Japanese kindergarten. The administrators of one kindergarten agreed, but on the condition that Miku and her husband would help to arrange an upcoming festival. Her daughter started communicating with other children and her Japanese improved greatly. Molly's Japanese finally became a native-speaker level.

Reading Books in Both Languages

At the beginning of the present study, Miku read both Japanese and English books to her daughters every night. The girls preferred reading the same book together every evening, in spite of the four-year age difference. Their English soon proved to be better than Miku's. The relationship between the sisters was very interesting as they both influenced each other.

During lunchtime, the daughters often spoke Japanese with their friends. When the children entered the school, they spoke English all the time, but the other children discovered that there were a large number of Japanese and double kids who were able to speak Japanese, so they started communicating in Japanese with the children whose family backgrounds were similar to their own. There were three groups of classmates: children who could speak only English, a group who used Japanese as the major language, and a group of bilingual children. Miku's daughters seemed to belong to the Japanese group. Her children used to say that they disliked Japanese and the Japanese language, but in that school, they mixed with Japanese children and started speaking Japanese.

Michel's Concerns

The children studying at international schools had a tendency to speak so-called "international English," which had certain patterns, such as using "like" instead of "as though." Michel was worried about the girls acquiring that kind of English, and he often said that although he paid high tuition, the daughters did not learn proper English. He thought seriously of sending them to a boarding school in England, as he believed that the experience would improve his daughters' English-speaking skills. Being a highly qualified academician, Michel was very anxious about "proper language." He could not

stand teenagers' slang, and wanted his daughters to speak good Japanese and good English.

Summary of Miku and Michel's Family

Miku believed that the English language would provide better prospects for her children. Therefore, although she knew that it was natural for her to speak in her mother tongue to them, she used only English. Miku consciously avoided using Japanese with her children, as can be seen from the fact that even when she wanted to stop her daughter from doing something dangerous, she used English. She strongly believed that teaching them their father's tongue, English, was her responsibility because her husband could not spend enough time with his daughters. Despite the drawbacks present in the situation, Mary and Molly eventually acquired both languages in balanced way.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT CHOICE OF BILINGUAL FAMILIES

This chapter examines the issue of language environment choice and poses several questions. What are the main factors determining language environment formation? What role does the family play in creating the necessary language orientations for children and what are the specific roles of mothers and fathers? How do social conditions influence the choice of language environment? The stories of eight bilingual families will help me identify the different factors that influence language environment choice.

Reasons for Choosing a Language Environment

The role of family and particularly of mothers in choosing a language environment can be enormously important. This was the conclusion of Harrison, Bellin, and Piette (1977), who interviewed 311 mothers about language choice. The results indicated that mothers play an important role in their children's language choices. They found that children chose languages for social and psychological reasons rather than for linguistic reasons, and their language development is greatly influenced by their mother's language behavior. The choice of a language environment in bilingual families can vary from the categorical adoption of only one language to insisting on bilingual education for the children. In its turn, this choice is determined by the

intersection of various factors such as the parents' identities, the projections of these identities onto the future of the child, and the social environment in which the past, present, and future of the family is concentrated.

The social and symbolic factors should be distinguished from the strategies that are used in a creating language environment. These strategies are the result of certain permanent dispositions that have already defined a choice of language environment. Among such strategies is the strategy of one-person-one-language, which assumes that separating two languages from infancy will help the child learn both languages without extra effort or confusion. Another approach is called "mixed languages" and is the most widespread among bilingual families at the early stages of their children's socialization. Language strategies and choices of environment are interrelated interactively but not causally. An analysis of different bilingual families in Japan is one way that this can be seen.

Mothers Speaking English

Acquiring literacy in the minority language can open up a new world of literature and thereby language to children. No amount of visiting the country where the language is spoken or contact with other speakers can hope to give children as rich a vocabulary and mastery of the nuances of the language as a thorough immersion in its children's literature. In some countries, schools offer education in the home that is concentrated on reading and writing. In

other countries, schools operated by local minority language communities have served the same purpose. If neither option is available, it is up to the parents to support their children as best they can, either within the family or in cooperation with other families in similar situations.

Children with a reasonable mastery of a second language have many advantages. In the case of an immigrant family, where both parents come from the same language background, children need the minority language to communicate with the parents, assuming that the parents use the minority language, even if the children respond in the majority language. Because the majority language is needed for school and social activities, often there are few problems getting children to use it.

In the case of mixed-language families, the minority language might not be essential for communication because the parent who speaks that language might have at least some knowledge of the majority language. In both types of families—with parents who speak the minority language and with parents who do not speak the minority language—children who can speak or at least understand the minority language have a channel open for communication not only with the parent or parents who speak the language, but also with grandparents, cousins, family friends, and their children.

Some mixed families in Japan consciously choose English (a minority language) as the dominant language to use when communicating with their children. Mothers are more inclined to make a categorical one-sided choice of

language environment, a choice consistent with Josselson's (1987) claim that women's identity formation is influenced by important people in their lives and social determinants of their family situations. It is natural that Japanese women in mixed families in Japan have more voice in choosing the language environment, but what other factors influence the choice?

The choice of English as the dominant language of communication means that the mother's identity is directed to Western values and future opportunities for her children. Thus, Bourdieu's (1977) concept of cultural and symbolical capital might be useful. According to Bourdieu's socioanalysis, social dispositions are determined by the structure of capital that a social agent can acquire. The structure of capital includes not only capital in a Marxian sense, but also cultural and symbolical capital that can be exchanged for other types. Thus, choice of an English language environment can be understood as an investment in cultural capital. Norton (2000) also developed the notion of investment in language learning, adapting Bourdieu's (1977) concept of the relationship between identity and power. Norton proposed that the notion of motivation utilized by many theorists does not take into account the relationship between power, identity, and the learners' commitment to learning the target language. However, orientation toward English as the source of cultural capital seems not to pertain to the majority of the families analyzed in the present study. Thus, something else must exist

that determines the uncompromising choice of English as the dominant language of communication.

The focus on English might be due to pro-Western orientations of certain mothers, which results from their cosmopolitan cultural backgrounds. It happens fairly often in mixed-language families that the parents start off each speaking their own languages to the children, but eventually drift into using the majority language together. This seems to be more likely if the parents use the majority language when speaking to each other, so the minority-language parent has to shift into that language when speaking to the children. If the children go through a temporary or permanent stage of answering the minority-language parent in the majority language, it is likely easy for the parents to continue using that language, which is the children's dominant language.

The parent might then abandon what feels like a struggle to impose a particular language on reluctant children, and stop using the minority language altogether or use it sporadically. This change can result in a feeling of failure. If at all possible, it might be better to continue using the minority language with the children, even if they respond in the majority language because they will acquire receptive skills just by listening, and receptive knowledge of a language can become active knowledge in cases in which the children spend time in a country where the language is spoken.

Family 8: Miku

Miku's case shows that her childhood identity was formed under the strong influence of Western culture and English through studying English. Thus, her marriage to her British husband can be considered from the point of view of her initial cultural orientation. Miku saw the English language and Western culture as providing better prospects for her and her children. Therefore, though she realized that it was natural for mothers to speak in their mother tongue to their children, she used only English when speaking with them.

Miku consciously avoided using Japanese with her children, as can be seen from the fact that even when she wanted to stop her daughter from doing something dangerous, she used English. Thus Miku managed to develop a "repressive identity" in relation to Japanese culture and language. In the Japanese environment, this blocking of formation of the Japanese identity took place in her daughters, Mary and Molly. Miku often spoke of her determination to speak only English, even though she felt that her distance from Japanese culture and her subsequent Westernization could be considered "weird," But she also stated that it was her responsibility to teach her daughters English no matter how hard it was for her to sacrifice her mother tongue.

Family 4: Emiko

Emiko's case shows another example of assimilated cultural identity, which prompted her to speak only English. Her English orientation in family matters was evident because she always spoke English to her husband and son. She also communicated in English with Japanese-English bilingual English friends, but with bilingual Japanese friends, she either used English or mixed the two languages unless they did not speak in English to her. She watched television programs and videos, and read books and magazines in both languages in Japan, whereas she listened to music and radio only in English. This orientation had deep affected their son, Earl. Although he was bilingual, he was interested mainly in Western culture, because he watched TV and videos, and read books and comics in English more than in Japanese, and he always listened to music in English. Emiko sent Earl to *Kumon* courses, and he was one of the best English pupils there. His success in English heightened his interest in English-speaking actors and music, thus developing his Western identity.

From the case of Emiko and Earl, we can see that an English orientation significantly changed the language environment, for the primary focus was on English-speaking audio-visual information and English-language communication in the family and with friends. Separation from the dominant cultural patterns of Japanese society that these practices created made Earl's

identity awareness stronger and more articulated, which lead to his cultural assimilation into the English-speaking environment.

Mothers Speaking Japanese

The one-parent-one-language approach usually means that the child is introduced to both languages from birth. Some parents feel that two languages at once are too much for a newborn. They argue that the child will end up confused, without any real competence in either language. These fears can be fueled by observing young children, who, at a certain stage of bilingual development, freely mix the languages and even older children who mix the languages under certain circumstances.

However, even if the parents are not consistent, young children sort through a period of confusion and frustration if they receive sufficient input in both languages. Consistent with Cook's (2002) description of Multi-competence, older children learn that they can mix the languages for ease of communication or to create certain effects with others who share their linguistic background, but they soon learn to keep the languages "pure" when around monolinguals, at least at the lexical level, even if they still have interference from the majority language in terms of grammar or pronunciation when using the minority language.

Bilingual education is the most common choice of language environment for mothers who speak Japanese. This choice is determined by

the fact that they might have a more pronounced national identity and might not have sufficient English proficiency to maintain a conversation. Because they understand that their English skills are not sufficient to completely immerse the children in an English-speaking environment, they choose the option of bilingual education.

Family 5: Fumiko

Fumiko knew the advantages of the one-parent-one-language concept and consciously decided to choose a bilingual environment for her child, because her English ability was far from native and her husband's Japanese was the same. Thus, these parents decided to use their native languages in communication to their daughter while paying more attention to English as a "language of logical thinking."

Fumiko and her husband allowed their daughter Fiona choose from videos and books in English and Japanese, thus creating an intrinsically bilingual environment. As she said, "We give her an environment to access English, but we don't want to control her to watch only English. I mean we didn't want to control her; we let her choose which language she wanted."

Although they tried to create an equal balance between English and Japanese, Fumiko's family seemed to go along with a common tendency of American-Japanese families to pay more attention to English as a prestigious language. For instance, Fumiko confirmed that she tried to inspire Fiona to

watch English videos (ballets) more often than Japanese ones. The creation of a bilingual environment, as Fumiko's case suggests, while creating more freedom of opportunities, presupposes regulation on the part of parents.

