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**A Critical Ethnographic Inquiry into
the Negotiation of Language Practices
among Japanese Multilingual Families
in the UK:**

Discourse, Language Use and Perceptions
in the *Hoshuko* and the Family Home

Chisato Danjo

PhD

2015

**A Critical Ethnographic Inquiry into
the Negotiation of Language Practices
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in the *Hoshuko* and the Family Home

Chisato Danjo

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the University of
Northumbria at Newcastle for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis is a sociolinguistic examination of the ways in which multilingual children and parents negotiate their language use. Through a critical ethnographic inquiry, it focuses in particular on Japanese-English multilingual parents and their pre- and early-school age children living in the UK, across two fields: a Japanese government approved complementary school (*Hoshuko*), and the family home where parents employ multilingual family language policies (FLP). My main interest is in exploring the ways in which *discourses* emerging from the policies (governmental and institutional policies regarding *Hoshuko*, and FLP) are reproduced and/or challenged by individuals' situated *practices* and *perceptions*.

Defining multilingualism as a set of social practices and processes, the thesis explores the following four themes: 1) *discourses* of *Hoshuko* policies and of FLP, 2) individuals' language *practices* and 3) *perceptions* in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home; and 4) the mutual influence of *discourses*, *practices* and *perceptions*. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse relevant Japanese governmental policy documents, as well as the school prospectuses of all nine *Hoshuko* in the UK, I disclosed the governmental and institutional *discourses* (Chapter 4). The *discourses* were then compared with individuals' situated *practices* and *perceptions* identified at one of those *Hoshuko*, where I conducted a 16-month ethnographic fieldwork (Chapter 5). The *discourse* of FLP was also scrutinised by comparing it with family language *practices* and *perceptions* in the family home (Chapter 6).

As a whole, this thesis reveals discrepancies between the governmental and institutional *discourse*, as well as individuals' situated *practices* and *perceptions*. On one hand, governmental and institutional *discourses* are undermined by individuals' flexible *practices* in particular situations. On the other hand, multilingual individuals also seem to be influenced by *discourses* which they reflect in their own *perceptions*; consequently, some multilingual *practices* go unacknowledged at the level of *perceptions*. Overall, this thesis enriches our understanding of the dynamics between macro level ideological influences emerging from policy *discourses* and micro level *practices*, and of the complexity of individuals' *perceptions* involved in the legitimisation of their *practices* in the context of a complementary school and the family home.

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my grandmother Atsue, who supported my journey leading to this thesis, and who will be greatly missed.

Chisato Danjo

Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

May, 2015

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the University Ethics Committee on 19th of January, 2012 (Research ethics number: RE29-11-11395).

I declare that the word count of this thesis is 81,884 words.

Name: Chisato Danjo

Signature:

Date:

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Prologue: The Starting Point of my Research Journey

The increasing transnational movements of people in a globalising world have led to the strengthening of a discourse celebrating bi-/multilingualism. The reasons for this are various. Some, for instance, may have to do with possible cognitive advantages. In this respect, research has shown that under certain conditions bilinguals have a better working-memory and a heightened decision-making capacity (e.g., Bialystok, 2001). Other studies emphasize economic advantages, given that the demand for bilingual employees has been increasing worldwide (e.g., Zelaska & Antunez, 2000). We could likewise think of different academic advantages, based on what we know about the ability of multilinguals to make use of their metalinguistic knowledge and awareness when learning a new language (e.g., Páez & Rinaldi, 2006).

In such a milieu, families exposed to a bi-/multilingual environment – intermarriage families and migrant families, for example – may also have additional incentives to raise their children as multilinguals. One important aim in their case could be to pass down their heritage language and culture to their children, thus maintaining the ties with family members in the countries of origin. However, raising children as multilinguals is not as straightforward as represented in the following statement taken from a Japanese mother of an intermarriage family living in the UK:

People tend to think that our children will be multilinguals very easily and naturally as we are intermarriage, and as we use more than two languages at home. We also believed so when we had a baby. ... But now we are always wondering how much I should encourage my child to learn Japanese in the UK context; what if my child says she does not want to learn anymore. I keep thinking that it would be much easier if our children learn only one language – and that it may be my ego for our child to learn more than one language. We've been having continuous struggles about how to deal with languages... (Noriko, ethno-interview: Feb. 2012).

Thus, despite its high value, multilingualism seems to bring continuous struggles and individual negotiation on their language use. However, studies in child bi-/multilingualism in the family context often merely highlight the mechanism of child language acquisition, and rarely focus on such negotiation processes which many multilingual families experience in their daily lives. What does it mean for families that

their children *are* and *are raised as* multilinguals? This is the fundamental question I had in mind when I began planning this research project. I was also interested in academic and popular discourses celebrating bi-/multilingualism, and in the influence such discourses have on parents' decisions regarding family language policy (FLP). At the same time, I was aware that the local minority language community also plays an important role for those children to maintain their minority language. My motivation in this project started, therefore, with an aim to explore the processes through which multilingual individuals negotiate their language practices, helping us deepen our understanding of the complex role that language plays in the context of the family as well as in the local minority language community.

1.2 Thesis Overview

This is a critical ethnographic inquiry into the ways in which multilingual children and parents negotiate their language practices in the context of the family home and a Japanese complementary school (*Hoshuko*). In this thesis, I focus particularly on Japanese-English multilingual parents and their pre- and early-school age children living in the UK. The aim of this thesis is to explore the ways in which *discourses* (governmental and institutional policies regarding *Hoshuko*, and FLPs) are shaping and are being shaped by individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*.

The core conceptual elements on which this thesis builds are *discourse*, *practice* and *perception*. I treat *discourse* as a social construct acting on the macro level, enforcing certain values and rules (i.e., what is 'appropriate' to do/be) in a certain dimension of life. I consider individuals' *practices* (i.e., what they *do*) and *perceptions* (i.e., what they *think* they do) as temporal and situated constructs at the micro level, which individuals negotiate through moment-to-moment interactions (see a detailed discussion and definitions of *discourse*, *practice* and *perception* in section 3.1.2).

1.2.1 Four Main Research Questions

Conceptualising multilingualism as entailing social practices, social processes, and social constructs (see details in section 2.1 and 2.2), this thesis addresses four research questions. The three main questions are regarding: 1) policy *discourses*; 2) individual language *practices* and 3) *perceptions*, in the *Hoshuko* and family home:

- 1) What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in governmental, institutional, and family language policies?
- 2) In what ways do multilingual individuals use language in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
- 3) In what ways do multilingual individuals perceive their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the home?

By scrutinising policy *discourse*, as well as individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*, this thesis explores the ways in which *discourses* are reproduced and/or challenged by individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*. Hence, based on the findings from examining the three research questions above, a fourth research question emerges:

- 4) How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses (*Hoshuko* policies and FLP) influence one another?

Overall, this thesis examines the dynamics between macro level policy *discourse* and individuals' *practices* and *perceptions* at the micro level. Methodologically, therefore, I combined Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for analysing *discourses* in the policies, and ethnography – a 16-month fieldwork at a *Hoshuko* and in family homes – for understanding individual *practices* and *perceptions*. The following is a brief outline of the research site and participants.

1.2.2 Research Context and Participants

Complementary schools have various denominations around the world: for instance, in Canada and the US, they are often called as *heritage language schools*; in Australia, on the other hand, *community language schools* or *ethnic schools*. In the UK, they were often called as *supplementary schools*; however, Blackledge and Creese (2010a: 47) propose to call them as *complementary schools* for emphasising the “positive *complementary* function of these teaching and learning environments in relation to mainstream schools.” Agreeing with them, I employ the term *complementary school* throughout this thesis when I describe such schools in general. When I refer specifically to Japanese complementary schools approved by the Japanese government, however, I use the term *Hoshuko*, the original Japanese name for those schools, in order to differentiate those from other non-governmental Japanese complementary schools.

According to the Japanese government, there are 203 *Hoshuko* around the world (MEXT, 2014), 9 out of which are in the UK. Many of those *Hoshuko* were originally established by professional expatriate families who intended to return to Japan after a few years of residence abroad. For this reason, the main teaching aim of *Hoshuko* is to keep up with the Japanese educational curriculum so that children can smoothly adapt back to Japanese schooling system on their return. Moreover, compared with the majority of non-statutory complementary schools in the UK, it is important to highlight that *Hoshuko* are approved by the Japanese government; they receive various types of support from the government which has a policy regarding *Hoshuko* (see details in section 3.3).

Despite this original intention of the *Hoshuko*, however, the various transnational movements of the global age have brought a diversification in the students' backgrounds. *Asahi-Hoshuko*¹, one of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK where I conducted my fieldwork, has also experienced the increasing diversification of students' backgrounds in recent years. This, consequently, seemed to create a gap between policy *discourse* and individuals' *practices* in the *Hoshuko*, which this thesis will explore in the later chapters.

The main research participants in this study were eleven families whose children attended nursery class at *Asahi-Hoshuko*. I also visited two of those families' homes regularly; both are intermarriage families, and self-reported to employ a One Parent, One Language (OPOL) family language policy (i.e., each parent uses a different language when communicating with their children; see further definition of OPOL in section 2.3).

1.2.3 Critical Ethnography

I collected data on governmental policies from different Japanese Ministries, and institutional policies from all nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. I also collected data from the *Asahi-Hoshuko* and family homes through a 16-month ethnographic fieldwork. The analysis in this thesis primarily involves two stages: in the first stage, I analyse the discourses of policies by employing CDA; in the second stage, I look at individuals' *practices* and *perceptions* through the ethnographic data I collected during the fieldwork.

¹ This is a pseudonym I chose to adopt in order to protect the anonymity of the *Hoshuko* and of my research participants. The word '*Asahi*' has the general meaning of 'sunrise' in Japanese.

While both the governmental bodies and the *Hoshuko* can be classified as part of a broader ‘institution,’ for the purposes of my discussion, I differentiate between what I call *governmental discourse* and the *institutional discourse*. On one hand, the *governmental discourses* are disclosed based on the analysis of Japanese government’s policy documents regarding *Hoshuko*; on the other hand, I refer *institutional discourse* to those found from the analysis of all the nine *Hoshuko*’s policies, specifically through the analysis of school prospectuses.

1.3 Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter (Chapter 1), I will firstly overview scholarly works on issue related to this thesis in Chapter 2. First, in section 2.1, I look at studies in multilingualism, by particularly focusing on the changing social values towards multilingualism over the last century. I then move my focus on to the conceptualisation of language, through notions such as Bakhtin’s *heteroglossia* and García’s *translanguaging*, and discuss how these differ from the traditional concept of ‘language,’ and how they are applied in recent studies. In the second section (2.2), I will review the methodological development of ‘critical’ perspectives in linguistics. I will start from a theoretical argument over the definition of ‘critical.’ I then introduce the critical notion employed in CDA and ethnographic studies. At last, I will summarise the five principles for conceptualising ‘language’ in critical research, which are also applied to this thesis. The third section (2.3) is dedicated to reviewing empirical studies, especially in the context of complementary schools and the family home, while revealing gaps in previous research (2.4).

Chapter 3 begins with a methodological overview of the thesis. I will firstly legitimise the combination of CDA and ethnography employed in this thesis. In doing so, I will review Bourdieu’s *theory of practice*, and argue for the applicability of his notions, which I adopted as the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis (3.1). I then detail the research questions (3.2), the research context and the participants (3.3), followed by the description of concrete methods (e.g., observation, interviews) used for data collection and analysis (3.4 to 3.6). The chapter ends by considering the researcher’s positionality, and ethical issues, in particular those related to conducting ethnographic fieldwork (3.7 and 3.8).

Chapter 4 analyses *Hoshuko* discourses by employing CDA on policy documents issued by the Japanese government, as well as the school prospectuses of nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. I will differentiate the discourse of the Japanese government (*governmental discourse*) from the discourse of the nine *Hoshuko* (*institutional discourse*), and explore the ways in which *government discourses* are recontextualised in nine *Hoshuko*'s *institutional discourses*. This chapter, therefore, firstly investigates the governmental discourse regarding *Hoshuko* through the latest policy documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). The focus is then moved on to the case of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK, where, as mentioned before, a growing diversification in the students' background has occurred. Here, I specifically examine the school policies of the nine *Hoshuko* through school prospectuses, and scrutinise the way in which the governmental (MEXT and MOFA) discourses are recontextualised in the institutional discourses of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to a further comparison between these governmental and institutional *discourses*, and individuals' situated language *practice* and *perceptions*, by exploring the rich ethnographic data gathered over 16 months at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, one of the *Hoshuko* in the UK. My main interest in this chapter is to investigate how the macro level *discourses* found in Chapter 4 are challenged and/or reproduced in individuals' micro-level interactions, especially through their situated language *practices* and *perceptions*.

Chapter 6 shifts the focus on to the family context, especially to those intermarriage families who have reported employing an OPOL policy at home. Here, the focus is on two aspects. The first aspect is to investigate what kinds of *OPOL discourses* are believed and circulated among those families. The second aspect is to explore individuals' – both multilingual children's and parents' – micro-level situated language *practices* and *perceptions*. Similarly to Chapter 4 and 5, in the analysis of *Hoshuko*, I will also compare the *discourses* with *practices* and *perceptions* in the family context.

Chapter 7 is a concluding discussion, summarising the discrepancies found in Chapter 4, 5 and 6, among macro level *discourses* and micro level situated *practices* and *perceptions*, as well as contradictions between individuals' situated *practices* and *perceptions*. I will further discuss and compare the findings across the *Hoshuko* and family home contexts, and explore the reasons behind these discrepancies. In doing so,

I will review and answer the research questions raised at the beginning of this thesis, and outline some implications and directions for further research.

Throughout the thesis, I will use the term *bilingualism* when referring to the specific use of two languages, regardless of the speakers' proficiency in either; whereas, I reserve the term *multilingualism* not only for cases where more than two languages are used, but also as it includes the concept of *bilingualism*. This is because people often have access to more than two languages in the contemporary multilingual societies, and researchers need to take into consideration the specificity of those cases. Indeed, some of my participants in this thesis were exposed to more than two languages. Hence, although traditional research tended to use the term *bilingualism* in a general sense, *multilingualism* came to fore in recent years. The other reason is to acknowledge an understanding of language as a construct emerging from individuals' practical usage, rather than as a fixed, completed and countable system (see section 2.1 for further discussion). By employing the term *multilingualism*, therefore, I emphasise a concept of 'language as resource' that goes beyond a conception of language as a countable unit, acknowledging its complexity.

It is also important to note that throughout the thesis I will use '*italics within single quotation marks*' as *scare quotes*, emphasising the ideological construction of certain values and perspectives through those expressions. For instance, expressions such as '*native speaker*,' '*balanced bilingualism*,' '*appropriate*,' and '*successful bilingualism*' do not represent my value judgements, and through the double emphasis I attempt to indicate my awareness of the ideological construction in such expressions.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Overview

This chapter reviews the theoretical and methodological debates in studies of multilingualism. The chapter consists of four sections. In the first section, I review the literature on multilingualism, beginning with an overview of the changing attitudes towards bi/multilingualism, by highlighting geopolitical events and their influence. As I will show, recent developments in the study of multilingualism have revisited and reconceptualised the concept of language as something which cannot be understood as geographically and nationally fixed in the traditional sense, but as a complex construct shaped through individual practices.

What emerged from this reconceptualization is an understanding of ‘language as resource’ (see section 2.2 for a more detailed discussion), adopted then by critical approaches analysing the ‘distribution of language resource’ in society with the main aim of examining social structures through languages. In the second section, therefore, I will overview the application of ‘critical’ views in the study of language. Based on a review of CDA, critical ethnographic studies, and the theories of Bakhtin and Bourdieu, I will propose five principles for the conceptualisation of language, which I follow in this thesis (see section 2.2.5).

The third section is dedicated to a detailed account of the empirical studies, especially the ones conducted in complementary schools and family contexts. By comparing those studies, the final section attempts to expose research areas which have not been fully investigated, and therefore, will be explored in this thesis.

2.1 Research on Multilingualism: Reconceptualising ‘Language’

2.1.1 Changing Attitudes towards Multilingualism

As Martin-Jones, Blackledge, & Creese (2012) point out, the study of multilingualism has gained increasing attention in the last few decades in academia as well as in public debates, largely due to “the significant linguistic, cultural and demographic changes that have been ushered in by globalization, transnational population flows, the spread of new technology and the changing political and economic landscape of different regions of the world” (Martin-Jones, Blackledge, &

Creese, 2012: 1). It is noteworthy that those changes have had a tremendous impact on social attitudes towards multilingualism. In this section of the chapter, following García's (2009) tripartite conceptualisation of language diversity as 1) problem, 2) right, and 3) resource, I will review changing social attitudes towards multilingualism across three periods: from the 19th century until the aftermath of the Second World War; after the 1970s; and since the more recent waves of globalisation.

2.1.1.1 *Language diversity as problem: 19th century to post-WW2*

Since around the 19th century to the Second World War, along the movements of colonisation and nationalism, linguistic and cultural homogenization were strongly promoted for keeping nations stable, and defining clear national boundaries. In this climate, multilingualism was inevitably understood by policy makers as a danger for nations to maintain or reproduce their boundaries (Heller, 2007).

As result of the independence movements of Asian and African former colonies after the Second World War, a public discourse promoting 'the respect of one's mother tongue' started to intensify. However, the negative attitudes towards multilingualism did not vanish altogether. For example, children's use of their mother tongues was encouraged merely at the early ages, following which the official language was promoted in education in order to consolidate the idea of the cultural nation through what García & Flores (2012) have described as *subtractive bilingual pedagogies*: $L1$ (*First Language*) + $L2$ (*Second Language*) - $L1 = L2$ (García & Flores, 2012).

2.1.1.2 *Language diversity as right: after the 1970s*

However, this negative attitude towards multilingualism was challenged by discourses of language diversity as a right in the 1970s. During that time, movements supporting 'linguistic minorities' rights to sustain or gain back their mother language' were particularly encouraged, and 'promoting education for minority language speakers to learn their mother language' emerged in policies worldwide (García, 2009). It was a period when so-called *additive bilingual pedagogies* ($L1 + L2 = L1+L2$) come into spotlight (García & Flores, 2012).

During this period, a great amount of influential research on multilingualism was conducted, which attempted to show that using different languages or language varieties can represent social functions (Heller, 2007). Those studies have in common that they examine large scale social patterns by focusing on a specific linguistic group as a

research object. They therefore often adopt the paradigm in which languages can be understood “as whole, bounded systems, associated, moreover, with whole, bounded communities” (Heller, 2007: 11). However, it is sometimes fairly difficult to describe certain linguistic phenomena within this paradigm which assumes that there is a distinct boundary among languages and/or varieties, especially when taking account of the globalising world characterised by complex transnational movements of people.

2.1.1.3 *Language diversity as resource: recent globalisation*

Blommaert (2010: 1) argues that sociolinguistically, the world has become “a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways.” He builds on Vertovec’s (2007) notion of *super-diversity* to highlight the social context in which increasing differences are meshed together and interweaved, and argues that the very concept of language needs to be reconsidered in this rapidly changing environment, proposing to go beyond traditional understandings of language as “a bounded, nameable and countable unit” (Blommaert, 2010: 4).

This stream of research has taken a view of language diversity as resource to guide their inquiries, and researchers working in this tradition have increasingly centred their investigations of multilingualism not simply on ‘language’ but on individuals’ ‘language-in-use’ in everyday life. In their treatment, multilingual speakers are social actors within specific communities, actively engaging in meaning making processes while interacting with others (Heller, 2007; Martin-Jones et al., 2012). These researchers attempt to involve the spatial-temporal context of the speakers, while considering the reasons why speakers specifically use languages in certain ways. Their approach usually considers languages as social constructs by which individuals create meaning at a certain time and place, and aims to move beyond the widely accepted framework that regards bilingualism as the coexistence of two linguistic systems (Heller, 2007: 1).

Similar critiques have often been directed in the multilingualism literature towards traditional conceptions such as that of *bilingualism through monolingualism* (Swain, 1983: 4), or *two monolinguals in one body* (Gravelle, 1996: 11). Building on these critiques, more recent studies have moved from concepts such as *bilingualism with diglossia* to *bilingualism without diglossia* (Baker, 2003), from *bilingual monoglossic* to *multilingual heteroglossic* (García & Flores, 2012), and from *separate bilingualism as*

diglossia to *flexible bilingualism as heteroglossia* (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a). A common aim in these studies is to capture bilingualism as *heteroglossic* rather than as composed of separable language systems. In the next section, therefore, I will overview specifically the concepts of *heteroglossia* (Bailey, 2007, 2011, 2012; Bakhtin, 1981) and the analytic view of *translanguaging* (García, 2009).

2.1.2 The Concept of Bilingualism: Beyond ‘Double Monolingualism’

2.1.2.1 *Heteroglossia: the Bakhtinian notion of language*

Heteroglossia, a term originally coined by Bakhtin (1981), has become highly influential, and has been extensively employed in theoretical debates over multilingualism (e.g., Bailey, 2007, 2011, 2012; Blackledge & Creese, 2010a; Kramsch, 2009). The main addition of *heteroglossia* to the study of multilingualism lies in its conceptualisation of language as *dialogic* and *historical*.

Bakhtin emphasises the importance of seeing language as *dialogic*. He criticises traditional views of speakers as the active producers of speech and listeners as passive receivers of meaning (Bakhtin, 1986). Instead, according to Bakhtin,

When the listener perceives and understands the meaning (the language meaning) of speech, he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude toward it. He either agrees or disagrees with it (completely or partially), augments it, applies it, prepares for its execution, and so on. And the listener adopts this responsive attitude for the entire duration of the process of listening and understanding, from the very beginning ... And the speaker himself is oriented precisely toward such an actively responsive understanding. He does not expect passive understanding that, so to speak, only duplicates his own idea in someone else’s mind. Rather, he expects, response, agreement, sympathy, objection, execution, and so forth ... (Bakhtin, 1986: 68-69).

In short, meaning and understanding are mutually constructed by both the speakers and the listeners through interaction. Notably, Bakhtin considers that any linguistic element could contribute to such a dialogic meaning making process, and thus his notion of *heteroglossia* pays attention to intra-linguistic elements such as variations, prosody and word choices (Bailey, 2011, 2012).

Following his emphasis on the dialogic nature of language, Bakhtin also clearly differentiates between “*utterance* as a unit of speech communication” and “*sentence* as a unit of language” (Bakhtin, 1986: 73; emphases in original). According to Bakhtin,

speech “can exist in reality only in the form of concrete utterances of individual speaking people” (Bakhtin, 1986: 71); whereas, the context of a *sentence* is “the speech of one speaking subject, and the sentence itself is *not* correlated directly or personally with the extraverbal context of reality (situation, setting, prehistory) or with the utterances of other speakers” (p. 73; emphasis added by author). Importantly, Bakhtin also notes that linguistic analyses have mainly examined the latter – *sentence as a unit of language* – without considering its ‘context of reality,’ and this consequently resulted in failure to fully understand *utterances* in which individuals can embrace their own individualities in their own style, from their own perspectives. In other words, when investigating individuals’ *utterances*, it is inevitable to look at its ‘context of reality.’

It is also important to point out that Bakhtin’s notion of ‘context of reality’ involves not only situations and settings at a particular point in time, but also in a longer timeframe. The following paragraph describes this distinct temporal consideration of individual utterances:

The word in language is half someone else’s. It becomes ‘one’s own’ only when the speaker populates it with his own intentions, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people’s mouths, in other people’s concrete contexts, serving other people’s intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one’s own (Bakhtin, 1981: 293).

According to Bakhtin, ‘a word’ can embrace specific meanings depending on the way speakers appropriate it and make use of it in their speech. In other words, there is no neutral and impersonal language but only personal utterances being passed from one to another when individuals create meaning through interactions. That is, words are all created from other people’s utterances, with pre-attached time- and space-specific meanings. They are then further appropriated by individuals in their own ways. Meaning-making processes are, in this way, continuously reproduced by individuals in different places and times, and Bakhtin sees this time-scale in which ‘dialogic threads’ develop in truly historical dimensions:

The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological

consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue. After all, the utterance arises out of this dialogue as a continuation of it and as a rejoinder to it—it does not approach the object from the sidelines (Bakhtin, 1981: 276-277).

This statement from Bakhtin captures the continuity of individuals' production of dialogic utterances over a longer timeframe. Hence, according to a heteroglossic notion of language, history and social ideologies have an impact on individuals' moment-to-moment dialogic meaning making. Focusing more closely on Bakhtin's notion of a historical dialogic continuum, Blommaert and Maryns further develop the notion of *pretextuality* (Blommaert, 2005; Maryns & Blommaert, 2002), which is defined as:

[t]he features that people bring along when they communicate: complexes of resources, degrees of control over genres, styles, language varieties, codes, and so on that influence what people can actually do when they communicate (Blommaert, 2005: 254).

While *pretextuality* shares in the Bakhtinian view of historical links, it emphasises the 'invisible context' which was established long before the actual utterances are produced, which predetermines "the conditions under which utterances *can be* produced, or *fail to be* produced" (Blommaert, 2005: 77; emphases added by author). As I will discuss later, this heteroglossic concept of language, whereby the macro level historical and social context constrains the micro level language production process, shares in its fundamental assumptions with Bourdieu's concept of *structured structures* that shape the individuals' practices (see details in section 2.2.4). Bakhtin's concept of *heteroglossia* also overlaps with the notion of *non-referential indexicality* (Bailey, 2011), developed to take account of how macro sociocultural, political, and historical references are manifested in micro-interactions (Silverstein, 1976, 2003). As it was observed, a specific language-in-use 'indexes' certain semiosis (e.g., views, ideologies, and position), since there is a socio-historically established stereotypical representation and norms (e.g., specific language-in-use can represent gender, ethnicity and social class).

Bailey (2012: 504) summarises *heteroglossia* as "the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and the tensions and conflicts among those signs, on the socio-historical associations they carry with them." Heteroglossia, therefore, views language as dialogic in nature, shaped by the social and historical context. For this reason, the notion of *heteroglossia* necessitates researchers to consider extra-lingual elements (e.g.

situation, setting, previous history), as well as intra-lingual elements (e.g., variations, prosody and word choices), when investigating language. In the next section, I will highlight one particular analytical concept emerging from such a heteroglossic understanding of language, developed in multilingualism studies over the recent years.

2.1.2.2 *Translanguaging: a new analytical gaze in multilingualism studies*

Traditionally, the studies of multilingualism have widely employed the notion of code-switching for their analysis. Code-switching generally refers to “the alternating use of two languages/varieties in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009: xii), and is usually based on a concept of languages/varieties as fixed and completed systems. For this reason, traditional studies of code-switching often pay attention to linguistic forms; as represented in terms, such as *interlingual code-switching* and *intra-lingual code-switching*, the main concern is with the ways ‘different languages’ are switched on/off in the utterances².

In contrast to this traditional notion of code-switching, García (2009: 45) introduces the term *translanguaging* in order to emphasise the importance of investigating not ‘language’ itself as a fixed and completed system, but ‘language practices’ that users creates during their own meaning making processes. According to her,

... translanguagings are *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*. Translanguaging therefore goes beyond what has been termed code-switching, although it includes it, as well as other kinds of bilingual language use and bilingual contact” (Garcia, 2009: 45, emphases in original).

As seen in her statement, the analytical focus in the study of *translanguaging* is on the ‘process of meaning making,’ and therefore, it pays close attention to ‘language user’ and ‘context,’ which all contribute to this meaning making process (cf. *contextualisation*; see section 2.2.3.1). Blackledge and Creese (2012) compare the different focus points in the two analytical approaches, the one centring on *code-switching* and the one building on the concept of *translanguaging*, as shown in Table 2-1.

² Nevertheless, there have also been propositions by researchers, studying code-switching to include in the analysis of language within wider social contexts (see discussion; Lin & Li, 2012).

Table 2-1: The Analytical Focus in the Study of *Code-Switching* and *Translanguaging*

Code-switching	Translanguaging
<i>Emphasis on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language • Code • Linguistic practice • Signification – form function relationships • Signs belonging to languages 	<i>Emphasis on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaker • Voice • Social practice • Signification – meaning making • Signs as socially and historically embedded but as also creative and flexible • Signs used by speakers

Source: Adapted from Blackledge and Creese (2012)

In contrast to the emphasis on ‘language’ and its ‘code,’ as customary in analyses of *code-switching*, the analytical gaze on *translanguaging* focuses on ‘speakers’ and their ‘voice.’ It is noted here that *voice* stands for “the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so” (Blommaert, 2005: 4). While a *code-switching* perspective pays attention to ‘linguistic practice,’ a *translanguaging* lens looks at ‘social practice’ by focusing on meaning making processes and involving socio-historical contexts. Signs are often merely regarded as ‘linguistic belongings’ in *code-switching*, but in *translanguaging*, these are also regarded as ‘creative and flexible resources’ used by speakers. To sum up, while *code-switching* generally refers to language users’ ‘borrowing’ and ‘transferring’ of codes (linguistic elements) between bounded language systems, when *translanguaging*, language users ‘create’ and ‘intermingle’ linguistic resources in their own ways and according to their own purposes.

Importantly, as seen in the definition offered by García (2009), the notion of *translanguaging* does not deny the analysis of *code-switching*, but by moving the focus from ‘language code’ to the ‘speaker’s perspectives’; therefore, *translanguaging* includes “the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems” (Wei, 2010: 1223). *Translanguaging* thus opens up new perspectives for researchers to capture language as created by users, while utilising their available linguistic resources.

There are some empirical studies which have employed the analytic gaze of *translanguaging*. For example, Wei (2010) combines observational data of multilingual practices and meta-language commentaries by three Chinese youths living in the UK,

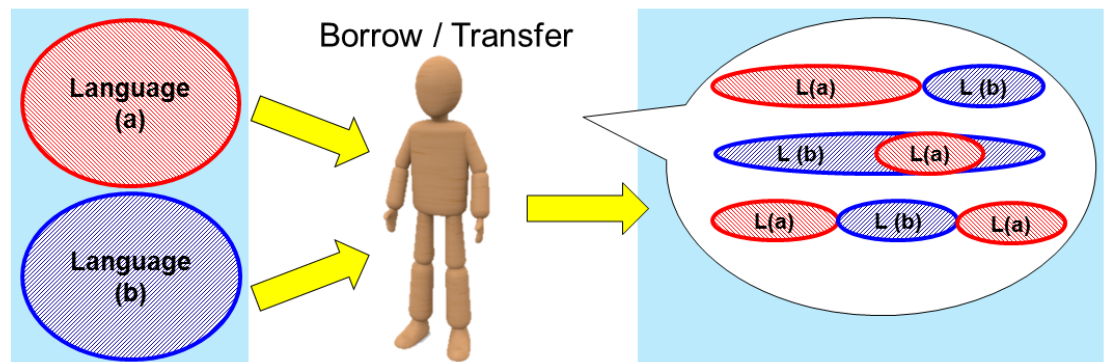
and shows that “multilinguality does not mean to know all the languages fully and separately,” but instead, what they do is to “pick and mix amongst the languages they know at various levels” (Wei, 2010: 1228). Canagarajah (2011) explores essays written by a Saudi Arabian undergraduate student and finds that she treated several languages as part of a single incorporated system, and not separately, a practice Canagarajah names *codemeshing* (Canagarajah, 2011). By regarding language as a resource for multilinguals, such studies also challenge the pedagogic ideology often employed in multilingual educational settings (e.g., complementary schools, language schools), according to which “languages should be kept separate lest they ‘contaminate’ each other” (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a: 203; quotations in original). It is because such pedagogic policies of ‘separate language’ may restrict multilinguals from accessing full-range of their linguistic resources.

Similarly to *translanguaging*, there are many other concepts, which have been recently developed in studies of multilingualism: e.g., *plurilingualism* (Canagarajah, 2009), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2009), and *polylingualism* (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011). Although these terms differ from one another, their core principle is similar – they all attempt to transcend the traditional concept of language as a solid systemic unit, and rather capture multilingualism as complex phenomena by conceptualising language as resource.

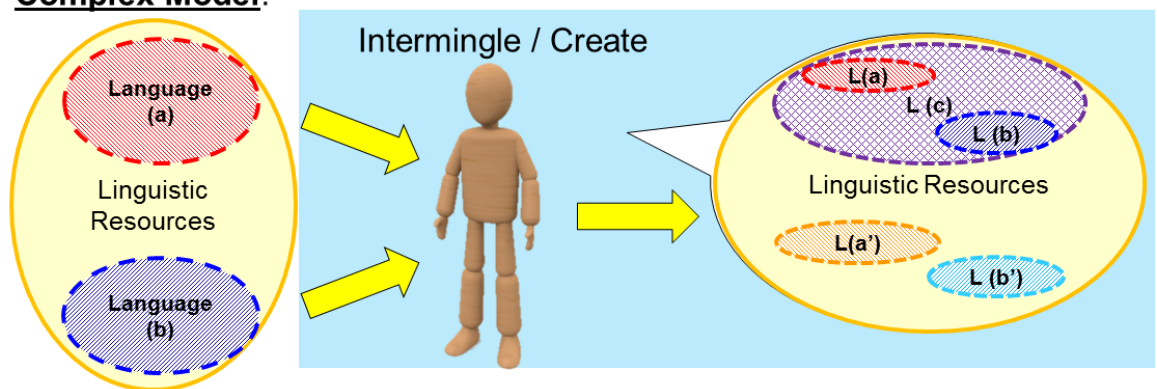
In Figure 2-1, I summarise the main conceptual differences between the traditional notion of bilingualism, which I named the ‘fixed model’ (e.g. traditional studies of code-switching), and the recently developed notions of multilingualism, or a ‘complex model’ (cf. *heteroglossia*, *translanguaging*, *plurilingualism*, *metrolingualism*, *polylingualism*) (the figure is the author’s original).

Figure 2-1: The Conceptual Differences between Code-Switching (fixed-model) and Translanguaging (complex-model)

Fixed Model:



Complex Model:



This figure is author's original; blue backgrounds show areas of research focus

As shown in Figure 2-1, the analytic focus in the *fixed model* is primarily on how different languages (e.g., language A and language B) are transferred or borrowed in individuals' utterances. In this regard, utterances can all be categorised as either Language A or Language B. In contrast, the *complex model* considers multilinguals as active agents who intermingle and/or create meanings in their utterances when interacting with others. An important feature of the *complex model* is that Language A and Language B are, of course, available linguistic resources for language users; however, individuals can also utilise socio-historical *indexicality* attached to language (i.e., extra-lingual elements) as well as prosody, variations, and word choices (i.e., intra-lingual elements). Hence, language users 'utilise' and/or 'operate' such a pool of linguistic resources according to their intentions and aims, rather than just borrowing from 'one or two specific languages' in their utterances. This is why language boundaries are depicted as porous and ambiguous in the *complex model* (Figure 2-1). It is also important that language in multilingual individuals' utterances is not always

understood as merely the components of languages A and B. Since individuals engage in a meaning-making process, their creativity can go beyond such language boundaries, and potentially produce something rather different (I will show some examples of this in my data-discussion in section 6.4.6).

2.1.2.3 *Ideological nomination of language and culture*

Heller (2007) points out that the belief in the existence of separate linguistic systems is merely based on sociohistorically constructed ideologies of ‘language.’ This ‘language separation ideology’ is to a large extent inevitable for researchers, since it is, as Heller notes, a part of “our own dominant ideology of language” (Heller, 2007: 15). More specifically, although the analytical notion of *translanguaging* enables researchers to investigate multilingualism by going beyond ‘separate linguistic systems,’ researchers still often need to refer to categorical nominations of *a language* and/or *languages* (e.g., ‘Japanese’ and ‘English’) even when discussing *translanguaging* phenomena. In reviewing the studies examining *translanguaging* practices, for instance, we note how researchers also use expressions such as ‘pick and mix’ amongst the languages (Wei, 2010), or describe how individuals treat ‘several languages’ (Canagarajah, 2011). Thus, notions involving references to *multi-*, *pluri-*, *inter-*, and *trans-* may “all suggest an a priori existence of separable units (language, culture, identity)” (Blommaert, 2013: 613). However, as far as the ‘language separation ideology’ exists in the sociohistorically constructed understanding of both the researchers and the research participants, the use of such categories in the analysis is inevitable. Therefore, I would again emphasise that the concept of *translanguaging* is ‘an analytic tool and a notion’ in order to investigate how individuals use such ideologically constructed *languages* (e.g., Japanese, English) in their practices, with consideration of socio-historical influences. In other words, it is an attempt to examine individual language use as *heteroglossic* practice, by being aware that language users create and develop their own meanings by utilising their available language resources, rather than switching on or off one language or another.