Later on, drawing on the Steiner model of education, Fumiko and her husband introduced constraints on watching TV and other activities for Fiona. They felt that freedom of choice and encouraging bilingualism were not sufficient for becoming bilingual. There seems to be a natural pressure in favor of English, perhaps resulting from the cultural and social orientations of Fumiko's family. Fumiko felt that her daughter Fiona would naturally be more inclined to become an English speaker rather than a Japanese speaker. Fiona went to the United States once a year and seemed to have a positive image of that country and its English-speaking environment.

Family 6: Haruko

Haruko did not have even an elementary knowledge of English when she first met her husband, and as a result, he did not understand her at all, though she thought that she knew some English vocabulary. This poor knowledge of English worsened Haruko's inferiority complex, which in turn resulted in her adoption of a negative attitude towards English. Besides this, Haruko was rather nationalistic and patriotic, as shown by her idea that people living in Japan should speak Japanese. Unlike the other mothers I interviewed, Haruko was not particularly interested in Western and American culture. Thus,

interestingly, when she first met her future husband Herbert, she declared that all foreigners in Japan should speak Japanese.

Although Haruko stressed the fact that she was Japanese and showed a rather negative orientation to English, she realized that she had to make significant concessions to her bilingual family. She knew that children with two languages had more to learn than monolingual children and had a greater need of parental support.

Haruko agreed that parents in bilingual families needed to spend a lot of time talking with their children and expose them to many books. In a mixed-language family, the natural thing would be to have each parent read, sing, and play with the children in his or her own language. While realizing the necessity of creating a sound bilingual environment, Haruko understood that sending her son to an international school would mean that he would place more emphasis on English than Japanese.

Mothers Struggling to Choose One Language

Family 1: Akiko

Akiko's struggle to choose one language was effectively organized. She only spoke Japanese with friends, but when she stayed in the family circle, she did everything possible to cultivate her son's interest in English. She was afraid that Japanese occupied first place in the language environment and thus she did everything possible to make English the dominant language of

communication at home. She was motivated by her belief that English is an international language and extremely important in the contemporary world. Moreover, Akiko wanted her children to go to the United States because, in her view, that country offered them more opportunities than Japan.

Family 2: Beniko

As in the case of Akiko, the struggle for English in Beniko's family was intended to maximize English input at home. Communication with her husband Benjamin was always in English and Benjamin always spoke English to their children. Beniko spoke Japanese more than English with her children, Bart and Barbara.

The main emphasis was placed on learning and speaking English. The effect of these efforts was obvious since, as Beniko notes, though she spoke Japanese with their daughter Barbara, she always sought opportunities to speak English with her father. Their son Bart used to study with English workbooks bought in the United States. Benjamin read English books to the children before they went to bed, and Beniko read to them in Japanese. The parents sent their children to a summer camp in the United States to improve their language skills.

Family 3: Chikako

In Chikako's family the struggle for English was radical. The main linguistic rule in the family was that all its members spoke only English. A strong discipline was created in the home concerning the avoidance of the influence of Japanese, the language spoken in the society outside the home. Chikako spoke only English with her daughter, Clara, and watched television and videos only in English. Avoiding the use of Japanese in the family was Chikako's main task. Chikako spent a great deal of time giving a basic English education to her children Chuck and Clara (even their names showed her deep identity with American culture), though she says that it was problematic and difficult for her. Notwithstanding her efforts to introduce English discipline, she thought that becoming bilingual was the main priority for her children.

Family 7: Kikuko

Kikuko's efforts were also directed at cultivating interest in English in her children, Kim and Kate. Although Kikuko sometimes used Japanese to speak with her daughters, she struggled to create an English-speaking home environment. She played and sang a lot of English songs—especially Disney songs—and managed to learn whole songs quickly though she did not understand the words. Kikuko liked these songs and regarded these tasks as one of her primary responsibilities.

To sum up, the measures and strategies utilized to increase children's interest in English varied in these seven families from the conscious limitation of Japanese to inspiring interest in English through games and songs while allowing choices to be made between the languages. The option chosen seemed in many cases to depend on the mother's perception of her cultural identity and attitude toward bilingualism and Japanese culture. These families also all realized the importance of English for their children's future education and career opportunities and thus they placed an emphasis on creating an English-speaking environment.

The Fathers' Roles in the Choice of a Language Environment

Certain activities are typically performed by one gender or the other, and this cultural pressure can have an impact on the father's involvement with his children. For example, an activity such as changing diapers might be considered woman's work in some societies, and hence the father would avoid engaging in such an activity so as not to have his gender role questioned. For purposes of analysis, Lamb (1987) pointed out that three components are distinguishable in parental involvement in child caring: (a) the time spent in actual interaction with the child, (b) the time in which the parent is accessible to the child, although not engaged in face-to-face interaction, and (c) the extent to which the parent takes ultimate responsibility for the welfare and care of the child. American and Japanese societies are both modern; hence,

one would expect the roles of parental involvement to be quite similar across these societies. This is true to a large degree, but there are important differences concerning paternal involvement in child care activities.

Lamb (1987) in his study of "the emergent American father" isolated four determinants of father involvement in childcare activities. These determinants were used as points of comparison for discussing Norwegian fathers. First, motivation is an important determinant of a father's involvement. This characteristic is unique to each father; it will also be affected by sociocultural definitions of fatherhood, however, and the extent to which there are sharp gender distinctions in society. Second, the father's skills and self-confidence are another determinant, because motivation alone cannot ensure increased involvement. Third, the support that the father receives, especially from within the family and particularly from the mother, significantly affects the degree to which he becomes involved with his child. Fourth, institutional practices have an important impact on the other three and hence contribute to what can be called an ideology of the role of the father.

According to Lamb (1987), day-to-day scheduling contributes to fathers' involvement in the long run, even more than paternity leave, as this provides opportunities for the father to spend time regularly with his children. In Japan and America, differences in these institutional practices appear to contribute to different constructions of the role of the father. In this study, all

of the fathers were deeply concerned about the education of their children. Three examples of fathers' involvement are examined here.

Akiko's Husband, Adam

Adam, Al and Agatha's father, said in an interview that he felt that Al was lucky because he had a little bit more time with his father than Agatha. He felt that when Agatha came along, Al was taking up a lot of time. He also said that Al liked to be held when he was smaller and Agatha did not like so much contact. Adam was very keen that his children speak English and become bilingual because they had dual citizenship and if they wanted to live in America in the future, they should be able to deal with the opportunities there with confidence. Adam was very concerned, and purposefully tried to surround Al and Agatha with as much English as possible. He took care of a lot of the feeding, bathing, and domestic chores with Al and Agatha. Even if it concerned something unimportant, he made a point to speak with his children a great deal, and in general, he adopted a multitude of approaches to improve his children's English.

Adam said that his major concern was that his children have a complete command of the English language in the future. He described his own expertise in the field of linguistics, saying that he took courses in teaching English as a second language in college and was therefore not totally ignorant

of linguistics, but the major impetus was that he really wanted his children to be bilingual.

Adam also understood the importance of fathers participating in child rearing, and he believed that unless a father was actively involved in the children's bilingual education, they could not become proficient bilinguals. Adam expressed his concerns about the Japanese educational system, too. He reported that before his marriage, he worked as an English teacher and he came across many people who were displeased with the Japanese educational system.

Al was a late bloomer and he was told that in American schools, children could be held back if they were not able to keep up. Adam himself had been held back in the third grade and that proved very useful for him. The impression that he obtained in Japan was that this would not be allowed in the Japanese educational system. He also thought that the cram school system was very rigid. Adam's beliefs about the Japanese educational system and cram schools in Japan motivated him to send Al to an international school so that he might get a good English education.

Adam believed that he had a very good understanding of the educational system in Japan and he considered everything that was crucial for his children's education. He presented good arguments for putting his son into a Japanese school and thought that he could learn a great deal there, but at the same he was concerned about the difficult terminology in mathematics and

other subjects that Al would have to relearn in English. He felt that although it was beneficial to study mathematics and other subjects twice, it could confuse Al because of different terminology and teaching styles. He concluded that they should put Al back into an international school as he did not have time to do everything twice.

As for Agatha, Adam said that she was also taking a separate vocabulary course as well as a full course, and that she was a good student who learned vocabulary very quickly. However, she also tended to forget very quickly. She seemed to have a good grasp of English phonology, and could therefore become a very accomplished English speaker. They decided to put her into an international school so that she could improve her weak areas in both languages.

Adam wanted to provide Al and Agatha with chances to learn everything in both languages and, in this process, if their language development lagged behind their peers, Adam did not worry too much about it. To make his children bilingual, he was ready to sacrifice a few years. He presented the example of California again, and its bilingual society, where people speak English with different accents. He thought that studying in an international school would help his children prepare for future challenges and opportunities, particularly if they eventually lived outside of Japan. While grooming his children for the future, he was not concerned about the job market, but he was quite concerned about the Japanese educational system.

Adam was still reluctant to decide between a Japanese school or an international school, but money played an important role in his decision because of the expensive tuition at the international schools.

Adam felt that Al was not very good at writing compositions and Al did not enjoy writing, but it was a necessary part of learning English and good writing skills would be help him throughout his both academic and everyday life. As a result, Al was quite strict with his children on this matter. He tried to make Al's composition exercises more and more interesting through the use of stories and other interesting activities.

Apart from their English, Adam said he believed that mathematics was also important because American students score low in mathematics in worldwide comparisons. He appreciated the repetitive system of the old-fashioned style of learning at *Kumon*. He wanted his children to practice mathematics at *Kumon* because he believed that it would be helpful for them.

Adam was completely satisfied with K International School. He thought that the girls there were very good and he liked talking with Agatha's classmates in the school. He said that when Agatha was in class she spoke only English for 90 minutes continuously, but when she came out, she spoke Japanese. At home, they also spoke both English and Japanese. That is why he thought that the international school was beneficial for Agatha.

Adam realized that it was his responsibility to teach his children his native language, English, and that was why he spent a lot of time with them,

reading, doing various exercises, and organizing their home schooling. When Adam had to go on a business trip, he left instructions for Al on tape, so even at those times, Al could study himself. Adam bought many English games, videos, and books in order to cultivate Al and Agatha's interest in learning English and culture. Adam and Akiko stressed that these materials proved to be very efficient in fostering the children's bilingual ability and identities. Moreover, his father inspired Al to play various games that required the use of English words and this made the process of studying more interesting.

Kikuko's Husband, Kevin

Kikuko's husband, Kevin, was attentive to his daughters' needs. If he tried to read English books and if they did not like them, he changed to Japanese. Nevertheless, there was a time when he forced his daughters to speak only English at home, which was a manifestation of his desire to make English the dominant language in his family. He made considerable effort to provide them with English input, but in the end his efforts proved insufficient.

Kevin did find one way to increase his daughters' interest in English. He made up a story about an imaginary classroom with students from all over the world and he made the characters from this classroom say interesting things. Therefore, his daughters became more interested in English as they connected it with entertainment and fun. Kim and Kate often found Japanese

school difficult and their mother a strict disciplinarian. The "imaginary classroom" served as an antidote to that.

Haruko's Husband, Herbert

Herbert was preoccupied with his son's future education. He wanted to send Harry to international school because he knew that it would be good for him, despite the expenses involved. Herbert did not take his son to the United States as much as other fathers. He said that he did not mind if his son Harry became Japanese or developed a Japanese identity, but he expected his son to be bilingual. Like other fathers, he planned to move back to the United States eventually; thus, he realized that English was essential for Harry to cope with future challenges and opportunities.

Herbert had a family in the United States and he took Harry there to get acquainted with his relatives. While in the United States, Harry played with other children and improved his English rapidly. After spending time with a male cousin his age, he always returned to Japan with a better knowledge of English. As Harry traveled to the United States, he came to know more about American culture and became more attracted to the traditions and lifestyle there. Harry said that he liked the American educational system and would like to study in the United States, so it was obvious that Herbert had managed to cultivate an American identity in his son.

Although Herbert thought that his son would not fall behind native speakers of English, he attempted to improve his son's pronunciation and syntactic development. He regarded it as important to create a robust language environment for him. Herbert spent time teaching his son to avoid common grammatical and phonological mistakes. It was characteristic of Herbert that while being specifically interested in increasing his son's interest in English and American culture, he nonetheless allowed him to watch Japanese movies, because he thought that it was important for him to remain up-to-date in order to be able to communicate with his Japanese friends in school. Herbert's reflective and comprehensive approach to bilingualism proved to be very effective in creating a sound language environment.

Herbert was concerned that his son study "proper" English that was not contaminated by teenage slang; thus, he wanted Harry to study in the International Christian University, which provided children with a good education in both languages.

To conclude, it must be said that fathers play an important role in cultivating their children's interest in English because, as native speakers of English, they have more opportunities to create the necessary language environment. As in the cases of mothers, their methods can vary from strict limitations on speaking and using Japanese to a reflective and flexible approach to comprehensive bilingual education for their children.

Materials Chosen for Bilingual Education

Different approaches to creating a supportive language environment presuppose different strategies for the use of audio-visual resources in mixed families. In the case of a strict approach oriented at forming an English identity, reading Japanese books and watching Japanese TV programs and films is frequently prohibited. In the case of a reflective multilingual approach to education, children are allowed to watch and listen to both to English and Japanese programs, in part because the parents regard them as one effective means for educating their children.

Chikako's approach to Japanese audio-visual materials was negative. She allowed her children to watch only English video and TV programs such as Sesame Street and other bilingual programs. They also watched Sky Perfect television, a satellite-broadcasting channel that provides many bilingual programs such as the Cartoon Network. She also provided the children only English videos in order to control language input from the mass media. The children were also only permitted to watch English movies. Chikako believed that the children had no knowledge of Japanese movies because they had been watching movies in English since birth. This approach went along with other practices designed to create a dominant English environment in the family, but sometimes this approach was not very efficient in terms of identity construction.

Miku's approach to her daughters' education was more flexible because she read to them in both Japanese and English every night. Until they developed sufficient English proficiency to enter an international school, however, she was very strict about providing access to only English television programs, movies, and books. The process of reading was interesting both for Miku and her children because it was made into a game where the mother and daughters read page by page to each other. Interestingly enough, her elder daughter Mary's English was better than her own; thus, she found these exercises to be useful not only for her daughters but for herself as well. Thus, Miku and her daughters engaged in the process of influencing each other, a process that created a beneficial language environment. Miku did not put any limitations on Japanese programs and music, so the children engaged in numerous bilingual activities.

Beniko limited the time that the children watched television at home, because the children watched Japanese television programs at their grandparent's house. However, the children knew that if they asked their father to let them watch Japanese TV programs they could, as he was not as strict as their mother. They were, however, allowed to watch an unlimited amount of English programs. Beniko also thought that watching samurai dramas was important for Bart and Barbara to foster a Japanese spirit, which she had ignored when she was small.

The mothers who spoke only Japanese, Fumiko and Haruko, maintained the one-parent-one-language rule and read only Japanese books to their children. Although Fumiko said there were more important things in bringing up children than English, she created an English environment for Fiona by putting English videos in Fiona's sight so that she could choose English videos when she wanted to.

Bilingual Education Outside the Home

Studying in international schools and playgroups are considered the main prerequisites of bilingual education of children in international families. Still, different strategies pursued by the parents presupposed different approaches to education.

Akiko had good professional relations with the National Group of Foreign Wives married to Japanese Men. They took part in various events aimed at enhancing the English skills of their bilingual children. This could be considered a great endeavor given the lack of English practice for these children due to their parents business and other activities. They managed to find free time to devote it to the education of their children.

When the decision was finally made to take Al to an international school for an interview, the experience was not easy for him because he had to take an examination and be interviewed by the school principal on the first day of school. In the presence of his parents, Al had to answer the principal's

questions in English, which was the weaker language for him at the time, and he had to take several written tests. His oral skills proved to be average for his age, but the written text exposed some spelling and writing weaknesses.

Al's mistakes made him cry but the principal and teachers reassured him that he performed well. After that, when he was sent to the classroom to meet his classmates, he became even more frustrated because of the difficulty of the class, but as time passed he told his mother that it was beautiful to come to this school. Thus, his hardships lasted only several days, and then he accommodated himself to the new conditions. This case shows both the importance of bilingual education and the hardships that are sometimes a part of adapting to new conditions. These difficulties can be circumvented only by the joint efforts of parents, children, and teachers.

Beniko and her husband recognized the importance of play groups in English, and sent their children to them, but they also hoped to provide a serious and permanent elementary education; therefore, they sent Alice to a private bilingual kindergarten that was mainly for Japanese children, but with a focus on teaching English.

Emiko and Edward, unlike the previously described families, did not think about sending their son to an international school. When Emiko heard that one of her friends had decided to send her child to an international school, she decided that she would follow that example without consulting her husband. When her husband found out about Emiko's plans, he reacted

negatively because of the cost and the long distance of the school from their home. Here we see that gender roles might have been a primary factor influencing communication between wife and husband.

After they started planning to return to the United States, the choice to send Earl to an international school seemed reasonable to Emiko and Edward, as sending Earl to an international school would be an excellent opportunity to enhance his English skills. Moreover, Emiko had grown tired of constantly spending her limited time in teaching Earl English, and she believed that her English ability was not of an adequate level to allow professional and effective bilingual education.

Miku decided to stick to an English-only policy before her daughter passed the entrance examination at an international school. This policy anticipated the high demands and knowledge this school expected newcomers to have. Miku and her husband, Michel, chose the Yokohama International School for their daughters, so the family moved to that city. That decision was quite effective in terms of developing the daughters' bilingualism.

Kikuko was afraid that her son would be frustrated if he entered an American school without adequate knowledge of English because he would be regarded by American children as Japanese. Thus, Kikuko was determined to completely change his language environment and develop his English identity. Kikuko and her husband therefore decided to send their son to an international school where he could study both Japanese and English. The

level of education in this school was quite high and would allow him to move to the United States in the future. Thus, Kikuko's strategy was aimed at creating a sound bilingual environment for her son, and finally she achieved that goal.

Returning to the Husband's Home

As Clyne (1982), in *One Parent One Language*, and Dopke (1992, p. 55) noted, the practice of taking children to the United States to see the husband's relatives is quite useful for promoting bilingualism because the child becomes aware of the fact that both languages are useful in different situations. Moreover, frequent visits to the United States allow children to come into close contact with American culture and language, which was the main prerequisite for future success in their education and careers. Bilingualism can only be developed when a balance is maintained between languages. That means that in order to create good bilingual skills, visits to the native country of the parents are necessary.

All the participating families stressed that they tried to take their children back to their father's countries at least once a year, or ideally twice a year, in summer and at Christmas. The expense of a whole family returning to the father's home twice a year and spending one month presents a major financial burden to the families, so Akiko's family sometimes sent only their children to the grandparents' house to reduce the cost. Chikako's family sent

their children to a summer day camp for children who wanted to study more or needed to catch up with the class.

One thing all the families had in common was that their children had cousins of similar ages, and they looked forward to visiting them once or twice a year. This seemed to be an important motivation for the young children to improve their English. On the other hand, some families who participated in a preliminary study (but whose stories are not presented in the present study) said that although they tried to take their children to their spouse's countries, the children did not enjoy the visits because they did not have similar-age cousins.

Summary

The language environments chosen by families in international marriages seem to be greatly influenced by the opinions of mothers. This finding is in line with that of Harrison, Bellin, and Piette (1977), who found that mothers' "psychological" reasons are among the chief factors leading to language environment choices made to optimize children's language learning. In this study, as homemakers in their native country, the women might have enjoyed an extra measure of influence in their families, automatically assuming the role of local experts at maneuvering within the complex culture.

The Japanese mothers in this study created three language environments: (a) mothers speaking mainly English, as in the cases of Miku

and Emiko; (b) those speaking mainly Japanese, as in the cases of Fumiko and Haruko; and (c) those speaking both English and Japanese, as in the cases of Akiko, Beniko, Chikako, and Kikuko.

Mothers who spoke mainly English gave up their mother tongue in communicating with their children for the sake of creating what they considered an optimal English language environment at home. Both Miku and Emiko believed that making up for the lack of English input was the mother's crucial role at home in a society in which the majority language was Japanese. Their power relations with their husbands might have played a role in forming their beliefs. In Miku's case, her husband Michel had been her professor at her university, and now that they were husband and wife, she seemed to follow the habits of a student-teacher relationship. Emiko, too, respected her husband a great deal. She believed that being able to communicate with her husband in his language was crucial for their son's education.

Mothers who spoke mainly Japanese were committed to bringing their children up bilingually, but believed in the one-parent-one-language approach in which they were the designated Japanese speakers. Fumiko and Haruko cherished their identity as Japanese women and one way in which they expressed this was by speaking Japanese with their children. In doing so, they tried to keep a balance of both cultures alive in their home environments.

Mothers in the third group, who spoke both languages, seemed to follow a psychologically neutral path that led them now into one culture and now into the other. The relative importance of the two cultures shifted according to events and environments. The mothers' motivation to create English at home tended to increase when they encountered bilingual children who were more

fluent than their own children, or when their children had difficulty communicating with their own grandparents. They tended to value Japanese language input at home when they considered the pressures of the Japanese educational system, and the entrance examinations that play such a large role in the system.

The husbands in this study were generally ready and able to take part in raising their children bilingually at home. The English-speaking husbands sometimes consulted language acquisition theories in order to understand how to contribute to language education at home. However, they also took other measures to support their children. Adam, for example, changed his job in order to be available during his children's study time at home.

In choosing materials for the home language environment, all the families tried, to greater or lesser degrees to control the children's access to audio-visual materials at home. Taking advantage of the fact that activities at home are relaxed and natural, the parents made a great effort to insure that there were sufficient minority (English) language books, videos, and sound recordings. Fumiko, for example, arranged the materials so that her daughter's eye was likely to fall on English videos.