A similar argument can be made for the notion of culture. Street (1992: 23), for instance, brings to our attention the use of the term ‘culture’ by proposing that ‘culture’ should be seen as a “signifying process,” and “active construction of meaning,” rather than as something static and reified or nominalising. By emphasising its process-like nature, Street (1992) conceptualises ‘culture as a verb,’ as a dynamic entity.

In order to examine ‘culture’ as dynamic, researchers therefore need to be looking at the ways in which individuals use such cultural nominations at various times and in different places, rather than believing that there is a fixed entity of culture (e.g., Japanese culture). It is also important to investigate how the ideology of ‘a culture’ is constructed by individuals collaboratively in a certain context.

In sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, I reviewed studies in multilingualism. In doing so, I discussed the recent reconceptualization of ‘language’ in multilingualism studies. In the next section, 2.2, my focus will be moved on to a methodological discussion regarding the investigation of this *heteroglossic* nature of language, specifically the ones adopting ‘critical’ approaches.

2.2 Critical Approaches in the Study of Language

One important development in the conceptualisation of language, as presented in section 2.1, is to consider language as a resource, which presupposes a situated dialogic nature as well as much wider sociohistorical determinant factors. Conceptualising language as resource has thus opened up the avenue for critical approaches, allowing researchers to relate linguistic phenomena to broader social and cultural domains and examine the unequal distribution of ‘linguistic resources.’

In this section, I will examine the approaches in which such a critical perspective has been employed in the study of language. In the first instance, I will explore the meaning of ‘critical’; then I will shift the focus onto more specific critical approaches, highlighting in particular Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and critical ethnography (e.g., ethnography of communication, and linguistic ethnography), as two approaches that I will follow more closely in the later analysis.

2.2.1 What is ‘Critical’?: Two Streams in Critical Research

Critical approaches are primarily divided into two categories, what Pennycook (2001) calls as a *modernist-emancipatory position* and a *postmodern-problem-analysing position*. The *modernist-emancipatory position* has been developed under the influence of Critical Theory, initiated by the neo-Marxist philosophy of the Frankfurt School (see further discussion in Pennycook, 2001). According to Dean (1994: 3), the notion of ‘critical’ in the tradition of Critical Theory refers to the “critique of modernist narratives in terms of the one-sided, pathological, advance of technocratic or instrumental reason

they celebrate, in order to offer an alternative, higher version of rationality.” It is noteworthy here that the Frankfurt School’s sense of ‘critical’ embraces the hope of creating a better society by criticising the existing condition in the current society (Billig, 2003). The main aim of the *modernist-emancipatory position* is, therefore, a critique of the formation of current society by engaging with “questions of inequality, injustice, rights, and wrong” (Pennycook, 2001: 6). Although it attempts to transcend the one-sided ‘modernist view’ through critique, this *modernist-emancipatory position* often eventually proposes its own positions as a truth, and therefore, there is the potential danger of becoming itself susceptible to critique as yet another deterministic and one-sided viewpoint (Pennycook, 2001).

The ‘critical’ notion of the *postmodern-problem-analysing position* is, on the other hand, characterised by its unwillingness to accept “the taken-for-granted components of our reality and the ‘official’ accounts of how they came to be the way they are” (Dean, 1994), and is mainly represented by postmodernist scholars such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. This position, unlike the *modernist-emancipatory position*, does not place so much emphasis on offering stable accounts of an alternative view of truth, but casts doubt on “assumptions, ideas that have become ‘naturalized,’ and notions that are no longer questioned” (Pennycook, 2001: 7) in society. This form of ‘critical’ examination has been adopted by a variety of fields such as feminism, antiracism, post-colonialism, and post-modernism. However, it should be noted that extreme forms of this position may fall into an utmost subjectivity, questioning whether anyone is able to capture ‘truth’ in society, consequently leading to a devaluation of any research activity (Spiro, 1996).

In the following sections, I will look at concrete critical approaches in the study of language, primarily CDA and critical ethnographic viewpoints, and their relation to the discussed two main streams (section 2.2.2 and 2.2.3). As will be seen later, CDA is primarily based on the *modernist-emancipatory* tradition, while critical ethnography derives mainly from the *postmodern-problem-analysing* tradition. By comparing these approaches in depth, I will outline the possibilities of combining the two by using Bourdieu’s notion of *theory of practice* (section 2.2.4).

2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

One of the best-known critical approaches employed in linguistics is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)³. There are several approaches in CDA and their practical and theoretical backgrounds are diverse (for a detailed discussion, see Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). However, what all these approaches have in common is a concern with social and cultural processes and structures through a conceptualisation of language as social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 2010). Fairclough (2003) describes his view of *discourse analysis* as follows:

Text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not merely the linguistic analysis of text. I see discourse analysis as ‘oscillating’ between a focus on specific texts and a focus on what I shall call the ‘orders of discourse’, the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices (Fairclough, 2003: 3).

In other words, since *discourse* is “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 13), exploring *discourse* based on *text* analysis enables researchers to examine the link between *text* and society. For this reason, critical discourse analytical frameworks carefully distinguish *discourses*, which are “structured forms of knowledge,” from *texts*, which are “concrete oral utterances or written documents” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 6). By doing so, CDA also explores the embedded ideologies and power structures in society. It should be noted that *ideology* here refers to “particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (Fairclough & Wodak, 2010: 105; see the definition of ideology I use in this thesis in section 3.1.2).

As pointed out earlier, CDA usually has a problem-oriented focus, which strongly commits itself to revealing social problems and improving the world (in line with the previously discussed *modernist-emancipatory position*). For this reason, topics approached through CDA are often related to controversial political discourses such as migration and racism (e.g., Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009), economic discourses (e.g., Fairclough, 1992, 2003; Fairclough, 2006), or education discourses (e.g., Fairclough & Wodak, 2008; Wodak & Fairclough, 2010).

³ It should be noted that CDA is an interdisciplinary analytical tool adopted in a variety of research fields other than linguistics, such as sociology, history, and anthropology.

The critical perspective and systematic methods of CDA has also been applied to different modes of communication: besides language, images, gestures, moving images, lay-outs, and sounds have all been analysed through the technique called ‘multimodality.’ Multimodal analysis, especially image analysis, was influenced by the concepts of French semiotician Roland Barthes (1973, 1977), who has drawn attention to the two different layers of meaning – that of *denotation* and *connotation* – that images carry. Although images appear as if merely carrying a *denoted* message – a *literal* meaning (i.e., denotation), such denoted messages are further associated more or less consciously by individuals – the *reader* of images – with existing stored stereotypical ideas and/or meanings (i.e., connotation)⁴. In recent years, Barthes’s concepts have been further developed in the area of *social semiotics* (Kress, 2007; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Machin, 2007; Van Leeuwen, 2005), which emphasises “the material resources of communication and the way their uses are socially regulated” (Van Leeuwen, 2005: 93). Such studies attempt to capture the ways in which social resources are distributed and manipulated in any mode of communication, and their influence on individuals’ associations of *denotation* and *connotation*. In this way, CDA has influenced other fields of research, also bringing under investigation the meaning making process which goes beyond ‘language’ (i.e., physical pose, furniture, background music etc.).

While CDA has developed considerably over the last few decades, and is widely recognised as an established research field on its own, some critiques can be formulated on methodological grounds. Similarly to the objections raised against the *modernist-emancipatory position*, as discussed above, CDA’s commitment to improving the current state of society often pushes the analysis towards the evaluation of *discourses* and *ideologies* as either ‘good’ or ‘bad’ and/or ‘right’ or ‘wrong,’ and risks the imposition of its own standpoints on the reader (Blommaert, 2005; Pennycook, 2001). Moreover, as Blommaert points out, “CDA does not analyse how a text can be read in many ways, or under what social circumstances it is produced and consumed” (Blommaert, 2005: 31). However, recent studies in CDA have begun paying more attention to the production and consumption of texts in particular contexts. We find, for instance, studies that have incorporated such perspectives in their investigations of the

⁴ Barthes (1977) gave the example of how we tend to associate an image of a bookcase with intellectuality, or eyes looking upwards with confidence.

production and reception of media texts (e.g., Hart, 2013; Richardson, 2007). Other studies (e.g., Johnson, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2011) combine CDA and ethnography in order to reveal “the connections between the macro, meso, and micro levels of language policy and between the multiple levels of policy creation, interpretation, and appropriation” (Johnson, 2011: 227). A similar interest in the interconnectivity between different discursive levels has driven investigations into how macro level policies are *recontextualised* in the meso level of institutions. For instance, how European higher education policies are actually implemented in universities in Austria and Romania (Fairclough & Wodak, 2008; Wodak & Fairclough, 2010). These studies have made extensive use of the analytical notions of *intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity* and *recontextualisation*, in attempting to capture the discursive chain connecting texts and discourses across space and time (see detailed definition of *intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity*, and *recontextualisation* in section 3.4.2).

As we could see, recent CDA studies have attempted to capture the process of *recontextualisation* of policies across different levels from a top-down perspective, treating the meso and micro levels as spaces of ‘consumption’ of macro-level policy ‘production’. In the next section, I will discuss critical ethnographic studies adopting, in contrast to CDA, a bottom-up perspective, starting from the micro-, and moving towards the meso and macro levels. In doing so, I will highlight the similarities and differences between these two streams of critical approaches.

2.2.3 Critical Views in Ethnographic Study

Blommaert (2005) states that CDA is one out of many attempts to critically study language and society, and points out that ‘critical’ views have long existed in *American Linguistic Anthropology* and *Sociolinguistics*. Here, I discuss these two research areas under the umbrella term ‘critical ethnography,’ as they often employ ethnographic investigation.

Ethnography was originally developed in anthropology, whose aim is to provide a detailed account of everyday events and actions observed through an insiders’ perspective (Pole & Morrison, 2003). In recent years, its capacity of examining the detailed account of micro data has been applied for deepening our understanding of much wider macro social structures. In this critical research paradigm, the analysis involves not only investigating power structures in society, which CDA has traditionally focused on, but also “an analysis of power *effects*, of the outcome of power, of what

power *does to* people, groups, and societies, and of *how* this impact comes about” (Blommaert, 2005: 1-2; emphases in original).

2.2.3.1 *Ethnography of communication and the linguistic anthropological tradition*

Ethnography of Communication (henceforth EoC), developed by Hymes, emphasises the necessity of studies to deal not only with linguistic codes but also with language use in social life (Hymes, 1974; Hymes & Gumperz, 1986). In EoC, therefore, a speech community under investigation is considered as “social unit rather than a linguistic unit” (Vickers & Deckert, 2011: 205).

The ‘critical’ aspects of Hymes’s view seem to surface in his perception of ‘language as resource’: “it is a fallacy to equate the resources of a language with the resources of (all) users” (Hymes, 1996: 213; brackets in original). He takes literacy education as an example, and points out that although most people in modern societies are regarded as ‘literate,’ this does not mean that those people have access to the same linguistic resources equally, since “command of literacy [is] cruelly stratified – often because the conditions under which people are introduced to literacy perpetuate inequality” (Hymes, 1996: 213). This critical view shares commonalities with Bourdieu, who points out that educational inequality has been reproduced by its sociocultural practices, what he calls ‘*habitus*’ (Bourdieu, 1988; see further discussion of Bourdieu's concepts in section 2.2.4).

Hymes employs the term, *repertoire*, to describe his view of language as follows (Hymes, 1996: 33; emphases in original):

A repertoire comprises a set of ways of speaking. Ways of speaking, in turn, comprise *speech styles*, on the one hand, and *contexts of discourse*, on the other, together with *relations of appropriateness* obtaining between styles and contexts.

Thus, Hymes calls for investigations to focus both on language-in-use and its context, as well as the relations between the two. In his sense of language-in-use, the examination of context cannot be ignored, as those two elements are orchestrated together to create meaning; that is, language-in-use cannot be investigated independently from the context. Gumperz also conceptualises ‘context’ in a similar way to Hymes by employing the term, *contextualisation* (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz, 1992). In general, *contextualisation* is regarded as comprising:

... all activities by participants which make relevant, maintain, revise, cancel... any aspect of context which, in turn, is responsible for the interpretation of an utterance in its particular locus of occurrence. Such an aspect of context may be the larger activity participants are engaged in (the “speech genre”), the small-scale activity (or “speech act”), the mood (or “key”) in which this activity is performed, the topic, but also the participants’ roles (the participant constellation, comprising “speaker”, “recipient”, “bystander”, etc.), the social relationship between participants, the relationship between a speaker and the information he conveys via language (“modality”), even the status of “focused interaction” itself (Auer, 1992: 4; emphases in original).

As we can see, in line with Hymes’s views, Gumperz’s notion of *contextualisation* involves a different meaning of ‘context’ than the traditional one. In its traditional sense, ‘context’ is often understood as composed of *fixed* elements relating to physical or social settings (e.g., places: school, hospital, job interview; participants: interlocutors and addressees). In contrast, as seen in the above excerpt, Gumperz’s notion of *contextualisation* is a *dynamic* one, because it is constantly (re-)shaped in time, and a *reflexive* one, because it itself contributes to constructing context, rather than being simply determined by it. The most important notion that EoC has provided is to consider language as *social action*. In this way, immersed ethnographers emphasise the analysis of individual language-in-use under wider social constraints. Namely, language is used in a certain context, therefore, language and context are not separable elements and therefore it is necessary to consider the moment-to-moment contextual shift in which individuals find themselves situated at certain points in time and space when they use language.

Gumperz is thought to have developed this notion of *contextualisation* based on Goffman’s (1974, 1981) notions of *footing* and *frame*. On one hand, *footing* is “the stance that speakers and hearers take toward each other and toward the content of their talk”; *frame*, on the other hand, is understood as being “constructed through participants’ signalling their own and recognizing and ratifying one another’s footing” (Ribeiro & Hoyle, 2009: 79). It is important to point out here that such notions of *frame* and *footing* are similar to the Bourdieusian concepts of *field* and *habitus* respectively (see 2.2.4 for details).

In recent years, the socio-culturally sensitive analyses proposed by Hymes and Gumperz, have strengthened their critical edges by involving much wider social, historical and political contexts. Researchers working in this anthropological tradition

argue for the need to consider language “as a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions” (Heller, 2007: 2).

As we can see, the Gumperzian and Hymesian notions of linguistic *repertoire* and *contextualisation* are very similar to Bakhtin’s notion of *heteroglossia*, which emphasises the dialogic and historical nature of language. Their ethnographic approach in the anthropological tradition, furthermore, presents itself as an effective method to scrutinising the complex nature of ‘language,’ as ethnography allows researchers to capture contextual sensitivities while investigating language.

2.2.3.2 *Linguistic ethnography and the interactional sociolinguistics tradition*

There has also been a growing interest in linking the ethnographic approach with poststructuralist perspectives, in a similar way to the one developed in *American Linguistic Anthropology*, giving rise to what in Europe has become more widely known as *Linguistic Ethnography* (henceforth LE) (Blackledge, 2011; Creese, 2007; Hammersley, 2007; Rampton, 2007b; Rampton, 2010; Rampton et al., 2004; Tusting, 2007). Rampton, for example, describes LE as a “Neo-Hymesian” method, premised on discourse-analytic convictions “doubtful about ‘comprehensive’ and ‘exotic’ ethnography, and disposed to practical/political intervention” (Rampton, 2007b: 584). As a whole, LE retains the benefits of the “reflexive sensitivity” of traditional ethnography, while at the same time, it turns to a post-structural view by focusing on the “close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world” (Creese, 2007: 232-233). According to Rampton et al. (2004: 2), such a “close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity.”

Although LE does not recommend any specific kind of ‘discourse analysis,’ many researchers analyse interactional data through what Rampton calls *micro-analysis* (Rampton, 2007a). *Micro-analysis*, as employed in LE, is rooted in the Hymesian–Gumperzian analytical approach to interactional data, but attempts more actively to understand wider cultural, social, historical and political processes embedded in an individual’s social interactions (Rampton, 2007a). In this respect, ethnographic information is invaluable for the understanding of the context of interactions, as data

were obtained through the investigation, rather than assumed by the researchers or based on external knowledge (Rampton, 2010).

According to Rampton (2007a), *micro-analysis* owes its principal data-analytic procedure to Conversation Analysis (CA), especially in terms of the detailed analysis to the interactional data. However, he distinguishes the *microanalysis* of *Linguistic Ethnography* from CA:

... once conversation analysts have immersed themselves in a piece of data, they generally dedicate themselves to the analysis of interactional structures, and it is about the organisation of talk that they eventually seek to generalise. Linguistic ethnography doesn't restrict itself to this – it's certainly helpful knowing about interaction structures, and CA's commitment to the slow and careful investigation of small-scale phenomenon is invaluable for understanding what's going on. But we can use this understanding to gain purchase on more general cultural, social and political processes (Rampton, 2007a: 2).

In short, although their methodological technique towards the data is similar, their aims in analysing data are different; while CA looks for patterns of interaction for generalisation purposes, *micro-analysis* in LE seeks to uncover wider social constructs through the interactions. Therefore, while CA relies almost entirely on recorded and transcribed data (Hak, 1999), LE embraces ethnographic data (observation and interviews) to deepen its understanding of the socio-historical background of the interactions. As Blommaert points out, “it is a common misunderstanding that ethnography is an analysis of ‘small things’, local, one-time occurrences only” (Blommaert, 2005: 16), and, as shown above, LE attempts to understand macro/meso level sociohistorical constraining factors through the analysis of individuals' micro-interactions (i.e., a bottom-up perspective from micro to meso/macro).

2.2.4 Language as Situated Practice: a Bourdieusian Approach

As seen in the above discussed developments in critical ethnographic research (e.g., EoC and LE), as well as in other ‘critical’ approaches to language (e.g., CDA, Bakhtinian heteroglossia), we could see that those recent studies emphasise the need to explore the influence of macro (sociohistorical) and micro (language-in-use) factors. Taking this aspect further, the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has highlighted the importance of considering such macro contextual factors in the analysis of *situated practices*. In this section, I will firstly review Bourdieu's *theory of practice*, and then I

will introduce the main notions he developed with the purpose to aid such contextual analyses of situated practices.

2.2.4.1 *Theory of Practice: Going beyond subjectivism and objectivism*

Bourdieu's *theory of practice* developed from his criticism of the two dominant modes of 'knowledge' in social science research: *subjectivism* and *objectivism* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). Bourdieu questions, on one hand, the objectivist tradition focusing on the discovery of objective regularities (i.e., structures, relationships of systems, rules) as accurate representations of the social world conceived of as a spectacle offered for observation (a viewpoint from afar and from above); individuals' practices from an objectivist viewpoint, he believes, are underestimated as mere performances acted out according to the script of such universal structures. On the other hand, Bourdieu also warns of falling back into subjectivism, as it is difficult to capture the accounts of social worlds due to too much emphasis on researchers' personal accounts and context-dependent features (Bourdieu, 1990).

Bourdieu's *theory of practice* is therefore an attempt to reconcile these two opposing directions. In reply to the objectivist tradition, Bourdieu emphasises that "the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded." At the same time, contesting subjectivist traditions, he highlights that "the principle of this construction is the system of structures ... which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (Bourdieu, 1990: 52). Bourdieu therefore calls his approach 'constructivist structuralism' or 'structural constructivism' and explains it as follows (Bourdieu, 1989a: 14):

By structuralism or structuralist, I mean that there exist, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups

Most importantly, Bourdieu does not regard 'structure' in the traditional sense of structuralism, which is fixed and static, but rather considers it as a "dynamic cause and effect" mechanism (Grenfell & James, 1998: 14), and he differentiates between *structured structures* and *structuring structures*. Related to this dynamic and practice-

oriented understanding of structures is his concepts of *fields* and *habitus*, which I will present in the next section.

2.2.4.2 ***Bourdieu's Notion of Habitus and Field***

Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *field* mediate between this dual sense of structures: *structured structures* and *structuring structures* (Bourdieu, 1989b). *Habitus* refers to principles which “generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them” (Bourdieu, 1990: 53). As the principles constituting *habitus* are “objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor” (Bourdieu, 1990: 53). Whereas, a *field* is “a structured system of social relations at a micro and macro level” (Grenfell & James, 1998: 16). These structural relations of individuals, institutions and groupings regulate their own specific logic of practice, based on the field-specific cultural, social, and economic capital which pursues for certain values, recognitions, and profits (Bourdieu, 1989b; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

In Bourdieu's notion, individual practices are thus “the product of an encounter between a *habitus* and a *field*” (Thompson, 1991: 17), and the relationship between *field* and *habitus* is reciprocally constituting: on one hand, “the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of immanent necessity of a field (or of hierarchically intersecting sets of fields)”; on the other hand, “habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value ...” (Bourdieu, 1989b: 44). In other words, by looking at individuals' *practices* construed of the encounters between *habitus* and *field*, we can deepen our understanding of social *structures*.

In the previous sections (2.1 and 2.2), I overviewed some of the main critical research streams. As discussed above, since CDA tends to adopt an *emancipatory modernist* position with the goal to critique one-sided views of society, CDA is originally designed to capture macro (sometimes meso; e.g., institutional) level social structures through their analysis. The examined ethnographic studies (especially LE), in contrast, often positions itself in the *poststructuralist tradition* and considers wider

social, cultural and political issues through the analysis of situated language practices (i.e., a bottom-up viewpoint). For this reason, ethnographic studies often employ Goffmanian, Hymesian and Bakhtinian views on language, which all show a strong awareness of the historical and cultural contexts in which language is produced and consumed. The ‘context’ in those studies, therefore, is regarded as something shaping individuals’ situated practices, as well as being sharpened by individual practices. Language, in this regard, can be seen as something innate, embedded in those social contexts.

When comparing these critical approaches with the Bourdieusian approach, we find that Bourdieu’s critical views share many commonalities with the examined ethnographic studies. Indeed, Bourdieu’s theoretical propositions have emerged organically from his own ethnographic work and experience. The unique aspect of his theory, however, lies in his emphasis on the independent examination of a *field*, or the ways in which a *field* provides authority to specific individuals and institutions by enforcing certain values and rules (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In Bourdieu’s *theory of practice*, ‘sociohistorically structured structures’ exist independently from the individuals’ practices. This notion is similar to that of *pretextuality*, denoting the existence of something prior to individuals’ utterances, and shaping their speech (see section 2.1.2.1). Thus, the most important characteristic of Bourdieu’s approach is that he attempts to examine both the macro structures and the micro situated practices, in order to understand the overall social reality.

In the next section, I will summarise these recent conceptualisations of ‘language’ into five principles based on the theoretical and methodological discussion in sections 2.1 and 2.2. In doing so, I will also show how Bourdieu’s theoretical and methodological framework can be efficiently adopted for investigating these five principles of language, and I will outline the benefits of combining CDA and critical ethnography.

2.2.5 How to See Language?: Five Principles

As seen above, critical studies all treat language not as a neutral object of investigation, but rather as something needing to be assessed in its local situated-ness. All of them attempt to understand the relation between language and society, since they regard language as socially situated across time and space. In the following, I will

summarise in five principles the common critical conceptualisations of ‘language’ as discussed above.

2.2.5.1 Principle 1) Language as heteroglossia

Firstly, it is important to be aware that language is a complex construct. As seen in the Bakhtinian notion of *heteroglossia*, language embraces intra-linguistic elements, like variation, dialects, or word-choice. There are also other features that language users can utilise, such as suprasegmental elements (e.g., prosody, rhythm and tempo) or non-verbal elements (e.g., physical pose, setting, and visual information). Due to the heteroglossic nature of language, it is necessary to investigate how these complex elements are employed by language users in their interactions, as well as in the production of texts. It should be noted that ‘language user,’ as referred to here, is not restricted to speakers and writers but also includes those who engage with ‘making sense’ of language more broadly (cf., Bakhtin’s *dialogic* notion).

2.2.5.2 Principle 2) Language as social practice

Secondly, when analysing language we need to consider the situated nature of language users’ meaning-making processes (cf., *contextualisation*). Meaning emerges in micro-level interactions, and is shared by those who participate in its creation on a moment-to-moment basis. This situated meaning making is at the same time shaped by much wider socio-historical elements (cf., *non-referential indexicality*). For this reason, investigating language requires researchers to engage in deciphering ‘who said what,’ in ‘what context,’ for ‘what reason,’ and ‘how,’ rather than examining ‘what was said.’

2.2.5.3 Principle 3) Language as social process

Thirdly, it is important to be aware that meanings are negotiated across time and space. As seen in Principle 2 above, this, on the one hand, requires a careful moment-to-moment investigation to understand the ‘here-and-now’ of meaning-making. On the other hand, we also need to take into consideration historical (temporal) and spatial processes of meaning making. As conveyed in the Bakhtinian notion of *dialogic*, language is *appropriated* by a language user at a certain space and time, and thus there is always an *intertextual chain* across time and space to be considered. It is also to be noted that certain conditions have already been established before language is used, and therefore the investigation needs to look at historical conditions that urge individuals to

speak in specific ways, or which prevent them from doing so (cf., *pretextuality*; Bourdieu's notion of *field* and *structured structure*).

2.2.5.4 **Principle 4) Language as resource (repertoires)**

Fourthly, language users possess *repertoires* “containing different sets of varieties, and these repertoires are the material with which they engage in communication” (Blommaert, 2005: 4). In other words, a *repertoire* could both enhance and restrict what language users can do in their interactions. Importantly, even when people speak the same language, this does not mean that they can access the same linguistic resources; as argued above, researchers need to look at the complex totality of language (cf., heteroglossic nature of language). For example, if language users cannot behave in a linguistically ‘appropriate’ way, as they are expected in certain *fields* (e.g., at a job interview), this signals their failure to access that particular linguistic resource, and their performance is unlikely to be evaluated favourably. For this reason, one needs to examine how such ‘language resources’ are distributed among individuals as well as in certain communities and societies.

2.2.5.5 **Principle 5) Language as social construct**

Finally, it is necessary to consider that “the world system is characterised by structural inequality, and this also counts for linguistic resources” (Blommaert, 2005). This fifth principle often refers to the macro structures of society, rather than the level of individuals. In a globalising society, for example, certain languages are attributed higher value than others. Thus, we need to understand the wider societal views towards languages in addition to understanding how individual language users build on those views in their practices.

On the basis of the review of the critical approaches carried out in section 2.2, we find that CDA provides useful analytic notions for scrutinising social (macro) and institutional (meso) *discourses* and *ideologies*, as formulated in Principle 5. In addition, through CDA we are also able to account for sociohistorical constraining factors (e.g., *pretextuality*, as in Principle 3, and describe how languages are distributed in society (Principle 4). However, as noted before, in order to observe how meaning is produced and consumed in the dialogic (Principle 1) and situated (Principle 2 and 3) context of

micro-level interactions, researchers need to combine CDA perspectives with other approaches, such as ethnography (e.g., Johnson, 2011; Krzyżanowski, 2011).

Although both CDA and critical ethnography are ‘critical’ approaches in the sense that they treat language as a social construct, their vantage points oppose each other – ethnographic studies tend to approach the relationship between language and society through a bottom-up perspective (starting off from the micro), while CDA often employs a top-down view (from the macro). As Blommaert (2005) points out, despite sharing certain critical views and agendas, scholars from the two fields – CDA and critical ethnography – rarely interact with each other.

Bourdieu’s *theory of practice*, in this respect, can act as a unifying principle, as it provides a workable avenue for combining the bottom-up and the top-down perspectives on investigating individual *practices* as seen in the notions of *habitus* and *field*, as well as *structured structure* and *structuring structure*. I believe such a combination could indeed enhance our understanding of the role played by language in society, and I shall employ it in the present study, as outlined in Chapter 3. Before detailing the methodological considerations of the thesis, however, I will overview the relevant previous empirical studies in multilingualism.

2.3 Empirical Studies: Complementary Schools and the Family Home

Studies investigating multilingualism involve research in various contexts, such as workplaces (e.g., Angouri, 2014) and hospitals (e.g., Gillian, 2015). For the purpose of this thesis, however, in the following sections I will specifically explore those empirical studies of multilingualism which are set in the context of complementary schools (in section 2.3.1) and the family home (in section 2.3.2).

2.3.1 Multilingualism Studies in Complementary Schools

Complementary schools (sometimes called as *heritage language schools*, *community schools*, *ethnic schools*, or *Saturday schools*) are mainly non-statutory educational settings where linguistic, cultural or religious practices are taught particularly through the language of a specific community (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a). In this section, I firstly look at the socio-political history of complementary schools, specifically in the context of the UK, to deepen our understanding of their aims and objectives. Then, I will review the studies conducted in complementary schools.

2.3.1.1 *Complementary schools in the UK: socio-political history, aims and objectives*

Wei (2006) categorises complementary schools in the UK into three different groups based on socio-political histories and school aims and objectives. According to him, the first kind emerged in the 1960s for children of Afro-Caribbean families, which was “a direct response by Afro-Caribbean parents who were very dissatisfied with what their children received from mainstream education at the time” (Wei, 2006: 76). The schools were for children of Afro-Caribbean origin only, and classes were taught by Afro-Caribbean teachers. The second wave of establishing the complementary schools emerged later in the 1970s and early 1980s, mainly led by Muslim communities of African and South Asian origin (Wei, 2006). This time, the aim of establishing complementary schools was mainly to pass the religious tradition on to the next generation, and the parents asked “for equal rights to the Anglican, catholic or Jewish communities, who were able to have their own schools” (Wei, 2006: 77). The third group appeared about the same time as the second group, along with an increasing number of immigrants (e.g., Chinese, Turkish, Greek complementary schools are established by new migrant communities). Unlike in the previous two cases, the aim of this group was not to ask for separate education for their children, but rather to maintain their language and cultural heritage by providing additional educational activities to that of mainstream education (Wei, 2006).

As a whole, what the different ethno-linguistic groups and educational institutions of complementary schools have in common is a concern over ethnicity, religion, language and culture, and access to these resources for ethnic and minority communities. For this reason, complementary schools can provide unique opportunities for researchers to examine language use of minority and/or multilingual speakers, and therefore, there are an increasing number of studies featuring complementary schools.

2.3.1.2 *Literacy and language practices in complementary schools*

Some studies conducted at complementary schools look specifically at literacy practices. Hancock (2011), for instance, examines a Chinese complementary school in central Scotland. By conducting observations of three classrooms, and interviews with eight teachers and one head teacher, as well as conversation with children, he reveals that the practices occurring in the classrooms are not ‘traditional’ literacy practices that those teachers have experienced through their own education in China, but a range of

bilingual and biliterate resources are used. Such creative literacy practices, involving the use of multilingual resources, are also discovered by Solovova's (2013) study which examines a complementary school for eastern European immigrants in central Portugal, as well as in the study conducted by Lytra, Martin, Baraç, and Bhatt (2010), looking at Turkish and Gujarati complementary schools in the UK. These studies show the intersection of languages, that is a "complex semiotic repertoire" (Lytra et al., 2010: 29), where participants in complementary schools can access in their literacy learning processes.

The use of multilingual resources has also been observed in moment-to-moment interactions. Yamashita's (2014) ethnographic study, for instance, examines multilingual interactions among Pakistani children at a local Mosque in urban Tokyo, Japan. Her study primary highlights four children's (aged between 7 and 11 in 2007; 10 and 13 in 2009) creative and dynamic meaning-making processes and practices while using their multilingual resources: Urdu, Japanese and English. For instance, Urdu was used for constructing (dis)alignment with their peers, for negotiating with authoritative adults, and in reference to them. Blackledge and Creese's (2010a) large-scale project highlights this meaning making process, by looking at a Gujarati complementary school in Leicester, a Turkish school in London, a Cantonese and a Mandarin school in Manchester, and a Bengali school in Birmingham. From the audio-recorded observation of students' interactions, they find that students adopt language in a highly stylised manner, for instance, through bringing informal popular culture into the formal classroom setting, by using their multilingual resources. These studies often apply the notions developed by Bakhtin and Gumperz for their analysis, which see language as a complex construct, and highlight not only language and varieties but also suprasegmental features (e.g., prosody, rhythm and tempo), as well as non-verbal elements (e.g., physical pose, setting, and visual information), and how individuals utilise such *repertoire* in their language use.

2.3.1.3 *Policy and practices in the complementary schools*

One important characteristic of the above studies is that through the analysis of micro interactions, they attempt to capture wider institutional and social discourses and ideologies. For example, Blackledge and Creese (2010: 141) point out a gap between educational ideologies of adults and students' renegotiation of such ideologies:

In the complementary schools, while teachers and administrators believe that teaching ‘language’ and ‘heritage’ is a means of reproducing ‘national’ identity in the next generation, the imposition of such identities is often contested and renegotiated by the students.

The ideological gap between the students, their parents and the teachers, are also observed in Wei and Wu’s (2010) study, investigating Cantonese and Mandarin complementary schools in Manchester. On one hand, parents and teachers emphasise learning according to a static notion of ‘Chinese traditional culture’; on the other hand, students are interested in ‘Chinese popular culture,’ and thus there are gaps between parents, teachers and students regarding what is important to learn, or what is of interest to their students.

Compared with the ‘institutional’ discourse and ideologies focused on in the above studies, some studies are looking at macro-phenomena (e.g., socio-political and historical influences) through individuals’ micro-level practices. Solovova’s previously mentioned study (2013), for instance, paying close attention to the socio-political influences on language and literacy practices. She found that language and literacy ideologies at that school emerged from a combination of various discourses: Portugal’s educational discourse, the education discourse of the post-soviet states where parents originate from, and European multilingualism discourses (Solovova, 2013). Similarly, Charalambous’s (2009) study conducted at Turkish-language classes in a Greek-Cypriot secondary school, highlights the Turkish-Cypriot political and historical conflict, and its influence on teachers’ and students’ constructions of *the other* in micro-level interactions. Those studies, as seen above, attempt to capture macro sociohistorical influence on individuals’ micro interactions.

2.3.1.4 ***Going beyond the complementary school context***

The above studies in the complementary schools employ ethnographic fieldwork in order to deepen their understanding of the language practices in a local complementary school context⁵. For this reason, even if their focus is mainly on complementary schools, many studies are actually engaging with data transgressing the complementary-school contexts. For instance, Blackledge and Creese’s (2010b) study highlights the space where the contexts of home and complementary school meet, such as when

⁵ Some of them identify their research as *linguistic ethnography* (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a; Charalambous, 2009; see 2.2.3.2 for details).

children prepared for attending complementary school at home, or when a complementary school teacher visited students' homes.

Some studies are extensively expanding their focus onto the outer-complementary school context. For example, Ruby, Gregory, Kenner and Al-Azami's (2010) study, looking at Qur'anic and Bengali complementary schools in London, reveals the inter-generational influence on children's language practices at home, specifically the grandmothers' influence on the children. They highlight the literacy learning led by a grandmother in the family context, and emphasise the importance of taking such family language interaction and learning process into account when considering children's language practices. Conteh, Riasat, and Begum's (2013) study further expands their view, by taking the family and mainstream educational contexts into account, in addition to the context of a complementary school. As they state, "individual learners' experiences are linked to family and community influences, as well as national and global trends and factors" (Conteh et al., 2013: 86); further research is, therefore, required which involves more holistic perspectives by considering macro- to micro level contextual influences.

2.3.2 Studies of Child Multilingualism in the Family Context

In this section, my focus is moved on to multilingualism studies in family context. I firstly look at the different family strategies for child multilingualism (section 2.3.2.1), followed by a detailed account of OPOL, one of those strategies (section 2.3.2.2). I then overview empirical studies in the area thematically (section 2.3.2.3 to 2.3.2.5).

2.3.2.1 *Different family language strategies for child multilingualism*

There are many ways of creating a bilingual environment for children within a family context. Overlooking the field of child bilingualism, Romaine (1995: 181-205) identifies six patterns of family language use, summarised by Piller (2001), while highlighting the parental language use and community language use, as follows (adapted from Piller 2001: 64; "Table 1 types of bilingual education in the family"):

Table 2-2: Different Family Language Strategies for Bilingual Childrearing

Type	Parental languages	Community language(s)	Strategy
1	Different L1s	The L1 of one parent	Each parent speaks their language to the child.
2	Different L1s	The L1 of one parent	Both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child, who is exposed to the dominant language outside the home, particularly in daycare and preschool.
3	Same L1s	The L1 of neither parent	Both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child, who is exposed to the dominant language outside the home, particularly in daycare and preschool.
4	Different L1s	The L1 of neither parent	Each parent speaks their language to the child, who is exposed to the dominant language outside the home, particularly in daycare and preschool.
5	Same L1s	The L1 of both parents	One parent speaks an L2 to the child.
6	Bilingual (either L1s or L2s)	May or may not be bilingual	The parents code-switch and mix languages with the child.

Source: Adapted from Piller 2001: 64

With an increasing discussion problematizing the distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers, Piller (2001) further develops these classifications into four of the following (the types refer to the categories in Table 2-2):

- 1) One person, one language (OPOL): type 1, 4 and 5
- 2) Home language vs. community language: type 2, 3, 4
- 3) Code-switching and language mixing: type 6
- 4) Consecutive introduction of the two languages⁶

Importantly, as seen in the above categorisations, even though we do not distinguish native and non-native speakers, parents' language proficiencies have a great impact on children's bilingualism in the family context. More specifically, if both parents can only speak the dominant (i.e., majority) language, then either category would be hardly applicable in the family context. Thus, parents' bilinguality – at least to some extent –

⁶ This is the strategy in which “parents decide to delay exposure to the community language for at least two years” (Piller, 2001: 67), which were not among Romaine's (1995) categories.

plays an important role in child bilingual education at home (note that even in the case of the second category, where families speak non-dominant (i.e., minority) language at home, they live in a society where another dominant language is spoken, and therefore it is assumed that they are exposed to more than one language).

Among these categories, OPOL policy has received most attention (Lanza, 2007), as well as being believed to be the best way of raising children as bilinguals (Piller, 2001). For the purpose of this thesis, I will specifically highlight OPOL family language policy in the next section before reviewing the related empirical studies.

2.3.2.2 ***What is “One Parent One Language (OPOL)” policy?***

The OPOL strategy in families has regained attention in the last two decades, along the re-evaluation of multilingualism in a globalising society (see section 2.1 for the changing social attitudes towards multilingualism). According to Barron-Hauwaert (2004), the original concept of OPOL derives from a French linguist, Maurice Grammont’s “*une personne; une langue* [one person one language]” appearing in his book published in 1902, titled “*Observations sur le langage des enfants* [observations on children’s language].” Since then, this strategy has been given many names, such as ‘one person one language principle’ (Döpke, 1998); ‘one person one language method’ (Romaine, 1995); ‘one person one language policy’ (e.g., Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001); ‘Grammont’s one-parent-one-language rule’ (Hamers & Blanc, 2000); and ‘one parent-one language approach’ (Takeuchi, 2006). As you can see in these expressions, ‘parent’ is sometimes replaced by ‘person,’ but recently the abbreviated form ‘OPOL’ is widely used for referring to this strategy.

Despite the range of variety in names, the one aim of OPOL policy is to help children acquire languages at an early age, by demanding the use of strictly one language by each parent; the theory behind of OPOL is that “by strictly separating the two family languages, the child will acquire them in a balanced and fluent way, without much confusion from mixed language use” (Park, 2008: 636); that is, it is based on the language separation ideology.

It is important to note, however, that the adaptation of OPOL in the family home does not necessarily guarantee the development of children’s bilingualism. For this reason, many studies in this field seek for the ‘best’ family language use for child bilingualism and explore the mechanisms of child bilingualism.

2.3.2.3 *Family language use and the ‘successful’ child bilingualism*

Several OPOL studies are focusing on the impact of family language use (e.g., language interaction and language input) on the outcome of child bilingualism (e.g., proficiency and language use). For instance, Döpke’s (1988, 1992) study focuses on parent-child interaction of six German-English families in Australia, and raises three important factors for a successful acquisition of minority language: firstly, quality of input rather than quantity of input; secondly, adoption of various teaching strategies; and thirdly, the degree of child-centeredness in parent-child interactions. Similarly, Kasuya’s (1998) study looks at dyadic interactions of English-Japanese bilingual children (at preschool age) of four families living in the US, and examines the language input environment of those families longitudinally. She found that the highest success rates of children using Japanese occurred when parents consistently used Japanese, as well as explicitly showing their preference for Japanese language. Takeuchi (2006) also examines Japanese-English bilingual children in Melbourne, Australia, and concluded that consistency and commitment to engage in regular parent-child interactions seem to be relevant to children’s level of minority language proficiency.

These studies are useful for examining what kind of family language environment could be ideal to maximise child bilingual proficiency. Paradoxically, however, as many studies point out, while parents claim that they are strictly following OPOL strategy, they are, in practice, mixing languages in parent-child interactions (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 144; see also Döpke, 1992; Takeuchi, 2006; Palvianen & Boyd 2013). Therefore, some studies focus more on the pragmatic aspect of OPOL strategy, while looking at parent-child interactions. Lanza’s (2004, 2007) study, for example, examines English-Norwegian parents’ response to child language mixing in particular. She summarises the different strategies observed, and offers an analytical framework for parent-child interactions. Applying Lanza’s framework, Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal’s (2001) study looks at a Catalan-English bilingual child brought up in Barcelona, Spain, and identifies differences in children’s language use at home when parents changed their interaction patterns. The studies of Lanza, and Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal, explore language practices through observation of child-parent interactions (i.e., what they actually do), instead of taking parents’ reports obtained through interviews or questionnaires (i.e., what they believe are doing) at face value. However, their focus still seems somewhat restricted, since they examine family language use in relation to

its better outcomes for child bilingualism, and not considering the real-life situations in which many parents, in practice, struggle to maintain the strict use of OPOL at home. For this reason, there is an increasing number of studies which also involve social, cultural, and ideological influences on the maintenance of family language use.

2.3.2.4 *Social, cultural, and ideological influences and family language use*

Since it is not children themselves, but their parents who decide and create the bilingual child-rearing environment in the family home, especially the one of early childhood, it is inevitable to consider parental influences, especially when analysing pre- and early-school-age child multilingualism. De Houwer (1999), for example, points out that the beliefs and attitudes of parents largely determine parental language use at home, which consequently becomes a trigger for child bilingual education at home. There are many other studies highlighting parents' perspectives and their impact on child bilingualism. For instance, Gao and Park (2012) look at Korean diaspora communities in north-east China. Through the interview data with 27 families, they explore Korean-Chinese parents' attitudes towards Putonghua and Korean language. They argue that more parents promote their children's bilingualism, considering the recent increase in the value of Putonghua due to China's socioeconomic growth. Francis and Archer (2005), meanwhile, investigate British-Chinese parents' values regarding education as a possible contribution to child bilingualism.

Other studies investigate the impact of local communities, and parents' involvement in the community. For instance, Velázquez's (2012) study focuses on the influence of mothers' social network on family language maintenance. By exploring the social network of fifteen Mexican American families in the US, specifically El Paso in Texas, and Lincoln in Nebraska, her study found that families' maintenance of Spanish relied on the mother's perception and participation in Spanish communities. Wei's (1994) study also looks at social networks, but in his case on multiple generations of Chinese-English bilinguals in the UK. His study disclosed the important role of social networks in language transmission through generations.

There are also studies focusing on the key elements in maintaining bilingual childrearing. Yamamoto's (2001) study investigates Japanese-English interlingual families⁷ living in Japan. She found from questionnaires that most of the parents

⁷ This is her term referring to "families with two or more language involved" (Yamamoto, 2001: 1).

(88.1%) considered ‘being bilingual’ as beneficial, and list economic advantages, academic advantages, personal-skill advantages and cognitive advantages as main reasons for bilingual childrearing (Yamamoto, 2001: 69-71). Despite the high value attributed to bilingualism, however, her findings suggested that social value and language ideology was driving parents’ decisions of language use in the family home.

Some studies extend their focus onto the parental emotional aspects for family language maintenance. For instance, Kouritzin (2000) highlights the personal challenges of using Japanese in the US. Her study calls for considering the emotional struggles of maintaining the minority language at home. This emotional aspect was further explored by Okita (2002). Through survey studies and in-depth interviews of Japanese-English families living in the UK, Okita’s (2002) findings shed light on the mother’s role as not limited to that of a bilingual educator, but being one of ‘general child educator,’ to which she refers as the ‘invisible work’ behind bilingual childrearing. Her study highlights the societal and cultural influence on the maintenance of minority language, and especially on the parent who speaks the minority language at home.

2.3.2.5 *Family language policies: seeing FLP as a flexible enterprise*

Along with the developments in studies which expand their focus on the social, cultural, and ideological influences on family language practice, a new research field has been emerging in recent years, called *family language policy* (FLP). FLP is a field linking child language acquisition and bilingualism to the field of language policy (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; King & Fogle, 2013). Those studies address “child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life” (King & Fogle, 2013: 172). That is, compared with traditional studies which centre on child language acquisition, this new research wave considers ‘family’ as a social construct, and is interested in exploring the negotiation process of FLP within the family.

The most characteristic attempt in FLP, as we can see from their use of ‘policy’ in FLP, is that they tried to integrate the views of language policy studies into the field of child bilingualism. According to King et al. (2008), on one hand, traditionally policy studies focus merely on macro level public and/or instructional context (e.g., school, work place); on the other hand, the field of child bilingualism merely explores the micro level interactions and language acquisition. By conceptualising family as a site where

“language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver-child interactions” (King et al., 2008: 914), the FLP researchers thus attempt to deal with micro and macro perspectives in their research.

2.4 Expanding Multilingualism Studies: Research Gaps

This section provides a summary of the studies and recent developments in research reviewed in this chapter, identifying certain gaps in the literature and outlining how some of these will be addressed in the thesis.

2.4.1 Family as Social Construct

As seen in the section 2.3.2.5 regarding FLP, conceptualising family as a social construct is likely to bring a new research insight into multilingualism studies in the family context. Some studies have already examined how parents’ *ideologies* and *discourses* are being influenced by macro phenomena (e.g., socio-political, socio-economic influences). For instance, Tuominen’s (1999) study, which looks at parental language practice at home through questionnaires, argues conversely that although parents’ educational level and socioeconomic status have influenced family language use, the children are key to determining family language use, especially that of minority language. However, as Palviainen and Boyd (2013) point out, FLP is in “constant flux,” where every family member – both parents and children – is involved in the negotiation (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013: 245). From this viewpoint, it is not really a matter of disclosing *who* negotiates FLP, but rather to look at *how* FLP is negotiated, by *whom*, in *what* context, which can deepen our understanding of *why* such negotiation has occurred.

By conceptualising family as a social construct, therefore, we can examine families as ‘mini-societies’ which play an important role in bounding up individuals’ ways of behaving, their values and morality, all of which is being (re-)negotiated by individual family members, while being also influenced by external factors (e.g., mainstream school and society).

2.4.2 The Comparison between *Perception* and *Practice*

As seen above, individuals’ perceived language use and actual language practices often differ (e.g., see the case of OPOL in section 2.3.2.3). Although it is important to consider individuals’ self-reported perceptions of their language use, many studies

simply treat it as an actual language practice, and there is a dearth of research looking at the gaps between individuals' perceptions and practices.

Since ethnographic inquiry collects various types of data, it can capture both self-reported perceptions (e.g., through interviews), as well as actual language practices (e.g., through observation of individuals' interactions). Exploring such gaps enables us to deepen our understanding of the complexity of individuals' language use from a dual perspective, and may highlight some reasons behind such gaps.

2.4.3 Negotiation across Space and Time

As seen throughout this chapter, the process of negotiating language use across time and space is an important element which has been explored in recent studies. For instance, we have seen CDA's recent focus on the *recontextualisation* process of macro policy discourse into meso institutional policies. The spatial dimension is not only reflected in the passage between macro and micro levels, but also across different contexts, such as the complementary school and mainstream school as well as the family home. Borrowing Bourdieu's concept of *field*, these various spaces can be seen as having their own *structures* that shape individual practices. For this reason, investigating the negotiation process of individual language practices would deepen our understanding of the function of the *field*, and of why individuals use language in a particular way in a specific *field*.

In addition, as seen in the conceptualisation of language as social process (Principle 3 in 2.2.5), the temporal dimension of the negotiation process in language use is also an important area to be examined. Although the research project itself has a time limitation, we can always explore longer timeframes through such tools as narrative inquiry. Goodson (2013: 31), for instance, conceptualises life story narratives as "poised between personal and individual and social/historical production" and differentiates the time-scale into four categories: the first level is broad *historical time*, then there is *generational or cohort time* (e.g., baby boomers), followed by *cyclical time* (e.g., work, child-rearing, retirement and death), and finally *personal time* (e.g., personal dreams, objectives). As seen in section 2.2, (e.g., in the reference to *pretextuality*), not only narratives, but individuals' moment-to-moment *practices* have also already been shaped, to some extent, by historical or path-dependant constraints. Therefore, even when looking at moment-to-moment *narratives* and *practices*, it is always important to take such broader time-scale into consideration.

In the next chapter, based on these potential areas of expanding multilingualism research, I will draw out my research project.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Overview

This thesis employed a critical ethnographic approach in order to explore multilingual families' language practices in a Japanese complementary school (*Hoshuko*) in the UK and in the family home. My fieldwork in these two settings centred on Japanese-English multilingual children and their parents. My main interest is in exploring the ways in which *discourses* emerging from policies (governmental, institutional, and family policies) are reproduced and/or challenged by individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*.

In this chapter, I will firstly clarify my theoretical and methodological position in the research design, and then address the research questions. Based on the theoretical considerations, the following sections will justify the data collection and data analysis methods I employed in this thesis, including the choice of research context and participants. At the end, I will discuss practical issues, such as those concerning the researcher's positionality and ethical considerations while highlighting my own experiences throughout the study.

3.1 Research Paradigm: a Bourdieusian Approach

This thesis derives its core theoretical and methodological paradigm from Bourdieu's *theory of practice* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990). In section 2.2, I discussed 'critical' research from two major viewpoints: a *modernist-emancipatory* and a *postmodern-problem-analysing* approach (cf., Pennycook, 2001). Nevertheless, as discussed, in their purest forms both approaches have potential risks: while the former could fall into determinism, the latter is prone to sinking into extreme subjectivism. A Bourdieusian viewpoint provides an avenue for overcoming such risks, while maintaining a critical stand.

In this section, I will clarify the way in which this thesis applies Bourdieu's research paradigm, and define the foundational notions of *discourse*, *practice* and *perception* for the purposes of this thesis. I will also describe how I conceptualise the two *fields* where the fieldwork was conducted, the *Hoshuko* and the family home.

3.1.1 The Application of the *Theory of Practice*

Bourdieu's *theory of practice* recognises 'social structure' as something that exists independently from individuals' practices, and in this respect, it radically differs from the subjectivist tradition. Nevertheless, he does not consider 'structure' as fixed, but as a fluid and dynamic, constantly changing entity – in this respect, it also contrasts with the objectivist tradition. In Bourdieu's understanding, individual *practice* is, on one hand, regulated by *structures* (i.e., *structured structures*), while on the other hand, this *practice* can also take part in constructing *structures* (i.e., *structuring structures*).

Bourdieu's notion of *field* plays a key role in understanding the idea of *structured structures*. To explain what he means by *field*, Bourdieu adopts the metaphor of 'a game,' where the players' behaviour (i.e., *practice*) is constrained by rules specific to the game, or *field*:

In a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the rules constitutive of this space of game, with various degrees of strength and therefore diverse probabilities of success, to appropriate the specific products at stake in the game (Bourdieu, 1989b: 40).

Since a *field* provides – or imposes – certain rules and values, individuals are expected to behave in specific ways within the given *field*. If they did not know, or did not follow the rules of the *field*, they would find it hard to achieve 'success.' In Bourdieu's *theory of practice*, therefore, the *field* in which action takes place needs to be scrutinised, since it determines the specific 'rules' and 'values.' In this study, I employ CDA to scrutinise what is 'valued,' and what is considered as 'appropriate' (i.e., *discourses* and *ideologies*). By doing so, I aim to deepen our understanding of the *discourses* and *ideologies* which are circulated and have become dominant in a specific *field* (e.g., *Hoshuko*). Importantly, I use CDA to understand what kind of *discourses* and *ideologies* are represented in the policy texts, so that I can compare those with individuals' practices and perceptions, and therefore not as a tool to search for alternative *ideologies* and *discourses* that I see as the 'correct' ones. In this way, I aim to avoid the deterministic risks inherent in a *modernist-emancipatory* approach.

Another concept which plays an important role in Bourdieu's theory, this time for investigating *structuring structures*, is the notion of *habitus*. According to Bourdieu, perception, thought, and action are all constitutive of *habitus*, and they collectively regulate and orchestrate certain 'rules' and 'values' in an unconscious manner

(Bourdieu, 1989a). In other words, individuals are reproducing certain *discourses* and *ideologies* by acting, thinking, and perceiving in a particular way. In order to explore this aspect, I will employ ethnographic data collection and analysis in this thesis.

As will be detailed in the next section, this thesis treats *practice* as situated and temporal, occurring within a specific structure constituted by a certain *field* and *habitus*. Individuals, through their *practices*, are able to reproduce, utilise, and/or challenge such *discourses* and *ideologies* already existing in a *field* or collectively reproduced by *habitus*. In this sense, individuals' temporal and situated *practices* embrace diversity and complexity, but without the risk of falling into the extreme subjectivism to which a *postmodern-problem-analysing* approach is often exposed, since the diverse and complex individual *practices* are examined within the framework of the existing social *structure*. Consequently, combining the two methods can neutralise the risks which each approach potentially has on its own.

In the next section, I define the terms *discourse*, *practice*, and *perception* specifically for the purpose of this thesis, relating them to Bourdieu's *theory of practice*.

3.1.2 Definitions of Discourse, Practice, and Perception

According to Blommaert, researchers in linguistics traditionally treat *discourse* as “complex linguistic forms larger than the single sentence (a ‘text’)” or “linguistic structures actually used by people” (Blommaert, 2005: 2). In the social sciences, on the other hand, *discourse* has a much broader meaning, and researchers place less emphasis on linguistic forms and/or structures, focusing more on “the ‘socially constructive effects’ of discourse, or on the ways it functions to create social, cultural and institutional developments and to influence how we understand the world” (Hyland, 2009: 21). In recent studies, the latter viewpoint of *discourse* has been also applied in linguistics. Gee's works (2008, 2011), for example, differentiate *Discourse* with a capital ‘D,’ from *discourse* with a small ‘d,’ whose meaning is restricted to linguistic ones (e.g., structures and forms). Gee argues that *Discourse* involves much more than linguistic structures and forms, and defines it as:

a socially accepted association among ways of using language and other symbolic expressions, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting, as well as using various tools, technologies, or props that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group ... (Gee, 2008: 161)

Gee also stresses that the factor of ‘social acceptance’ which lies at the core of his definition of *Discourse*, further shapes what is deemed ‘good’ and ‘appropriate’ across time and space (Gee, 2008, 2011).

Although I will not adopt his spelling of Discourse with capital ‘D,’ I employ the term *discourse* in this thesis in accordance with Gee’s definition of *Discourse*, as something representing a specific set of values and knowledge (what is ‘good’ and ‘appropriate’), (re-)produced and circulated through language use (both oral and written), as well as the symbolic expression of individuals’ thoughts and beliefs.

It is also important to note that discourses embrace – even (re-)produce – *ideologies*. I define *ideology* in this thesis as “a general phenomenon characterising the totality of a particular social or political system, and operated by every member or actor in that system” (Blommaert, 2005: 158). In this sense, *ideology* is invisible as it is naturalised without questioning by member or actor in the system. Hence, *ideology* can describe not only different ‘-isms’ (e.g., essentialism, capitalism), but also context-specific principles (e.g., the extreme value attached to Japaneseness and reproduced by a certain community of members). As a whole, I consider both *discourse* and *ideology* to function as ‘structures’ in a Bourdieusian sense, which generate and regulate the ‘common sense’ *habitus* in a specific *field*.

In contrast to the collective nature of *discourse* and *ideology* which are shared and circulated by the members of a certain community, I consider *practice* as being characterised by its temporality, situatedness, and individuality. Bourdieu explains *practice* as below:

Practice unfolds in time and it has all the correlative properties, such as irreversibility, that synchronization destroys. Its temporal structure, that is, its rhythm, its tempo, and above all its directionality, is constitutive of its meaning. ... practice is inseparable from temporality, not only because it is played out in time, but also because it plays strategically with time and especially with tempo (Bourdieu, 1990: 81).

This definition is similar to what Gumperz considers interaction through the concept of *contextualization* (see section 2.2.3) as well as Bakhtinian notion of *dialogic* aspect of *heteroglossia*, since *practice* is only meaningful within a particular *field* at certain time – and therefore, it is characterised as situated and temporal.

In contrast to *practice* (i.e., the ways individuals *act* in certain space and time), I use *perception* in this thesis to describe ‘the ways individuals *perceive* their actions.’ I

consider *perception* as emerging from individuals' *narratives* which is "the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful... a cognitive process that organizes human experiences into *temporally meaningful episodes*" (Polkinghorne, 1988: 1; emphases added by author). For this reason, *perception* is also characterised by temporality and situatedness.

Most importantly, although both *discourse* and *perception* could possibly be produced through individuals' utterances, I differentiate *discourse* from *perception*: on one hand, a *discourse* is an expression of symbolic value circulated among the members of a community; on the other hand, *perception* is a more personal and situated construct, which can be self-contradictory and/or could go against certain values sustained through *discourse*.

3.1.3 *Fields*: How to Locate *Hoshuko* and the Family Home?

As discussed above, a *field* is an important site to be considered, as it provides certain values and rules, and therefore impacts upon individuals' *practices*. In this section, I will clarify the two *fields* I scrutinise in this thesis: the *Hoshuko* and the family home.

Bourdieu has identified both 'school' and 'family' as important sites of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), where certain value, recognition and profits are reproduced, and at the same time challenged through individuals' *practices*. Although the family is not traditionally considered as a unit for analysis in comparison to school settings, it has obtained more and more spotlight in recent years. For instance, King et al. define the family unit as the place where "macro- and micro-processes can be examined as dominant ideologies intersect and compete with local or individual views on language and parenting" (King et al., 2008: 914).

In this thesis, I consider both *Hoshuko* and the family as *fields* where certain *discourses* and *ideologies* connect with individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*; and for this reason, I treat FLP, family language policy, similarly to governmental and institutional *policy* throughout this thesis, where certain set of values are embraced. The reason why I was interested in both the family home and *Hoshuko* is that these are the contexts where minority language education takes place in addition to mainstream schooling. In addition, the choice for children's minority language education remains optional – in contrast to subjects that are part of compulsory education in the UK –

which places these choices within the function of particular reasons and purposes. The status of *Hoshuko* and the multilingual child-rearing family home in this way creates very unique opportunities for children's multilingual practices, in constant contact with mainstream norms and ideologies.

3.2 Research Questions and Two Analytical Stages

Based on Bourdieu's *theory of practice*, I organise my analysis into two stages. The first stage explores *structured structures* at the macro level through the analysis of policies by employing the analytical framework of CDA. The second stage, on the other hand, investigates *structuring structures* at the micro level through an exploration of ethnographic data, including the processes by which individuals reproduce a certain *habitus*, as well as the way they challenge those *structures*.

More specifically, in the first stage, I examine what kind of values, recognitions and profits dominate the *fields* of *Hoshuko* and the family home. For this purpose, I employ the analytical framework of CDA, and disclose governmental and institutional *discourses* and *ideologies* through scrutinising their policy documents. It needs to be noted that the aim is to discover “inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures” – i.e., *Text or Discourse-Immanent Critique* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 88). Namely, I explore the discourses of the Japanese government, and how those are reproduced and/or challenged in the institutional discourses of nine *Hoshuko* in the UK, and the discourses emerging from individuals' beliefs. I will follow a similar path when analysing the discourses behind FLP – my focus here being specifically on families who have reported using OPOL policy; however, since there are no ‘formal written policy documents’ regulating such practices, I will treat the popular- and academic literature in this field, alongside interview data where certain symbolic values shared among parents are being expressed, as the main sources and reproductive channels of FLP discourses. As I will discuss it in more detail in Chapter 6, the decision to treat popular scientific literature as quasi-policy-documents in this case is substantiated by the self-conscious way in which almost all of the families following OPOL relied on such studies.

In the second stage, relying primarily on ethnographic data, I move my focus on to individuals' language *practice* and *perceptions* at the micro level. One of my main interests here is to explore what kind of role language plays within the *Hoshuko* and

family homes. In this second stage, I also compare individuals' *practices* and *perceptions* and their influence on one another. At the same time, I further compare these with the policy *discourses* found in the first stage. In doing so, I will explore the ways in which *discourse* generates the individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*, or how such *practices* and *perceptions* are shaping *discourse*.

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, I view language based on the following five principles in this study: 1) language as heteroglossia; 2) language as social practice; 3) language as social process; 4) language as resources (repertoires); and 5) language as social construct (see details in section 2.2.5), and thus, the combination of CDA and Ethnography enables me to explore such complexities of language roles from both macro and micro viewpoints (see Table 3-1 for a summary):

Table 3-1: Five Language Principles and the Combination of CDA and Ethnography

5 Principles of Language	CDA (Macro level focus)	Ethnography (Micro level focus)
1) Heteroglossia	To explore complex constructs of language (e.g., the use of passive/active voice, and genre) in the text and visual images	To explore complex constructs of language (e.g., the use of tone, voice quality) in interactional data, observation and interview data
2) Social Practice	To explore linguistic resources (e.g., voice, genre) used in policy documents	To explore linguistic resources (e.g., tone, voice quality) used in the interaction data, observation and interview data
3) Social Process	To explore how language use in policy is processed, through intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and recontextualisation	To explore how individual language use is processed longitudinally (time) and across contexts (space)
4) Resource	To explore historical and sociopolitical influences on language use	To explore influences of personal life history on language use (e.g., family language use)
5) Social Construct	To explore what kinds of discourse and ideology are embedded in the text; how social actors are represented in the text	To explore what is valued and believed by individuals through the interview data; how individuals utilise those values and beliefs in their interaction

To sum up, I address the following four themes in this thesis: 1) policy discourse, 2) language practice, 3) language perception, and 4) their influence on one another. The detailed research questions are:

- 1) **Policy Discourse: What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in governmental, institutional, and family language policies?**
 - 1-i). What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in governmental and institutional policies regarding *Hoshuko*?
 - 1-ii). What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in OPOL family language policy?
- 2) **Language Practice: In what ways do multilingual individuals use language in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?**
 - 2-i). In what ways do the multilingual children and parents use their linguistic resources in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
 - 2-ii). What kinds of meanings are created by their specific selection of available linguistic resource in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
- 3) **Language Perception: In what ways do multilingual individuals perceive their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?**
 - 3-i). In what ways do multilingual children and parents describe their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
 - 3-ii). In what ways do they rationalise their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
- 4) **Relations among Discourse, Practice and Perception: How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses (*Hoshuko* policies and FLP) influence one another?**
 - 4-i). How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses influence one another in the *Hoshuko*?
 - 4-ii). How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses influence one another in the family home?

I will look at the questions regarding *Hoshuko* in Chapter 4 and 5: *discourse* in Chapter 4, and individuals' practices and perceptions in Chapter 5. In the following Chapter 6, I will investigate the questions regarding the family home: discourse in section 6.1, and individuals' practices and perceptions between section 6.2 and 6.4.

3.3 Research Context and Participants

As stated in the previous section, this thesis employs two methods for the investigation: CDA and ethnographic inquiry. Throughout the analysis, our viewpoint will also move from macro level governmental discourse to the meso level institutional discourse of nine *Hoshuko* in the UK, to the micro level of individuals' practices and perceptions at *Asahi-Hoshuko* and the family home. For this reason, section 3.3.1 will briefly describe the macro level research context: the way in which the Japanese government perceives and regulates *Hoshuko* education. Although we have overviewed the socio-political history of complementary schools in the UK (section 2.3.1), *Hoshuko* are unique compared to other complementary schools, and cannot be easily fitted in either of the three categories; therefore I will highlight the socio-economic history of *Hoshuko* in this section. The following section 3.3.2 is dedicated to a brief background of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. I will then move my focus on to a specific *Hoshuko*, named *Asahi-Hoshuko* (pseudonym), where I conducted a 16-month fieldwork (section 3.3.3). The final section (3.3.4) will detail the way in which I recruited the research participants, and provide a brief introduction to the families who took part.

3.3.1 *Hoshuko*: Japanese Government Approved Complementary Schools

The Japanese government – more specifically, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) – provides financial and human resource support for 'Japanese schools' outside Japan through the policies of *Education Abroad*⁸. These policies cover primarily two types of schools⁹: *Nihonjin Gakko* [Japanese school], and *Hoshu Jugyoko* (i.e., *Hoshuko*) [a complementary school]. *Nihonjin Gakko* are full-time schools where the core elements of the Japanese educational system – such as the national curriculum and approved textbooks – are fully implemented. *Hoshuko*, on the other hand, are aimed at children who attend local mainstream schools in their countries of residence,

⁸ MEXT and MOFA use different Japanese terms for 'Education Abroad': *Kaigai-shijo Kyoiku* [Education for Children Abroad] is used by MEXT, and *Kaigai Kyoiku* [Education Abroad] by MOFA. In this study, I use '*Education Abroad*,' to refer to government approved education programmes abroad in general.

⁹ There also exist other types of private educational establishments recognised and approved by the Japanese government, like the overseas branches of Japanese private schools. However, this study merely focuses on *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* as these two are the main foci of governmental policy.

and only provide a limited number of complementary classes per week, in most cases of Saturdays, and usually focusing on Japanese language and literature.

Most of *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* have been originally established by local Japanese associations – in many cases consisting of professional expatriates – in order for their children to keep up with the Japanese curriculum until their return to Japan. Upon approval by the Japanese government as schools for Japanese children abroad, they gain the status of *Nihonjin Gakko* (full-time school) or *Hoshuko* (complementary school), and they can receive support from the government. The governmental support varies from sending experienced and qualified teachers from Japan, providing teaching materials and teacher training by MEXT, to financial support to cover the rental fees of school facilities, teachers' salaries by MOFA, and many more (MEXT, n.d.-a).

Due to this historical reason, the intentions of establishing *Education Abroad* have a strong relationship with Japanese business communities. The first *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* were established in the 1950s at the request of professional expatriates working at Japan's international companies (MEXT, n.d.-d). Business- and economic communities have still played a substantial role in *Education Abroad*. For instance, in addition to governmental involvement, *Kaigai-shijo Kyoiku Zaidan* [Japanese Overseas Educational Services (henceforth JOES)], a Public Interest Incorporated Foundation financially supported by Japanese international companies, has actively engaged with *Education Abroad*, by providing support for professional expatriate families, while collaborating with the Japanese government (JOES, n.d.-a).

Despite the original intention of these schools, however, the recent increase in the number of Japanese nationals living abroad has brought a diversification in the family backgrounds of students at *Education Abroad*. According to the most recent *Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas* (MOFA, 2013), the number of Japanese nationals living abroad has almost doubled from 679,379 in 1992, to 1,249,577 in 2012. In the case of the UK, for instance, this report shows that professional expatriates and their family members only account for 28% (18,219) of the entire Japanese population in the country (65,070)¹⁰. Consequently, the backgrounds of the children accessing the government-approved *Education Abroad* facilities has also

¹⁰ The percentage of professional expatriates tends to be high in Asia, Central and South America, Central Eastern Europe and the Middle East; and comparatively low in Oceania, North America, and Western Europe. Although I have focused the situation in the UK, it is noted that there are certainly the different tendencies of students' backgrounds according to the geographical areas; e.g., In Africa, the government related residents occupy a large percentage (see details MOFA, 2013).

diversified, and for example, children of intermarriage couples and children of globally mobile professionals are increasingly present alongside the traditional category of ‘children of professional expatriates’ who are expected to return to Japan in a few years.

3.3.2 Nine *Hoshuko* in the UK

According to the MEXT (2014), there are currently about 20,000 students studying at 88 *Nihonjin Gakko*, and about 18,000 students at 203 *Hoshuko* around the world. In the UK, there is only one *Nihonjin Gakko* in London. In consequence, it is highly unfeasible for children living outside the Greater London area to attend full-time *Nihonjin Gakko*; thus, *Hoshuko* play an important role for the families who want to access *Education Abroad*.

The following Figure 3-1 shows the geographic distributions of nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. As shown in Figure 3-1, in this thesis, I will use the school names based on the combination of their ‘self-defined school location’ and ‘*Hoshuko*’ – some schools actually have longer names, such as *Nihonjin/Nihongo Hoshujugyoko*, meaning ‘Japanese *Hoshuko*’ (original school names are shown in Table 3-4, section 3.4.1).

Figure 3-1: The Geographic Distribution of *Hoshuko* in the UK



Mapdata © 2014 GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google (tags added by author)

All nine *Hoshuko* in the UK operate on Saturdays and teach *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature]. Five of these schools teach only *Kokugo* in the morning, while four schools teach *Kokugo* and *Sansu* [Mathematics] in morning and afternoon sessions. Moreover, all nine *Hoshuko* provide education at primary and lower-secondary education. Nursery and upper-secondary levels are not compulsory education in Japan,

however, through the schools' website, it can be seen that there are at least two *Hoshuko* offering upper-secondary level classes, and six *Hoshuko* open for nursery level pupils.

The majority of the schools were founded in the 1980s or very early 90s, with the exception of two: the very first one in London founded in 1965, and the most recent one established in Kent in 2005. This is due to the rapid economic growth of Japan during the 1980s, when an increasing number of professional expatriates were posted to their companies' overseas branches together with their families.

Except for the one in London, which counts with 1,300 students in three school branches, the student number of the other regional *Hoshuko* ranges between 40 and 100¹¹. It is also worth noting that the Japanese government only dispatches teachers to the relatively large *Hoshuko* in London and Derby (MEXT, 2013b), who are serving as school principals. Classes at the *Hoshuko* are thus usually taught by locally employed teachers, and managed by local parents and/or local Japanese associations.

3.3.3 *Asahi-Hoshuko*: the Field Site

Asahi-Hoshuko, located in a medium-sized city in the UK, borrows classrooms and school facilities (e.g., white boards, students' desks) from a local mainstream school, and teaches *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature] on Saturdays at primary and lower-secondary levels according to the Japanese national curriculum. *Asahi-Hoshuko* was originally founded by local Japanese professional expatriates in the region. In the beginning, this school was supported merely by local Japanese associations and local Japanese companies. A few years later, however, the school was approved by the Japanese government as a *Hoshuko* and started receiving personnel and financial support from the government as well. In addition to primary and secondary school education, the nursery class has recently started officially (see further discussion about the nursery class in section 5.2.4).

The acceleration of Japanese economic growth in the 1980s led to the overseas expansion of Japanese companies, creating a large number of overseas posts available to Japanese professionals. As a result, the number of students increased, and *Asahi-Hoshuko* received dispatched teachers – qualified and experienced teachers from Japan, via the Ministry of Education in Japan (i.e., a precursor institution to the current MEXT) – in the late 1990s. After a peak in the late 1990s when the school had approximately

¹¹ *Kent-Hoshuko* and *Scotland-Hoshuko* do not have any information on students' number on their websites.

130 students, the number of students has decreased in recent years to around 50. The reduction in student numbers resulted in the school being unable to receive any more dispatched teachers from Japan. Since the early 2000s, therefore, classes have been mainly taught by locally-employed teachers, and the school has been managed by a steering committee consisting of students' parents. This school is financially managed primarily through student tuition fees, funding from the Japanese government, and Japanese-affiliated companies in the local area.

3.3.4 Research Participants: Families Attending *Asahi-Hoshuko*

I aimed to recruit as research participants a group of families with children of nursery-to-early-schooling age, who attended British mainstream schools during the week, and went to *Hoshuko* on weekends. To this aim, I employed a *homogeneous sampling* method, selecting “participants from a particular subgroup who share some important experience” (Dörnyei, 2007: 127). Hence, the children participating in this study were all attending *Asahi-Hoshuko*, more specifically nursery class at the time when I started my fieldwork in April 2012 (this study also involved some of their elder siblings). Since all of them were attending mainstream school on weekdays, they all lived in environments dominated by at least two languages, English and Japanese.

I presented my research project to the parents with children in nursery classes at *Hoshuko* in May 2012. Those families who agreed to participate became the *main* research participants of this study. In addition, I also invited individual families to take part in the in-depth study involving family visits. Following my presentation and discussions, two families have agreed to also take part in the in-depth study that would involve regular home visits over a period of twelve months.

In total, eighteen children of eleven families participated in this study: twelve boys and six girls, aged between three and eight (in April 2012; the age will be specified whenever I make reference to longitudinal ethnographic data in the later discussion). Among the eleven families, the parents of three families were both Japanese, while eight families were intermarriage families – in all of the cases the mothers were Japanese. The latter eight families will be specifically focused on in Chapter 6, as they all reported that they employed OPOL as family language policy. For the parts of the fieldwork taking place in the family homes, I visited two of these intermarriage families regularly. However, on a few occasions I also visited and observed other families not formally taking part in the regular home visits.

All the names of parents and children used in this thesis are pseudonyms. For the purpose of clarity, I assigned members of the same family pseudonyms sharing the same initial letter, as shown in Table 3-2. To protect the anonymity of the research participants, I will not provide further details on each family here, but within the limits of anonymity, I will describe certain individual circumstances necessary for understanding the significance of the data in the discussion sections.