Because of the difficulty of balancing their children's bilingual language development, the parents made a number of extra efforts. Changes of residence or even moving from one country to another occurred in some cases. Even without being able to send their children to international schools, mothers created English-speaking playgroups and encouraged their children to engage in English-speaking experiences. An effective stimulation for children, and even parents, was going back to the husband's home regularly

and spending time with cousins of a similar age.

In various ways, the parents in international marriages consciously and unconsciously attempted to create the best possible language environments for their children. They worked especially hard at this because they knew that they could not rely on the Japanese educational system to provide adequate minority-language instruction. They worked in the absence of any definitive theory of language learning. Sensing that they must rely on themselves, they spent enormous energy and found various solutions so that their children could grow up possessing the power of speaking two languages.

CHAPTER 6

THE END OF THE STORY

Six years had passed since the last interviews were conducted. This chapter provides the stories of the participating families in 2007. I had lost contact with two participating families: Kikuko and Kevin and their two daughters, Kim and Kate, and Miku and Michel and their two daughters, Mary and Molly, all of whom had moved to the United States soon after I visited them the last time.

Family 1: Akiko, Adam, Al, and Agatha

Al was 20 years old, a freshman at W University, and Agatha was 15 years old, in the third year of junior high school. When the last interview was conducted, Akiko and Adam were considering taking Al and Agatha out of K International School.

Al

In 2000, when the questionnaire and the first interview were conducted, Al was attending a local Japanese school in Chiba prefecture, having moved from an American school in Tokyo. Al used English with his father all his life, but he communicated with his mother and his sister in Japanese. Because his school teachers and friends were Japanese speakers, he used Japanese outside

the home most of the time. His self-assessment of both languages is as follows: He considered the four skills in English to be native speaker level and his Japanese proficiency, except for writing, was also native speaker level.

Al was placed in the seventh grade of S International School (a boy's school), in which he had his first formal education in English. His parents felt that it was an ideal school academically and linguistically for Al. After completing junior and senior high school, he entered W University, one of the most prestigious universities in Japan. He entered the school of international liberal arts, in which, unlike ordinary Japanese universities, most of the lectures were given in English by English speaking professors of various nationalities.

Akiko and Adam's expectation was to raise Al to become a completely balanced bilingual. He had most of his formal education in international schools. After he entered S International Kindergarten, he spent only a couple of years in a Japanese public elementary school. He then studied at K International School for three years and then, was placed back in S International School.

Al had been speaking English with his father continually since he started speaking. Akiko also had been trying to speak English when Adam was part of the conversation. Al spoke more English to his mother when they were in the United States, but used Japanese more with her when they were in Japan. However, he started using some Japanese even in the United States as

his English proficiency approached a native speaker's level. He used more Japanese with his sister. When both Al and Agatha were studying at K international school together, they were supposed to use only English regardless of where they were. The students at international schools tended to use "international school English," which was somewhat different from ordinary English because of the amount of code-switching that it involved. In international schools, there tended to be three major groups; a group of mainly westerners, a group of mainly double kids, and a group of Japanese, including returnees. Al communicated more in English inside and outside the classroom. Moreover, English was the language used for entertainment when he watched movies, videos, and TV programs, read books and magazines, and listened to music.

Because he had been educated in international schools, Al's subjective assessment of his language use was that both English and Japanese were his native tongues. Akiko confirmed Al's assessment of himself when she said that Al could read, write, listen, and speak English and Japanese at the level of a native speaker. She thought that his ability to write *kanji* (Chinese characters) was slightly weaker than that of a well educated Japanese. Akiko believed that Al was going to go to an American university, but she said in the interview, "He might be mentally Japanese, I mean his identity might be more Japanese, so he chose a Japanese university."

Akiko wanted Al to get an MBA in the United States in the future. Al started feeling the necessity of studying abroad when he was influenced by a close relative who had an excellent job in the United States, earning 8 million yen for his first bonus. Akiko said in her interview,

> Now that he seems to have become a perfect balanced bilingual, I want him to acquire perfect and beautiful Japanese, being able to use *Keigo* (honorific expressions) as a very well-educated Japanese man.
> (Interview in Japanese, October 5, 2007)

Agatha

Agatha used Japanese most of the time with her family and friends. She used some English only when her father talked to her together with her brother. Her self-assessment of her bilingual proficiency in 2000 was that her Japanese was native speaker level and her English was good enough for daily communication with people her age. Agatha was 15 years old in 2007. She entered K International School together with Al. When Al was leaving K International School, Akiko, Adam, and Agatha discussed whether it would be the best for her to move to S International School. However, Agatha did not think that an international school environment was the best for her; therefore, she was not considering staying in K International School or moving to another international school. Instead, she wanted to go to a Japanese public school. Giving first priority to Agatha's wishes, Akiko and Adam decided to allow her to move to a Japanese public junior high school, although they strongly hoped that she would remain in an international school. Akiko and

Adam knew that leaving formal education in English at an early stage meant giving up the idea of becoming a balanced bilingual.

Akiko stressed that she disliked the Japanese educational system, which she considered *kanri kyouiku* [education controlled by government], and she was also concerned about the so-called examination hell that many Japanese students experienced as they studied for competitive junior high school, high school, and university entrance examinations. Choosing a Japanese public junior high school meant that Agatha would not be exceptional in her English language ability. Fortunately, however, they found an experimental high school that combined a junior and senior high school together, the same as private high schools, which had good results in sending high school students to competitive universities as a consequence of their six continuous years of education. This new system had been introduced recently by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, and Science, and Technology, and had gained the attention of parents who were concerned about their children's education. Because parents expected the school to produce good results, the teachers there were very keen to prove the school's worth by publicizing the number of students who passed the Tokyo University entrance examination, one of the most difficult tests in Japan.

Although entrance to the new high school was very competitive, Agatha had passed the *Eiken* pre-first grade examination (university second grade

completion level of English), so before finishing elementary school, she was exempted from the entrance examination.

Although she entered K International School together with Al, Agatha did not like the atmosphere of the international school. After leaving K International School, she studied English as a second language with her father in an English home-schooling program while Al was studying at a Japanese public school. She had been speaking English with her father most of the time. She always communicated with her mother in Japanese at that time.

Akiko said that Agatha chose the Japanese school system, particularly a school that focused on high academic achievement, to serve her own purposes. In deference to Agatha's academic activities in Japanese, Akiko did not want to put too much emphasis on creating an English-speaking environment at home. When the family was together, they communicated in English, but these days even Adam accepted that Agatha used some Japanese and Akiko spoke to Agatha in Japanese most of the time. Akiko's hope for Agatha, because she had given up on Agatha's becoming a completely balanced bilingual, was for her to acquire a high level of Japanese while at the same time learning English as a second language. For example, early success at passing the *Eiken* (STEP) first grade examination, which she had failed by getting 80% of the passing score when she took the test at the age of 11, was a positive step.

Akiko also stressed that the children's first experiences with formal education might have influenced their current educational choices. Al had gone to an international school, and Agatha had attended a Japanese public school.

Family 2: Beniko, Benjamin, Barbara, and Bart

Barbara was 17 years old in 2007, and she was attending a private Japanese girls high school, which was located in a suburb of Tokyo about two hours by train from home. Bart was 14 years old and he was going to a local Japanese junior high school. He had also attended a local Japanese kindergarten and elementary school.

Beniko said repeatedly in her interviews that "becoming bilingual is not a choice, it's a must for our kids." When I interviewed them in 2000, the children were elementary school students. Beniko and Benjamin believed that ample English input could easily be provided for young children through English videos, attending summer camps, and doing workbooks. Beniko and Benjamin constantly and strictly had their children take part in these activities.

When Beniko and Benjamin lived in Tokyo, they had a wider selection of schools, international schools, and high-level academic private and public schools, which provided better environments for bilingual education. Now that they lived in a suburban area, however, commuting to these schools seemed almost impossible.

Bart

In her interviews in 2000, although Beniko stressed that it was indispensable for her children to become bilinguals, she was very concerned about Bart's language development. Beniko and Benjamin's subjective assessment of Bart's languages was that neither of the languages was his mother tongue. Bart's Japanese speaking, listening, and reading were almost native-like, but he had problems in writing. He did not encounter serious problems listening to English, but when it came to speaking, he had difficulty with daily communication. He showed little proficiency in English reading and writing.

Bart used to call his sister *Eigo jin,* a person who speaks English, and he had the idea that because his sister was born in the United States, she could speak good English. Bart was born in Japan, and thought that was a reason why he was not good at English. Yet his Japanese, and particularly his *kanji*, was weaker than that of other Japanese children, and his excuse was that "I am *Eigo jin*, so I don't need *kanji*."

In the interview in 2007, it seemed that there had been little need to worry. Bart was acquiring both languages smoothly. He had been communicating with his father in English all his life. Apart from his father, he used Japanese most of the time even when they were in the United States. Although he used Japanese most of time in active communication, English

had been a tool for passive communication, such as watching movies and videos. As Beniko made it a rule for the children to watch videos and television programs only in English, he received a large amount of input in that language.

Beniko was worried about Bart's language abilities during the first phase of this study. However, he passed the *Eiken* (STEP) pre-second grade examination (standard level for completion by second-year senior high school students) at the age of thirteen, and this achievement was considered excellent.

In the beginning, Beniko was slightly frustrated with the pace of the teachers at school. She got the impression that they were not serious about her children's academic achievement. However, as her children grew up, she started thinking that the most important criterion for choosing a school was Barbara and Bart's own preferences. She strove to find an environment that they liked and at the same time one in which they could grow up to be independent. Beniko stressed in the interviews conducted in 2000, and in the follow-up interview in 2007, that they made it a rule to watch English television programs and movies and they had to talk to their father in English. She also said that they cherished American cultural events such as Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter, and American-style barbeques.

Barbara

In their new environment, Barbara chose a private Japanese girl's junior and senior high school located in an area adjacent to Tokyo. In the beginning,

Barbara's parents thought that it would be too far for 12-year old Barbara to commute every morning. However, after they left Tokyo, Barbara was surrounded by rather relaxed people including her teachers and classmates; therefore, they started thinking that it would be a good stimulant for her to have a change of pace. Barbara went to a cram school to prepare for the junior high entrance examination with her friends. She took an entrance examination and passed it.

Barbara always communicated with her father in English, but she spoke only Japanese to all other family members. Before Barbara started preparing for the private junior high school entrance examination, Beniko tried to create a "speaking English only" atmosphere when Benjamin was in the conversation, but Barbara spoke Japanese with her mother most of the time in Japan. In the United States, they communicated in English more often, but surprisingly, they used Japanese as well. Since she was a baby, and as a part of Beniko's language planning, Barbara had been watching television and movies only in English, but she read books and magazines in Japanese as other Japanese teenagers do. She listened to English and Japanese music in approximately equal proportions.