Table 3-2: Main Research Participants (11 Families)¹²

Family	Children 1 (Male/Female: Age ¹³)	Children 2 (Male/Female: Age)	Father	Mother
A family	Atsushi (M: 5)	Akihiro (M: 7)	Atunori	Ai
E family (intermarriage)	Ethan (M: 5)	Eiji (M: 5)	Edward	Emiko
J family (intermarriage)	Jin (M: 4)	James (M: 4)	Jonathan	Junko
K family (intermarriage)	Ken (M: 4)	Kyoka (F: 6)	Kevin	Kumiko
M family (intermarriage)	Matthew (M: 5)	-	Max	Megumi
N family (intermarriage)	Noa (M: 4)	Naomi (F: 7)	Nicholas	Noriko
R family	Rie (M: 5)	-	Ryosuke	Risako
S family (intermarriage)	Shun (M: 3)	Saori (F: 6)	Samuel	Sachiko
T family (intermarriage)	Tsugumi (F: 6)	Takuya (M: 8)	Thomas	Tomoko
W family (intermarriage)	Wakana (F: 4)	-	William	Wakako
Y family	Yasuki (F: 4)	-	Yukio	Yukari
Total	18 children		11 couples	

This study also included several participants who were not part of the *main* participant group presented in the table above. Whenever referring to data concerning them, I used pseudonyms starting with the letter H (e.g., Harry, Harumi, Honoka, Hana). Importantly, teachers, in this thesis, are only referred to by their professional title as

¹² This table only shows the children who participated in this study. Some families have more children than the table indicates, but they do not appear in this table unless I had permission to observe them.

¹³ The age shown in the table was at April 2012.

‘teacher.’ This is because many of the parents who sent their children to *Asahi-Hoshuko* also acted as teachers at the school; for this reason, using the same pseudonyms as the ones they have been assigned as parents, would risk compromising their anonymity. Moreover, assigning different names based on each teacher would also have risks in maintaining anonymity.

3.4 CDA Data Collection and Analytical Procedure

3.4.1 Analysed Policy Documents

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was employed for scrutinising governmental and institutional policy documents. For analysing governmental discourse, this study primarily used the following policy documents published by MEXT and MOFA:

Table 3-3: Analysed Policy Documents of the Japanese Government

Name of the Policy Documents [translation]	Issued Ministry, and References
<i>Kaigai Kyoiku</i> [Education Abroad]	(MOFA, 2011)
<i>Kikokushijo-Kyoiku no Jujitsu</i> [Enhancement of Education for Child Returnees]	(MEXT, n.d.-b)
<i>Kaigaishijo-Kyoiku no Gaiyo</i> [Overview of Education for Children Abroad]	(MEXT, n.d.-a)
<i>Shisetsu no Gaiyo</i> [Overview of Educational Institutions]	(MEXT, n.d.-c)
<i>Zaigai Kyoiku Shisetsu no Gaiyo</i> [Overview of Educational Institutions for Residents Abroad]	(MEXT, n.d.-d).
<i>Kaigai de Manabu Nihon no Kodomotachi: Waga kuni no Kaigaishijo-Kyoiku no Genjo</i> [Japanese Children Learning Abroad: Our Country's Present Situation of Education for Children Abroad]	(MEXT, 2010, 2013a, 2014)

Compared with the first five policy documents, the final document was a booklet, which has been updated by MEXT on their webpage, named ‘CLARINET’ (abbreviation from ‘Children Living Abroad Returnees InterNET’). As the name of the webpage CLARINET (Children Living Abroad Returnees Internet) suggests, it provides information on children’s education abroad and the educational support available after their return to Japan¹⁴. Besides providing statistical data on the demographic number of children abroad and official *Education Abroad* policy documents, the booklet gives a

¹⁴ Recently, they also provide supports for overseas students coming to Japan.

reader-friendly impression with a colourful design, illustrations and photos. It is thus assumed that many parents planning to move abroad, or to move back to Japan, can access this webpage as a source of information regarding their children's education. Since the older edition has been regularly replaced by the newer edition, currently only the newest edition (MEXT, 2014) is available online¹⁵. The analysis of older editions in this thesis was therefore based on the booklets downloaded previously. The 2010, 2013 and 2014 editions of this booklet were used for the text analysis, as well as for the multimodal analysis centring on the image representation of *Education Abroad* through photographs (see section 4.1.6 for the multimodal analysis).

Followed by the analysis of governmental policy documents, this thesis also scrutinised the institutional discourse. The data analysed for the institutional discourses were primarily based on the online available policy documents of nine *Hoshuko*. Although there are differences in the quality and quantity of documents available online, all the nine *Hoshuko* have their own school homepages, including information such as the aims and purposes of the school, taught subjects and timetables, and organizational charts and institutional histories. Table 3-4 indicates the list of the analysed online policy documents of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK.

Table 3-4: Analysed Policy Documents of the Nine *Hoshuko* in the UK

The names of <i>Hoshuko</i> 's Website [translation]	The Name Used in This Paper and References
<i>Rondon Hoshujugyoko</i> [London complementary school]	(London-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Weruzu Nihonjin Hoshuko</i> [Wales Japanese (nationals) complementary school]	(Wales-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Sukottorando Nihongo Hoshujugyoko</i> [Scotland Japanese language complementary school]	(Scotland-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Manchesuta Nihonjin Hoshujugyoko</i> [London complementary school]	(Machester-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Terufodo Hoshujugyoko</i> [Telford complementary school]	(Telford-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Hokuto Ingurando Hoshujugyoko</i> [North East England complementary school]	(NortheastEngland-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Dabi Nihonjin Hoshuko</i> [Darby Japanese (nationals) complementary school]	(Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.)
<i>Yokusha Hambasaido Nihongo Hoshuko</i> [Yorkshire Humberside Japanese language complementary school]	(YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko, n.d.)

¹⁵ At the time of May 2015.

<i>Kento Nihongo Hoshujugyoko</i> [Kent Japanese language complementary school]	(Kent-Hoshuko, n.d.)
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3.4.2 The employed CDA Analytical Framework

The documents outlined in Tables 3-3 and 3-4 were analysed with the tools of critical discourse analysis. In this section, I will describe in more detail how these tools were employed in the thesis.

3.4.2.1 *Intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualisation*

In this thesis I am specifically engaging in what has been called *Text or Discourse-Immanent Critique*, by exploring “inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 88). The critical discourse analytic concepts of *intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity*, and *recontextualisation* are meant to provide important conceptual anchors for such an analysis.

The notion of *intertextuality* is concerned with the link between *texts*, being manifested through explicit/implicit references to certain texts, topics, main actors and events in the past as well as the present (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The notion of *interdiscursivity* of a text, on the other hand, refers to the hybridity and interrelation of *discourses* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Through these notions, therefore, we can explore the relationships between different *texts* and *discourses* across time and space. *Recontextualisation* is defined as “the ‘colonization’ of one field or institution by another, but also as the ‘appropriation’ of ‘external’ discourses, often the incorporation of discourses into strategies pursued by particular groups of social agents within the recontextualizing field” (Fairclough, 2009: 165; emphases in original).

The difference between *intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity* and *recontextualisation* is that the former two manifest themselves in the linkages between different *texts* and *discourses*, while the latter shows how these linkages are reinterpreted and transformed to gain new meanings in specific contexts. Accordingly, when studying the former two, the question is how those *texts* and *discourses* are related and circulated, while an analysis of *recontextualisation* investigates how such *discourses* are transformed in a different context.

3.4.2.2 *Representation of social actors*

I also explore the ways in which individuals are represented in discourses, practices and perceptions. In order to investigate this aspect, I will employ the analytical framework of *representation of social actors* (Fairclough, 2003; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Van Leeuwen, 1996). This concept highlights different representations of linguistic and sociological categories, whereby a linguistic category which highlights the semantic unity of representation is not necessarily shared by the sociological category (Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Moreover, when analysing a representation of a social actor, *pronoun* (e.g., ‘we’) and *noun* are important elements to look at as they can indicate the membership of social actors. Grammatical forms such as *passivisation* – “the conversion of an active clause into a passive clause” (e.g., demonstrators are shot (by police)) – and *nominalisation* – “the conversion of a clause into a nominal or noun” (e.g., there is a recognition) – are also paid attention to, as those can mystify the agents (i.e., who takes the action) (Fairclough, 1992: 27). Furthermore, I also highlight the exclusion of social actors: *suppression*, where a specific social actor is not mentioned at all in the text; and *backgrounding*, where a specific social actor is mentioned “somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places” (Fairclough, 2003: 145).

3.4.2.3 *Referential and predicational strategies*

I then extend my analysis of these categorisations through the analytical framework of *referential strategies*, which explores the ways in which the categorisation and representation of social actors is constructed (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 45). Namely, I compare the linguistic representation of categories in *texts* – literal meanings – with the sociological representation of the categories in which the meaning has been constructed through particular *discourses*, *practices* and *perceptions*. The categories found were further scrutinised by looking at *predicational strategies*, paying attention to how these categories are being “specified and characterised with respect to quality, quantity, space, time and so on” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 54). In this phase, my focus is on examining what kind of symbolic values are attached to the identified categories.

3.4.2.4 *Multimodality: pose, objects, actors and actions*

For multimodal analysis, I investigate photographic images by looking at four elements of the contents of images. Two are from Barthes’s (1977): *pose* and *objects*,

which have been recognised as distinct elements in recent developments of multimodal analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2005). I also employ two other elements from Van Leeuwen (1996, 2005, 2008, 2010): *actors* and *actions*. The four elements and their definitions for this analysis are shown below:

- 1) **Actor**: the appearance of participants in the image
(e.g., race, gender, age, ethnic clothing)
- 2) **Pose**: the posture of participants in the image
(e.g., body posture, direction of gaze, profile)
- 3) **Object**: the appearance of an object in the image
(e.g., layout and selection of furniture)
- 4) **Action**: an action which the participant in the image is engaging in
(e.g., writing)

To clarify CDA's analytical process, it should be noted that all the analysis in this thesis was based on original data in Japanese, and not on the translated data¹⁶. The excerpts of the governmental and institutional policy documents in this thesis were all translated by author; the contents in brackets in the translated excerpts have not been in the original Japanese documents but added for clarification. Admittedly, translations sometimes sound unnatural in English, but this is to keep with the original Japanese sentence structures. Some translations have been kept in original Japanese expression in Romanised form for the purpose of later discussion – in those cases, the translations are shown in square brackets.

3.5 Ethnographic Data Collection Procedure

In this section I will look at the ethnographic analytical procedure. I conducted fieldwork at *Asahi-Hoshuko* and family homes intensively between April 2012 and July 2013, for sixteen months. Since the nursery class is held fortnightly, I usually visited the *Hoshuko* twice a month during this period, amounting to a total of thirty one *Hoshuko* visits. At the same time, I conducted thirteen home visits at two families: eight times at one family, five times at the other family. Appendix A shows the summary of my fieldwork and the timeline of data collection. Although most of the

¹⁶ For this reason, original Japanese are shown below the author's English translation in the analysis and discussion section.

data collection was conducted in this sixteen-month period, I kept in touch with my research participants, and also visited the *Hoshuko* occasionally: therefore, some of the data I used in this thesis were collected outside the intensive field-work period.

Benefiting from the open nature of ethnography, the research employed multiple methods of data collection: participant observation, interviews, exchange diaries and emails with parents. Field notes were taken for documenting additional data (e.g., ethnographic interview data, observed events) as well as compensate for information loss inherent in other methods (e.g., context descriptions and participants' non-verbal expressions).

In qualitative studies, multiple methods are often employed for ensuring validity through cross data collection, called *triangulation*. *Triangulation* is thus traditionally recognised as one effective way to reduce chances of biased results in qualitative research by confirming equivalent results from different methods and data resources (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000; Richards, 2009). Paradoxically, the concept of *triangulation* implies that there are cases in which corresponding results show disagreements, and it is debated how researchers should approach the interpretation of such disagreements in their data (Dörnyei, 2007). It is important to clarify that the purpose of employing multiple methods in this thesis was not only for confirming the validity of data through *triangulation*, but also for taking such disagreements into consideration.

3.5.1 Observation and Audio Recordings

Observation was the primary method adopted in this study, conducted regularly and repeatedly in order to understand “what people do in particular contexts, the routines and interactional patterns of their everyday life” (Darlington & Scott, 2002 74). In this way, I could deepen my understanding of the *habitus* of a specific context, as well as in what ways those *habitus*es are reproduced in everyday life. Observation has also enabled me to capture the moment-to-moment individual language *practices* and *perceptions* which could potentially challenge such *habitus*. In short, through observation, I aimed to capture both routine practices which have been repeatedly produced – and therefore reinforced – by individuals collectively, as well as the moment-to-moment practices which do not necessarily fit in such everyday routines but rather are created by individuals in certain temporal and spatial contexts.

In ethnographic observation it is always important to consider the researcher's position in the fieldwork site, where s/he can either be an ‘insider’ or an ‘outsider.’

Many researchers attempt to define their positionalities in a certain category, like Gold (1958), who distinguished between being 1) a complete-observer, 2) an observer-as-participant; 3) a participant-as-observer, and 4) a complete-participant; or Spradley (1980), who differentiated the categories of 1) non participation, 2) passive participation, 3) moderate participation, 4) active participation, and 5) complete participation. Contrary to such classificatory attempts, I consider researchers' positionality as being rather fluid and dynamic than fixed, and thus researchers need to reflect on their own position on moment-to-moment basis.

In addition, against the frequent argument that researchers should minimise their impact on the data, I consider my position to be that of a co-creator of the data. As such, the data collection process does not simply refer to the 'collection' of existing data, but rather to 'generating' data constructively with my research participants. This was particularly necessary for the nature of this study, as it involved young children, who open up by involving the researcher in their play, casting the observer to the centre of their activities. Especially during family home visits, I became a key participant in the life of a small community. Thus, throughout the fieldwork, my role was to get involved in their activities in order to deepen my understanding of their *practices* and *perceptions* instead watching them from the distance (see a detailed discussion of dynamic and fluid positionality in section 3.7).

In observations, I employed a 'semi-structured' approach, in which the researcher has specific *open* questions in mind (Gillham, 2008). The topics focused on in this thesis are shown below in Table 3-5:

Table 3-5: The Focus of Observation in the *Hoshuko* and the Family Home

- | |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Children's and parents' language <i>practices</i> in the <i>Hoshuko</i> and in the family home ➤ Children's <i>perceptions</i> of their own and their parents' language use ➤ Parents' <i>perceptions</i> of their own and their children's language use ➤ Children's and parents' evaluation/comments on '<i>languages</i>' and '<i>cultures</i>'¹⁷ |
|--|

In the following sections, I will specifically describe the procedure of observation employed in the *Asahi-Hoshuko* and in the family homes.

¹⁷ In this thesis, I am problematising the essentialist perspective on '*language*' and '*culture*.' However, as my participants often commented on language and culture in this way (employing a clear distinction between Japanese language/culture and English language/culture), I extend my focus on their ideological nomination and their evaluation and comments on language and culture in my observations. This focus also applies for interviews and diary exchanges.

3.5.1.1 *Observation at Asahi-Hoshuko*

I observed children while participating in nursery classes (mainly children aged 3 to 6) as an assistant teacher. My role during classes was to support the classroom teacher. I sometimes helped children who found it difficult to remain concentrated on the class, or keeping up with the class, but most of the time my role entailed motivating children to participate in the class by encouraging them. I usually sat in the classroom with the children, facing the classroom teacher, and often being involved in the same activity required of the children, following the instructions set out by the main classroom teacher. For this reason, children also seemed to perceive me as a less authoritative teacher. I avoided disciplining the children to only use Japanese language in the school – which was a main expectation at this *Hoshuko*, as I shall discuss later. However, my language use was largely restricted to Japanese during classes due to my role as a teacher in the institution.

Verbal interactional data were audio-recorded during these classes after gaining permission from parents in September 2012. There were three main purposes for audio-recording: firstly, to record children's verbal interaction during classes; secondly, to self-record what I observe during classes instead of taking notes, and thirdly, to recall what happened during classes when I write down field notes after fieldwork.

I also observed children during breaks between classes, when the children usually played freely in front of the classroom. Moreover, since many families stayed in the *Hoshuko* after classes for lunch, I often stayed along with children and parents.

3.5.1.2 *Observation during home visits*

I also visited two families regularly. During visits, I observed children while participating in their leisure activities: I did not prepare arranged or fixed activities for them but rather allowed them to choose what they wanted to play. The verbal interactions between siblings and parents were audio-recorded for about one hour during each visit.

My study dealt with fairly young children, those who could be recognised as having limited verbal skills (Darlington & Scott, 2002). Directly asking children questions, therefore, would have hardly generated answers. For this reason, observation was particularly useful for understanding small children's language *practices* and *perceptions* in a natural setting.

The procedures of documenting observed data were as follows: based on the focused topics (as shown in Table 3-5), I firstly developed brief notes and wrote down keywords for episodes. I did this as soon as possible so that my memories were still fresh – mostly done during the fieldwork. I then expanded them into fuller field notes. In this stage, I attempted to describe the episodes as specifically as possible based on the small notes, while considering 1) the order of occurrence, 2) background information, 3) who said what to whom, and 4) people’s verbal/non-verbal reactions to it.

I also played the audio-recordings to recall the events during my visits as well as to obtain the verbal interactional data between children and parents. Since it was unfeasible to make detailed transcriptions of each audio-recording at school and home due to the nature of this research which generates a large amount of irrelevant data (a single school visit generated more than three hours of recorded data), transcriptions were made only of those interactional data that were relevant to my focused topics. However, I compiled summaries of all episodes that did not specifically fit with the focused topics, so that additional transcriptions could be performed when new themes become relevant during the process of analysis. Appendix B details the transcription symbols used for interactional data in this thesis.

3.5.2 Interviews: Ethnographic and Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews were essential for this study in order to understand participants’ *perceptions* of their *practices* through their own perspectives in their own words. I specifically employed ethnographic open interviews (henceforth ethno-interviews) and semi-structured interviews in this study. Alongside similar principles to those of observation, the aims of interviewing were both to explore what is believed to be ‘good’ practices by individuals (i.e., *discourse*), and to capture the moment-to-moment individual *perception* on their *practices* through their comments in a certain temporal and spatial context. Since the latter aim requires focusing on temporal and spatial individual perceptions regarding practices, I supplemented the ethnographic open-interviews with semi-structured interviews (see details in the sections 3.5.2.1 and 3.5.2.2).

Although there are arguments that interviewing should minimise the interviewer’s influence (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000), I rather consider interviewing as a “knowledge producing activity” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 2), in which “knowledge is produced through the interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee” (Kvale, 2007: xv).

In other words, the role of the interviewer was not to elicit the interviewee's existing knowledge, but rather "to make explicit things that have hitherto been implicit – to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understandings" (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 32). In this sense, the data I obtained from interviews were used to contextualise the relationship and interactions between participants and me (see further discussion of researcher's positionality in section 3.7).

3.5.2.1 *Ethnographic open-interviews (Ethno-interview)*

Considering that "significant themes can only be elicited by allowing the individual to give their account in their own way, without the fragmentation of structured questioning which may lose the thread of the narrative" (Gillham, 2005: 45), this thesis extensively employed ethnographic open-interviews (ethno-interviews). Ethno-interviews maximised the opportunity for participants to engage with their daily conversations and narratives by minimising researchers' control over topics. Principally, I joined parents' and/or children's conversations in the *Hoshuko* or in the family home, and minimised my interference through asking prepared questions. When I came across specific events which I wanted to explore in more depth, I asked participants for further details. In most cases, these interviews were not audio-recorded since they were part of daily conversations. Unsurprisingly, the context of *Hoshuko* is the place where children and parents are sensitive of their language use, the topics related to language often appeared in their daily conversations, and I was not always the one to bring up those topics for the purposes of research.

Ethno-interviews were also conducted with children during play-time in the *Hoshuko* or in their family homes. As mentioned before, it would not have been methodologically useful to conduct question-answer interview sessions with children at such a young age; while ethno-interviews proved very efficient, as I could undertake them at times when the children were willing to talk about different episodes taking place at home or at school.

Moreover, the longitudinal time-scale of ethno-interviewing also allowed me to consider revisions and contradictions which participants express, as "not aberrant factors to be resolved, but (...) as narrative adjustments that reflect the teller's changing perspectives" (Kanno, 2003: 10). As stated, my interests lie in observing how my research participants adjust their *perceptions* according to moment-to-moment interactions, as well as identifying contradictory tensions between their beliefs and their

actual *practices*. In this respect, the ethno-interview was an extremely important method in this study, as it enabled me to capture individuals ‘*situated perception*’ on their moment-to-moment *practices*, in addition to what they believe as ‘good’ in general.

3.5.2.2 *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews help to have intensive conversations with participants, while the researcher is having a relatively stronger control on gearing topics of conversation based on prepared themes (Ayres, 2008). For semi-structured interviews, I arranged interview dates with parents in advance, and interviews lasted about 45 to 60 minutes, all of them being audio-recorded. Semi-structured interviews were primarily employed with parents of those whom I visited at home. I also conducted semi-structured interviews with parents of six families, totalling eight semi-structured interviews. The questions were open-ended as shown in Table 3-6.

Table 3-6: Open-ended Questions for Parents in Semi-Structured Interviews

- In what ways do you and children use ‘*languages*’ at *Hoshuko*, home, and any other contexts (e.g., British mainstream school)?
- Why did you decide to send your children to *Hoshuko*?
- What is your opinion regarding multilingual education (in general and from your experience)?
- Do you have any specific language proficiency which you hope your children to achieve?
 - If so, what is your prospective goal?
 - Why do you think this goal is ideal?

It is important to note that since those who were interviewed in this study were parents of relatively young children, conducting semi-structured interviews had practical difficulties due to the very limited time those parents could spare. Even well-planned interviews often needed to be interrupted or suspended in the middle as parents had to attend to their children. I had originally planned to conduct at least a few semi-structured interviews with the same participant, but I decided to conduct fewer semi-structured interviews than planned in order to better accommodate children’s and parents’ needs and practicality. Instead, I integrated those planned questions through the ethno-interviews and diary and email exchanges with parents, as the informality and flexibility of ethno-interviews proved very efficient for my participants.

The interviews were conducted primarily in Japanese language, except a few cases when the non-Japanese speaking parent was also present. English language transcripts used in later chapters are my own translations from Japanese, unless otherwise stated. The contents of non-audio-recorded interviews were written down together with observation data in field notes. The audio-recorded interview data – i.e., all the semi-structured interviews – were fully transcribed. In this thesis, unless mentioned as ‘ethno-interviews,’ excerpts refer to semi-structured interviews which were audio-recorded.

When observation and interview data were transcribed or described, I made two separate spaces besides such data: one was for describing contextual information, and non-verbal information in order to take those into account during the analysis; the other space was for keeping a record of what I intuitively thought when I transcribed or wrote down the data. As many qualitative researchers point out (e.g., Darlington & Scott, 2002; Yin, 2011), the transcribing process itself stimulates researchers’ comments, conjectures and interpretations of the data. Although such notes are based on the researchers’ intuition rather than on systematic analysis, they came very useful when I classified and coded data in the latter process of analysis.

3.5.3 Diary and Email Exchanges with Parents

In addition to observation and interviews, I also initiated the exchange of diaries (or emails) with parents. This originally started from parents’ interest in the data I observed (see details in section 3.8.2). I prepared a small notebook for each family, and wrote down my observation data during classes, and questions emerging from observations and/or ethno-interviews. I then asked them to add comments or relate episodes happening at home. In this way, I could access not only additional episodes taking place at home, but also parents’ thoughts and wishes.

Exchanging diaries became an invaluable means of data collection for capturing parents’ perceptions of themselves and of their children. That is, the notebooks worked like interviews in a written form. Some parents preferred writing their comments in emails instead of notebooks; therefore, observation exchanges were conducted by emails as well.

I brought these notebooks once or twice a semester to the school, as a summary of three or four day-observations of the nursery classes. Eventually, I exchanged diaries with parents five times during the sixteen-month period (see details in Appendix A).

Several parents read the contents and gave me their signature at the end; while others left notes and comments. Before the school holidays, I left the notebooks with parents so that they could write down what they observed at home during holidays. I particularly asked them to take notes on the following topics (see Table 3-7 and footnote 17) in the notebooks (see also Appendix C for the actual explanation for parents).

Table 3-7: The Focus of Observation in Diary/Email Exchanges with Parents

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Children's ways of using '<i>languages</i>': to whom, when, in what situation they use English/Japanese/Other languages, separately or mixed? ➤ Children's comments or evaluation of '<i>Japanese language/culture</i>,' '<i>English language/culture</i>,' or any other '<i>languages/cultures</i>' ➤ Any other episodes about languages/cultures which you (parents) find interesting |
|---|

It is important to note that many parent participants in this study were highly interested in the children's language development even before the start of this study; many of them already knew about multilingual education practices, and had already observed their children experientially. For example, I was overwhelmed by their sensitive awareness and observations of children's language use, because in most cases, those parents are the main educators who teach Japanese to their children (see further discussion in Chapter 6). For these reasons, those notebooks also became the sources from which I could deepen my understanding of parents' discourses of their valued language practices at home and elsewhere.

3.5.4 Other Unexpected Events

In addition to the above, there were many unexpected opportunities to extend my fieldwork. Those opportunities consisted mostly in invitations to private family events. For instance, I was asked to join a day-trip with the families, to stay overnight at the family home, to babysit, to join family dinners, and even for private casual dinners among Japanese parents. Those were unplanned opportunities for me to converse with parents, to spend longer time with children and foremost, to develop a stronger relationship with my research participants.

3.6 *Ethnographic Analysis Procedure*

Data analysis in qualitative research is a non-linear process. Researchers need to go back and forth, alternating between data collection, notes, and their emerging analysis. The ethnographic data analysis procedure in this study followed five phases of analysis, as suggested by Yin (2011: 177-179): 1) compiling, 2) disassembling, 3) reassembling, 4) interpreting, and 5) concluding. It is important to note again that the five phases do not suggest that this is a sequential process, but rather represents simultaneous, recursive, and reiterative processes.

In order to analyse the collected data during the fieldwork, I used computer software *NVIVO*, which was designed for assisting the analysis procedure in qualitative research (Edhlund, 2011). *NVIVO* involves four primal functions: 1) store obtained text documents, visual documents, and audio-files; 2) organise data by stratified filing; 3) create codes¹⁸, memos, links, and annotations; and 4) manage analysis by (re)creating code-hierarchies, visualising notes, and keeping emergent queries on the data (Bazeley & Richards, 2000; Edhlund, 2011; QSR International Pty Ltd, 2012). In this thesis, I used *NVIVO* for the analytical stage in *compiling*, *disassembling*, *reassembling*, and *interpreting*. I will detail the five phases in the next section.

3.6.1 **Five Phases of Analysis**

The first stage, *compiling*, is the preliminary stage of analysis, which organises the qualitative data in a systematic manner. As I employed *NVIVO* in the present study, it started with digitalising documents in storable format for *NVIVO*. Although most data I obtained for this study were already in a digital format, I also had non-digital documents (e.g., hand-outs from the school); those were scanned and stored in PDF format. Each audio-recording and transcribed data was linked to one another so that I could always go back to the original verbal interactional data easily and immediately.

The second phase of *disassembling* the data is a repeated process of constructing initial ideas followed by modifications while revisiting the data. I used *NVIVO*'s functions of *memos* and *annotations* in this stage; *memos* for keeping macro comments and ideas on *whole documents*, and *annotations* for micro comments and ideas on *specific data*. For the purpose of organising those notes, I wrote down the date in each *memo* and *annotation*. This allowed me to reflect my thoughts in a timeline; this was

¹⁸ In *NVIVO*, thematic classifications emerged after coding are called 'nodes.' In this study, however, a *node* is described as a 'code,' since code is more common word to be used.

very important as I sometimes had different thoughts on the same data; in these cases, I did not delete the previous comments but added them as new comments with a new date for further considerations. *Memos* and *annotations* were treated as “informal records of thinking aloud, never as finished research productions” (Richards, 2009: 80). Therefore, when I came up with some ideas and thoughts (e.g., while transcribing data), I recorded them in *memos* and *annotations*. If I noticed some links, mostly similarities and differences, between data, I kept recording links between them. The process of disassembling data also involved breaking down data into smaller, manageable pieces, which was useful for the latter stage of coding.

The third stage, *reassembling*, is the phase in which researchers “become aware of potentially broader patterns in the data” (Yin, 2011: 190). In contrast to disassembling data which bring into focus emergent phenomena from small pieces of data, this process turns on broader dimensions of those codes and patterns, and exploring the new insights of emergent data based on the research questions. Appendix D contains some examples of thematic codes that I developed through my analysis.

The aim of the fourth phase, *interpreting*, is to “develop a comprehensive interpretation, still encompassing specific data, but whose main themes will become the basis for understanding your entire study” (Yin, 2011: 207). Most importantly, this phase reflects all five analytical phases. Namely, the researcher needs to repeatedly revisit the previous steps of compiling data, disassembling data, and reassembling data while taking a broad view of the whole study.

The final phase, *concluding*, is “some kind of overarching statement or series of statements that raises the findings of a study to a higher conceptual level or broader set of ideas,” which can be made by calling for new research, challenging widely accepted knowledge, suggesting new concepts, theories and discoveries, making substantive propositions, or generalisation (Yin, 2011: 220 - 227).

In addition to the main procedures of analysing ethnographic data described above, I employed a micro-analytic framework specifically for analysing the audio-recorded interactional data, and therefore, I will describe its framework in the next section.

3.6.2 Micro Analytic Framework

This thesis employed the principles of *microanalysis* for examining audio-recorded interaction data. The name *microanalysis* derives from the work of Goffman (1983), emphasising the importance of involving social structures – e.g., relationships, informal

groups, age differences, gender, ethnic minorities, social classes – and their effects through analysing micro-interaction data. He considers interactional data as follows:

... what they share can be extracted and analysed, and so that the forms of social life they derive from can be pieced out and catalogued sociologically, allowing what is intrinsic to interactional life to be exposed thereby. In this way, one can move from the merely situated to the situational; that is, from what is incidentally located in social situations (and could without great change be located outside them), to what could only occur (Goffman, 1983: 3).

Goffman's aim in employing *microanalysis* is thus to capture larger social construction processes through here-and-now micro interactions among individuals (Goffman, 1983). Exploring what individuals share in a particular interaction, in other words, can play a pivotal role for us to understand their social lives.

Moreover, when employing *microanalysis* for interaction data, I conceptualised the interaction as something reflecting the sociohistorical influences (see detailed discussion in Chapter 2). This conceptualisation matched with Bourdieu's concept of *practices* as seen in section 3.1.2.

3.7 Researcher's Positionality

In this section, I further discuss my position in the ethnographic fieldwork. I will firstly look at traditional discussions of researchers' positionality, and then move my focus on to recent developments in conceptualising researchers' positionality through the notion of *reflexivity*. I will make use of some specific examples of episodes I experienced during my fieldwork in order to deepen my argument.

3.7.1 Traditional Perceptions of Researchers' Positionality

Traditionally, ethnography was developed for investigating "foreign 'primitive' societies" (Gillham, 2005: 39; quotations in original) about which very little was known and therefore all the emerging information could potentially constitute very informative data. Researchers are supposed to participate fully in a given community so that they can project the perspectives of 'the researched' by experiencing and mimicking what the researched do. In other words, ethnographers attempt to investigate the world through the eyes of 'the researched.' In this tradition, researchers mainly focused on minimising the impact of their position.

This argument has also brought rigorous categorisation systems of the researcher's roles, so that he/she could clearly acknowledge their position. For example, considering a researcher's distance from her participants, Gold (1958) proposed four roles that researchers could assume as observers: 1) a complete-observer; 2) an observer-as-participant; 3) a participant-as-observer, and 4) a complete-participant. Similarly, based on a researcher's involvement in activities in the field, Spradley (1980) differentiated between 1) non participation, 2) passive participation, 3) moderate participation, 4) active participation, and 5) complete participation.

Discussions about insider/outsider statuses also raised the question of the influence of a researchers' position on the data: the benefits and drawbacks of being an insider or an outsider have also been widely discussed (e.g., Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). Martin, Stuart-Smith, and Dhesi (1998: 110) define an insider as "someone who identifies themselves as a member of the community and is in turn recognised as a member by the community," who shares "the community's culture which at a surface level manifests as, for example, skin colour, language, dress, knowledge, neighbourhood, as well as at a more fundamental level, such as consciousness, belief and value systems." According to this definition, my ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and national identities in this study can be considered as advantageous in assuming an 'insider' position. However, my position cannot be as simple as an 'insider.' For example, my age and non-parent position often placed me in an 'outsider' position in the *Hoshuko*¹⁹. Thus, researchers cannot always assume their position as fixed, and instead need to have "strong reflexivity" in order to gaze back at their "socially situated research project" and to examine "the cultural assumptions that undergird and historically situate it" (McCorkel & Myers, 2003: 203).

3.7.2 Researcher's Positionality Negotiated by Participants

Although the necessity of understanding researchers' complex positioning, as seen above, has been emphasised in recent years, the discussion of researcher's positionality have still often relied merely on researchers' fixed and non-negotiable social categories such as gender, class, and ethnicity (Punch, 2012). Challenging such arguments, the notion of *reflexivity* has increasingly been highlighted.

¹⁹ Once I had the chance to have a colleague to come to this *Hoshuko*. She observed me and described me as "a young female and a graduate student at a local university, meaning she is socially less powerful than male working members of the society"; in addition she points out my outsider position, by describing me as a "non-parent and a non-board member" (Yamashita, 2015: 3).

Reflexivity can be understood as “a turning-back of one’s experience upon oneself” (Steier, 1991: 2), which facilitates researchers’ continuing awareness and assessment of their own position and its impact on their research process, project design, data collection, data analysis, and the consequent findings (Finlay & Gough, 2003). Thus, reflexivity requires “critical self-reflection of the ways in which researchers’ social background, assumptions, positioning and behaviour impact on the research process” (Finlay & Gough, 2003: ix). In this section, therefore, I look at the negotiation process of my position while taking examples from my own research experiences.

3.7.2.1 *Appearance tells more than it says: children’s case*

While talking with several Japanese mothers on the corridor at *Asahi-Hoshuko* at the beginning of my fieldwork, two mothers, Kumiko and Emiko, told me the following:

Kumiko told me about an episode when she met her Korean friend one day. Kumiko was communicating with her Korean friend in English, and according to her, her children listened to their English conversation. When her son talked to the Korean woman, however, he used Japanese in spite of the fact that her Korean friend does not understand Japanese. Following this conversation, Emiko talked of a similar experience. She said she often witnessed her children choosing to use Japanese to (ethnically) Asian women (Field notes: May 2012).

These observations also highlight the way in which children potentially perceive me, and choose a language based on my appearance. In my planned methodological approach I had decided that they can speak to me freely in any language available to them, but this planned methodological strategy became challenged by this episode. Since most of the intermarriage families employ OPOL strategy, and in most cases, mothers are the ones who use Japanese, children appeared to use ‘Japanese’ to Asian looking female.

On another occasion, a girl disciplined her younger brother that he should use Japanese to me (i.e., language policing), when he kept speaking in English to me (field note; November, 2012). At this point I also realised that the older sister *perceived* me as a person to whom she and her brother ought to use Japanese.

The above examples suggest that it is essential for researchers to first understand the research participants’ *habitus* in language use before predetermining their position. Although actual demonstration or an oral contract of a researcher’s linguistic position (e.g., telling them they can speak any languages) might have an impact on research

participants' linguistic behaviour, a researcher's predetermined position can be easily challenged if it does not fit with participants' *habitus*.

3.7.2.2 ***The researcher as a Japanese resource: parents' perception***

The same things could be said for the parents. Throughout the fieldwork, I realised how desperately Japanese resources (e.g., Japanese speaking persons and communities, Japanese media and teaching materials) are sought for by Japanese mothers in an English-speaking society. The parents actively create opportunities for their children to be exposed to Japanese through, for instance, local Japanese communities (e.g., toddler's groups, story-telling and reading groups, and *Hoshuko*), and regular visit to Japan (see further discussion in Chapter 6). Considering these family contexts, where accessing Japanese is fairly difficult for children, my – a Japanese speaker's – family visits could meet some of the parents' expectations. In this respect parents might expect me to serve as a Japanese linguistic resource for the children. For instance, mothers often told me happily that during and after my home visits, children tended to use more Japanese than usually. Furthermore, some parents told their children to use Japanese to me, despite the fact that I had informed them about the nature of my research, and asked them not to do so.

It is also noteworthy that during my home visits I was rarely provided with the opportunity to engage with the English-speaking fathers, and a distance was maintained between fathers and me. One reason may be, as mentioned above, that my presence was regarded as a Japanese linguistic resource. Japanese mothers tended to arrange my visits while the English-speaking father was absent, so that the language spoken in the household during my visits be only Japanese. On the other hand, non-Japanese speaking fathers may themselves feel uncomfortable being at home during my visits, which, appeared to increase Japanese language interaction among the family members (see further discussion in section 3.8.2).

As seen in the above examples, my presence (e.g., ethnicity, gender, and language) appeared to have an impact on their practices. Although I was aware of my ethnic, linguistic and cultural position, and therefore attempted to incorporate them in my research design, the researcher's designed position is not necessary shared among researchers and the researched. More specifically, as Gregory & Ruby (2011) mention, research participants could even perceive researchers as quite the opposite of what the

researcher's designed position was meant to be. This suggests that it is essential for researchers not only to explore 'how the researcher perceives his/her own position,' but also to try to understanding 'how the researcher's position is perceived and interpreted by research participants.' As a whole, although it began as a methodologically challenging situation, it eventually turned to provide fruitful opportunities for me to deepen my understanding of the research participants' language *habitus*, and how family language use was strategically planned within families.

3.7.3 The On-going Negotiation of my Position by Research Participants

The participants' perceptions of the researcher's positions were not fixed and stable, but rather continuously constructed and negotiated at different times and spaces, based on the relationship between the researcher and research participants. In this section, I discuss the data of my research participants' negotiation processes of my position, and its influences on the study.

Compared with the *Hoshuko* context where I had a distinct and official role as an assistant teacher, my participants were less constrained in perceiving my position during home visits. One example of this was their different ways of referring to me. Although many children usually called me *Chisato-sensei* [teacher Chisato] at home, just as they would at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, I also witnessed children calling me in a different manner depending on the context. For instance, one child, Naomi (aged 7), referring to me as 'Chisato sensei' in the *Hoshuko*, often called me just 'Chisato' when we were outside the *Hoshuko*; e.g., in a public park or at the supermarket. In addition, in such settings, she often used more English to me. Naomi even introduced me as 'mum's friend' to their neighbour once. The reference to me as 'mum's friend' may also imply my closeness to her Japanese mother from her perspective. In any case, her negotiation of my positions through references to me, language use and other verbal and non-verbal expressions were on-going throughout the fieldwork.

Another child, Kyoka (aged 7), after my several month fieldwork, asked me if she could use English when struggling to find words in Japanese (Field note; February 2013). After granting the permission, she seemed to make more use of English than before, also mixing the two languages more often.

Similarly to children, parents also kept negotiating my position during the course of the study. To exemplify, the following are excerpts from my field notes; one was recorded in the first month of my fieldwork, the other after the eleventh month:

First month of the fieldwork:

During the breaks at Hoshuko, I was asked by mothers about my previous profession – a primary school teacher. After we had a chat for a while, one mother told me in a playful tone that it would be nice if I could baby-sit their children while teaching them Japanese, so that they could have some free time to meet up with each other. (Field note; May 2012)

Eleventh month of the fieldwork:

Recently, a few mothers have been frequently asking me to join their private lunches, dinners. I feel much closer to the mothers nowadays. (Field note; March 2013)

Comparing the first excerpt with the second, we can see how the relationship between me and some of the mothers has changed over time. In the beginning, my ‘ex-teacher’ and ‘student’ status was emphasised, seeming to create a certain distance between me and them. In the second excerpt, however, mothers seemed to perceive me more as one of their fellows. As we built the relationship, most mothers seemed to become more comfortable to share their time with me. Moreover, the interview data I obtained also tended to change its characteristics, becoming more emotional and personal towards the end of my research. This also shows how certain topics that may have a significant relevance for the data only emerge after strong relationships were built between the researcher and the participant, proving the efficiency of longitudinal studies.

3.7.4 Social Categories and Their Impact on Data Analysis

My continuous exploration of my positionality after starting my fieldwork questioned the ways of dealing with my utterances as ‘researcher’ in the transcription of the interview and audio-recorded data. As discussed above, my position has been continuously negotiated, and therefore, dynamic and fluid. From this viewpoint, it is rather contradictory if I consider my utterances merely as those of the ‘researcher’ – a fixed status – since this fixed social position potentially imposes a filter on my views. I therefore started to describe myself by my name instead of ‘researcher’ in transcriptions of interview and observation data.

The careful consideration of social categories also extends to my descriptions of my participants and their perceived social statuses (e.g., mother, teacher). Bourdieu (1989) emphasises that researchers need to be careful especially when using ‘routine

categories,' since socially constructed meanings are accumulated by the words of categorisation itself:

... beware of words ... Common language is the repository of the accumulated common sense of past generations, both lay and scientific, as crystallized in occupational taxonomies, names of groups, concepts... and so on. The most routine categories ... (e.g., young and old, 'middle class' and 'upper-middle class') are naturalized pre-constructions, which, when they are ignored as such, function as unconscious and uncontrolled instruments of scholarly constructions (Bourdieu, 1989b: 54-55).

Consequently, social categories are important elements to consider during the analysis, as they indicate social positions at a certain time. However, it is important to be aware that such social categorisations are not fixed but dynamic and fluid. Moreover, it is noted that social categorisations themselves are ideological, and thus involved certain values. Although when referring to my participants in the text of this thesis I must mention their statuses for clarity, I pay careful attention to consider the risks involved in attaching these pre-constructed meanings to them, and also how the context of our interaction influences these categories.

To sum up, a concern regarding my positionality at the beginning of the research project has developed my sensitivity towards these issues, and has increased my self-reflexivity about my data collection and analysis. Paying attention to my positionality has also contributed to deepening my understanding of the *habitus* of research participants, and how those are reproduced in daily life. Due to my ethnic, linguistic and cultural position, I have also undeniably contributed to the reproduction of *habitus* (e.g., Japanese use on my visits) despite my intentions. It is therefore crucial to take into consideration social categories such as gender, language and nationality in the analysis, but it is at least as important to examine how these social categories are becoming "markers of *relational* positions in society, rather than intrinsic qualities" (Chacko, 2004: 52; emphasis in original) by seeking clues from research participants.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are often discussed in respect to the early stages of a research project, and from the perspective of overall documentation and preparation for data collection (e.g., whether a researcher fully informs participants about research and gains

agreement of participation from them, and whether data are securely stored and treated confidentially); however, some researchers point out that such traditional ethical standards are not fully appropriate or exhaustive, and call for more contextualized ethical considerations, especially for situated research (e.g., Dörnyei, 2007; Kubanyiova, 2008). For example, Kubanyiova (2008) differentiates between traditional ethical considerations – what she calls as *macroethics* – and contextualised ethical considerations, or *microethics*. Following her insights, in this section I will consider ethical issues related to my research from the perspective of both *macroethics* and *microethics*.

3.8.1 Macroethical Considerations

After two months of engaging with the nursery class as an assistant teacher, I was given the opportunity to present my research project at a parents' meeting. For this meeting, I prepared a research project information sheet, and informed consent sheets (see Appendix E and F). After explaining my research aims, ethical considerations, and the way in which I would conduct my fieldwork at the *Hoshuko*, I gave my prospective participants the opportunity to ask questions regarding the study. I emphasised that participation in the study was not compulsory, and that they could withdraw from participation in the project at any stage if they so wished. At the end of the meeting I gained the approval of all the parents of children in the nursery class, and some of the parents also allowed me to engage with their other children (i.e., siblings of the children in the nursery class).

Although I obtained agreement for data collection, I was still at the very beginning of my fieldwork, and the relationship with my participants was fairly fragile. I was hoping to be able to audio-record classes, but I concluded that it was still too early to request permission for such an intrusion, deciding that I would gradually ask parents for further cooperation as the level of trust between us increases. This, consequently, required several steps in gaining full permission for all the elements of the data gathering procedure (Table 3-8 below shows a summary of these steps of gaining permission for data collection from research participants).

As a first step of gaining participant approval, at the parents' meeting in May 2012 mentioned above, I secured permission for observation and interview collection by asking parents to sign a paper-based consent form. I also obtained institutional consent for conducting my project at the school from nursery class teachers and the chairman of

the *Hoshuko*, with the help of nursery administrators (see consent forms in Appendix G). I also introduced myself as a researcher in front of all the parents at the *Hoshuko* and briefly explained my research project.

Following these steps, I gained permission particularly for audio-recording during the classes from the classroom teacher and each parent individually in September 2012 via email. By that time, I had already conducted some interviews and exchanged my observation notes with parents, and therefore they had a much clearer – though not comprehensive – picture of the nature of my research. Moreover, my relationship with children and parents became much stronger by then. In retrospect, I assessed that asking permission for audio-recording.

Table 3-8: The Three Steps of Gaining Permission from Research Participants

Date	Gained permission of	Means
May, 2012	Observation at school Interviews with parents and children	Giving information sheet about the project, and paper-based informed consent
Sep. 2012	Audio recording during classes	Via Email
Feb. 2013	playing audio recordings and showing edited photographs (blurring out faces) that I would use at conference presentations and in the thesis	Giving out an information sheet about the project, and paper-based informed consent forms for using audio-recordings and photos

Additionally, nearing the end of my fieldwork in February 2013, I also asked parents for permission to make use of the collected data, sharing my interpretation of it with them, and encouraging them to express their thoughts or corrective remarks. I also shared my interview transcripts with the concerned interviewees, welcoming their comments and providing them an opportunity to request the erasure of passages they did not feel comfortable with. At this stage I employed a paper-based consent form, combined with a brief questionnaire which inquiries about the family background and other personal background information that may have appeared too intrusive to collect at the beginning of the project (see this consent form in Appendix H).

3.8.2 Microethical Considerations

As seen above, my fieldwork required a trust relationship with my research participants. A ‘positive-relationship’ and ‘trust,’ however, cannot be secured once and for all, and can easily become jeopardised. With this in mind, I remained alert to behavioural proxies of my participants’ feelings and thoughts on a moment-to-moment

basis throughout the fieldwork. In this section I focus on these ‘microethical’ considerations, which are absolutely imperative but at the same time very challenging.

3.8.2.1 *With Children*

The children who participated in my study were mainly aged three to five (some of their siblings being older) and therefore I had to secure permission from their parents to conduct the research. However, permission from parents does not guarantee that children are happy to participate in the study, and that they would not feel disturbed, discomfort, or distress by my presence in the classroom and at their home. Thus, building a good relationship with children was of chief importance for the success of my data collection.

Although I was introduced as *Sensei* [teacher] to children in the classroom at *Hoshuko*, I often played with children during breaks, and children began asking me to play with them, something they may not have asked from other ‘sensei.’ This relaxed and friendly relationship seemed to encourage them to speak to me more freely about different topics without me asking.

My fieldwork focused mostly on observing children’s language practices in their natural environment, and therefore I did not ask them to do specific tasks, rather allowing them to play and talk about whatever they wished. However, when audio-recording their verbal interactions, as during home-visits, I asked them if they could wear an audio-recorder, which they sometimes refused. Although it is a small handset, it is relatively big and heavy for small children who are very active when playing, and it may disturb their movement. For this reason, I designed a special knitted case and belt that would minimise the obtrusiveness of the device, while at the same time guarantee the clarity of the recording. However, most of the times, children were less keen on wearing a handset; therefore, when they refused to wear the recorder, I wore it myself, and tried to position myself in the middle of the action so that the quality of the recorded data would be clear enough. This resulted in a more limited amount of audio-recorded data, consisting mostly of children’s verbal interactions recorded at times when I was present among them; however, such negotiation was necessary and justified from a *microethical* perspective.

I also explained the function of the recorder to the children when I first used it by playing-back the recording so that they could listen to their voices. Knowing the function of the recorder may alter the behaviour of the children; however, I could only

observe such an effect in the first few minutes of our activities, after which children seemed not to take notice of it any longer.

Overall, children seemed to enjoy spending time with me, as I was sometimes told by parents that children often enquired enthusiastically about my next visit. This has also increased the parents' willingness to allow me to visit their family homes for the purposes of my study.

3.8.2.2 *With Parents*

As mentioned in section 3.5.3, when I gained permission for my research from parents in May 2012, they specifically requested to have access to my observation data during classes. I assume that there were primarily two reasons for this request. One reason was that parents were genuinely interested in my observational data, and second, that they were sceptical of my trustworthiness and the nature of my research.

I took this request from parents as an opportunity to build up trusty-relationship, and started exchanging observational data with parents. Showing them concrete pieces of data seemed to make them feel more comfortable to participate in my study, which eventually encouraged parents to share their thoughts with me based on their own observations of their children. At nursery in Japan, a notebook called *Renrakucho* [a communication notebook] is often used for exchanging daily events regarding children between parents and teachers. I employed this concept in exchanging observation data with parents. More specifically, I not only copied observation data from my field notes into the observation notebooks, but also put positive comments on the behaviour of their children during classes (e.g., what they were concentrating on and enjoyed doing during classes). Since observation data often includes the teacher's utterances and actions during the classes, I have also shown my notes to the classroom teacher and gained her approval. In addition, I anonymised the utterances of other children than those belonging to the families in the diary, generally calling them as student 1, 2 or 3. Importantly, I have asked parents to sign my observation notes at the end as authorisation for using those data in the research, as well as reminding them that they could always add new comments or ask me not to use some specific data.

It is also important to note that home-visits involved my intrusion into the research participants' private sphere. For this reason, my home visits had to be accommodated with their private family plans and other family member's schedules. Moreover, as discussed in 3.7.2.2, non-Japanese speaking fathers seemed not to be always

comfortable with my visits, as my visits increased Japanese language interactions among family members. As a result, my home-visits were often arranged when non-Japanese speaking fathers were not at home. This, to some extent, restricted my data access to English speaking fathers in this study. This was an unexpected result of my fieldwork; however, due to the nature of my research which involves collecting data in participants' private space, I believe that it was an appropriate decision to prioritise family members' comfort in participating in my study.

Such micro-ethical considerations and challenges were identified after starting my fieldwork, and they often surfaced unexpectedly. However, as a researcher collecting data in situated contexts, such research adjustments were inevitable. Although it sometimes resulted in a more limited access to data, I believe that maintaining the trust-relationship with research participants eventually allowed me to access in-depth interview data, as well as to deepen my understanding of the collected material.

Chapter 4 The Governmental and Institutional Discourse of *Hoshuko*

Overview

The first section of this chapter examines the governmental conceptions regarding *Education Abroad* by looking at the latest policy documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). By employing the analytical framework of CDA, I will investigate the governmental discourses and ideologies embedded in the policy documents of *Education Abroad* (section 4.1).

The second sections (section 4.2) sheds spotlight on the case of the nine existing *Hoshuko* in the UK, where, as mentioned in section 3.3, a significant diversification in the students' background has been observed in recent years (MOFA, 2013). This section explores how those nine *Hoshuko* make their own school policies while analysing the data from the schools' webpages (e.g., school prospectuses). In this section, I also scrutinise the way in which the governmental (MEXT and MOFA) discourses identified in section 4.1 are being reproduced and/or challenged in the discourses of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK.

Importantly, although I will cite documents from the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK, the aim of section 4.2 is not to evaluate or denounce a specific *Hoshuko*, but rather to explore the common and diverse discourses of *Hoshuko* in the UK in comparison to those of the government. In the following section I will start by analysing the governmental policy documents.

4.1 Governmental Discourses of *Education Abroad* and *Hoshuko*

As seen in 3.3.1, the government – MEXT and MOFA – do not have specifically designed policies concerning *Hoshuko*. Instead, *Education Abroad* contain the policies regarding *Nihonjin Gakko* [full-time Japanese schools] and *Hoshuko* [Japanese complementary schools]. For this reason, in this section I will focus on governmental policies of *Education Abroad* in order to understand the government's conceptions regarding *Hoshuko*. I will begin by looking at the way the government legitimises the need for *Education Abroad* (4.1.1). I will then move my focus on to the government's views regarding who should be considered as 'appropriate' students (4.1.2), and what

the ‘appropriate’ teaching contents should be (4.1.3) for *Education Abroad*. The following section, 4.1.4, will highlight the practical differences between *Hoshuko* and *Nihonjin Gakko*, contrasting their separate functions with the aims declared in policies. Finally, I will discuss the issue of what governmental conceptions of ‘diversity’ are entailed in governmental policy texts, focusing primarily on imagery representations (4.1.6 and 4.1.7).

4.1.1 Justifying *Education Abroad*

I start my analysis and discussion by examining the Japanese government’s justification for providing support to *Education Abroad*. Both MEXT and MOFA justify the needs of *Education Abroad* by referring to authoritative legal documents, such as the Japanese *Constitutional Law* and the *School Education Act*, a form of *intertextuality* in discourse-analytic terms. According to MEXT:

In a foreign country, where the sovereignty of our country does not reach, MEXT and MOFA implement several measures in accordance with the spirit of Equal Opportunity of Education and Free Education at Compulsory Level prescribed by the Constitutional Law, in order to promote *Education Abroad*, as appropriate for Japanese nationals (MEXT, n.d.-a).

我が国の主権の及ばない外国において、日本人の子どもが、日本国民にふさわしい教育を受けやすくするために、文部科学省と外務省では、憲法の定める教育の機会均等及び義務教育無償の精神に沿って、海外子女教育の振興のために様々な施策を講じています。

Educational Institutions for Residents Abroad are the overseas educational institutions set up for *Zairyu*²⁰ [staying abroad] children of Japanese nationals with the purpose of implementing the education based on Education at School which is established in the School Education Act (26th issue; the Law in 1947) (MEXT, n.d.-d: brackets in original).

在外教育施設とは、海外に在留する日本人の子どものために、学校教育法（昭和 22 年法律第 26 号）に規定する学校における教育に準じた教育を実施することを主たる目的として海外に設置された教育施設をいいます。

Similarly to the role of *the Constitution* in the legal system, the *School Education Act* is a fundamental law regulating the education system in Japan. Thus, making reference to these legal documents could give the impression that the *Education Abroad* programme is prescribed by these laws. However, it is noteworthy that the national education system which is refined in the national law is fundamentally merely effective within Japan, lacking international reach. In other words, the government need to legitimise the implementation of the *Education Abroad* for audiences outside Japan as

²⁰ For the purpose of the later argument in section 4.1.2, the original Japanese term *Zairyu* was maintained in translated texts, which generally means ‘staying abroad.’

well, as their involvement outside Japan could be seen as a kind of incursion in the affairs of another sovereign state.

In this regard, using phrases such as ‘Equal Opportunity of Education’ and ‘Free Education at Compulsory Level’ (MEXT, n.d.-a) seems to emphasise the validity of their support of *Education Abroad* even outside Japan, since these legal principles are also widely accepted in international law, such as *Article 26* of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations, 1948), or *Article 28* of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations, 1989). That is, although the national education law and system is only effective in Japan, MEXT seem to be able to justify *Education Abroad* by employing internationally accepted legal principles.

Compared to MEXT, MOFA, which deals with foreign affairs, do not directly name specific laws, but their use of words such as ‘sovereignty’ indicates their awareness of legal issues, and their limited legal rights outside Japan. MOFA, in this way, acknowledge the limitation of their sovereignty outside Japan, but still attempt to justify the need for supporting *Education Abroad* by emphasising that this should be carried out ‘at least’ at compulsory education level. Here again, the explicit statement of ‘the importance of compulsory education’ seems to make a link to the international laws mentioned above, which legitimates the national involvement in compulsory level education outside of Japan. The following is a statement from MOFA, justifying their support for *Education Abroad*:

Since education is generally understood as a matter belonging to the sovereignty of each country, and *Education Abroad* takes place where the sovereignty of our country does not reach, the government could not implement (education policies) directly, and understandably it is difficult to implement it similar to compulsory education in Japan. As government (bodies), however, both MOFA and MEXT implement various measures, based on the perspective that maximum support should be provided (for children) at least at compulsory education level, so that (children) can have access to similar education as provided domestically at compulsory education level (MOFA, 2011: the underlines added for the later discussion).

また教育は、各国の主権に属する事柄と一般に理解されており、海外教育で、我が国の主権の及ばない外国において行われるものであることから、政府は直接的には行い得ず、当然日本国内と同様の義務教育を行うことは困難です。しかしながら、政府としては、少なくとも義務教育に関しては国内の義務教育に近い教育が受けられるよう最大限の支援を行うべきであるとの考え方に基づき外務・文部科学両省において諸般の施策を進めています。

One distinctive feature in MOFA’s statement is their careful justification. For example, MOFA explain the limitation of their sovereignty through the employment of

passivisation (“it is generally understood”), which obfuscates the *agent* (Fairclough, 1992). With the use of ‘generally’ in this sentence, agents – who are supposed to share this general understanding – are further mystified. Considering that MOFA legitimise their support for *Education Abroad* in the following sentence despite the explicit acknowledgement of their limitations, this mystification of the agents seems to contribute to MOFA’s avoidance of confrontation with any specific individuals, organisations and/or nations.

MOFA’s statements also contain intensive expressions of *modality*, defined as “patterns in the text in the degree of affinity expressed” (Fairclough, 1992: 236). For instance, MOFA’s employment of modal auxiliary verbs – “could not” and “should” – and (phrasal) adverbs – “understandably” and “at least” – seems to stress their restricted involvement while claiming that the need for *Education Abroad* is commonly accepted. MOFA also explicitly refer to their status as “a government (bodies)” in their statement rather than describing themselves merely “as MOFA,” appealing to the influence of a much larger and more powerful institution.

Compared with the careful legitimation seen in the above excerpt, the following paragraph from the same document of MOFA has a comparatively different feature:

While adhering to the basic stance stated above, (MOFA) also establish the budget (for *Education Abroad*), based on the recognition that *Education Abroad* is of the greatest interest for the *Zairyu-Japanese*, and that strengthening this environment is essential for the overseas development of our country’s nationals ... (MOFA, 2011).

外務省としても上記の基本的立場を踏まえつつ、特に海外教育は在留邦人の最大の関心事の一つであり、その充実強化は我が国国民の海外発展のための環境整備の一環として不可欠であるとの認識のもとに予算措置を講じており...

Considering that MOFA make reference to “budget” and “overseas development of our country’s nationals” (i.e., national profit; the national profit generated by having strong Japanese companies that reach overseas), this paragraph provides an economic discourse rather than an educational one. Compared with the previous paragraph, where they described themselves “as government (bodies),” here they state their position as “MOFA.” Moreover, the choice of the pronoun “our” (in “our county’s nationals”) constructs a social actor as *Zairyu-Japanese* – those who profit from this support – as “their” nationals, the Japanese. By using the personalising pronoun “our,” MOFA seem to emphasise their position *as* and *for* Japanese nationals. Unlike the previous paragraph, therefore, it can be said that MOFA display their relatively high involvement

in this statement – namely, stressing their contribution to ‘national profits’ for ‘our country’s nationals.’

It should be noted, however, that the *nominalisation* (Fairclough, 1992) of “recognition” in the excerpt allows for no clear understanding of ‘who’ recognises that *Education Abroad* is the greatest concerns among Japanese nationals, and ‘who’ recognises that strengthening *Education Abroad* is necessary for the overseas development of Japan. Hence, this justification lacks argumentative premises and relies merely on the presupposition that the government has established for this statement.

Overall, this analysis has identified the careful justification of the government for their involvement in *Education Abroad*, as it is taking place outside Japan, where, in principle, Japan’s sovereignty does not reach. For this reason, the government attempts to legitimise it by referring explicitly to international legal principles, as well as emphasising the profits for the Japanese national economy.

4.1.2 Schools Only for Future Returnees

From the governmental justification of *Education Abroad* – especially the mentioning of internationally accepted universal principles, such as the *Equal Opportunity of Education* – it is assumed that every child has a right to access *Education Abroad*. Whereas, the government also justifies the needs of *Education Abroad* by referring to the national development and profits for Japan – in this sense, it can also be interpreted that *Education Abroad* is for those who can contribute to Japanese national profits. In this section, I will analyse the government’s definition of who should be considered as a rightful ‘student’ of *Education Abroad* by using CDA’s analytic framework of *representation of social actors* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Van Leeuwen, 1996; see detailed definition in section 3.4.2).

MEXT make a reference to *Nihonjin-no-Kodomo* [children of Japanese] in their policy documents, as students who can receive *Education Abroad*. This expression can be literally interpreted both as ‘children of Japanese nationality,’ or ‘children of Japanese nationals.’ Compared with the former, the latter case is not concerned with the children’s nationality, as long as at least one of their parents is a Japanese national. The ambiguity of this expression makes it difficult to infer the government’s position regarding the legal status of students.

Another expression often used by both MEXT and MOFA is “*Zairyu-Hojin no Kodomo*” [children of *Zairyu*-Japanese] (MEXT, n.d.-a, n.d.-c, n.d.-d; MOFA, 2011).

According to *Daijirin* (Matsumura, 1995), a dictionary of contemporary Japanese, although *Zairyu* literally means ‘staying for a while in a certain place,’ it is often used specifically for ‘staying abroad.’ For instance, MOFA, which is responsible for administrating the movement of people beyond national boundaries, often employ the compound noun, including the element *Zairyu* on its own, for dealing with ‘Japanese nationals abroad’ (e.g., *Zairyu-Todoke* [declaration of staying abroad], *Zairyu-Kikan* [period of staying abroad]), and ‘foreign residents in Japan’ (e.g., *Zairyu-Gaikokujin* [foreign residents in Japan]). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the use of a compound noun, *Zairyu-Japanese*, refers to ‘Japanese nationals abroad.’

Although MOFA do not clearly state who exactly ‘children of *Zairyu-Japanese*’ are in the policy documents of *Education Abroad*, there is a clear definition of ‘*Zairyu-Japanese*’ in a further MOFA document, the *Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas* (MOFA, 2013). According to this report, *Zairyu-Japanese* is referred to “a person living abroad who has a Japanese nationality; either ‘long stay resident’ or ‘permanent resident abroad’” (MOFA, 2013: 3; quotations in original). In their annual report, MOFA also clearly define that the category of “children of *Zairyu-Japanese*” *does not* refer to those children who have a Japanese national parent but who do not have Japanese nationality, as well as those children of Japanese nationals who have decided to take another nationality than Japanese – it is to be noted here that Japanese nationality law is highly restrictive of multiple citizenship, and Japanese citizenship is automatically lost if a person voluntarily opts for another citizenship (MOJ, 1950)²¹. Although this definition is specifically intended for the annual report, it can be reasonably assumed that when referring to “children of *Zairyu-Japanese*” in the policy of *Education Abroad*, MOFA in fact refer to children who have Japanese nationality (i.e., *intertextuality*).

MEXT use another notable expression, *Kaigai-shijo* [children abroad] in their policies. *Kaigai-shijo* is also a compound noun, consisting of two nouns: *Kaigai* [abroad] and *Shijo* [children]. Although *Shijo* means children, another word, *Kodomo*, is generally preferred in reference to child/children in Japanese. For instance, according to a corpus analysis on *Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese* (NINJAL,

²¹ Although this is an official rule, and no Japanese national above the age of 22 should have multiple citizenships, there are, in fact, many cases where Japanese citizens fail to report on having acquired a second citizenship.

2009)²², the lexical item *Kodomo* appears 58,991 times,²³ whereas the frequency of *Shijo* is of only 313 times – this strongly tells us how rarely the word *Shijo* is used in Japanese.

Interestingly, when MEXT refer to children in general, they intensively use a word, *Kodomo*, instead of *Shijo*. Thus, MEXT use *Shijo* merely as a compound noun, *Kaigai-shijo* [children abroad] in their policies. MEXT also use *Shijo* in another compound noun *Kikoku-shijo* [child returnees] in their various policy documents (e.g., MEXT, n.d.-b) when specifically denoting children who have returned to Japan after a long time spent abroad. When looking at the corpus data again, the compound noun *Kikoku-shijo* [child returnees] is widely used in various sources from literary fiction to online blogs, whereas *Kaigai-shijo* is almost always employed in governmental documents²⁴. For this reason, the word *Kaigai-shijo* [children abroad] seems to be a word created by the government based on the widely used word *Kikoku-shijo* [child returnees]. Hence, my argument is that there is a strong connection between *Kaigai-shijo* and *Kikoku-shijo*, and MEXT's use of *Kaigai-shijo* most likely refers not to all “children abroad” in general, but only to those children who are abroad but will become *Kikoku-shijo* [child returnees] in the future. Therefore, there seems to be a hidden connection between *Kaigai-shijo* and *Kikoku-shijo*, indicating the limited focus of MEXT only on ‘future returnees.’

This limited governmental focus – merely on future returnees – is also evident in their argument structure in *Overview of Education for Children Abroad* (MEXT, n.d.-a). MEXT mention the number of “*Kikoku-shijo*” [child returnees] before they justify the necessity of *Education Abroad*. Namely, the structure of the policy documents implies that MEXT legitimise the necessity of supporting *Education Abroad* based on the large number of child returnees. The following excerpt comes just before the one we have analysed in section 4.1.1 which legitimises *Education Abroad*:

Along the development of our country's international activities, many Japanese nationals bring their children overseas. At present, on 15 April

²² *Kotonoha Shonagon* is a search engine for the data of the *BCCWJ* (*Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese*), which has a 143 million word collection of samples of written Japanese language from a wide range of genres, such as fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic, and the governmental documents, range from 1976 to 2005.

²³ This result is the combination of 29,961 frequencies of 子供, 27,516 frequencies of 子ども, and 1,514 frequencies of こども, all of which were the different autographic system of *Kodomo* in Japanese.

²⁴ There were 23 frequency counts of *Kaigai-shijo*: 9 were of governmental documents such as White Papers and Congress records; the other 14 were from one fictional story about life abroad.

2012, about 67,000 children of Japanese at compulsory education stage are living abroad. Also, the number of children who returned to Japan after a long-period of living abroad was about 10,000 during the academic year 2011 (MEXT, n.d.-a).

我が国の国際的諸活動の進展に伴い、多くの日本人がその子どもを海外に帯同しています。平成 24 年 4 月 15 日現在、約 6.7 万人の義務教育段階の日本人の子どもが海外で生活しています。また、海外に長期間在留した後帰国する子どもの数は平成 23 年度間には、約 1 万人となっています。

As you can see in the excerpt above, MEXT mention *Kikoku-shijo* [child returnees] with the emphasis on their large number of 67,000. Thus, it may well be that MEXT support *Education Abroad*, but merely focusing on those children who are Japanese nationals as well as future returnees. This can be regarded as a *generalising synecdoche*, replacing “a semantically narrower expression with a semantically wider one” (Wodak et al., 2009: 44). Namely, although the words *Nihonjin-no-Kodomo* [children of Japanese], *Zairyu-Hojin-no-Kodomo* [children of *Zairyu*-Japanese], and *Kaigai-shijo* [children abroad] literary mean all those children abroad who have Japanese parents and/or Japanese nationalities, in fact, it appears to embrace only those children who are most likely to return Japan in the future, and MOFA and MEXT implicitly exclude those children who would remain abroad indefinitely or permanently, and/or those children who are not Japanese nationals.

4.1.3 Japanese Domestic Education as the Most Appropriate Model

According to the policy documents, the main aim of *Education Abroad* is for children to be able to access education that is deemed as “appropriate” for a Japanese national (MEXT, n.d.-a), and to “maintain” children’s academic performance (MOFA, 2011). In this section, I will explore what kind of education is recognised as valuable by the government.

The analytical tool of *intertextuality* has highlighted a lot of evidence that the Japanese government regards Japanese domestic education as the most appropriate model for Education Abroad. For instance, MEXT clearly state that *Education Abroad* should aim to implement education abroad in accordance with the *School Education Act* (MEXT, n.d.-d). Also, both MEXT and MOFA often refer to the names of subjects in the same manner as they appear in the national curriculum; e.g., *Kokugo*²⁵ [Japanese language and literature], *Sansu* [mathematics] (MEXT, n.d.-c, n.d.-d; MOFA, 2011).

²⁵ *Kokugo* is specifically used in a curriculum, and literally means ‘national language.’ For a general purpose of learning, a Japanese class is usually called as ‘*Nihongo*’ meaning ‘Japanese language.’

There are also explicit statements valuing the quality of the domestic education system in Japan. For example, MEXT guarantee the free distribution of nationally-recognised textbooks²⁶ for those children who study at *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko*. Moreover, MEXT emphasise the importance of sending qualified and experienced teachers from Japan to those schools abroad. In describing their rationale for sending teachers abroad, they argue that:

The success/failure of school-education largely depends on the quality and competence of the teachers who practically engage with education, the dispatch-teacher system contributes largely to the maintenance of educational standards at *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* (MEXT, n.d.-c).

学校教育の成否は実際の教育に携わる教員の資質・能力に負うところが大きく、この教員派遣制度は、日本人学校・補習授業校の教育条件の整備の大きな柱になっている。

From the above statements, it is clear that the government believes that the same education system should be also adopted in *Education Abroad*. This seems understandable when we consider that these schools were founded primarily for children who will return to Japan (see discussion in section 4.1.2). In fact, the government guarantees that those children who graduate from *Nihonjin Gakko* – where full-time education is offered in accordance with Japanese domestic curriculum – can obtain an equivalent certification to children who graduate from Japanese domestic educational institutions (MEXT, 2013a: 4). In this way, MEXT attempt to guarantee that those children studying at *Nihonjin Gakko* can easily reintegrate into the education system in Japan. Thus, *Nihonjin Gakko*, a full equivalent to Japanese domestic education, is expected to function similarly to domestic schools in Japan.

To sum up, the government made efforts to send free textbooks and qualified teachers from Japan so that children can “maintain the educational standard that they would have in Japan” (MOFA, 2011). From here, it is apparent that the government believes that children’s education at *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* should be the same as the one they would gain in Japan.

4.1.4 *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko*: Same Aims in Different Settings

It is noteworthy, however, that this governmental discourse of valuing domestic standards of education for *Education Abroad* is also fully applied for *Hoshuko* where

²⁶ In Japan, the textbooks employed at compulsory education level need to be approved by the government. That is, only textbooks that could pass all the government criteria are used in the state school. The government guarantees to distribute textbooks for free for the children studying in the context of *Education Abroad* (MEXT, n.d.-c).

only ‘part-time’ education (mostly from 3 to 6 hours per week) is offered. Unlike students at *Nihonjin Gakko*, children who graduate from *Hoshuko* usually cannot obtain a Japanese equivalent graduate certificate. Instead, for children attending *Hoshuko*, it is the full-time local mainstream schools which provide them with a local ‘graduate certificate’ and set the learning standards. In other words, for those children, *Hoshuko* remains an extracurricular activity.

Despite the fact that *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* function in a fairly different way, the government does not have any specific policies for *Hoshuko*, but considers *Hoshuko* education as part of *Education Abroad*, by setting the same aims for both types of institutions (i.e., keep up with the Japanese curriculum). The curriculum in Japan, especially *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature] needs to be fully employed even for children at *Hoshuko*, and they use the same textbooks which are used in domestic full-time education in Japan (MEXT, n.d.-d). For example, children of *Asahi-Hoshuko*, where I conducted my fieldwork, are expected to do the one-week amount of *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature] contents in Japanese curriculum in only 3 hours on Saturdays.

Moreover, MEXT state that they support *Hoshuko* – especially small regional *Hoshuko* – where dispatched teachers are not accessible, by sending a teaching training team at intervals in order to “increase the education standard” (MEXT, n.d.-c). Thus, the government considers that those schools which do not have dispatched teachers from Japan would be inefficient in maintaining the desired ‘educational standards.’

Furthermore, paying closer attention to the text structure of the policy documents (i.e., fixed structure of the texts; what Fairclough (2003) calls as *generic structure*), *Hoshuko* seem to play a collateral and secondary role in *Education Abroad*. For instance, *Hoshuko* are always discussed following the section on *Nihonjin Gakko*. Moreover, the smaller section on *Hoshuko* comes after a comparatively larger section of *Nihonjin Gakko*, and this is the case in all of the government policy documents. Hence, although the number of *Hoshuko* (203 schools in the world) is much larger than the number of *Nihonjin Gakko* (88 schools) (MEXT, 2014), the government’s focus centres mainly on *Nihonjin Gakko*, and *Hoshuko* [complementary school] is literally given a ‘complementary’ function of *Nihonjin Gakko* in *Education Abroad*.

4.1.5 Limited Acknowledgement: Diversity and Uniqueness of *Education Abroad*

Through the analysis of the texts in the policy documents (section 4.1.1 to 4.1.4) I have highlighted the heavily centralised top-down education policies of *Education Abroad*. That is, although those schools are outside Japan and are attended by children of diverse backgrounds, the government recognises only those who would return to Japan in the future, and thus need to implement a curriculum as similar to the national one as possible. This consequently leads to the government's less accommodating stance towards diversity of *Education Abroad* and diversity of the students' backgrounds. It is noteworthy, however, that there is one paragraph in which the government acknowledges the diversity and local uniqueness of *Education Abroad*, which goes beyond the 'national curriculum.' The followings are the excerpts from a 2010 policy document (underlining added by the author for later discussion):

In the recent trend of internationalization, (schools) have actively engaged with the study of local contexts such as local language, history and geography, and interacting with local schools. Also, there are some schools which accept foreign children by founding 'international classes.' Currently, all *Nihonjin Gakko* have implemented English and/or English conversation classes at primary-school level; at secondary-school level they have also implemented English conversation or local language classes in addition to English as a subject (MEXT 2010: 4).