In 2000, Barbara said that her native language was Japanese and speaking, listening, and reading in that language were better than that of her friends at English classes, however, her writing ability was very limited. Seven years later, in 2007, Barbara thought that her abilities in speaking,

listening, reading, and writing were equally good in English and Japanese; however, she saw her reading and writing abilities in English as being slightly weaker than her speaking and listening skills. To assess her English abilities more objectively, she passed the *Eiken* (STEP) second grade examination (standard level for completion of senor high school) when she was a junior high school student and obtained a score of 640 on the T0EIC. Barbara was planning to enter an international faculty at a Japanese university or to study abroad. She participated in a two-month study program in Australia, and her interest in her father's tongue, English, deepened as she gained confidence in accomplishing that goal. In the last interview, she identified herself more as an American because she was born in the United States.

Family 3: Chikako, Christian, Chuck, and Clara

Chikako and Christian had thought about sending Chuck and Clara to an international school, but the responsibilities of operating their own successful English school prevented them from doing so. Although they had not had a formal education in English, because they were small children, Chikako and Christian had been surrounded by a large number of English-speaking teachers and had participated in events such as Halloween and Christmas. In addition to these events, Chuck and Clara enjoyed studying in a local kindergarten and elementary school with other Japanese children.

Chuck and Clara

In 2007, Chuck was 14 years old and in the third year of junior high school. He had been strongly interested in basketball for some time and was a member of a local team. When he thought about which high school to apply for, he had an idea that he wanted to go to a high school that had a good basketball team. He consulted with his parents to see if he could go to the United States to play basketball there. Chikako and Christian were grateful to hear that, because they had tried hard to create an environment for Chuck and Clara to foster their interest in both the English language and American culture. Chuck wanted to go to an American school even before finishing junior high school in Japan. Chikako was planning to go to the United States with Chuck in 2008 and she hoped to stay there for one year to help Chuck settle into his new environment.

Chuck communicated with his father in English all the time. Chikako tried to speak English as much as possible when Chuck was small and before Clara was born. However, after Clara was born, Christian became flexible enough to relax the English-only rule at home. Clara wanted to use more Japanese, as the second child often does. Christian, who adored his daughter, wanted to speak Japanese. As a consequence, Clara used English and Japanese half and half with her father. Chuck and Clara always communicate with each other in Japanese as they do with their Japanese grandparents. When they were in the United States, naturally they used more English; they

used roughly 50% English with their mother, Chieko, and Chuck and Clara used English about 20 to 30% of the time when communicating with one another.

The children used to watch television programs and movies all in English except when they were at their grandparent's house. In 2007, however, they only watched Japanese television programs due to the influence of their classmates, who were all Japanese. Watching the same popular television programs is very important for socialization for school students in Japan. Knowing this, Chieko did not discourage their watching Japanese programs. They also preferred to read in Japanese due to their formal education in that language. The only time that English dominated was when they watched movies and videos.

Although Chuck and Clara were native speakers of Japanese, Chuck did not encounter problems comprehending spoken English or speaking English in his daily life. However, he did have some difficulty reading and writing English.

As the second child, Clara's language environment was less strict, and her parent's expectations for her to become bilingual were less intense compared to their expectations for their first child, Chuck, as is often the case with bilingual families. As the participating families who had two children said, they had a tendency to dedicate all their energy and time to the bilingual education of the first child, but when they had a second child, they often could

not enjoy the same amount of quality time with that child. Moreover, they tended to be slightly more relaxed about the second child's education, concentrating more on having time as a family.

In 2007, Clara was attending a local Japanese junior high school and needed to consider which school she would apply to following year as an eighth grade junior high school student. Chikako had been trying to get Clara interested in American culture and English. Whenever she found an appropriate time, she presented things in which Clara might have some interest. Despite her mother's efforts, Clara had not found anything that attracted her to an English-speaking environment. Now Chikako was trying to find some ways to motivate Clara to study in the United States in the near future.

Chuck's interest in basketball made him determined to go to a high school in the United States. Chikako planned on staying with him in the United States until he settles in his new environment in 2008.

Family 4: Emiko, Edward, and Earl

Earl

When the last interview was conducted, Earl was in the ninth grade, and he had moved from a local Japanese elementary school to M International School. When Earl graduated from M International School, Emiko and Edward decided to leave Japan to educate Earl in the United States. Earl entered B Middle School in the United States and studied there until the end of junior high school. The family returned to Japan for Edward's job, and Earl started attending an American high school in Tokyo as a tenth grader. In 2007, Earl graduated from the American high school and he became a freshman in an American university in September, 2007.

In Emiko and Edward's family, the common language for communication was English. Emiko spoke English inside and outside the home with Earl, but he always communicated in Japanese with his grandparents, who lived with them.

Because most of Earl's formal education took place in international schools in Japan, the majority of his friends were bilingual or English speaking. Although he communicated with these friends in English most of the time, he also used Japanese outside the school, as international school students in Japan often did.

Earl always watched movies and videos in English but he often watched Japanese television programs. He read English books, as well as large numbers of Japanese comic books.

Earl's and his mother's subjective assessment of his language ability was that his English listening, speaking, reading and writing proficiency were native. Although he did not encounter major problems speaking and listening in Japanese, he seemed to have problems reading and writing Japanese in his daily life.

The most important factor in choosing Earl's schools was to prepare him for college and to increase his career potential. The choice of a language of study was somewhat less important as long as Earl could remain relatively bilingual. Also, knowing Earl's personality, it was important to have a school environment where he was academically challenged and where he could make a group of friends that he could be comfortable with. Finally, tuition was a consideration as many of the international schools are exorbitantly expensive. The family returned to Japan when Earl was about to begin high school. Because his Japanese skills were limited at that time, Emiko and Edward decided that an international school would be best for him academically; cost was less of a consideration.

When Earl was young, Japanese was his main language outside the home. He went to a Japanese school, his friends were Japanese, and many of his family members spoke to him in Japanese. Therefore, Emiko and Edward

decided that they would speak only English to him inside and outside the home. In addition they wanted to put him in English-speaking environments whenever possible. For example, attending an English-language church and making frequent trips back to the United States were optimal. The trips to the United States proved especially valuable because Earl strengthened his American identity, became close his many cousins and relatives, and became motivated to improve his English. After one or two months in America, Earl's English proficiency increased noticably.

Final Answer: Emiko's Motive for Raising Earl Bilingually

When I was conducting my initial inquiries, Emiko did not clearly explain why English was crucially important for her. After six years, however, in the follow-up interviews, I asked her again to explain her motivation for wanting an English education for Earl, and she seemed to have clear answers. She explained,

> The main reason for spending all my energy and time for English education at the sacrifice of Japanese language, my mother tongue, was that I wanted Earl to have the best relationship with his father.
> (Interview in Japanese, November 12, 2007)

Emiko also said,

> I'm not a dependable parent for my son's education, so if he could rely on his father, everything would be fine with Earl's education, I mean, I thought I didn't need to worry about his education and future. So acquiring English was very crucial for them to be able to understand each other.
> (Interview in Japanese, November 12, 2007)

Emiko explained that another reason why she cherished English was that she could not communicate with her father when she was a child, so she felt that it was indispensable for Earl to acquire English and communicate with his father.

Another motivation was that, when she was living in the United States, Emiko had a very good relationship with her husband's family, and wanted to keep on good terms with them after Earl was born. She had more relatives that she wanted to maintain contact with in the United States than in Japan. All things considered, and as a result of focusing on English-only language education, she could not find any disadvantage in the fact that Earl could not speak Japanese. In the worst-case scenario, they would have to ask her parents to speak English with Earl.

When he began studying at the university, Earl was excited about having a double student as a roommate; he was half American and half Japanese. However, he did not make good friends with him. These days, Earl mixes with white American students watching television and doing assignments with them in the dormitory.

Studying in the United States, Earl found the Asian study group interesting and tried to join it; however it was not what he expected, so he was planning on joining a Japanese study group. After moving back and forth

among white American, Asian American, and Japanese-American doubles, Earl seemed to find the Japanese-American double group most comfortable.

Family 5: Fumiko, Frederick, and Fiona

Fiona

When the last interview was conducted, Fiona had just entered a local elementary school. In the fourth grade, Fiona enrolled in a *shingaku juku,* a cram school that helped students prepare for highly competitive junior high school entrance examinations. Nearly half of the families in the metropolitan Tokyo area send their children to this type of cram school.

The long-term plan that Fumiko and Frederick had to send Fiona to the United States was realized when Fiona was in the fifth grade of elementary school. In September 2006, Frederick had an offer to work in the United States. They took the opportunity to take Fiona to the United States with Frederick and they placed her in the fifth grade of an American elementary school. She graduated from the elementary school in June 2007, and returned to Japan. She spent her two-month summer vacation with her family, and returned to the United States to go to a junior and senior high school that combines specialized arts and communication with a dance company. One of the reasons Fumiko and Frederick chose the school was that Fiona could continue practicing ballet with the school dance company. There were no

other Japanese students in the school, so she struggled to communicate only in English both at school and home for the first time.

Although Fiona enjoyed going to the school, she said that she preferred to live in Japan. Fumiko encouraged Fiona by explaining the advantages of studying in the United States. The privilege for returnees is that those who have studied abroad for more than two years and acquired a foreign language can enter a high school easily. Fumiko said in the interview:

> My actual wish is that Fiona will come back to Japan to join a Japanese girls junior high school during the summer break in June and July, continue till the end of the senior high school in the States, and choose an American university. That's what she herself would like to choose.
> (Interview in Japanese, November 22, 2007)

Fumiko stressed that she decided to send Fiona to the United States to study after considering "Japanese examination hell" when Fiona started preparing for her junior high school entrance examinations a fourth grader. Fumiko thought that studying for the examination would be a waste of Fiona's precious time at 10-12 years old. She believed that studying English and immersing herself in American culture in the United States would enable her to do anything she was interested in. If it had been later than the fifth grade, it would have been harder for her to adjust to an English-speaking environment.

Fiona had been communicating with her father in both English and Japanese in a half-and-half manner, except when they were in the United

States, Fiona used more English with her father. Fiona spoke Japanese most of the time to her mother both in the United States and Japan.

When in the United States, Fiona watched television programs in English more than in Japanese, and movies and videos in roughly equal proportion in both languages.

Fiona's self-assessed linguistic ability was that Japanese was her mother tongue, and her English speaking and listening abilities were at a level where she did not encounter major problems in daily life, but reading and writing were slightly weaker skills.

Fumiko reported that the family did not have any specific rules for language use at home because she believed that Fiona's choice of language was deeply related to her identity. Fumiko and Frederick felt that they needed to create an environment in which Fiona could acquire both languages so that she could live in either Japan or the United States in the future.

Family 6: Haruko, Herbert, and Harry

Harry

Harry was attending a local public elementary school, and had been attending a *shingaku juku* for the last two years. He was planning on taking a private junior high school entrance examination in early 2008. His parents avoided providing any additional out-of-school English instruction, because he was studying so much at the cram school. His weakest school subject was the Japanese language; therefore, they believed that additional English

language instruction at home was inappropriate while Harry was preparing for the entrance examinations. Both Haruko and Herbert were in agreement on this point.