最近の国際化の風潮により、ただ、日本の勉強をするだけでなく、現地の言葉や歴史、地理などの現地事情に関わる指導を取り入れたり、現地校と協力することにより、現地の子どもたちとの交流を積極的に進めるようになっていきます。また、「国際学級」を設け、外国人の子どもを受け入れている学校もあります。現在、すべての日本人学校小学部において、英語・英会話などの外国語教育が実施されているほか、中学部においても教科としての英語以外に英会話あるいは現地語の学習が行われています。

It is noteworthy that this statement of local uniqueness and diversity only appears in the section of *Nihonjin Gakko*, and not for *Hoshuko*, where, in fact, children's ethnic and cultural diversity is more pronounced. For example, from my ethnographic fieldwork, it was observed that those children who have a diverse background (e.g., children of intermarriage families) chose to go to *Hoshuko*, as it is complementary to their mainstream education, and it offers an opportunity to learn Japanese in addition to the languages they may use in their daily lives (e.g., achieving children's multilingualism – see further discussion in Chapter 5). Thus, the absence of the government's acknowledgement of the diversity and local uniqueness of *Hoshuko* is rather to be considered intentional.

It is also important to point out that “foreign children” are allocated for “international classes” – separately from “Japanese” students – according to this MEXT statement; i.e., *referential strategies* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The question arising from this is how the government defines ‘foreign students,’ as stated above, there must be much more diversity of students’ background in the actual contexts of *Education Abroad*. For example, ethnically mixed children of intermarriage families cannot be simply categorised as either ‘foreign children,’ since many of them have Japanese nationality, or as ‘future returnees,’ as they may not intend to go back to Japan in the future.

Moreover, as seen in the excerpt, it is emphasised that *Nihonjin Gakko* attempt to respond to internationalisation demands, and thus the government acknowledges the extra programmes in those schools, which go beyond Japan’s domestic one. This might be because the parents’ demands have been changing. For instance, the *Nihonjin Gakko* in London states that:

In recent years, along with the change in the tendency that the parents, who are appointed to work abroad, seek for Education of cross-cultural understanding and classes of English as a medium of instruction, there is an increasing percentage of parents who choose international schools or local schools in the region (for their children, instead of *Nihonjin Gakko*) (London-Nihonjin-Gakko, n.d.)

昨今、海外に赴任する保護者が、異文化理解や英語での教育を求める傾向にあり、現地校や英語での授業がほとんどを占める国際学校を選択する割合が増えてきている。

As seen above, along with the diversification in parents’ values on their children’s education, there is an increasing competition for gaining students among *Nihonjin Gakko*, international schools and local schools. Thus, the paragraph from the MEXT document discussed above seems to reflect these diversified demands in policies.

Interestingly, however, the paragraph, excerpted in the previous page, has been revised continuously in following editions. The excerpts shown below are the same sections from 2013 and 2014 editions. Considering that there were not many text revisions between 2010 and 2013, the text revision observed in this particular section among 2010, 2013, and 2014 should be seen as a dramatic modification.

Currently, many *Nihonjin Gakko* have actively engaged with the study of local contexts such as local culture, history and geography, and interacting with local schools etc.; also, the English conversation classes or local language classes have been implemented by native (speaker) lecturers. Moreover, there are some schools which accept foreign children by founding ‘international classes’ (MEXT 2013: 4).

現在、多くの日本人学校においては、現地の文化や歴史、地理など現地事情に関わる学習や現地校等との交流を積極的に進めており、ネイティブの講師による英会話あるいは現地語の学習も行われています。また、「国際学級」を設け、外国人の子どもを受け入れている学校もあります。

Currently, many *Nihonjin Gakko* have actively engaged with the study of local contexts such as local culture, history and geography, and interacting with local schools etc.; also, the English conversation classes or local language classes have been implemented by native (speaker) lecturers (MEXT 2014: 4).

現在、多くの在外教育施設においては、現地の文化や歴史、地理など現地事情に関わる学習や現地校等との交流を積極的に進めており、ネイティブの講師による英会話あるいは現地語の学習も行われています。

The section regarding diversity and uniqueness has also become smaller and more simplified in recent years; only the underlined sections in the 2013 document appear in 2014. This may indicate the government's attempt to guarantee the uniformity of *Education Abroad* and the Japanese domestic education system, so that children can smoothly readapt on their return. On the other hand, it may also be a response to growing demands from the parents, as seen above.

Most importantly, the latest text has omitted the reference to 'founding international classes for foreign children,' which may also imply a realisation that it is increasingly difficult to identify who are 'foreign children' in the globalising world (in the next section I will discuss in more detail the existence of ethnically mixed students in the context of *Education Abroad*).

To sum up, we can only identify one paragraph in the policy documents that makes reference to the uniqueness and diversity of *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko*. It can thus be said that the government's acknowledgement of the diversity and local uniqueness of *Education Abroad* is very limited. For this reason, I will further explore the government's conception of *Education Abroad* through the imagery representations appearing in their policy documents.

4.1.6 'Japanese' and the 'Others': a Nationalistic View of Ethnicity and Culture

Since there are no other textual statements from the government that describe the 'diversity' of *Education Abroad*, in this section I will expand the analysis onto visual communication materials – photography – and discuss the imagery representation of *Education Abroad*. I will particularly scrutinise images in the most recent three editions of the booklets (12 pages) regarding *Education Abroad* published by MEXT under the

title, *Japanese Children Learning Abroad: Our Country's Present Situation of Education for Children Abroad*. The 2010 and 2013 editions consist of 11 images, while the 2014 edition has 12 images (MEXT, 2010, 2013a, 2014). These booklets were chosen for this analysis because they have images in addition to text, and involve explicit representation of foreign settings and multi-ethnic representations of children.

As detailed in section 3.4.2, I will focus on four elements in this analysis: 1) Actor: the appearance of participants in the image (e.g., race, gender, age, ethnic clothing); 2) Pose: the posture of participants in the image (e.g., body posture, direction of gaze, profile); 3) Object: the appearance of an object in the image (e.g., layout and selection of furniture); and 4) Action: an action which the participant in the image is engaging in (e.g., writing). Importantly, the aim of analysing these elements (*denotation*) is to expose associated meanings through these four elements (*connotation*). I will also take the captions (textual information) into consideration in addition to analysing photographic images, since those captions are beside the images in the analysed booklets, and they should play a significant role for readers to interpret the imaginary representations, and therefore, to construct certain values and ideas through images.

The following Figure 4-1 shows the front covers of the 2010, 2013, and 2014 editions of the booklet.

Figure 4-1: The Front Covers of the Booklet, 'Japanese Children Learning Abroad: Our Country's Present Situation of Education for Children Abroad'



a) The front cover image of the booklet (MEXT, 2010: 1) – enlarged image on the right



b) The front cover image of the booklet (MEXT, 2013a: 1) – enlarged image on the right



c) The front cover image of the booklet (MEXT, 2014: 1) – enlarged image on the right

Figure 4-1-a – on the cover of the 2010 edition – depicts an apparently multi-ethnic group of children with distinctive phenotypic characteristics (i.e., *actors*) on a playground under a blue sky (i.e., *objects*). The caption explains that the photo was taken when children in the *Nihonjin Gakko* in Johannesburg, the Republic of South Africa, visited a local orphanage (MEXT, 2010: 11) (i.e., *action*). Strong sunlight and

different racial representation (especially through skin colour) seems to emphasise the unique setting of *Education Abroad*. It is also noted that the description of ‘orphanage’ in the caption could be easily associated with those children’s socially disadvantaged backgrounds (e.g., poverty, loss of family).

At the same time, the image of Japanese and local children mingling with each other and in close proximity appears to suggest the intimacy between the two groups (i.e., *pose*). Some of the children in the image are holding up scrolls showing calligraphy, a visual art of writing taught as a part of *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature] class in the Japanese curriculum. On the hand scrolls, the local children seem to have written their own names in Japanese autographic form, *Kanji*, in calligraphic style. This highlights the uniqueness of ‘*Japanese culture*.’

In the second image (the cover of the 2013 edition of the booklet 4-1-b), the caption explains that the image was taken when children of *Nihonjin Gakko* in Asunción, Paraguay, were studying together with local children (MEXT, 2013a). Although there is no more detailed text-caption for this image, it can be assumed from the *objects* around them – textbook contents, names on the desk, and the classroom arrangement – that the children of *Nihonjin Gakko* were visiting a local school (i.e., *action*). Similarly to the image in 2010, this *action* of ‘visiting’ seems to highlight the *Nihonjin Gakko*’s active engagement with ‘the locals.’

It is noteworthy to point out that this image captures the moment when all three children’s gazes are directed at the same textbook (i.e., *pose*), which seems to stress the friendly atmosphere among the children. Although in the background we can spot children studying individually, the group chosen in the foreground is meant to emphasize the intimacy between children of different cultural-ethnic backgrounds, and the importance of this relationship. Although this image reflects the ‘friendliness’ of the two ethnic groups of children working together, it is notable that the two groups (children from *Nihonjin Gakko* and ‘the others’) are strictly distinguishable. Not only does the caption distinguish between ‘local children’ and ‘children from *Nihonjin Gakko*,’ but the children shown in the image are also distinguishable by their appearance, such as ethnic traits and their school uniform (i.e., *actors*).

When the focus is moved onto the image in the 2014 edition (4-1-c), very similar elements can be found. Here, the caption explains that this image was taken on the day of Melbourne School Day where aspects of ‘*Japanese culture*’ are presented to the

locals at *Nihonjin Gakko*, Melbourne, Australia. Again, the ethnic contrast between the two main *actors* in the image can be seen in addition to the caption's labelling of 'the locals.' Two participants look at each other (i.e., *pose*), and the girl gently puts her hand on the smaller boy's hand, who is holding a calligraphy brush (i.e., *object*), and the Japanese girl seems to guide him (i.e., *action*). The emphasis is again on the intimacy between the two groups of different ethnic appearance, as well as on '*Japanese culture*' being taught by the Japanese girl. This also may highlight the uniqueness of '*Japanese culture*' in terms of learning.

The messages conveyed through the three images are thus very similar in a sense. Firstly, they all emphasise the distinct foreign settings through ethnic representations of *actors* (e.g., different ethnic representations). It is also important to point out that all the images depict that Japanese are the one who are actively 'visiting' and/or 'inviting' the others through the analytical element of *action*. Secondly, the ideas of Japaneseness are represented through *objects* (e.g., calligraphy and *Kanji*) and/or *actors* (e.g., ethnic representation). The images from 2010 and 2014 display the activity of teaching '*Japanese culture*' by Japanese children. The *action* of teaching thus implies that '*Japanese culture*' is distinct and highly valued. Thirdly, the contrast between foreignness and Japaneseness has contributed to emphasising intimacy between multi-ethnic representations on one hand; but on the other hand, this emphasis on intimacy has to be achieved by a separable and distinguishable representation of *actors* (e.g., ethnicity) and/or *object* (e.g., '*Japanese culture*'). This seems to reinforce the idea that multi-ethnic and multicultural diversity is only acknowledged *between*, but not *within*, the groups of 'Japanese' and 'the other.'

When broadening the analysis to the other images in the booklets, such dichotomous views – the representation of 'Japanese' and 'the other' – became even more salient. The following Table 4-1 shows a detailed analysis of images in the 2010 edition as an example to provide a grasp of the four analytical elements (*actors*, *pose*, *object* and *action*) in those images.

Table 4-1: Detailed Multimodal Analysis of 11 Images in the Booklet (2010 edition)

Photo Number (page)	Caption besides images (Direct quotation of MEXT 2010)	Analytical elements			
		1) Actor(s)	2) Pose	3) Object(s)	4) Action
1	Analysed above as a cover page image (p. 1 in the booklet)				
2 (p.4)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko, Amsterdam, Holland</u> : “Made <i>Misanga</i> [good luck bracelet] at an intercommunion event with Joseph school.” 「ヨセフ校との交流会でミサンガを作りました」	Two ethnic groups are distinctive (Joseph school and <i>Nihonjin Gakko</i>)	Many children of two ethnic groups are intermingled and concentrate on making bracelets	Good luck bracelets; school context	Making <i>Misanga</i> [good luck bracelets] → Japanese Cultural activity]
3 (p.4)	<u>Hoshuko, Canterbury, New Zealand</u> : “did presentation about Japanese historical/traditional culture and mode of life.” 日本古来の文化や風俗を学習し、プレゼンテーションをしました。	It appears that there are a few mixed ethnic children	3 children and 1 teacher in front and many children are looking at them	Classroom setting (white board; chairs/desks)	Presentation about Japanese historical/traditional culture and mode of life
4 (p.7)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko, Teheran, Iran</u> “Visited Abyaneh village as <i>Syukuhaku-Gakusyu</i> [staying together learning] 宿泊学習でアブヤーネ村を訪問しました。	It appears that Japanese students (some are wearing hijab casually: seems not for religious reason)	Children pose with peace signs → Typical Japanese photograph poses	Hijab; Iranian heritage houses	Visiting Abyaneh village (Iranian heritage) as <i>Syukuhaku-Gakusyu</i> [staying together learning] → Typical Japanese schooling activity
5 (p.7)	<u>Hoshuko, Boston, USA</u> “Did our best while wearing the matching wrist-band at the 35 th sports festival – <i>Shogaibutsu-sou</i> [obstacle race] of year 3” 創立 35 周年記念運動会、全員がおそろいのリストバンドをはめて頑張りました(小学 3 年障害物走)	It appears that there are a few mixed ethnic children; wearing <i>Hachimaki</i> [browband] → typically used at sports festival in Japan	Smiling children enjoy sports (body posture shows their excitement)	<i>Hachimaki</i> [browband]; flags (USA’s flag is significantly big), ball, outside location	<i>Shogaibutsu-sou</i> [obstacle race] → Typical sports festival activity in Japan
6 (p. 7)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko; Shanghai, China, Pudong-school</u> “Visited Beijing as <i>Shugaku-Ryoko</i> [final year school trip]: we are the world-best grade, this	Hundreds of students, All seems Asian ethnic	facing towards the camera; throwing their hats in the sky	Banner written “we are the world-best grade, this is the world-best	Visiting Beijing as <i>Shugaku-Ryoko</i> [final year school trip] → Typical Japanese

	is the world-best memory - Go to Beijing [written in Chinese]” 修学旅行で北京を訪問しました。「世界一の最高学年、世界一の最高の思い出、去北京！」			memory”; Great Wall of China in their back; Beijing Olympic advert	schooling activity
7 (p.11)	<u>Hoshuko, San Francisco, USA</u> “having fun reading aloud <i>The Runaway Riceball</i> [Japanese folklore] at year1 classroom” 小学一年生の授業風景で、「おむすびころりん」を楽しく音読しています。	8 children (appearing that there are a few mixed ethnic children)	Standing in a line, looking at Japanese textbook on their hand, wearing forehead band showing their roles in this folk story	Japanese textbook; Forehead band; Classroom setting	Reading aloud <i>The Runaway Riceball</i> → Japanese very famous folklore
8 (p.11)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko, Mexico</u> “Invited a guest-teacher, and we played <i>Taiko</i> [Japanese drums]” ゲストティーチャーをお招きして、和太鼓を披露しました。	8 children wearing school uniform	posing enthusiastic atmosphere of playing drums, by putting their drum stick up to the sky	<i>Taiko</i> [Japanese drums] Children wearing the same cloths	Playing <i>Taiko</i> [Japanese drums]
9 (p.11)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko, Manila, Philippines</u> “Could state own opinion well at a speech contest.” 弁論大会でしっかり自分の意見を述べる事が出来ました。	One child wearing a formal cloth	Standing at the stage, behind the speech table	Japanese flag, Filipino flag, stage, titles of each speech	Presenting at the speech contest
10 (p.11)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko, Düsseldorf, Germany</u> “Intercommunication with Diakonie: intercommunicated with a local nursing home for elderly people ディアコニー交流：近くの老人ホームと交流しました。	Two ethnic groups are distinctive; Many local elderly people and Japanese children	Children are standing around elderly people and talking to them	Table, drinks, nursing home setting	Talking to local elderly people at the nursing home
11 (p.12)	<u>Nihonjin Gakko, Shanghai, China, Hongqiao-school</u> “Children were took photo in front of Chinese pavilion, Shanghai expo, as a memory of their special appearance on stage” 万博会場での特別出演を記念して、中国観前で記念撮影する子どもたち。	About 50 students, wearing the same bandana on their necks	Facing towards camera, some are showing peace sign	Chinese pavilion on their back	Attending a Shanghai Expo

The analysis of all images in the three booklets highlights several common features. For instance, three images in the 2010 edition (27%), four images of 2013 (36%), and three images of 2014 (25%) depict the Japanese children's interactions with the 'local' communities. In all of those images, interestingly, the contrast between the 'Japanese' and 'the others' is visually recognisable through the *actors'* appearance. More specifically, all the images construct the distinct image of 'Japanese' by contrast to the non-Asian ethnic appearance of *actors*, and/or by contrast to the non-Japanese ethnic clothes of *actors* where the distinction cannot be made through ethnic appearance; for instance, in a 2014-edition image portraying Taiwanese students, they are wearing ethnic clothes, making Japanese students easily distinguishable. In addition to the distinct visual elements of 'the others' (i.e., non-Japanese) in these images, the captions often clearly distinguish Japanese students from 'the others' by labelling them as 'the locals.' Most importantly, although there is a strong emphasis on the uniqueness of *Education Abroad* through *actors* (e.g., multi-ethnic representation), *pose* (e.g., talking to 'local' people with smiling face), *objects* (e.g., Egyptian pyramid, Great Wall of China, Iranian Heritage houses, Camels), and *actions* (e.g., attending Shanghai expo, skiing in Switzerland Alpine), there is also a stress on 'Japaneseness' through *actors* (e.g., mono-ethnic/racial representation of Japanese children), *pose* (e.g., standing in line, showing peace signs), *objects* (e.g., Japanese national flag, Japanese textbook, calligraphy), and *actions* (e.g., playing Japanese drums *Taiko*, reading Japanese folklore).

To conclude from the imagery analysis, the photographs of *Education Abroad* are likely to welcome a diverse setting of *Education Abroad* at first sight due to their contained elements of multiethnic and multicultural representations. However, those generic multiethnic representations rather seem to be deliberately manipulated. In fact, the images merely contain superficial diversity representations, emphasising the contrast between 'Japanese' and 'the other' rather than accepting multiethnic and/or multicultural diversity. In other words, the images in the booklets seem to be a measure to over-emphasise the distinctiveness of the 'abroad settings' only with the aim of maintaining the 'purity of Japan.'

It is also important to point out that some images – specifically those of *Hoshuko* – in the booklets also contain images of Japanese students of a mixed ethnic background, presumably children of intermarriage families. However, there are no captions for those

images describing explicitly the backgrounds of those children. Importantly, the government must have noticed the presence of those children in *Education Abroad*, as they are the ones who gather relevant statistical data (MOFA, 2013), and publish the booklets (MEXT, 2010, 2013a, 2014). However, both the analysed policy documents and captions of those images avoid any such textual reference, despite the fact that the images show images of those children. Moreover, the government merely mentions the interaction with the ‘local’ context in the case of *Nihonjin Gakko*, with no explicit textual statement in the captions for the images of *Hoshuko*. It can be assumed that the government intentionally neglects the existence of certain groups when they cannot easily fit the ‘Japanese’ versus ‘the others’ dichotomy – e.g., children with ethnically mixed backgrounds. This is an instance of *suppression*, at least in the captions, by which there are “no traces in the representation of specific social actors” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 47).

Overall, although the images in the booklets attempt to feature diverse representations of multiethnic and multicultural elements, the government’s view towards uniqueness of *Education Abroad* is highly limited. The government only accepts ‘diversity’ as long as it can maintain the ‘purity’ of Japanese through dichotomous representations of ‘Japanese’ and ‘the other,’ and implicitly avoid any representation which cannot be fitted in this dualistic categorisation. The findings from the imagery analysis (section 4.1.6), thus, eventually synchronise the findings of the textual analysis of policy documents (section 4.1.1 to 4.1.5), in which the focus is placed on the mono-ethnic and monocultural norms of *Education Abroad*.

4.1.7 Governmental Discourse and the Ideology of *Education Abroad*

By analysing the text and images of the governmental policy documents in section 4.1, I have identified the following four discourses (it is noted that future returnees are those children who are expected to return to Japan):

- A) *Education Abroad* (i.e., *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko*) refers to future-returnees as the appropriate students (*suppression*)
- B) Non-future-returnees are not particularly welcomed in *Education Abroad* (*suppression*)
- C) *Education Abroad* should be similar to Japanese domestic education

- D) The less similar it is to domestic education in Japan, the less quality it is assumed to guarantee

Notwithstanding the government's acknowledgement of the uniqueness and diverse context of *Education Abroad* in visual representations, its views are thus highly limited, and they are rather essentialist and nationalistic, showing a dichotomous view of 'Japanese students' and 'the others.' Most importantly, there is no categorical nomination of 'the others' in the governmental texts, an expression of what Reisigl and Wodak call *suppression* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In other words, the existence of 'the others' is simply neglected, making no textual reference to them whatsoever.

With these governmental discourses and ideologies in mind, in the next section I will shed light on the policies of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. My aim is to explore how such governmental discourses and ideologies are recontextualised and/or reproduced in the *Hoshuko* by looking at the schools' prospectuses (section 4.2).

4.2 Institutional Discourses: Nine Hoshuko in Britain:

There are nine *Hoshuko* in the UK, approved by the Japanese government: seven *Hoshuko* in England, one in Wales and one in Scotland (MEXT, 2013b: see details in Figure 3-1 in section 3.2.2). As stated, the focus in this section moves specifically on to the institutional discourses of these nine *Hoshuko* in the UK while comparing the governmental discourses identified in section 4.1.

4.2.1 Explicit Institutional Discourse: Inviting Only Specific Students

Although there are differences among the nine *Hoshuko*, they share many institutional policies and concepts in common. In this section (4.2.1), I specifically look at the school aims and purposes of those *Hoshuko* in order to explore institutional perceptions regarding *Hoshuko* education, the targeted students, and the teaching contents. As *Wales-Hoshuko* does not provide details of educational aims on its website, the following discussion is mainly based on data from the other eight *Hoshuko*.

One striking feature is that four *Hoshuko* make it explicit on their websites that their services are for families of future returnees, some clarifying that by this we are to understand children of 'professional expatriates' (henceforth PE) (Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.; London-Hoshuko, n.d.; Manchester-Hoshuko, n.d.; NortheastEngland-Hoshuko, n.d.).

These four *Hoshuko* state that their aim is to foster the foundational competence of children, so that they could (re-)adapt to the Japanese education system upon their return. We can see in the following some example statements (London-Hoshuko, n.d.; NortheastEngland-Hoshuko, n.d.: emphases and underlines added by the author):

London-Hoshuko-1: In order for those Japanese children who attend British local schools or international schools etc., to **master the foundational competence of re-adapting to the school life on return**, through *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature] education according to the Japanese Course of Study.

英国の学校や国際学校に在籍している英国在住の日本人子女等に対して、学習指導要領に準じた国語教育を行うことを通して、帰国後の学校生活に順応できる素地を養うこと。

NortheastEngland-Hoshuko-1: To implement complementary education for those children of professional expatriates in Northeast England region, in order for them **to be able to adapt smoothly to the school life when they will enrol to Japanese school education on their return**, by fostering the Japanese language skills which is the foundation of all learning, and by experiencing the (Japanese way of) school life.

日本から北東イングランド地区へ派遣されている駐在員等の子供達が、将来、日本へ帰国し、日本の学校教育を受ける場合に円滑に学校生活に適応できるよう、学校生活を経験させ、全ての学習の基礎となる国語力を身につけさせるための、補習教育を行なわせることを目的とする。

In addition, as seen in the above two excerpts, many *Hoshuko* declare that they are following the Japanese domestic education systems (Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.; London-Hoshuko, n.d.; Scotland-Hoshuko, n.d.; YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko, n.d.) and/or aiming to enhance children's experience of 'Japanese school life' or '*Japanese school cultures*'²⁷ (Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.; Manchester-Hoshuko, n.d.; Telford-Hoshuko, n.d.; YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko, n.d.) – see underlined statements above as examples. As a whole, with the one exception of *Kent-Hoshuko*²⁸, it is obvious that there is a strong discourse emphasizing that *Hoshuko* are specifically designed for 'future returnees' – more specifically, for 'children of PE families' – who prepare for their return to Japan. When comparing it with the ambiguous and implicit governmental discourse regarding this, it is interesting to see how *Hoshuko* institutionally express it in much stronger and explicit ways. This may be due to the fact that the founders of these *Hoshuko* consisted mostly of PE families. The history of *Hoshuko* establishment

²⁷ See further discussion about their perception of Japanese 'school life' and 'school cultures' in section 4.2.2.

²⁸ It is noted that Kent-Hoshuko is established in 2005, the newest *Hoshuko* in the UK. See further discussion about *Kent-Hoshuko* in section 5.2.4.

seemingly still plays an important role. For example, when school chairs are nominated from among the parents, some schools' regulations specify that the candidate must be working for the local Japanese companies, that is, a chair should be chosen from professional expatriates (Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.; Scotland-Hoshuko, n.d.; Telford-Hoshuko, n.d.; Wales-Hoshuko, n.d.). Importantly, such regulations confer different powers upon PE families and other families, reinforcing and strengthening the institutional discourse mentioned above.

4.2.2 'Japanese School Culture': Essentialist Views towards Japanese Education

One recurring expression in institutional statements of aims refers to the existence of a so-called 'Japanese school culture', which deserves a closer look. In the following excerpts from some *Hoshuko* policy documents, institutions explicitly invoke such a 'Japanese school culture' (Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.; Manchester-Hoshuko, n.d.; Telford-Hoshuko, n.d.; YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko, n.d.: emphasis added by the author):

Manchester-Hoshuko-1: Hoshuko is the educational institution providing the main subjects' foundation knowledge, skills and Japanese school culture through the medium of Japanese for those children who are attending the local schools and are occupied largely by foreign culture/language/learning in terms of time and perception, to be able to adapt smoothly to the re-enrolment into schools in Japan.

補習授業校（補習校）は、月曜日から金曜日まで現地校に通学し、時間的にも感覚的にも外国文化・言語・学習が圧倒的に大きな位置を占めている子供たちに、再び日本国内の学校に編入した際にスムーズに適応できるよう、基幹教科の基礎的基本知識・技能および日本の学校文化を、日本語によって学習する教育施設です。

Telford-Hoshuko-1: (We have) a mission to implement complementary classes mainly in Japanese for those children who are at compulsory education level, and who live in the Midlands region in the UK. The aim of the school is to maintain all the children's Japanese skills, and for children to experience the Japanese school culture as much as possible.

本校は英国ミッドランド地区に在留する日本人の義務教育年齢の子どもに国語を中心とした補習授業を行なうことを使命とする。テルフォード補習校の設置目的は、子ども達すべてが日本語力を保持発展させ、可能な範囲で日本の学校文化を体験していくことにあります。

Derby-Hoshuko-1: ... Those children who attend local school from Monday to Friday, and come to this school on Saturday, learn the subjects of Japanese and Maths according to the Japanese Course of Study. In addition, (they also learn) Japanese culture, school culture and ways of thinking as a Japanese through community life.

子どもたちは月曜日から金曜日までは、言語を克服しながらも現地校で学び、土曜日は本校に通学して、日本の学習指導要領に準じた国語科、算数・数学科を履修します。合わせて、日本文化、学校文化、日本人としてのものの考え方など、集団生活を通じて学びます。

YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko-1: (The purpose of the classes is) to implement Japanese education according to the education standards in Japan, in order for children to maintain and develop Japanese skills, and experience Japanese culture and Japanese school culture.

授業目的 日本国内の教育基準に準じた内容の日本語教育を行い、日本語能力の維持・向上と日本の文化および日本の学校文化を体験することを目的とする。

As seen in the underlined statements, all the *Hoshuko* cited above consider teaching ‘*Japanese school culture*’ just as important as *Kokugo* and *Sansu* subject knowledge. Some schools also list up other teaching content such as *Japanese culture* – not ‘*Japanese school culture*’ in specific but ‘*Japanese culture*’ in general. Compared with subject knowledge and skills defined in the national curriculum, the concrete contents of other categories, such as ‘*Japanese school culture*’ and ‘*Japanese culture*’ are ambiguous. Therefore, I will continue the exploration of school perceptions of those by looking at concrete school practices as stated in their documents.

One of the most explicit elements of ‘*Japanese school culture*’ found on their website is that *Hoshuko*’s implementation of specifically Japanese school events and activities. For example *London-Hoshuko* (n.d.) states the following:

London-Hoshuko-2: (We do) various school events, such as entrance ceremony, graduation ceremony, parents’ class observation day, class meeting, sports-festival in order for children to experience Japanese-like school experience.

入学式 卒業式 授業参観 学級懇談会 運動会 など日本的な学校体験をさせる意味で、さまざまな学校行事を行っています。

While similar school events might also take place in the local mainstream schools, *Hoshuko* emphasise that they implement these events in similar ways to the ones in Japan. *London-Hoshuko* also shows that they celebrate seasonal events, considered as one typical example of ‘*Japanese culture*’:

London-Hoshuko-3: Also, (we have) a gathering for *Koinobori* [flying carp festival], for *Tanabata* [star festival] and *Hyakunin-issyu* [a classical Japanese anthology card game of one hundred Japanese poems by one hundred poets] competition.

「こいのぼり集会」 「たなばた集会」 「百人一首大会」 なども行っています。

Similar statements about Japanese ‘school events’ and ‘seasonal events’ are found at other *Hoshuko* as well. All the *Hoshuko*, except for *Kent-Hoshuko* which does not specifically mention about any school events, have an explicit statement that their

school curriculum involves Japanese school events (e.g., entrance/graduate ceremony, parents' observation day, sports festival). This means that even those schools which do not state explicitly in their school purposes that they aim for children to experience Japanese school events, eight *Hoshuko* out of nine, at least, actually involve such practices in their school curriculum. Moreover, all nine *Hoshuko* celebrate Japanese-specific seasonal events – *Japanese culture* – in their school practices (e.g., star festival). Thus, it is safe to assume that such cultural practices are regarded as important teaching contents at *Hoshuko*.

4.2.3 The Hidden Existence of 'the Others' at *Hoshuko*

Although *Hoshuko* explicitly present themselves as serving the needs of those they identify as 'future returnees,' specifically expatriate professionals, their homepages contain numerous implicit acknowledgements of the existence of 'the others' (i.e., those who are not future-returnees nor PE) attending classes at *Hoshuko*.

For example, the biggest *Hoshuko* in London (*London-Hoshuko*), attended by about 1,300 students, offers an 'international course' in addition to the usual primary and lower-secondary classes. *London-Hoshuko* clearly differentiates between the purposes of 'international courses' and standard *Hoshuko* courses as follows:

London-Hoshuko-4: (London-Hoshuko) is intended for children of Japanese nationals at school age, living in the UK, who attend the (local) British schools or international schools. ... The *Nihongo* [Japanese language] class is intended for teaching Japanese as second language.

英国の学校や国際学校に在籍している英国在住の学校教育年齢に相当する日本人子女を対象にする。(中略) 日本語科は、第2母語としての日本語教育を行う。

Thus, there is a course for children using Japanese as a second language in *London-Hoshuko*. There are no such classes on offer at the other eight regional *Hoshuko* due to their comparatively small number of students. However, those regional *Hoshuko* also indicate the existence of 'the others' when paying close attention to their school policies. For instance, *YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko* acknowledges that they have students whose family backgrounds are varied, such as professional expatriates, intermarriage families, and international academic scholars (*YorkshireHumberside-Hoshuko*, n.d.; those nominal categories are translated from original expressions in Japanese). However, explicit references are rare in the other *Hoshuko* policy documents, and the existence of non-future-returnees (i.e., non-PE) appears to be rather implicit.

Manchester-Hoshuko and *Derby-Hoshuko*, for example, seem to have students whose families are multi-ethnic/-lingual, since they encourage those families to use Japanese language at home, so that children can keep up with the Japanese-medium and Japanese-curriculum classes at *Hoshuko*. For example, *Derby-Hoshuko* (n.d.) states as follows:

Derby-Hoshuko-2: In case one of the parents is British, the other Japanese parent should use Japanese at home (one-parent one-language rule).

片方が英国人の親の場合、英語を家庭で話したとしても、日本人の親は家庭では必ず日本語を使うことです。（一人一言語の法則）

As seen in this excerpt, they refer specifically to intermarriage families, whose number must be fairly large, as they are directly addressed on the school website (see further discussion in section 4.2.4). Thus, even if the aims and purposes of *Hoshuko* explicitly designate it as meant to satisfy the needs of future returnees (PE children), the existence of ‘the others’ at the *Hoshuko* becomes obvious when looking at entrance requirements. This contradiction can be identified as *backgrounding*, where a specific social actor is merely mentioned in a limited place of a text (Fairclough, 2003).

4.2.4 Referential Strategies: Future-Returnees and Non-Future-Returnees

The existence of ‘the others’ becomes apparent in a detailed analysis of schools’ websites, as I found that *Hoshuko* often perform a nominal categorisation of the students according to their backgrounds, mainly through binary categories expressed in the form of paired expressions contrasting ‘children of professional expatriate families’ with ‘the others’ (see Table 4-2).

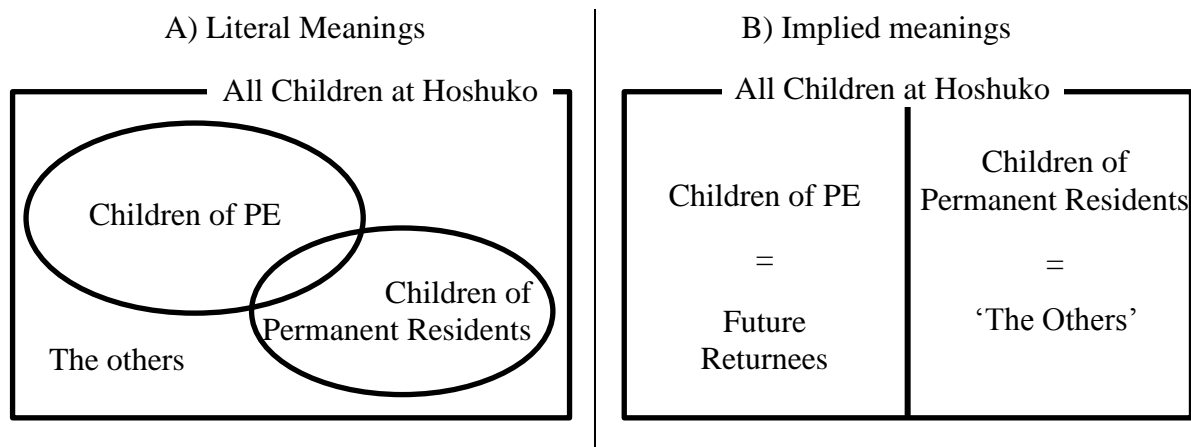
Table 4-2: Examples of Categorical Nominations by Family Background

Referring to PE children	Referring to ‘the others’ (i.e., non-PE children)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Chuzai-sha no kodomo</i> [Child of professional expatriate] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Eiju-sha no kodomo</i> [Child of permanent resident]
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Nihon-shijo</i> [Japanese child] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Genchi-shijo</i> [Local child]

In Table 4-2, I have highlighted two examples of such binary categorisations, distinguishing between children of ‘professional expatriates’ or ‘Japanese children’ on the one hand, and children of ‘permanent residents’ or ‘local children’ on the other. My interest here is to scrutinize the way in which those categorisations of social actors are

constructed and represented (i.e., referential strategies in CDA's framework). *Chuzai-sha no kodomo*, translated as 'child of professional expatriates' refers to a very specific group of people by using the parents' profession as a criteria. In contrast, *Eijusha no kodomo* [child of permanent resident] is a category based on the family's migration status as a criteria. As seen here, despite the fact that they have a paired categorisation, the categorical criteria are uneven – it could be, for example, *Hi-eiju-sha no kodomo* [child of impermanent (temporary) resident] instead, as an antonymic category of *Eiju-sha no kodomo*. Most importantly, due to the uneven categorical criteria, categorical names – literal meaning – and the referred group by the categories are not in accord with each other. The following diagram aims to capture this incoherence (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2: Incoherence in Categorical Nominations and Actual Referred Groups in the *Hoshuko* Institutional Policies



As shown in Figure 4-2-A, if only considering the meaning of the category name, 'children of PE' should be a part of all children at *Hoshuko*. Similarly, 'children of permanent resident' is also a part. There could be some children of PE who are also permanent resident (overlapped area in Figure 4-2-A). In addition, there could be some children who are neither of PE nor of permanent residents (areas not included in circles in Figure 4-2-A). However, when looking at the referred groups, it turns out that *Hoshuko* perceive all children as either 'children of PE' or 'children of permanent residents.' In other words, all the children of PE are regarded as non-permanent residents (i.e., future returnees), and all children of permanent resident are non-PE. Thus, 'future returnees' are used interchangeably with 'children of PE' in *Hoshuko*'s institutional discourses, and the 'non-PE children' are all categorised as 'children of permanent residents.' Therefore, according to these binary categorisations, the actual

criteria is whether children are of PE families or not, and if not, they are all categorised as ‘the others.’

When looking at another paired category: *Genchi-shijo* [local child] and *Nihon-shijo* [Japanese child], it became more obvious that those categories no longer have clear criteria. *Genchi-shijo*, for example, literally means ‘local child,’ but it does not refer to local children in general (i.e., any child living in the UK), since *Hoshuko* usually accept only those who have Japanese nationality, or who have a right to choose Japanese nationality. *Genchi-shijo* [local child] is thus rather used specifically to refer to those children whose parents do not intend to go back to Japan (i.e., non-PE). *Nihon-shijo*, literally meaning ‘Japanese child,’ on the other hand, is used specifically for children of PE. Considering that many children coming to *Hoshuko* have Japanese nationality despite their diverse backgrounds – some have double nationality, including Japanese – it is interesting that they only refer to the children of PE under the categorical name of ‘Japanese child.’ Since ‘Japaneseness’ bears a positive meaning in the *Hoshuko* context (e.g., school curriculum; school practice; child’s nationality), this *Nihon-shijo* [Japanese child], referring to child of PE, appears to be attached a positive value in their categorisation name. As Reisigl and Wodak (2001) point out, *referential strategies* can involve a certain sense of positive or negative trait; those categories employed at *Hoshuko*, thus, seem to attach positive traits to children of professional expatriate families, and consequently negative ones to children of other backgrounds. In the next section, therefore, I shall shed light on such discourses around those two categorisations and the attached traits in more depth.

4.2.5 The Discourse around ‘the Others’: Predicational Strategies

In this section, I will specifically look at how positive evaluations are attached to ‘PE families’, while negative ones are ascribed to ‘the others,’ by employing the analytical framework of *predicational strategies* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

The following excerpts show entrance requirements at *Hoshuko*, describing the students of ‘the other’ backgrounds; i.e., non-PE (Derby-Hoshuko, n.d.; London-Hoshuko, n.d.) – the numbers and underlines are added by the author for later reference:

London-Hoshuko-5: Applicants enrolling at the primary and secondary level (at this *Hoshuko*) will be (1) those who aim to adapt to school life after their return (to Japan) or (2) those who are not yet determined to return (to Japan) but are motivated to study Japanese language, and have school-year-

appropriate competence of Japanese language; (3) if needed, interviews and/or other probation may be conducted).

小・中学部・高等部希望者は、(1)帰国後の学校生活への適応を目的としている者および(2)帰国は未定であるが、国語学習への意欲があり、一定の日本語力と学年相応の国語力があると認められる者(3)(必要に応じて、面談その他の審査を行う場合あり)。

Derby-Hoshuko-3: (Applicants enrolling to this Hoshuko) will mainly be (1) Japanese school-age children of expatriate families, living in East midland region. (2) In the case of children who are settled in the UK and who do not use Japanese language as their mother tongue, (we) consider children's understanding of Japanese language and (3) discuss the advisability for the children's enrolment, and decide the appropriate school-grade.

主として、(1)イーストミッドランド地区在留日本人の学齢子女とする。(2)日本語を母国語としない英国在住の子女については、(3)日本語の理解力を勘案の上、入学の可否、及び、適用学年を決定する。

Through looking at the above two excerpts of *Hoshuko* entrance requirements, we can find some commonalities. Firstly, these two *Hoshuko* state their requirements of future-returnees; i.e., PE children, underlined as (1); and then mention the case of non-PE children, underlined as (2) (cf. *generic structure*). Interestingly, while children of PE families are only required to be of the corresponding ‘age’ and have an ‘intention to return to Japan’, children of non-PE families must satisfy further conditions, such as to show their ‘motivation for studying Japanese,’ and an ‘age-appropriate Japanese language proficiency,’ underlined as (2). Moreover, they are likely to be required to undergo an entrance examination to determine their eligibility, shown in underlined (3). *Hoshuko* thus have the right to decide about whom to accept for the case of non-PE. In this way, the enrolment of non-PE families to *Hoshuko* is constructed as an ‘irregular’ case, being accepted only when they can satisfy all the additional criteria. From those excerpts, it is also found that *Hoshuko* seem to question the Japanese language proficiency of children of non-PE, as they have to test those children for the enrolment. The following excerpts of *Manchester-Hoshuko* (Manchester-Hoshuko, n.d.) provide further examples:

Manchester-Hoshuko-2: (Manchester-Hoshuko is) not a Japanese language school. Please understand the purposes of management of the school. Hoshuko conduct the classes ‘according to the curriculum issued by MEXT in Japan.’ The classes are conducted in Japanese, so it will be very difficult to understand the classes for children who do not understand what teachers say in Japanese (emphasis in original).

(マンチェスター補習校)は、日本語学校ではありません。補習校の運営目的を理解ください。補習校は「日本の文部科学省のカリキュラムに沿った授業」を行います。日本語で学習しますので、先生の話される日本語が理解できない児童は、授業を理解することが非常に困難です。

Manchester-Hoshuko-3: There are some students who think that the Japanese living environment and speaking Japanese is something unusual. There are some students who always answer ‘I cannot do, I don’t know’ in their opening words when answering. → (We) ask (the parents) to standardise the conversation (with children) in Japanese language in the family home.

日本語で生活する環境を整える、日本語で話すことが特別なことに感じている児童が見受けられます。何を問いかけても、第一声が「できない、わからない」になる児童がいます。
⇒ 家庭内での会話は日本語を基本としてください。

As you can see, some of the above statements are formulated in a strong tone – e.g., ‘please understand’ – addressed at the parents of children whose Japanese competence is below ‘*Hoshuko* standards.’ The statements clearly authorise their position by emphasising that they are following the MEXT issued curriculum and have implemented a Japanese medium of instruction. The strong emphasis on the *Hoshuko*’s policy here appears to nominate the PE children as ‘appropriate’ students, and exclude the families of other backgrounds. Also, they warn those parents who are thinking to send their children to *Hoshuko* to re-consider whether their child’s Japanese proficiency is sufficient enough for this ‘*Hoshuko* standard.’ This message may also be aimed at discouraging parents from enrolling their children to *Hoshuko* if they lack the required language proficiency.

The second excerpt from *Manchester-Hoshuko-3* contains a more concrete description of how children with ‘insufficient’ Japanese proficiency are performing poorly at *Hoshuko*, emphasising the difficulties they face in coping with the *Hoshuko* curriculum. These excerpts do not explicitly clarify who are specifically addressed at, as they generally refer to ‘some children.’ However, the last sentence in the second excerpt specifies that families with multilingual backgrounds are referred to; this seems to imply those families of intermarriage who may use languages other than Japanese at home.

In short, those statements problematize the enrolment of children of non-PE backgrounds based on the simplified assumption that their Japanese language proficiency is necessarily insufficient. This is just one example from one *Hoshuko*; however, as can be seen in excerpt of *Derby-Hoshuko-2* already cited in 4.2.3, the discourse which problematizes those children who use other languages than Japanese at home are based on the assumption that they always have low Japanese proficiency, and

such problematization can be widely observed at discourse found in the institutional policies of *Hoshuko*.

A similar discourse, involving negative traits towards non-PE, also exists in their entrance requirements, since many *Hoshuko* require an entrance examination only of those non-PECs. Thus, there is a discourse at *Hoshuko* that Japanese language proficiency of non-PE is low and therefore problematic at *Hoshuko* context. In addition, there is a negative perception of those who use other languages than Japanese at home in *Hoshuko* discourses. Importantly, as a consequence, the Japanese language proficiency of PE is considered as ‘unproblematic.’ However, as will be seen in Chapter 5, this is a misled assumption, and the family language use and children’s language proficiency are much more complex than such *Hoshuko* discourses would suggest.

Chapter Summary: the Governmental and Institutional Discourses regarding Hoshuko

This section summarises the governmental discourses identified in section 4.1, and the institutional discourses found in section 4.2. As stated in 4.1.7, I have identified the following four discourses from the Japanese governmental policies:

- A) *Education Abroad* (i.e., *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko*) refers to future returnees as the appropriate students (*suppression*)
- B) Non-future-returnees are not particularly welcomed in *Education Abroad* (*suppression*)
- C) *Education Abroad* should be similar to Japanese domestic education
- D) The less similar it is to domestic education in Japan, the less quality it is assumed to guarantee

In this thesis I will refer to A) and B) combined as the ‘*welcoming only for future returnees*’ discourse, and to C) and D) as the ‘*Japanese education as the best model*’ discourse.

In section 4.2 I have moved my focus on to the institutional discourses at *Hoshuko* and I have identified the following institutional discourses:

- E) *Hoshuko* should be for the children of future returnees or PE families (explicit statements only in enrolment requirements; *backgrounding*)
- F) Education at *Hoshuko* should be similar to Japanese schools in Japan (teaching should involve not only Japanese curriculum contents with Japanese-medium instruction, but also ‘*Japanese (school) culture*’)
- G) The acceptance of non-PE children is an irregular case
- H) The Japanese language proficiency of non-PE children is problematic
- I) The Japanese language proficiency of PE children is unproblematic

The institutional discourse E) parallels the governmental discourse of ‘*welcoming only for future returnees.*’ However, it is noteworthy that the institutional discourse is more explicit than the governmental discourse as it clearly states its position in the enrolment requirements. The institutional discourse F) shares similar views with the governmental discourse of ‘*Japanese education as the best model,*’ but the institutional discourse advocates the teaching of not only subject contents but also of non-subject contents such as ‘*Japanese school culture.*’

Discourse G) is slightly different from that of the government. While the government avoids making textual references as to the existence of non-future-returnees at *Hoshuko* (a case of *suppression*), institutional statements acknowledge the existence of such children in their policy documents, when detailing enrolment requirements. However, since institutional aims and objectives clearly state that ‘*Hoshuko* is only for future returnees or PEs,’ the ways in which the acknowledgment of non-future returnees occurs, is still very restricted (identified as *backgrounding*). Namely, there is a strong binary opposition of students’ backgrounds, based on the unrealistic assumption that the future returnees are always children of PEs who are not permanent residents, while all the non-PEs are considered as non-future-returnees, permanent residents in Britain. No exceptions or other possibilities are conceived of. It is also noteworthy that despite the seemingly large number of students other than children of PEs in those *Hoshuko*, their enrolment is constructed as an ‘irregular’ case by introducing additional assessment requirements (e.g., interviews).

A simplified dichotomy seems to exist regarding children’s Japanese language proficiency as well (see discourse H and I above); on one hand, all the PECs are regarded as appropriate students coming to *Hoshuko* having high Japanese proficiency;

on the other hand, the rest of children (i.e., ‘the others’) are attached the opposite negative characteristics. Unequal entrance requirements appear to strengthen the positive discourse towards PE and less positive discourse towards non-PE. To conclude, although the existence of ‘the others’ (i.e., non-PE) is acknowledged in statements on institutional policy, the expectation that ‘*Hoshuko* is for PE,’ thus, remains strongly, while attaching certain negative and positive traits to the category.

As will be seen in the next chapter, however, there is much more diversity in the actual students’ backgrounds as well as their Japanese language proficiency at the actual *Hoshuko*, which cannot be judged according to such binary categorisations – being PE families or not. In the next section, I shall move on to the analysis of the ethnographic data from my fieldwork at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, one of these *Hoshuko* in the UK. The aim of in the next section is to scrutinise how such governmental and institutional discourses are reproduced, recontextualised, and/or challenged in the situated practices and perceptions of teachers, students and their parents.

Chapter 5 Recontextualising Discourse: Individuals' Practices and Perceptions in the *Asahi-Hoshuko*

Overview

In this chapter, I will mainly explore data from my ethnographic fieldwork in the *Asahi-Hoshuko*, one of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK (see details in section 3.3.3). By investigating situated *practices* and *perceptions*, I will explore the ways in which individuals reproduce and challenge the institutional and governmental *discourses* identified in Chapter 4. I will also compare individuals' situated *practices* and *perceptions* and how they shape one another.

Proceeding thematically, section 5.1 first looks at the process of nominating 'culture' – both as general 'Japanese culture' and 'Japanese school culture' – and its reproduction process at the *Asahi-Hoshuko*. I then scrutinise the nominalisation and categorisation processes of the students in this *Hoshuko* in section 5.2, comparing them specifically with the governmental and institutional *discourses* regarding who is eligible and welcome to attend *Hoshuko*. In the following section 5.3, I highlight the teachers', parents' and students' *perceptions* and *practices* regarding language, specifically towards Japanese and English. By highlighting the discrepancies found between individuals' *perceptions* and *practices*, in section 5.4, I will shed light on individuals' struggles and negotiations between their moment-to-moment *practices* and their *perceptions* strongly influenced by *discourses*.

5.1 'Japanese (School) Cultures' in the *Asahi-Hoshuko*

5.1.1 A Miniature Japan in the UK

The local secondary-school, from which Asahi-Hoshuko rents out school facilities, seems to offer their school spaces to many local communities on weekends. When entering the school, I first saw a modern-dance class taking place in the restaurant hall. I saw other children dressing up for ballet class. They were speaking to each other in English. I continued my way to the main hall of the school. When I opened the door to the main hall, I suddenly encountered a large group of people speaking in Japanese. I was astonished by this suddenly emerging Japanese world in front of me (Field note: Oct. 2011).

The above excerpt is from my field notes on my first visit to *Asahi-Hoshuko*. On that day, I was still at the stage of negotiating my research access to this *Hoshuko*, and I was

attending an interview with the chair of *Asahi-Hoshuko*. The required documents for the interview were a Curriculum Vitae and a personal statement in standard Japanese business format, significantly different from the ones used in the UK. We started the interview by exchanging our business cards. Although I had expected to meet Japanese people on that day, the whole atmosphere at *Asahi-Hoshuko* made me feel as if I were in Japan, a significantly different experience from what I have when meeting Japanese friends in the UK in my private time.

Hoshuko appeared as a miniaturisation of ‘Japan’ rather than a neutral space rented out from a mainstream school for the conduction of a specific task, and in this it obtains a different aspect from the spaces used for dance or ballet classes. Apart from the language spoken, the distinctiveness of the Japanese environment was reinforced through material symbols such as Japanese branded bags and clothing that are not available for purchase in the UK. During lunch time, children and parents often consumed carefully prepared and very typical Japanese lunch-box meals, such as rice balls and *Tamago-yaki* [rolled eggs]. Some of the lunch boxes and tea-pots were also of Japanese make. Some parents read Japanese paperbacks while waiting for their children.

It is to be noted that I do not claim that the ‘totality’ of Japan is being reproduced at the *Hoshuko*; my argument is that what is being created is a *distinct* and *unique* space where people interact with each other in ‘unusual’ ways, considering that the location of this *Hoshuko* is in the UK. Borrowing from Bourdieu's (1990) concept, the *Hoshuko* space can be described as one of *distinction*, governed by the symbolic enactment of a Japanese *habitus* through signs of consumer preferences and modes of behaviour. The efficiency of these unconscious practices of *distinction* has been confirmed to me by one child's British father, who expressed that he felt very much an ‘outsider’ and sometimes even ‘uncomfortable’ at the *Hoshuko*, saying that “*Hoshuko* is too Japanese for me” (field note; November 2012).

The interesting feeling of entering a somewhat different world had stayed with me from that first day, and it became an analytic lens through which I was able to decode and understand some of the social phenomena taking place at the *Hoshuko*. In the following sections I will further examine these elements of ‘*Japanese culture*’ and ‘*Japanese school culture*’ at *Asahi-Hoshuko*.

5.1.2 Institutional Practices of Cultural Reproduction: Simplified Replications?

Ideological elements of ‘*Japanese school culture*’ were also reproduced in the *Hoshuko*: teachers used the whiteboard vertically from right to left, and children were allocated day duties – called *Nicchoku* in Japan – such as having to signal to their peers to stand up [*Kiritsu*], bow [*Rei*] and sit down [*Chakuseki*] when greeting the teacher at the beginning and the end of each class. Another example was the arrangement of student desks. While classrooms and learning facilities were borrowed for Saturday activities from British local schools, they were set up before the class activities begin, to imitate Japanese classroom designs. At *Asahi-Hoshuko* where I conducted my fieldwork, desks were often originally arranged in groups in most classrooms, but each Saturday morning an allocated parent team rearranged them in horizontal rows facing the whiteboard and the teacher²⁹.

This ‘*Japanese way*’ of desk arrangement is still widely employed in Japanese schools; however, in Japan, the arrangement is largely left to the teachers’ discretion – some teachers arrange them in small groups, others arrange them so that students can see one another; at least, many teachers change desk arrangement depending on the students activities. In this respect the *Hoshuko*’s seating arrangement appears more ‘institutionally prescribed’ than in Japan (i.e., this *Hoshuko*’s policy allocated those parents to arrange desks), and seems to, a lesser degree, be left to the teacher’s discretion. It is, in a sense, a stereotypical simplification of ‘*Japanese school culture*,’ by highlighting the differences from ‘*British schooling*.’

Hoshuko events also take place in significantly ‘simplified’ – or even ‘stereotypical’ – Japanese ways. For instance, the *Undokai* [Sports day] at *Asahi-Hoshuko* follows the style of *Kohaku-sen* [competition of red/white teams], by dividing students into red and white teams, the teams having to compete against each other. The children are wearing the *Hachimaki* [headband] of their team colour. The sports day also involves typical Japanese *Undokai*-programmes, such as *Kohaku Tamaire* [bean-ball-tossing game] and *Oen-Gassen* [cheering competition]. Hence, in addition to the programmes, the

²⁹ Some classroom use their desk arrangements as it is, but there are at least parents’ teams institutionally allocated for this re-arranging desk tasks, according to the school regulation.

equipment used in these specific sports games was also likely to be brought from Japan³⁰.

It is worth pointing out, however, that while the *Undokai* event in Japan itself still follows a highly homogeneous style, some diversity in practices has been introduced in recent years, due to growing criticisms from various viewpoints. For example, some programmes are criticised for their militaristic composition (Yoshimi et al., 1999) as well as for health and safety reasons (Kodera, 2014). For instance, *Kiba-sen* [a mock cavalry battle] may be contested on three grounds: from a gender equality perspective it is controversial as it often excludes girls; it can also be somewhat dangerous and aggressive, raising safety concerns, while its militaristic aspect questions its educational quality. Another example is the warming-up exercise at sports days; although *Rajio-Taiso* [radio-calisthenics] – named after the radio exercise programme in the morning – is still widely employed, some schools are shifting to stretch-based exercises as recent research has found they are more effective for warm-up purposes. Therefore, a desire to follow *Japanese school culture* at *Hoshuko* could possibly involve the danger of implementing somewhat out-dated school practices, which have often been replaced by alternative practices in many schools in Japan.

Based on the above examples, it can be said that the ideological nomination of ‘*Japanese culture*’ – including ‘*Japanese school cultures*’ – are actively reproduced by *Hoshuko*’s institutional practices, in accordance with the governmental and institutional discourses found in Chapter 4. However, even considering that the official aim of *Hoshuko* is to foster prospective returnees’ smooth (re)adaptation to Japanese school life, I would argue that somewhat outdated practices at *Hoshuko* do not necessarily fulfil this aim due to the diversification of educational practices in Japan itself.

I would further question whether *Hoshuko*’s perception of the ‘*Japanese school culture*’ and its replication are at all possible considering the diversification of the education system in Japan in recent years. More importantly, the above cases cast doubt on the fundamental aims of *Hoshuko* school policy, which sees the replication of the Japanese school system as its ‘ideal.’ Practices of replication in the *Hoshuko* rather seem to overemphasize ‘*Japanese school culture*’ in a too simplified and stereotypical way.

³⁰ Event photographs published on other *Hoshuko*’s webpages show that similar programmes and equipment are being used at other schools too, so it is safe to assume that the ‘Japanese ways’ of the sports day are widely implemented in all *Hoshuko* settings.

5.1.3 Co-existence of Japanese-culture and Multicultural Reproduction

In addition to the above institutionally-reproduced practices, many pupils use *randoseru*, a typical Japanese schoolbag used by almost all primary school children in Japan, and *fudebako*, a solid square-shaped pencil case, again very typical of primary school pupils in Japan. Initially, I imagined that these items had been provided by the *Hoshuko*, since they were quite common even among children of intermarriage families, who were born in Britain and had never studied in Japan. It was therefore a surprise to discover that they had actually been purchased from Japan by the families themselves.

Such items further reinforce the sense of *distinction* and community that dominates the *Hoshuko*, helping to bridge the gap between pupils of different family backgrounds. My field notes recalled an instance when a girl who grew up in the UK came to show me her new *fudebako* depicting illustrations of popular Japanese animation characters, and explained that her grandfather bought it for her when she visited Japan (field note: September 2012). She showed it very proudly and happily to her friends, teachers and even to her friends' parents. When I asked her if she also used it at the local mainstream school, she said she only brought it to *Hoshuko*. I also observed how her friends, their parents and the teachers all praised her brand new 'Japanese' pencil case, which, in addition to being a popular school item. This item also indicated implicitly that she went to Japan on holiday, and thus many people began asking her about her holiday in Japan. In other words, the *Hoshuko* context can also create a special *field* for the children, where many of them are familiar with Japanese popular culture and goods, and therefore 'anything Japanese' gains a symbolic value that could otherwise be lost in the local mainstream school context, where many brands are unknown to local children.

Kumiko, a mother, told me about another cultural episode around Halloween in 2012. For the Halloween party organised at her children's local school, children have to dress up in various event-specific costumes, and her children had originally opted to dress up as the characters of a Japanese drama that was very popular at the time. Kumiko began preparing the requested costumes, only for her children to change their minds as Halloween-day drew closer. Her children said that they now "actually preferred to be a vampire and a cat." She commented about this episode as follows (Kumiko, ethno-interview: November 2012):

Well, it is understandable that in the end they preferred 'orthodox' British characters for the school Halloween party. Even if they had dressed up like

Japanese characters, their friends at the school would not have understood. So it would not have been fun for them.

According to her, the real joy of the Halloween party is having their costume approved by their friends. Thus, dressed up as Japanese characters which are not well-known in the UK, it would be difficult to gain the approval of their classmates at the local mainstream school. She also added, laughing, that any dresses would have been acceptable if *Hoshuko* had held a Halloween party.

These comments indicate that *Hoshuko* is a place where being multi-cultural is valued, or at least accepted. This characteristic of the *Hoshuko* cultural space has further manifested itself through the fact that products that became highly popular in the UK – ‘loom bands’ for instance – were also brought in by children, reinforcing a different aspect of a shared sense of community (field note: March in 2014).

Although cultures are often described as separable in individuals’ narratives (denoting an essentialist view of ‘*Japanese culture*’ and ‘*British culture*’), as I have shown above, children’s practices at *Hoshuko* do not always treat ‘cultures’ as separate and separable. Another episode I observed is also indicative of this. During a play activity one child said she wanted to do *hankachi-otoshi*, a Japanese group game which was introduced during a nursery class around that time, to which another child, Eiji (aged 6), told everyone that he knew a similarly interesting game called ‘*sakana chippusu*.’ Both games seem to have similar rules, so in the end we enjoyed playing the ‘*sakana chippusu*’ as instructed by Eiji (field notes April 2012). Later I talked about this episode with Emiko, Eiji’s mother, and she said that this might have been a game he learnt at the British mainstream school, called ‘Fish and Chips’ (Emiko, ethno-interview: April, 2012). In fact, ‘*sakana*’ in Japanese means ‘fish,’ and ‘*chippusu*’ is phonologically applied to the Japanese pronunciation of ‘chips’ in English. In other words, he introduced a game he had learnt at the mainstream school as a new game in Japanese language, while using his knowledge of both *hankachi-otoshi* and ‘fish and chips.’ His Japanese adaptation is also remarkable in taking into consideration the *Hoshuko* context and avoiding – consciously or unconsciously – to exclude children who may not speak English; and indeed there was at the time in the group a girl who had just arrived in the UK and who was not very familiar with English words.

This was an impressive moment when a five-year-old boy showed his creativeness in going beyond the framework of essentialist perceptions of ‘cultures’ as having solid

boundaries between them, and applied all his knowledge within a wider resource pool to create new categories of meaning and practice that would, nevertheless, accommodate everyone participating in the activity. The *Hoshuko* context is very conducive to creating such hybrid practices, and compared to the official governmental and institutional discourses, individuals' practices are more flexible and driven by moment-to-moment considerations. On one hand, a strong discourse of "Japanese cultural Teaching at *Hoshuko*" is reproduced, while on the other hand, when looking at individuals' practices, *Hoshuko* rather provide a space where individuals' multiculturalism is accepted and valued.

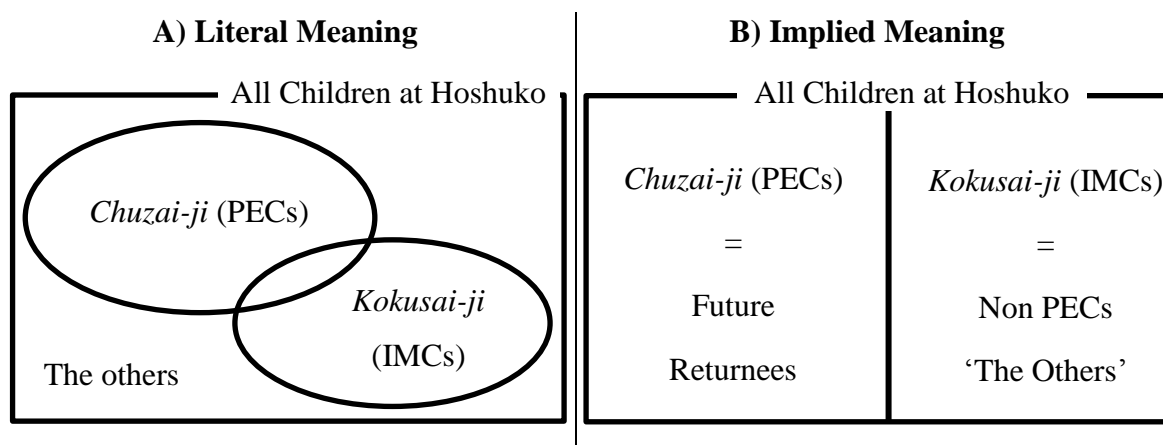
5.2 Who should be the Students of Hoshuko?: The Gap between Discourses and the Social Reality

5.2.1 Reproduction of Categorical Nominations: 'Chuzai-ji' and 'Kokusai-ji'

As I argued in the previous chapter, institutional discourses operate with exclusive binary categories to nominate the children at *Hoshuko*, and this binary categorical nomination is also reproduced by individuals when referring to the children. The two contrasting categories of '*Chuzai-sha no kodomo*' [Child of professional expatriates] and '*Eiju-sha no kodomo*' [Child of permanent resident] as used in the institutional discourse – as presented in section 4.2.4. – become *Chuzai-ji* and *Kokusai-ji* respectively in the parlance of parents and teachers at *Asahi-Hoshuko*. *Chuzai-ji* is used in reference to 'a child of professional expatriates (henceforth PEC),' while *Kokusai-ji* literally means 'international child,' and seems to derive from child of '*kokusai-kekkon*' [intermarriage] (henceforth IMC; IM for intermarriage). Since the non-PE families are mostly intermarriage families, the categorical name *Kokusai-ji* [IMC] seems to be used as the antonym of *Chuzai-ji* [PEC]. The following Figure 5-1 maps out these two nominal categorisations, as commonly used by individuals at the *Hoshuko*.

Nevertheless, these two binary categories are based on the assumption that all children attending *Hoshuko* can be neatly placed in one of two categories, and do not necessarily reflect the family situation of children accurately. In short, such binary categorisations ignore other possibilities and the potential diversity within and beyond the categories (5-1-B).

Figure 5-1: Incoherence in Categorical Nominations and Actually Referred Groups at the Asahi *Hoshuko*



It is important to point out that in the *Hoshuko* context the power relation between these two groups is not equal. PECs have a privileged position compared to IMCs in many respects. For instance, the government policies and the historical development of *Hoshuko* secure the aims of *Hoshuko* for PECs. This status of entitlement is very often acknowledged and reproduced by IM parents, and during my fieldwork I have often heard statements like:

- *This is Hoshuko, so we cannot say much about what to teach, how to be taught.*
- *They kindly let our children study at Hoshuko, so we need to encourage our children to keep up with their level.*

Therefore, it is always expected that IMCs are the ones who must keep up with PECs' standards in the *Hoshuko*. Importantly, as seen in the above statements, IM parents indicate their belonging by using the pronoun 'we', taking a stance vis-à-vis the other category. As Fairclough (2003) points out, the first person plural pronoun is important, as it identifies how groups and communities are constructed and represented. The differentiation between 'us and them' is thus constructed through their perceptions that there is a real difference between PECs and IMCs (i.e., non-PECs).

In addition to such discourses, there are many other structural elements of *Hoshuko* that further construct the gap between PECs and IMCs (non-PECs). For instance, since the local Japanese companies partially pay for the *Hoshuko* tuition fees of their employees' children (i.e., PECs), it costs more for non-PEC families to send their children to *Hoshuko*. Moreover, as seen in section 4.2.1, the chairpersons of *Asahi-*

Hoshuko must come from among the professional expatriates working at the local Japanese companies.

Furthermore, when a new student joins, he or she is introduced to the students at the students' meeting, and interestingly, her/his parents are also introduced to the other parents at a parents' meeting. It is very common that during this introduction they are presented in relation to an employer in case they work for one of the local Japanese companies³¹. This tells of the importance of highlighting one's PE status in the *Hoshuko* context, suggesting a privileged position for PECs, and also makes it possible for parents and teachers to easily identify children according to the company their parents work for.

It is also important to add that PE families are usually economically better off; for instance, many of them send their children to private mainstream schools, and can afford private tutors to support their studies. Thus, compared with families of other backgrounds, whose occupations and economic situations can be varied, PE families' relatively high socio-economic status is very similar. This also appears to unite PECs as a group.

To sum up, similarly to what we have found in governmental and institutional discourses in Chapter 4, the everyday practices of individuals also reproduce a strong dichotomous view of the students, as either PECs or non-PECs. Moreover, these groups have different statuses in respect to the *Hoshuko*, with PE families being the privileged group in terms of entitlement to *Hoshuko*, and often also in economic terms.

5.2.2 The Dilemma for *Hoshuko* between Discourses and Reality

Although there is a strong discourse supporting that '*Hoshuko* is for PECs,' ethnographic fieldwork data on the *Hoshuko* shows that such discourses fail to capture the reality at *Hoshuko*. In this section, I will focus on recent changes in the students' backgrounds, and I argue that PECs are not necessarily numerically 'dominant' at *Hoshuko*.

As seen in the overview at the beginning of this chapter, the number of students in *Asahi-Hoshuko* has been constantly decreasing over the past decades, and therefore, it is an urgent task for *Asahi-Hoshuko* to attract more students and to secure financial

³¹ This insight has been brought to my attention through a personal communication by Rita Yamashita (Yamashita, 2015).

resources for the management of the school, regardless of whether the recruits are PECs or not. The following are excerpts from an interview with a teacher at *Hoshuko*:

For large schools that have enough financial resources without them [i.e., non-PECs], it might not be a problem; but schools like ours, with a small number of students cannot survive in that way. Therefore, these schools have tried to accept as many students as possible. It is good to recruit many students; however, problems arise after the enrolment. Some children really struggle to keep up with the classes (teacher, ethno-interview: October 2012).

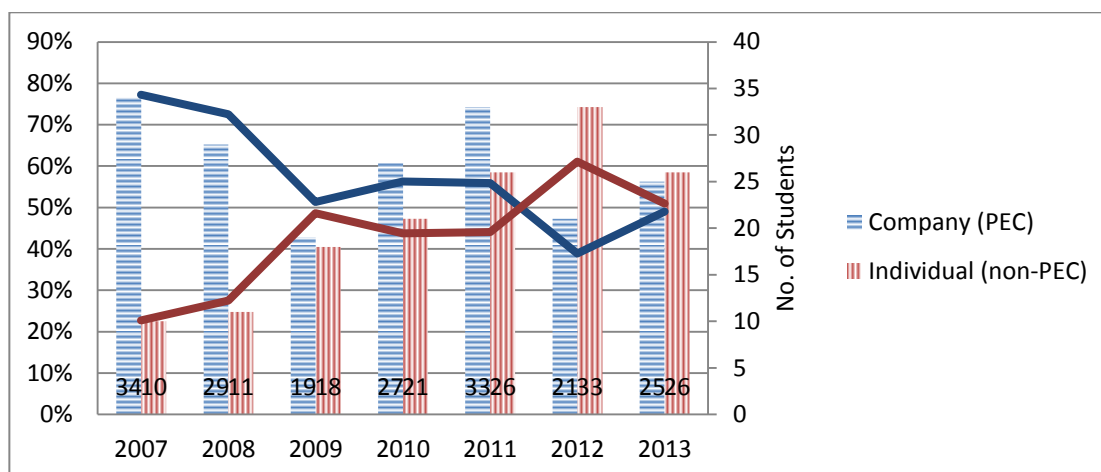
The number of PE families depends on international Japanese companies' decisions; in fact, the recent recession and advances in information technology have resulted in fewer PE families being sent to the UK from Japan³². Since *Hoshuko* do not have control over the number of PE families, the only way they can maintain their school activities is through the attraction of families with other backgrounds as well. Thus, they have started recruiting many children of non-PE families, especially from among the relatively large number of local IM families, even though their aims and purposes may differ from those of the PE, or from *Hoshuko*'s policy.

The teacher quoted above also told me that many *Hoshuko* in the UK used to only accept PECs in the past, but that the recent decrease in students' numbers has brought a change in their position, and now all nine *Hoshuko* in the UK are open to non-PECs as well. In short, *Hoshuko* are facing a dilemma; on one hand, they need to retain the support of the Japanese government, and for that purpose they are required to comply with the *Hoshuko*'s governmental policy; on the other hand, they also need to attract not only PE families but also families with different backgrounds to secure the number of students.

Figure 5-2 shows the recent dramatic changes in family backgrounds at *Asahi-Hoshuko* between 2007 and 2013. The graph depicts the percentage and number of attending students, grouping them in two categories: 'company' and 'individuals' (literal translation from the original school document). For the purpose of this section, I will not argue this nominal categorisation; however, it is important to point out that the label 'company' refers to PE families, whereas the label 'individuals' refer to the others who do not belong to any company (i.e., non-PE families).

³² It is noted that the situation is quite different around the world. For example, there are an increasing number of professional expatriates in recent years in Asian countries, such as China and Thailand.

Figure 5-2: Number and Percentage of Students according to Different Family Backgrounds between 2007 and 2013



Source: 'Asahi-Hoshuko' online document. For the purpose of maintaining the anonymity of the school, the direct reference is omitted.

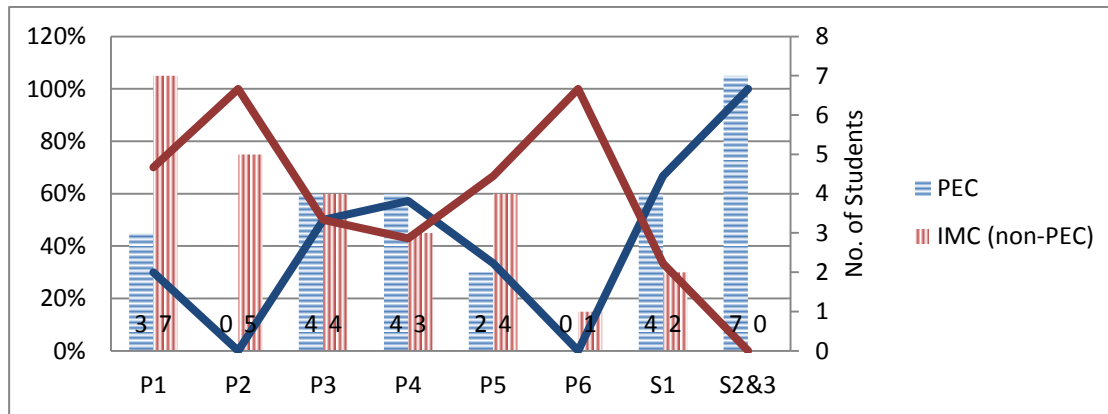
In Figure 5-2, the line chart indicates the change in the percentage of the different family backgrounds of students at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, with the black line showing the percentage of PECs, and the grey line depicting the percentage of the 'others,' the non-PECs. As seen in the column chart, in 2007 and 2008, the share of PECs was much larger than that of non-PECs. However, over the last 7 years there has been a considerable change between the two, and since 2009 their overall distribution has been roughly equal, after the number of non-PECs has overtaken that of PECs in 2012.