Harry was a balanced bilingual in spoken English and Japanese, and he experienced little trouble communicating with his father or American relatives in daily life. He had, however, expressed embarrassment that he could not read English on a few occasions, even though several of his Japanese classmates who were taking extracurricular English instruction could. This point arose following visits from a native-speaker teaching assistant at the local elementary school. While Harry understood all of the spoken English and could translate for classmates if asked, several other monocultural classmates could read English books better than Harry. Herbert said:

> It is my feeling that Harry will catch up quickly with English reading in junior high school. I also think he needs something to learn in JHS English classes so that he does not feel bored, or demotivated. Aside from a very short course he did at an English conversation school at age 3 or 4, I've never felt that he needed to study English outside the home. At the same time, I anticipate having to push him somewhat once he enters JHS, not only to read and increase his English vocabulary, but to become aware of and hopefully eradicate some lingering grammatical deficiencies in his interlanguage [less than perfect English].
> (Interview in English, November 2, 2007)

Haruko and Herbert had never attempted to make or enforce a language policy inside or outside the home. Harry naturally spoke English to his father

and Japanese to his mother. When the three of them were engaged in conversation, such as at dinner, Harry and his father spoke Japanese to Haruko, and English to each other. Haruko generally understood the gist of the English conversation and rarely, if ever, asked for a translation, but she always responded in Japanese. The only time that Harry chose to speak Japanese to his father was when he was phoning from the cram school to tell his father and mother what time he would return, and then he did not want to speak English over the phone in front of the other students.

As the complexity of the dinner conversations progressed, Herbert had begun to require ever more clarification and elaboration of the Japanese to stay involved in the conversation. In most instances, Harry was unwilling or unable to translate into English. Haruko would paraphrase in Japanese but, as this disrupted the flow of conversation, there had been a growing tendency for Harry to drift off or drop out of the conversation. This happened especially when conversations centered on the highly charged subject of competitive private junior high school entrance examinations, and educational goals.

Harry would attempt to discuss these issues in English with Herbert when the two of them were together, but during the past year Harry had begun to indicate increasing frustration that he could not use English to discuss complex issues such as human relationships or the implications of difficult educational choices, within his cram school and wider social circle.

Summary of the Follow-Up Inquiry

Six out of eight participating families' current linguistic environments and levels of achievement have been described.

After the birth of Al, Akiko and Adam decided on a target of "perfect bilingualism" for Al and Agatha, and they had succeeded. Al, at 20 years old, had acquired both English and Japanese in a balanced way. Agatha, 15 years old, although she learned English as a second language at local junior high school, proved to have advanced English proficiency.

Beniko and Benjamin believed that "their children becoming bilinguals" was a must. However, unlike Akiko and Adam, they could not send their children to an international school because they lived too far away from the nearest one. Barbara, 17 years old, was educated in local Japanese schools, and attended a private Japanese high school. Although she was formally educated at Japanese schools, she achieved 640 on TOEIC when she was a junior high school student. Beniko, however, was worried about Bart's mother tongue development; however, she need not have worried, as he acquired both Japanese and English. He passed the pre 2nd grade of *Eiken* English tests at the age of 13, which is an excellent achievement.

Chikako and Christian attempted to create a natural bilingual environment, which meant not stressing one language over the other. Although Chuck was not compelled to speak only English, he seemed to have developed an identity as an American through his love of basketball. Clara,

the second child, appeared to have had a slightly more relaxed home language environment. Chikako was looking for the ways to encourage Clara to develop the American side of her identity.

Emiko and Edward had maintained an English-only language environment from the time of Earl's birth to the present. Emiko finally provided a satisfactory answer to the question as to why English education was her first priority, asked during the initial interviews. She had pondered the question over the intervening six years, and the later interviews provided her with opportunities to rethink her beliefs about Earl's education and her own relationship with her husband.

Fumiko and Frederick's daughter Fiona was in the United States attending a junior high school in 2007. Fumiko and Frederick carried out the one-parent-one-language policy. They tried to create a natural language environment at home, but they sent Fiona for extra schooling between the last part of her elementary education and junior high school. Fiona attended a cram school in Japan, and that experience reconfirmed Fumiko's concerns about the problems with Japanese education. At the same time, Frederick received an offer to work in the United States, which he accepted, and this led to Fiona attending a junior high school in the United States.

Haruko and Herbert also employed a one-parent-one-language policy and Harry developed both languages in a balanced way. The parents said that they tried to create as natural a bilingual environment as possible, but as an

English-speaking father, Herbert made a quiet but strong effort to provide Harry with English input. At the end of the present inquiry, Harry was preparing for a competitive private junior high school entrance examination in 2008.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This longitudinal qualitative study of families with Japanese mothers and English-speaking fathers living in Japan has attempted to address three issues: (a) what kind of language environment the participants had; (b) what factors influenced these families' decisions about their language environments, based on established theories on bilingualism and the historical background of international families in Japan; and, (c) what conclusions can be drawn about the efficacy of different language environments for raising bilingual children. In this chapter, I will summarize the main findings concerning these questions.

Bilingual Environment

Transitional Patterns of Parental Home Language Choice

The families in this study suggest four patterns by which parental home language use changed during the research period (1996-2007).

The Language Shift of Mothers Speaking English at the First Stage (before elementary school) to the Second Stage (after elementary school)

1. Mother: English ⇒ English
   Father: English ⇒ English
2. Mother: English ⇒ Japanese
   Father: English ⇒ English

Mothers speaking Japanese

3. Mother: Japanese ⟹ Japanese
   Father: English ⟹ English

The Language Shift of Mothers Speaking both Japanese and English at the First Stage (before elementary school) to the Second Stage (after elementary school)

4. Mother: J/E ⟹ J/E
   Father: English ⟹ English

The following two patterns are not described in the present study. They were, however, identified among other families not reported in this study.

5. Mother: Japanese ⟹ Japanese
   Father: English ⟹ E/J
6. Mother: Japanese ⟹ Japanese

It is natural that parents would want to speak to their children in their mother tongue. The first and second patterns, however, depict mothers who downplay their mother tongue in order to create an English-speaking environment at home.

The first pattern was displayed by Emiko and Edward. Emiko chose to speak English to her son, Earl, and her husband wherever they were and she stayed with that rule throughout the study. Unlike Kikuko, Emiko has near-

native English proficiency and her parents can manage to communicate with their grandson in English if necessary.

The second pattern was exemplified by Kikuko and Kevin. Having no alternative, Kikuko decided to speak English in order to raise her daughters bilingually, although it was a struggle for her even to say simple commands like “stop” in English. As the daughters acquired English, however, she started speaking Japanese without worrying about destroying the optimal environment for acquiring English.

The third pattern, the one-parent-one-language policy, was found in two families: Fumiko and Frederick, and Haruko and Herbert, but it should be noted that Fumiko and Haruko had different beliefs and reasons for choosing this policy. Having a strong yearning to become a member of English-speaking society herself, Fumiko had contradictory beliefs about using her own native language. On the other hand, Haruko had a stable identity as a Japanese person, and a belief that people living in Japan should speak Japanese.

The fourth pattern, in which the father speaks only English and the mother uses both Japanese and English, was found in the other four families: Akiko and Adam, Beniko and Benjamin, Chikako and Christian, and Kikuko and Kevin. Although these Japanese mothers used both languages to different degrees and for different reasons, they all had strong hopes that their children would become bilingual. Another common characteristic was that their

husbands were all attempting to create a bilingual environment at home, so the mothers were more relaxed about their own language use at home.

The fifth and sixth patterns logically exist and were also found among 15 participating families in a preliminary study, but the families are not described in this study, so these patterns will not be discussed.

Transitional Patterns of Formal Education

The possible patterns of school shift for children residing in Japan are found in the participating families of this study.

Elementary school		After junior high school
1. International school	⇒	a school abroad
2. International school	⇒	International faculty in Japanese college
3. Local school	⇒	a school abroad
4. Local school	⇒	local school

The options for international families residing in Japan when deciding on the children's entry into formal education are international schools, Japanese public schools, and Japanese private schools. Factors influencing families' decisions include the geographical location of the international schools, the family's economic situation, and the family's educational policies.

After completing Japanese compulsory education, which ends after the ninth grade, the families had to decide whether they would send their children

to a local Japanese school, an international school in Japan, or to the father's country.

Fumiko and Miku's families chose schools abroad. Emiko and Edward's son, Earl, after graduating from an American high school in Japan, entered a university in his father's country, the United States. Kikuko and Kevin's daughters, as well as Miku and Michael's daughters, attended international schools in Japan and then the families moved to the United States. Chikako's son Chuck chose to move to a high school in the United States to play basketball.

Implications for Successful Bilingual Families

The families who chose international schools or schools in the United States gave their children a good opportunity to acquire English; therefore, the burden on these families to create an optimal English environment appeared to be less. However, being able to provide an ideal education to acquire English in an international school in the fathers' countries often entails financial difficulties as well as other problems.

Pedagogical Implications

Creating an Optimal Environment for Acquiring English

Creating an optimal English environment at home is one of the key factors for those whose children do not attend an international school.

Acquiring a language without formal bilingual schooling is a long-term endeavor for both the children and family members.

Creating an optimal language environment includes manipulating underlying factors by all available means so as to influence the children who are learning the target language. The parents in this study worked hard to create both English and Japanese environments using their beliefs, identities, attitudes, and educational strategies.

Home Environment: Videos and Other Materials

Successful bilingual families provided children with ample English videos, DVDs, and other audio-visual resources at home. Some of the families strictly prevented their children's viewing of Japanese audio-visual resources in order to inhibit Japanese language input until the children acquired English. They stressed that interaction with the children while watching videos was a good way to communicate with their children and enjoy quality time together. All the mothers and children in this study enjoyed watching English videos together as a daily activity.

Father's Involvement in Education

A guiding question in this study asked why Japanese mothers were motivated to educate their children in English even at the sacrifice of their mother tongue, Japanese. A corresponding question concerns the father's

attitudes and activities. Akiko's husband, Adam said, "Mothers are always keen to promote children's education wherever they are. I learned that whether fathers are also keen or not makes the children's education different." The English-speaking father's involvement appears indispensable for successful bilingual home education. The example of Kikuko's husband creating an interesting story and telling the story in English to their daughters, particularly after they had completed unenjoyable homework in Japanese, created a positive image of the English language.

That Adam changed his occupation to spend more time with their children to help them with American home schooling was an extreme case. Still, there is one common effort shared by the fathers in this study: They came home early enough to spend quality time with their children every day, reading English books, doing school homework together, and talking about school activities. This is how the children learned to communicate in English and at the same time, the fathers developed "relatedness" with their children.

Creating Positive Images of English Language and Culture

Participating in a summer camp in the fathers' country and engaging in enjoyable activities during a summer break created positive images of English language and culture as opposed to studying English in Japan. Visiting the father's family during holidays, as all the participating families did, not only contributed to providing opportunities to use English, but it also strengthened

the bond with the father's family so that the motivation to learn English in the mother's country was reinforced. As all of the successful bilingual families stressed, having similar-age cousins in the father's family is as important as attending summer camps. The children maintained and intensified their motivation to visit the father's family periodically, and practiced writing by sending letters or e-mails.

The Factors Underlying the Creation of a Bilingual Environment

As summarized above, parental language control of videos, the father's active involvement in children's home education, and creating positive images of English, are useful in creating a bilingual environment. However, the role of Japanese mothers in bilingual education is a central factor (Okita, 2002). It is important to consider what induced these Japanese mothers to place English language education at the center of their lives and sustain the children's motivation to acquire English over the long term. The following underlying factors, as reinforcements in these families, indirectly but surely influenced the choice of language environments.

Power Relations Between the Husband and Wife

As Beniko and Emiko's examples imply, the power relations between a husband and wife can be partially determined by the wife's self-perception of that relationship. Beniko recognized her husband as the authority for their

children by admitting that he possessed more academic knowledge than her. She accepted the fact that their children listened to their father's directives, especially in regards to studying his native language, English.

Not only Emiko but also her son recognized that his father Edward was more knowledgeable and had more authority in their family. Emiko's inferiority complex told her that relying on her husband for her son's education would lead them to create an effective English-language environment. Being able to communicate in his father's language was indispensable for Emiko's son, Earl.

Another example of power in the participants' stories concerns gender. Although access to job opportunities and working conditions improved after the Equal Employment Opportunity Act was introduced in the United States in 1985, employment opportunities and the types of occupations available to women were still limited both in the United States and Japan. Finding a decent job was not easy for Japanese women in the United States when Akiko and Kikuko were looking for jobs. Akiko, Kikuko, Beniko, and the other women who participated in this study stressed their belief that if women in Japan could speak English, they could obtain good jobs, such as being flight attendants. These women found a new function for English as a "social passport," and for this reason, they concluded that the English language had more "power" than their own native language.

Mothers' Identities

Yet another important issue concerns the experiences of identity formation in Japanese women who are in international marriages with native speakers of English. Those whose narratives have been related here were strongly and positively influenced by close family members or English teachers who served as positive role models. This *relatedness* led them to develop *akogare*, a yearning for something or a yearning to be like someone, and influenced the adolescent formation of their identities. Some other participants, through their experiences in studying abroad, developed feelings of *akogare* for American culture, artifacts, or American men. Their identities, developed through these positive experiences, were largely based on the formation of positive attitudes towards Western culture and their strong motivation to learn English. However, after returning from studying in the United States, they realized that their identities needed to be reconfigured to fit Japanese society.

The extracts taken from the participants' life stories have shown that these Japanese women were interested in their husbands' culture and language before they met them. The renegotiation of their identities as a result of spending time abroad might be interpreted to mean that these women's identities are multiple and changeable, as Norton (1995, 2000) suggested.

This study also lends support to Norton's (1995) suggestion that foreign language learners' investment in language learning is strongly related

to their identity, that is, the amount of time and energy that they are willing to spend on learning a foreign language depends on how they would like to view themselves. It is also important to consider how language learners would like to be regarded by others. In addition, we have seen that it is helpful to investigate language learners' family backgrounds, including close family members' experiences and attitudes toward foreign languages if we are to understand their investment in language learning. The influence that the women in this study received from their family members was further supported by the television programs that they watched. Kumiko Torigai and Yoko Nomura, popular English instructors of TV programs, were important role models for many Japanese women. This was the case not only for the participants introduced in this study, but also for the participants in a preliminary study. Good role models, particularly if they are of the same gender as the learners, can help learners maintain their motivation.

While bilingual children like Christopher, introduced in the beginning of this study, might make language choices based on situated investment (Norton, 2000), their overall environment and language learning opportunities cannot be seen through this construct alone. The data presented above illustrate that the children's language learning environments are shaped by those of their mothers, whose beliefs concerning language learning have been developed through their own experiences.

In this study, I have described the bilingual language environment of bilingual families, and analyzed how Japanese mothers' identities as English learners were reflected in the language environment choices that they made for their children. All the mothers were influenced by close family members to develop their identities as good language learners, and these redeveloped identities were reflected in the language environments that they created for their children. They chose bilingual environments following two criteria: the resources available to them as learners of English—such as NHK television programs and short-term language immersion—and the perceived limitations of their own language learning. For example, Akiko and Chikako did not have contact with the English language and culture early enough, and therefore neither achieved native speaker proficiency.

The Effects of Different Treatments on Children

The follow-up study in 2007 permitted me to examine the outcomes of the different language environment strategies employed by the parents in this study. The children were young during the first wave of data gathering, but in the second wave, six years later, most of them were in high school or college. Accordingly, Research Question 3 asked, "What are the outcomes of parental endeavors?"

The first point is that the children in this study were quite successful in becoming bilingual, although their parents followed different, and sometimes

radically different, strategies in exposing them to both languages. Exposure itself, rather than the method of exposure, and motivation, however achieved, seemed to be necessary. A relaxed attitude worked as well as strict discipline concerning the audiovisual materials allowed into the home; the important point was that the resources were available. A one-parent-one-language policy seemed to work about as well as mixed language input from both parents. An international school environment seemed to work as well as concerted efforts by parents to have good relationships with their children in their native languages. The overall conclusion is that children are adaptable and resilient and that, regardless of parental hopes or rules, given sufficient opportunity, they will develop into competent speakers of both languages.

Moreover in every family studied, the children seemed to take increasingly larger roles in decision-making about language policies. They did this, in many cases, before the parents were ready to relinquish what they thought of as control. The children expressed strong opinions about the type of junior high school that they wanted to attend, and also about overseas study and the field of study. Many of the children appeared to be aware of wider choices than their parents. Perhaps frequent contacts with English-speaking cousins alerted the children to this wide range of educational and occupational choices.

In some cases, the parents worried at one stage or another that their children would not become fully bilingual. In the end, it seems that they need

not have worried. Perhaps there is something healthy about growing up in a bilingual, bicultural family—a combination of conscious and unconscious factors—that guides the children to make choices conducive to their bilingual success. Further study of the children themselves, especially as young adolescents, would lead to a greater understanding of the "something healthy" factor. It would be useful to know more about the perceptions and convictions by which adolescent imaginations grow and with which they begin to take control of their own lives.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Title of the project: Social-psychological factors affecting the language selection of bilingual children (Tentative)

Researcher: Tomoko Ascough
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CONFIDENTIALITY: I understand that any information about me obtained from this research will be kept strictly confidential. I consent to the use of study results so long as the information is anonymous and/or disguised so that identification cannot be made.

DESCRIPTION: I understand that my conversation / interview will be recorded on tape and later played back by the researcher, that the researcher may talk to me later about the interview, and that the researcher will write about the interview (with identities concealed).

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW: I understand that I am free to refuse to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT: I certify that I have read the preceding and that I understand its contents. Any questions I have pertaining to the researcher to the research have been or will be answered by the researcher.

I agree to participate in this study.

Date:
Participant's signature:
Phone number:
Participant's address:

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ENGLISH SPEAKING PARENTS

Birth place:
Gender: Male / Female
Native language(s):
Nationality:
Name:

Part 1
Here are some questions about the language in which you talk to different people, and the language in which certain people speak to you. There are no right or wrong answers. Leave an empty space if a question does not fit your situation.

In which language do YOU speak to the following people? Choose one of these answers.

		Always in English	In English more often than Japanese	In English and Japanese about equally	In Japanese more than English	Always in Japanese
1	Your wife/husband					
2	Your child					
3	Japanese friends (bilingual)					
4	English speaking friends (bilingual)					

In which language do the following people speak to <u>YOU</u>?

		Always in English	In English more often than Japanese	In English and Japanese about equally	In Japanese more than English	Always in Japanese
1	Your wife/husband					
2	Your child					
3	Japanese friends (bilingual)					
4	English speaking friends (bilingual)					

Which language do YOU use with the following?

		Always in English	In English more often than Japanese	In English and Japanese about equally	In Japanese more than English	Always in Japanese
1	Watching TV/videos					
2	Books/ newspapers					
3	Cassettes/CDs					
4	Radio					

How do YOU consider your ability in the following?

		Native	Very well	Good	OK	Very limited
English						
	Speaking					
	Listening					
	Reading					
	Writing					
Japanese						
	Speaking					
	Listening					
	Reading					
	Writing					

Part 2
How important or unimportant do you think that **English** is to do the following in Japan? There are no right or wrong answers.

		Important	A little important	A little unimportant	Unimportant
1	To make friends				
2	To earn plenty of money				
3	Read				
4	Write				
5	Watch TV/videos				
6	Get a job				
7	To be an international person				
8	Get treated better by other people				
9	Be a better educated person				
10	Be a good American/British citizen				
11	Sing (e.g. With others)				
12	Play sports				
13	Bring up children				
14	Go shopping				
15	Make phone calls				
16	Pass examinationinations				
17	Be accepted in the community				
18	Talk to friends				
19	Talk to teachers in school				
20	Keep the English culture alive				
21	Maintain contact with our family				

How important or unimportant do you think **Japanese** is to do the following in Japan? There are no right or wrong answers.

		Important	A little important	A little unimportant	Unimportant
1	To make friends				
2	To earn plenty of money				
3	Read				
4	Write				
5	Watch TV/videos				
6	Get a job				
7	To be an international person				
8	Get treated better by other people				
9	Be a better educated person				
10	Be a good American/British citizen				
11	Sing (e.g., with others)				
12	Play sports				
13	Bring up children				
14	Go shopping				
15	Make phone calls				
16	Pass examinationinations				
17	Be accepted in the community				
18	Talk to friends				
19	Talk to teachers in school				
20	Keep the English culture alive				
21	Maintain contact with our family				

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN

Name:
Age: Birth date:
Birth place:
Years in school:
Gender: Male / Female
Native language(s):
Nationality:
Mother's nationality:
Father's nationality:
The period of time you lived in English speaking countries:
Places:

Part 1
In which language do YOU speak to the following people? Choose one of these answers. Please answer as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers.

		Always in English	In English more often than Japanese	In English and Japanese about equally	In Japanese more than English	Always in Japanese
1	Father					
2	Mother					
3	Brothers/sisters					
4	Grand parents (mother's parents)					
5	Friends in the classroom					
6	Friends outside of school					
7	Relatives					
8	Teachers					
9	Friends in the playground					
10	Neighbors					
11	Grandparents (father's parents)					

In which language do the following people speak to <u>YOU</u>?

		Always in English	In English more often than Japanese	In English and Japanese about equally	In Japanese more than English	Always in Japanese
1	Father					
2	Mother					
3	Brothers/sisters					
4	Grandparents (mother's parents)					
5	Friends in the classroom					
6	Friends outside of school					
7	Relatives					
8	Teachers					
9	Friends in the playground					
10	Neighbors					
11	Grandparents (father's parents)					

Which language do YOU use with the following?

		Always in English	In English more often than Japanese	In English and Japanese about equally	In Japanese more than English	Always in Japanese
1	Watching TV/videos					
2	Books/comics					
3	Cassettes/CDs					
4	Radio					

How do YOU consider your ability in the following?

		Native	Very well	Good	OK	Very limited
English						
	Speaking					
	Listening					
	Reading					
	Writing					
Japanese						
	Speaking					
	Listening					
	Reading					
	Writing					

APPENDIX D
LANGUAGE USE OF THE EIGHT FAMILIES

Family 1

Family 1: Parents Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Akiko	English speaking father: Adam
Your husband	2	3
Your children	2	4
Japanese bilingual friends	1	1
English speaking friends	3	5

Family 1: Children's Language Use

	Al		Agatha	
	2000	2008	2000	2008
Your mother	2	2	1	1
Your father	5	5	2	4
Your siblings	2	2	1	2
Mother's grandparents	1	1	1	1
Father's grandparents	5	5	5	5
Friends in the classroom	1	5	1	1
Friends in the playground	1	3	1	1
Friends outside school	2	4	1	1
Teachers	1	5	1	1
Relatives	3	---	3	4
Neighbors in Japan	1	1	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 1: Language Activities

Activity	Akiko	Adam	Al	Agatha
Watching TV/videos	2	4	2	2
Reading books/magazines	2	5	2	2
Listening CDs	4	4	3	2
Listening radio	NA	NA	NA	NA

Family 1: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Akiko	Adam
English		
Speaking	3	5
Listening	3	5
Reading	3	5
Writing	3	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	3
Listening	5	3
Reading	5	1
Writing	5	1

	Al		Agatha	
	2000	2008	2000	2008
English				
Speaking	5	5	3	3
Listening	5	5	3	3
Reading	5	5	3	3
Writing	5	5	3	3
Japanese				
Speaking	5	5	5	5
Listening	5	5	5	5
Reading	4	5	5	5
Writing	3	5	5	5

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 2

Family 2: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Beniko	English speaking father: Benjamin
Your husband	5	4
Your children	2	5
Japanese bilingual friends	1	3
English speaking friends	5	5

Family 2: Children's Language Use

	Barbara		Bart	
	2000	2008	2000	2008
Your mother	3	2	2	2
Your father	5	5	5	5
Your siblings	2	1	1	1
Mother's grandparents	1	1	1	1
Father's grandparents	5	1	5	5
Friends in the classroom	1	1	1	1
Friends in the playground	1	1	1	1
Friends outside school	1	1	1	1
Teachers	1	1	1	1
Relatives	1	1	1	1
Neighbors in Japan	1	1	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 2: Language Activities

Activity	Beniko	Benjamin	Barbara	Bart
Watching TV/ videos	5	5	5	4
Reading books/ magazines	2	5	3	2
Listening CDs	4	5	3	1
Listening radio	4	5	5	5

Family 2: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Beniko	Benjamin
English		
Speaking	4	5
Listening	4	5
Reading	4	5
Writing	4	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	3
Listening	5	3
Reading	5	1
Writing	5	1

	Barbara		Bart	
	2000	2008	2000	2008
English				
Speaking	2	4	1	2
Listening	2	4	2	4
Reading	2	3	1	1
Writing	1	3	1	1
Japanese				
Speaking	5	5	3	5
Listening	5	5	3	5
Reading	5	5	2	5
Writing	5	5	3	5

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 3

Family 3: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Chikako	English speaking father: Christian
Your husband	5	5
Your children	2	5
Japanese bilingual friends	1	3
English speaking friends	4	5

Family 3: Children's Language Use

	Chuck		Clara	
	2000	2008	2000	2008
Your mother	3	1	2	1
Your father	5	5	2	3
Your siblings	1	1	1	1
Mother's grandparents	1	1	1	1
Father's grandparents	5	5	5	5
Friends in the classroom	1	1	1	1
Friends in the playground	1	1	1	1
Friends outside school	1	1	1	1
Teachers	1	1	1	1
Relatives	1	1	1	1
Neighbors in Japan	1	1	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 3: Language Activities

Activity	Chikako	Christian	Chuck	Clara
Watching TV/videos	3	5	5	4
Reading books/magazines	4	5	4	3
Listening CDs	1	4	5	2
Listening radio	2	4	NA	NA

Family 3: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Chikako	Christian
English		
Speaking	3	5
Listening	3	5
Reading	2	5
Writing	1	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	2
Listening	5	2
Reading	5	1
Writing	5	1

	Chuck		Clara	
	2000	2008	2000	2008
English				
Speaking	4	3	1	2
Listening	5	4	3	3
Reading	2	2	1	1
Writing	2	2	1	1
Japanese				
Speaking	5	5	5	5
Listening	5	5	5	5
Reading	5	5	5	5
Writing	5	5	5	5

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 4

Family 4: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Emiko	English speaking father: Edward
Your husband	5	4
Your children	5	4
Japanese bilingual friends	1	3
English speaking friends	5	4

Family 4: Children's Language Use

	Earl	
	2000	2008
Your mother	5	4
Your father	5	5
Your siblings	NA	NA
Mother's grandparents	1	1
Father's grandparents	5	5
Friends in the classroom	3	5
Friends in the playground	1	---
Friends outside school	1	5
Teachers	5	5
Relatives	1	3
Neighbors in Japan	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 4: Language Activities

Activity	Emiko	Edward	Earl
Watching TV/ videos	3	4	3
Reading books/ magazines	3	5	3
Listening CDs	5	5	5
Listening radio	5	5	3

Family 4: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Emiko	Edward
English		
Speaking	3	5
Listening	3	5
Reading	2	5
Writing	2	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	3
Listening	5	3
Reading	5	2
Writing	5	1

	Earl	
	2000	2008
English		
Speaking	5	5
Listening	5	5
Reading	5	5
Writing	5	5
Japanese		
Speaking	4	3
Listening	4	3
Reading	3	2
Writing	2	2

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 5

Family 5: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Fumiko	English speaking father Frederick
Your husband	4	4
Your children	2	4
Japanese bilingual friends	1	3
English speaking friends	2	4

Family 5: Children's Language Use

	Fiona	
	2000	2008
Your mother	1	1
Your father	2	3
Your siblings	NA	NA
Mother's grandparents	1	1
Father's grandparents	NA	NA
Friends in the classroom	1	5
Friends in the playground	1	NA
Friends outside school	1	4
Teachers	1	5
Relatives	1	3
Neighbors in Japan	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 5: Language Activities

Activity	Fumiko	Frederick	Fiona
Watching TV/ videos	3	4	3
Reading books/ magazines	3	5	2
Listening CDs	4	4	2
Listening radio	NA	2	1

Family 5: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Fumiko	Frederick
English		
Speaking	2	5
Listening	4	5
Reading	4	5
Writing	3	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	2
Listening	5	2
Reading	5	1
Writing	5	1

	Fiona	
	2000	2008
English		
Speaking	2	3
Listening	3	3
Reading	1	2
Writing	1	2
Japanese		
Speaking	5	5
Listening	5	5
Reading	5	5
Writing	5	5

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 6

Family 6: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Haruko	English speaking father: Herbert
Your husband	1	1
Your children	1	5
Japanese bilingual friends	1	3
English speaking friends	1	5

Family 6: Children's Language Use

	Harry	
	2000	2008
Your mother	1	1
Your father	5	5
Your siblings	NA	NA
Mother's grandparents	1	1
Father's grandparents	NA	NA
Friends in the classroom	1	1
Friends in the playground	1	1
Friends outside school	1	1
Teachers	1	1
Relatives	1	1
Neighbors in Japan	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 6: Language Activities

Activity	Haruko	Herbert	Harry
Watching TV/ videos	1	5	2
Reading books/ magazines	1	5	3
Listening CDs	1	5	1
Listening radio	1	5	1

Family 6: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Haruko	Herbert
English		
Speaking	1	5
Listening	1	5
Reading	1	5
Writing	1	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	3
Listening	5	4
Reading	5	2
Writing	5	1

	Harry	
	2000	2008
English		
Speaking	4	3
Listening	5	3
Reading	2	1
Writing	1	1
Japanese		
Speaking	5	5
Listening	5	5
Reading	5	5
Writing	5	5

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 7

Family 7: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Kikuko	English speaking father: Kevin
Your husband	2	4
Your children	2	4
Japanese bilingual friends	2	2
English speaking friends	2	2

Family 7: Children's Language Use in 2000

	Kim	Kate
Your mother	2	2
Your father	2	2
Your siblings	2	2
Mother's grandparents	1	1
Father's grandparents	5	5
Friends in the classroom	1	1
Friends in the playground	1	2
Friends outside school	1	1
Teachers	1	1
Relatives	1	1
Neighbors in Japan	1	1

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 7: Language Activities

Activity	Kikuko	Kevin	Kim	Kate
Watching TV/ videos	3	3	4	4
Reading books/ magazines	2	4	3	3
Listening CDs	3	3	4	4
Listening radio	2	4	4	NA

Family 7: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency

	Kikuko	Kevin
English		
Speaking	3	5
Listening	4	5
Reading	4	5
Writing	3	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	3
Listening	5	3
Reading	5	2
Writing	5	2

	Kim	Kate
English		
Speaking	4	1
Listening	5	3
Reading	2	1
Writing	2	1
Japanese		
Speaking	5	5
Listening	5	5
Reading	5	5
Writing	5	5

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.

Family 8

Family 8: Parents' Language Use

Interlocutor	Japanese mother: Miku	English speaking father: Michel
Your husband	2	2
Your children	5	5
Japanese bilingual friends	1	5
English speaking friends	3	5

Family 8: Children's Language Use

	Mary		Molly	
	2000	Before entering school	2000	Before entering school
Your mother	1	5	1	5
Your father	5	5	5	5
Your siblings	2	5	2	5
Mother's grandparents	1		1	
Father's grandparents	5		5	
Friends in the classroom	2		2	
Friends in the playground	2		2	
Friends outside school	1		1	
Teachers	5		5	
Relatives	1		1	
Neighbors in Japan	1		1	

Note. 1 = Always in Japanese; 2 = In Japanese more than English; 3 = In English and Japanese about equally; 4 = In English more often than Japanese; 5 = Always in English.

Family 8: Language Activities

Activity	Miku	Michael	Mary	Molly
Watching TV/ videos	3	4	3	3
Reading books/ magazines	3	3	3	3
Listening CDs	5	5	5	4
Listening radio	5	NA	4	NA

Family 8: Participants' Self-assessment of Their Bilingual Proficiency in 2000

	Miku	Michael
English		
Speaking	2	5
Listening	2	5
Reading	2	5
Writing	2	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	3
Listening	5	4
Reading	5	4
Writing	5	2

	Mary	Molly
English		
Speaking	5	5
Listening	5	5
Reading	5	5
Writing	5	5
Japanese		
Speaking	5	5
Listening	5	5
Reading	3	3
Writing	2	2

Note. 1 = Very limited; 2 = OK; 3 = Good; 4 = Very well; 5 = Native speaker.