As the bar chart shows, while the number of non-PECs has been growing continuously until 2012, that of PECs has seen considerable fluctuation over the years, with an overall decrease on the whole. This also means that PECs no longer represent a dominant majority, and thus it is becoming rather difficult for them to retain their prominent and privileged position within the *Hoshuko* in terms of their number.

This tendency becomes even clearer in the two categories at each grade. Figure 5-3 indicates the number of PECs and IMCs at each grade (P1 refers to year 1 at primary school level; S1 to year 1 at secondary level) based on teachers' reports in June 2013. The nominal categorisation – PEC and IMC – were translated directly from the original school reports. Admittedly, the two categories may not overlap precisely with the previous 'company'/'individual' dichotomy. However, since those terms – IMC and non-PEC – are often used interchangeably, I will treat them accordingly in this discussion. The graph should be read similarly to the previous one, with the line chart

referring to percentages on the left axis, and the bar chart to absolute numbers on the right axis.

Figure 5-3: The Number and Percentage of Students with Different Backgrounds According to Grade (in 2013)



While, as seen in the previous chart, the overall number of students in the two groups was roughly equal in 2013, Figure 5-3 indicates clearly that there are considerable differences between the two according to school-levels and grades. PECs are overrepresented in both secondary school stages (S1, S2 and S3) and in the year 4 of primary school (P4), while non-PECs form the majority in all other years, apart from P3 where their number is equal. Moreover, some classes consist only of PECs (secondary level grade 2 and 3; the students in these two grades are studying in one classroom), or of non-PECs (primary year 2 and year 6).

From Figure 5-2 and 5-3, it is clear that the discourse of ‘*Hoshuko* is for PECs’ is not substantiated by the student numbers, despite its prevalence in individuals’ perceptions (what we saw in section 5.2.1) at the *Hoshuko*. *Asahi-Hoshuko* is thus in the difficult position of having to balance its original aims and expectations for PECs due to its financial reality, and the realities of diversity in students’ backgrounds.

5.2.3 Going beyond an Essentialist View: Teacher’s Individual Focused Approach

In the above two sections I have argued that there are contradictions between the discourse and the social reality of *Hoshuko* regarding the students who study at *Hoshuko*: on one hand, in discourses the dominated position of PECs is constructed; on the other hand, the social reality (especially the financial situation of *Hoshuko*) urges *Hoshuko* to accept students with diverse backgrounds. In this section, I will specifically

highlight teachers' practices and efforts to go beyond this dichotomous view, which embraces the diversity of students' backgrounds.

During the fieldwork at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, I had a chance to attend a teacher meeting (field notes, June 2013). At this meeting, teachers mainly reported the achievements of their students in the class, and exchanged teaching practices and other emergent issues which they had faced during the term. In preparation for this meeting, each teacher submitted a report about their classes. This report contained a section which teachers needed to complete, asking the number of '*Kokusai-ji*' [IMC] and '*Chuzai-ji*' [PEC] in each class. Importantly, it was accompanied by a note from the head teacher that although the number of students asked is based on these two categories, the report should be individual-focused, and describe "the concrete reality of the situation while going beyond the framework of children of professional expatriate and of local children" (field notes: May 2013; local children refer to non-PECs). The head teacher also stated that there must be differences in Japanese language proficiency among the PECs, and therefore teachers should not judge children's ability based only on their backgrounds.

The reports from teachers also indicated that the two categories of '*Kokusai-ji*' and '*Chuzai-ji*' did not efficiently capture the diverse backgrounds of children at the *Hoshuko*, and many of the teachers seemed to struggle to categorise their students into these two groups. Due to the format of the reports, teachers had to categorise their students into those two categories, and they seemed to manage categorising them by looking at parents' backgrounds, and/or nationality; however, many teachers attached additional notes to these categories, and explained how diverse students' backgrounds are, even within one category. For instance, among PECs, there were some students who had moved from country to country without having ever been settled in Japan; some students had lived in the UK for several years, while others had been here for less than a few months; some PE parents obtained permanent residence in the UK and did not intend to go back to Japan. Similarly, there was diversity within the IMCs as well: some students have been raised in Japan but moved to the UK recently; one student who had spent more than ten years in Japan; some students had never been to Japan, while others went to Japan often and have enrolled to domestic education in Japan for a few weeks' trial. Whether the students are future returnees or not, and have permanent residence or not, does not necessarily harmonise with the categories of PEC or IMC. In addition, the length of their stay in the UK, and their familiarity with Japan and

Japanese school education, further diversifies children's needs of studying at *Hoshuko*, as well as their parents' aims of sending children to *Hoshuko*. These concrete cases taken from teachers' reports show how it is impossible to divide students into rigid categories based on their parents' nationality, and that we should rather capture the complexities (e.g., family backgrounds, language proficiencies) among students.

This meeting was summarised later by a head teacher as follows:

The circumstances of students who are coming to Hoshuko are various. Some students have just arrived (in the UK) from Japan, others have exposed themselves exclusively to an English language environment. From an internationalisation perspective, this (Hoshuko) would be an ideal place for international understanding and international interactions.

補習授業校に通学する児童生徒の環境は様々である。日本から着いたばかりの児童生徒もいれば、日常生活のほとんどを英語環境の中で暮らしている児童生徒もいる。国際化という観点から見れば、これは理想的な国際理解・国際交流の場であるとも言えるであろう。

This summary report of a teachers' meeting shows that the *Hoshuko* teachers' concerns are not necessarily with parents' nationalities or professions – PECs or IMCs – but rather with students' reality at the moment. It is also notable how teachers accept the uniqueness of the *Hoshuko* as an ideal learning place for international understanding and international interactions. Thus, in contrast to governmental and institutional discourses, teachers' practices attempt to embrace the diversity at *Hoshuko* by going beyond the dichotomisation of PECs and IMCs.

5.2.4 *Hoshuko* in Change: Seeking Better Practices

The recent considerable change in the students' background seems to bring some institutional changes in the *Asahi-Hoshuko* too. In this part, I specifically focus on the recently established nursery class. As nurseries have been founded at other *Hoshuko*'s too, I will first introduce the background to this rather recent phenomenon, before exploring the situation of nursery classes at *Asahi-Hoshuko* in more detail.

As mentioned in the methodology section, six *Hoshuko* in the UK are confirmed to operate nursery classes. Founding nursery class is not limited to *Hoshuko* in the UK, but of international trends. For instance, *Kaigai-shijo Kyoiku Zaidan* (JOES), a Public Interest Incorporated Foundation, has promoted the establishment of nursery classes at various existing *Nihonjin Gakko* and *Hoshuko* throughout the world between 2008 and 2012 (JOES, n.d.-b). The Foundation has allocated 2,000,000 yen (approx. 13,717 Pounds Sterling) for the establishment of three nursery classes at *Nihonjin Gakko*, and 300,000 yen (approx. 2,058 Pounds Sterling) at the maximum, to cover the costs of ten

Hoshuko nurseries (JOES, n.d.-b) ³³. The Foundation explains their reasons for supporting nursery classes in these terms:

Educational Institutions for Residents Abroad mainly implement the education for students at primary and lower-secondary levels; however, in recent years, the need for nursery level education has increased according to the lowering of the age in professional expatriates and employers dispatched from the companies and associations which expand their business overseas, and there is a strong desire to establish a nursery class. On the other hand, from the school management perspective of securing the number of students, there are quite a few schools where steering committees, parents, and Japanese associations are thinking to establish nursery classes (JOES, n.d.-b).

在外教育施設(以下学校)では、主に小学部・中学部の児童・生徒に対する教育を実施しておりますが、近年、海外進出企業・団体等からの派遣社員・職員の若年化等により幼児教育へのニーズの高まり、幼稚部開設について強い要望があります。一方、運営委員会や保護者、日本人会では、学校運営における児童・生徒数の確保の観点から、幼稚部開設を検討されている学校も少なくありません。

As seen above, JOES's funding project seems not to have been initiated by a government policy change, but rather due to increasing demands from schools in recent years. In *Asahi-Hoshuko*, for instance, discussions around the founding of a nursery class have emerged in the late 2000s, and classes officially started in 2010.

Noriko, one of the mothers in the nursery class, who was in charge of nursery administrative works at that time, told me that the nursery class was structurally independent from the main *Hoshuko* (primary/secondary levels), and therefore they had more freedom in their management and decision-making (Noriko, field notes: January 2012). As she said, the nursery class is independent both structurally and financially, with separate treasurers and administrators. Moreover, due to the fact that the nursery class is not part of 'compulsory education,' the classes do not have to follow Japanese government-approved textbooks.

When looking at nursery entrance requirements, the difference between primary/secondary level and nursery level becomes more apparent. Table 5-1 compares enrolment requirements to primary and secondary levels with those to nursery.

³³ The price in pound sterling was calculated based on the average exchange rate during 2008 and 2012 (1 GBP = 145.8 YEN).

Table 5-1: Comparison of Enrolment Requirements at Primary/Secondary and Nursery Levels

A) Primary and Secondary Level	B) Nursery Level
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Having Japanese nationality (or having a right to choose Japanese nationality), and is at complementary school age (aged 6 to 15) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cases considered if children are of international related families but satisfying all above criteria 2. Having sufficient Japanese language abilities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One must be able to have access to Japanese language education at home - One must have equivalent learning ability to primary year 1 students upon enrolment - One must show serious motivation to learn Japanese 3. Parents' active engagement with school management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One's parents must be able to cooperate with and support <i>Hoshuko</i> management 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One must be able to have access to Japanese language education at home 2. One must not have difficulty in coping with childcare and education conducted in Japanese 3. One will reach year 1 age at primary level in the next year or the year after the next academic year 4. One's parents must be able to cooperate with and support <i>Hoshuko</i> management

Source: 'Asahi-Hoshuko' online document. For the purpose of maintaining the anonymity of the school, the direct reference and original Japanese are omitted.

As seen in Table 5-1, both sets of requirements – at primary/secondary, and nursery levels – have several elements in common: statements on the appropriate age for enrolment (A-1, B-3); availability of Japanese language education at home (A-2, B-1); children's Japanese proficiency (A-2, B-2); parents' engagement with school management (A-3, B-4). However, some of the requirements for primary/secondary levels are missing at the nursery level. Since this nursery policy document is most likely based on the one for primary and secondary levels (e.g., some sentences uses the exactly same expressions), these elements can be considered as *suppression*, intentionally taken out from the list of requirements. Upon a closer look, the two main elements seeming to have been intentionally omitted are 1) students' Japanese nationality, and 2) the exceptional treatment of 'international related' families (i.e., IMCs; non-PECs). Since these two elements contribute to the strengthening of the

discourse of ‘*Hoshuko* for PECs,’ and to treating ‘the others’ as an irregular case, their omission seems to go beyond the binary categorisation of ‘PEC’ and ‘the others.’ In short, nursery classes are actively inviting non-PE families as well as PE families by easing enrolment requirements.

The data collected during my fieldwork also indicates that the nursery classes had indeed much diversity in the students’ backgrounds. The case of a father, who used to study at a *Hoshuko* in his childhood and now succeeded to enrol his ‘one-quarter Japanese’ but non-Japanese-national child in the nursery due to the relaxed entry requirements, is very telling in this respect.

In short, unlike the aforementioned dilemma which *Hoshuko*’s primary/secondary levels have to resolve, education at nursery class is less restricted in developing own practices. For this reason, the nursery class functions as a preparation course for primary/secondary levels especially those children who have settled in the UK, and it decreases the difficulties they would face in meeting the higher-level entry requirements to primary/secondary school level. As result, this nursery class enabled *Hoshuko* to secure the number of children enrolling at primary and secondary levels, and attract students regardless of their backgrounds. This is one way of *Hoshuko*’s efforts to resolve the gap between *discourse* and *practices*. The success of nursery classes also cast doubt on whether the teaching contents taught at *Hoshuko* should strictly follow the Japanese domestic curriculum.

There are some other examples too, showing the recent institutional changes at *Hoshuko*. For instance, we saw in section 4.2, that many *Hoshuko* have a regulation specifying that a school chair should be chosen from among professional expatriates. During the longitudinal study, however, I saw how one school has recently omitted, from school policies, the sentence specifying that chairs should be chosen from the parents of professional expatriates from local Japanese companies (NortheastEngland-Hoshuko, n.d.). This ‘suppression’ is not apparent unless we compare the whole regulation carefully with the previous version; however, this is one example of how ‘the local reality’ leads policy change.

It is also important to point out that there is diversity within the nine *Hoshuko* as well. For instance, it has been observed that some *Hoshuko* show more openness towards students’ backgrounds in their policies. The following are from a *Hoshuko* in Kent (Kent-Hoshuko, n.d.).

Kent-Hoshuko conducts activities which provide an opportunity for children to be exposed to Japanese language and to learn and develop their reading and writing skills. Moreover, (our activities) are not limited to Japanese language learning, but also in diffusing Japanese culture to various people; we aim to be a group in which anyone feels free to take part in, and to be a community bridge between Britain and Japan.

ケント日本語補習校は子供たちに日本語に触れる機会を与え、学び、読み書きの力をつけるための活動を行っています。更には語学としての日本語学習にとどまらず、広くいろいろな方に日本の文化を伝え、どなたでも気軽に参加できるグループとして活動することにより、イギリスと日本とのコミュニティー的な架け橋となることを目指しております。

It is worth pointing out that *Kent-Hoshuko* is the most recently established *Hoshuko* in the UK (founded in 2005). Considering that the second newest *Hoshuko* in the UK was founded in 1991, there is a fifteen to forty year gap between this *Hoshuko* and the other *Hoshuko*. This new *Hoshuko* policy shows an apparently open attitude towards prospective students; they do not have specific requirements of language proficiency and nationality, but rather invite ‘anyone’ interested in Japanese language and culture. This new school policy might reflect recent needs and demands at *Hoshuko*.

5.3 What to Teach in What Language? The Gap between *Hoshuko*’s Monolingual Discourse and Individuals’ Multilingual Practices

5.3.1 Everyone’s Goal is Children’s Multilingualism?

As seen in section 4.2, we have observed that non-PECs’ Japanese language proficiency and the multilingual use at home are problematized in *Hoshuko*’s institutional discourses. However, through ethnographic fieldwork, it becomes rather doubtful whether there is a difference in the Japanese language proficiency of PEC and non-PEC, and whether multilingual use at home is only for non-PECs. Namely, there is another gap between *Hoshuko*’s discourses and individuals’ practices.

On one hand, the parents of PECs often describe their choice of sending children to *Hoshuko* for their children to successfully pass (re)entry exams and swiftly reintegrate into the Japanese education system after their inevitable return in a near future. *Hoshuko*, from this discourse, mainly serves this purpose. On the other hand, parents of IMCs tend to emphasize children’s enjoyment of a Japanese language environment and the earning of ‘practical’ Japanese. Parents of IMCs have often voiced their concerns to me that some teaching content – such as classical Japanese and intensive learning of *Kanji* [Chinese characters], which nevertheless, are core requirements of primary/secondary school curriculum in Japan – not only create extra learning

difficulties for their children, but they offer impractical knowledge and skills, which children would find it difficult to use in everyday life. Due to this, many IMCs end their *Hoshuko* schooling prematurely, and leave the school before having completing secondary Year 3 (ages 13 to 15) education. This trend was also reflected in the data shown in Figure 5-3 above, as there were not many IMCs enrolled in years 1, 2 and 3 of secondary school level in 2013.

Although the *Hoshuko* discourses often highlighted IMCs' struggles, it is important to point out that the teaching contents at *Hoshuko* are found difficult by PECs as well, as they too only attend *Hoshuko* on Saturdays, while being expected to keep pace with the workload of those studying full-time in Japan. Even though teaching contents at *Asahi-Hoshuko* is restricted to *Kokugo* [Japanese language and literature], those children have to cope with it in parallel to meeting the learning requirements at their British mainstream schools, where most of the students who had recently moved to the UK are facing linguistic and cultural difficulties. This is the main difference between *Nihonjin Gakko* – where students can study full-time following the Japanese curriculum – and *Hoshuko*. The amount of homework required of the children is also challenging; as one day of teaching per week is insufficient to cover the entire curriculum, children must keep up with the learning through a substantial amount of homework and everyday engagement with the subjects. It is through activities such as reading, *Kanji* writing, and keeping a diary in Japanese that *Hoshuko* education colonizes students' weekdays and free time.

It is no wonder, then, that PE families would have chosen *Nihonjin Gakko* for their children, if they had the option³⁴. As Risako, a mother, told me during an interview, while she appreciates the unique experience that attending a local mainstream school offers her daughter, she cannot help but feel remorse for the extra efforts her daughter must put in. This may affect the quality of her daughter's childhood, as well as the relationship between them, as she struggles to motivate and encourage her daughter to keep up with the demands of both the mainstream and the Saturday schools (Risako, interview: May 2013). Unlike non-PE families, however, parents of PECs do not realistically have the option of allowing their children to leave *Hoshuko* education. This implies that the fundamental problem lies in *Hoshuko* policy itself, as it is supposed to meet the same aims as *Nihonjin Gakko*, while functioning differently.

³⁴ As mentioned previously there are no *Nihonjin Gakko* outside London in the UK.

The problem inherent in the *Hoshuko* system becomes even more apparent when focusing on the linguistic concerns voiced by parents and contained in the institutional discourse. Although the desirability for only Japanese to be used in the family context is emphasized in institutional discourse – and as I have shown in section 4.2, such expectations are usually formulated in direct reference to IM families –, daily practices show a more nuanced picture of language-use at home. As my ethnographic observations indicate, PE families often use English in daily life too, especially in social situations where non-Japanese speakers are involved, like encounters with mainstream school teachers and parents or school classmates. Helping children with homework from the mainstream school also requires parents to engage with their children in English to some extent. Moreover, as many mothers hinted, mothers are also interested in developing their English language skills, and besides attending language courses, they often learn English from their children who attend at British mainstream schools.

Furthermore, as children spend longer time in the UK, PECs also begins using English at home more frequently. One PE family, who has been living in the UK for about 5 years, has two teenagers who are fluent in both Japanese and English. Although they usually speak to their parents in Japanese, I often overheard them speaking in English with each other. Their parents also told me that their daughters often use English when they wish to be unintelligible for their parents (this is an example of multilinguals' efficient use of linguistic resources). A similar situation was reported by a family who had only been in the UK for about two years. In their case, the two daughters – aged 5 and 7 – have gradually started using English at home after their first year of residence.

Importantly, in both cases, parents rather welcomed their children's development of English language, as this is how their children become integrated in the local mainstream schools. Along with the increasing value of multilingualism, many PE parents consider living in the UK as a great opportunity for their children to be able to learn English, something that they can benefit from in the future (e.g., advantage for exams, carrier opportunities etc.). However, Risako pointed out that “when they speak English too much, I encourage them to speak only in Japanese, at least at home,” showing that a fear persists that the children's language use would become dominated by English, and many families exhibit a firm decision to raise their children as ‘*balanced bi-/multilinguals*.’

The recent flexibility in the Japanese education system also contributes to valuing multilingualism. Although *Hoshuko* were founded for the children of returnees to easily pass entry exams to Japanese schools once they return to Japan, many schools in Japan have, in recent years, made it easier for returnees to pass entrance examinations (i.e., a special enrolment system for returnees). Moreover, the value of education also has diversified. More specifically, even some parents in Japan send their children to international schools in Japan, aware that the graduation from those schools is not regarded as having completed ‘Japanese education.’ Indeed, one mother of PE family told me just before their return to Japan that they were thinking to send their children to an international school rather than a government approved school, as their son had enjoyed learning English so much while staying in the UK, and they wanted to enhance his English skills (Yukari, field note: March 2013). In other words, having completed non-Japanese education does not necessarily involve the negative meanings it used to, and can sometimes have its advantages. For example, returnees are regarded as advantaged in the recent trend of English-medium instruction at university level. With such a range of values, it is rather debatable how important to implement the same curriculum with Japanese domestic education at *Hoshuko*; the demands and expectations for *Hoshuko* seem to be changing.

To sum up, although *Hoshuko* discourses – especially institutional discourses – assume that there is a considerable gap in the Japanese language proficiency of PECs and non-PECs, there are wide discrepancies among PECs themselves, as their length of stay in Britain and individual circumstances lead to a diversity of experiences and further diversification. The categorical nominations described above, as they appear in institutional discourses and individual narratives, thus seem not to reflect this further diversification over time. In addition, *Hoshuko*’s dichotomisation of PEC and IMC – problematizing the multilingualism of IM family contexts – is misleading, as PECs are no less exposed to the English-speaking environment, and they are expected to develop their English proficiency while in the UK. Such dichotomisation, therefore, serves little more than to reinforce unhelpful stereotypes between PE families and IM families.

5.3.2 Locally Employed Teachers’ Multilingual Abilities and Supports

In this section I will look primarily at teachers’ language practices during the classes. As seen in section 4.2, it is *Hoshuko* policy that they implement the classes according to the curriculum in Japan. This *Hoshuko* policy was reproduction of the government

policy (seen in section 4.1), which strengthens the ‘*Japanese education as the best model*’ discourse. In other words, teachers are expected to teach in similar ways and follow similar practices as is expected in Japan, and this is regarded as high-quality teaching. For the same reason, language use at *Hoshuko* should be restricted in Japanese. This seems to be an unwritten expectation among teachers, children, and their parents at *Asahi-Hoshuko* too. Despite the Japanese-only policies, however, teachers seem to involve multilingual practices during the classes.

During the fieldwork, for instance, one teacher told me that the use of English can sometimes be very helpful for students (a teacher, interview: October 2012). She took as example an explanatory story about ‘soya beans’ from the textbook. This particular story explains the role played by soya beans in Japanese cuisine, and informs students that their daily foods such as *Tofu*, *Edamame*, *Miso*, *Soysource* or *Natto* are all made from soya beans, despite the fact that their appearance is so different. *Daizu* [soya beans] is pictographically written as 大豆, composed of 大[big] and 豆[beans]. According to the teacher, when she teaches this story to students, she tells them how 豆 in Japanese means both ‘beans’ and ‘peas’ in English language; a distinction otherwise difficult to make using Japanese. In this way, according to her, *Kokusai-ji* [IMC] can learn the new concept of 豆, and *Chuzai-ji* [PEC] can learn the new concept of ‘beans and peas’ in English, which benefits everyone in her class.

As I have mentioned before, the Japanese government no longer dispatches teachers to *Asahi-Hoshuko*, and so all the teachers here are employed locally. Due to the difficulty of finding people who have a Japanese teaching qualification and are living in the UK, the school does not require a teaching qualification and experience as essential when employing teachers³⁵. Since stable and long-term faculty is sought for by the *Hoshuko*, who can teach over several academic years and who have the right to work in the UK, teachers tend to be employed from among the local settled Japanese residents. In the case of *Asahi-Hoshuko*, thus, most teachers are the Japanese parents of intermarriage families or long-term students. Many of them are sending their own children to local mainstream schools – some teachers actively participate in local school events as volunteers – and therefore, are familiar with the local school environment. As result, most of the teachers at the *Hoshuko* are able to apply their local knowledge into

³⁵ This was the case for all nine *Hoshuko* in the UK in January 2015.

their teaching practices. Most importantly, locally employed teachers themselves are multilinguals of at least Japanese and English.

I will show a further example, which captures the moment when a teacher's multilingual ability effectively accommodates the students' needs during the class. The following audio-transcription is from a nursery class attended by children of aged 3 and 4. In this particular class, there were only five students present. It is also worth pointing out that there was a relatively large gap between students' Japanese proficiency in this particular class; some have difficulties in understanding Japanese-medium instruction, and all were grown up in the UK. This nursery class usually consists of activity-based learning practices: singing songs, playing chants, learning *Hiragana* (one of the three Japanese writing systems), hand-crafting, and children's book recital by the teacher. This transcript captures the moment when the teacher started introducing the brief contents of a folk story book, telling the origin of *Tanabata* [star festival] celebrated every 7th of July.

As an assistant teacher, I observed this nursery class for more than 16 months. This nursery class also has an implicit Japanese-only policy, similarly to primary and secondary level classes at *Hoshuko*. The teacher told me that she tried to conduct the class only in Japanese (a teacher, interview: July 2012), and children seemed to know that they were expected to speak in Japanese especially during the classes. I often witnessed, for example, that children also warned each other by saying 'Japanese!' when someone spoke in English during the class. In other words, children were policing each other and they knew how they were expected to behave in the class. Considering all these agreed rules, this excerpt, where the teacher herself used English, could be criticised. However, when paying close attention, her use of English does actually work more efficiently in this particular situation.

Excerpt 5.1 Star Festival

(Italics in the translations show the original English words in Japanese sentence).

	<showing children a cover page of the book>
1	T: お星さまのお祭りがあります。[there is a star festal]
2	(...)
3	T: Star festival.
4	S: Ah! Star festival!
5	T: どうしてそんなお話かって本をよんであげるね。 [I'll read the story telling you] why star festival is [celebrated].]
6	T: <pointing out a picture>これは天の川。[this is a milky way]

7	T: お空の milky way って知ってる? [Do you know <u>milky way</u> in the sky?]
8	T: お星さまがいっぱいあるところね。[the place where there are a lot of stars]
9	Ss: <Nodding and looking at the picture in the book>
10	T: <pointing out the picture in the book> で、こっちにお姫様、 Princes こっちをみると王子様、 Prince ね。[so, this is a princes, <i>princess</i> , and here we see prince, <i>prince</i>]
11	T: 仲良しなんだけどいつもは会えない。[they are good friends, but cannot meet every time]
12	T: でも一年に一回七月七日、 7th of July だけ会って一緒に遊べるの。[But only once a year, on 7 th of July, 7 th of July, they can meet and play with].
13	T: どうしてかってお話を読んであげるからみんな座ってくださいね。[Please sit down everyone, I'll read the story to you why [the star festival is celebrated]] <opening the book, first page>
14	T: たなばたのお話 [the story of star festival]
15	T: お空に浮かぶ雲の上に castle 、お城があります。[there is a <u>castle</u> , castle on the floating clouds in the sky]
16	T: 昔々中国、 china のお話です。[This is a china-no (=Chinese) story long time ago]
17	T: お星さまの王様、 King には一人娘がいました。 Princes が一人いました。[A king of stars, <i>King</i> had single daughter. There was one <i>princess</i> .]

Source: Audio recording; 14 July, 2012

This teacher first spent some time in introducing the topic of the book – the star festival – before actually reading it out loud (L.1 to 13). By showing a picture on the front cover, she explained key words about the star festival, such as *Amano-gawa* [milky-way], and the brief description of the main characters, a prince and a princess who are good friends but can only meet each other on the 7th of July. She then opened the book and started reading the story (line 14). She spoke to the children mostly in Japanese but sometimes she used English words by repeating what she had said in Japanese (L.1 to 3; L.6 to 7; L.10; L.12; L.15, 16, 17).

Firstly, I focus on the first four lines. This teacher started introducing the topic of the star festival in line 1. Although this star festival is generally called ‘*Tanabata*’ in Japanese, the teacher referred to it as ‘*Ohoshisama no Omatsuri*’ in line 1. Compared to the abstract name of *Tanabata*, ‘*Ohoshisama no Omatsuri*’ literally means ‘star’s festival’; thus, the teacher attempted to use an easy and concrete expression familiar to

the children. However, as students paused, as a sign of having difficulties in understanding what has been said, the teacher seemed to decide using English, ‘star festival’ (L.3). Her English translation was followed by one of the students showing his understanding by saying ‘Ah! Star festival!’ in English (L.4). This appeared to be a sign of her students’ limit of Japanese proficiency in this particular topic, which might have been the trigger for her more frequent use of English thereafter.

Table 5-2 shows those lexical items which the teacher used in this interaction, in both Japanese and English. Notably, she only used English lexical items, specifically nouns. Also, whenever she used English nouns, they were always preceded or followed by the Japanese noun of equivalent meaning, except the case in line 15.

Table 5-2: An Example of Japanese and English Lexical Items Used by a Nursery Teacher in Class

line	Japanese used by a teacher	English used by a teacher	Literal Translation
1, 3	<i>ohoshisama no omatsuri</i>	star festival	star’s festival
6, 7	<i>Amanogawa</i>	The Milky Way	
10	<i>Ojisama</i>	Prince	
10	<i>ohimesama,</i>	Princes	
12	<i>shichigatsu nanoka</i>	7 th of July	
15	<i>Oshiro</i>	Castle	
16	<i>Chugoku</i>	China	
17	<i>Osama</i>	King	
17	<i>hitori musume</i>	Princess	single daughter

The first noticeable feature was that she used English when she introduced new topical words – star festival and the Milky Way – and abstract words – e.g., China – which the children might not be familiar with. Those words are not part of the children’s daily vocabulary, especially at their age, and thus the teacher’s multilingual support would have been helpful for the students.

Compared with non-daily vocabulary items, words like ‘prince,’ ‘princes,’ ‘king’ and ‘castle’ are words young children often use in their daily interactions. In addition, this activity was a book-reading, and the children should be able to obtain a lot of information from visual pictures in the book without the teacher’s oral explanation. However, on this occasion, the teacher read a folk story with traditional ink brush drawings. Thus, children’s image of princes and princesses may not necessarily

correspond to what the drawings in the folk story depict. Thus, the teacher seemed to manage to correlate the children's concept of 'a princess' and 'a prince' with the images depicted in this book. *Oshiro* [castle] could be used for the same reason, as the images of 'castle' which children know could be fairly different from the picture in this book.

The final English word used in this interaction was '7th of July.' In this nursery class, the teacher often involves the exercises of the use of counting in Japanese, since counting animals, books, and people all have different rules in Japanese. Dates, and especially '7th,' pronounced as '*nanoka*,' has a special way of reading. That is, this teacher seemed to remind students quickly what '*shichigatsu nanoka*' means in the story-telling activity while using English.

It is also worth noting that the teacher did not always 'translate' the Japanese words into English. For example, *hitori musume*, literally meaning 'single-daughter,' was replaced by 'princess.' Thus, she seemed to simplify the story so that all the students could understand. This tendency was evident not only for the lexical items, but also for her story-telling itself. More specifically, from line 14 in the excerpt, she started 'reading' the book informed folk-story-specific vocabulary and expressions. However, she did not read the texts as written down, rather created her simplified version of story-telling on a moment-to-moment basis, while paying attention to children's comprehension and reactions. Indeed, the Japanese sentence structures she used in this excerpt were much more simple and short compared to the original text in the book. Since those contents of this book are difficult even for students in year 2 or 3 at primary level, her decision to simplify the story for children at nursery level seemed to be appropriate for this activity.

Her practices observed here might be against the *Hoshuko*'s 'Japanese-only' policy. However, it seemed like her careful use of English was reasonable, as she allows her students to maximise their understanding. If she had kept reading the entire story exactly as it was written only in Japanese, none of the children in the class would have understood the story. Moreover, they are very young children who find it difficult to remain concentrated on the activity if they do not find it interesting, and thus, her way of attracting children to the stories was appropriate to the demands of the task for children of this age. Thus, her practices attempted to connect students' already existing knowledge of English with new Japanese concepts – namely maximizing their linguistic resources for their understanding – and it was therefore clearly an effective way of

teaching. Furthermore, if the reason for her to choose this folk-story book – which is not an easy material for children at this age – was to introduce the Japanese seasonal festival of *Tanabata*, she succeeded in that purpose too, as students seemed to have learnt *Tanabata* to some extent. Thus, the multilingual teaching practices observed here could contribute to maintaining children's interest in the activities, enhance their language learning, fill the language proficiency gap between children, as well as to deepen their understanding of the '*Tanabata*.' It may well be that many children would have understood less if she had chosen a monolingual teaching practice.

There were also many occasions in this class, when the teacher felt compelled to allow students to use English. The following episode happened on the same day after the story-telling activity. It is a Japanese custom for children at *Tanabata* to write their wish on paper-strips and hang them on a bamboo tree. One child approached the teacher and asked if he can write his wishes in English. The teacher encouraged him to use Japanese, by praising how well he can write Japanese. However, the child replied to her saying that he wanted to use English so that he could show it to his father later. Thus, it seemed natural for him to use the language which both his mother and his father – who is less proficient at Japanese – could understand. The teacher, in the end, allowed him to write in English, and encouraged him to write another wish in Japanese.

These were only two examples of teachers' practices, but as a whole, when I started observing teachers' practices at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, I was impressed by the teachers' multilingual capabilities. As a former primary school teacher, for example, I was confident in my knowledge and understanding of the Japanese school context, but I was less familiar with school practices in the UK. I can easily imagine that dispatched teachers from Japanese mainstream schools via MEXT – while highly qualified and experienced in the Japanese context – would experience similar unfamiliarity with the local context.

Thus, teachers' multilingual ability and their capabilities of moment-to-moment multilingual supports question those governmental and institutional policies and discourses which consider having dispatched teachers as 'ideal' and of the 'highest quality.' Consequently, the government emphasis on teacher trainings for those locally-employed teachers for replicating 'Japanese school teaching' seems to underestimate those local situated teaching practices. The observed teaching practices of locally employed teachers, who mostly lack Japanese teaching qualifications, have shown their

practicality and flexibilities situated in the local context. My argument here is that these practices by locally employed teachers should be appreciated rather than being underestimated because of the *Hoshuko* discourses created by *Hoshuko* policies.

5.3.3 Multilingual Learning Space in the *Hoshuko*

In the above section, I have focused on teaching practices during the classes. In this part, I will focus on the students' language practices. As seen above, since *Hoshuko* is a place where children are expected to use Japanese, English tends to be used extensively in informal conversations, and especially outside the classroom.

During the fieldwork I witnessed several occasions when the students conversed both in Japanese and English. For example, while playing football after class they cheered each other and shouted in both Japanese and English. They could freely express themselves in both languages, since in this community many of the children are familiar with both English and Japanese. Although there is certainly a difference in the children's proficiency levels, *Hoshuko* appears to provide a space where mutual understanding becomes possible in either Japanese or English.

Tomoko, one of the mothers, told me that her son had learnt many Japanese words at the *Hoshuko* through informal interactions with friends, which she never taught him. The following is an interview excerpt, where she talks about one such experience. Many English words have been used into Japanese with Japanese-specific pronunciation (see further discussion in section 6.4.6). '*Uinna*,' in the excerpt below, is one such word, and means 'wiener,' a sausage. Since they are usually called 'sausage' in the UK, this mother told me that she never used 'wiener' to her son, in order to avoid confusion. However, one day, he used the word '*uinna*' to her.

We call a sausage 'uinna' in Japan, especially the small one often in lunch boxes. I recognise those (the English loan words which is not used in the UK), so I have never used 'uinna' to him intentionally. But his friends at Hoshuko have shown him a sausage which is cut into an octopus shape, and called it 'octopus uinna'³⁶. Then he learnt from them, and asked me one day "mum, could you make an octopus uinna?" At Hoshuko, when a Japanese child (i.e., PEC) called it "octopus uinna" it is followed by (IMC) replying "no it is a sausage": PEC, in this way, also learn "ah, so this is not called as 'uinna' here." (Tomoko, Interview: October 2012)

³⁶ In Japan, it is very typical to have 'octopus uinnar' in children's lunch boxes. They were cut in a specific way, then fried – since it looks like an 'octopus,' it is called 'octopus uinnar.'

This example captures a unique language development opportunity in the *Hoshuko*. According to Tomoko, her son, grown up in the UK, has learnt the word ‘*uinna*’ from this interaction with his friends who have moved to the UK recently; whereas the other child also learnt that it is not called ‘*uinna*’ but ‘sausage’ in the UK. This kind of language learning seems very specific for *Hoshuko*, since the diversity of students’ linguistic backgrounds enables them to learn in this way. Namely, if this would be a school where almost everyone learns Japanese as a second language, or if everyone is PEC who have just moved to the UK, such learning opportunities would be less likely to emerge. Similar remarks were made by a teacher too:

For Chuzaiji [PEC], Hoshuko may be a buffer zone. By coming to Hoshuko, interestingly, they can also develop English vocabulary (teacher, interview: October 2012).

‘The buffer zone’ which she mentioned seemed to refer to the difficulty PE children face when they come to the UK from Japan. Most of PECs studied in Japan with Japanese peers until they came to the UK. For this reason, many of them are not able to speak English fluently when they arrive, but have to start going to the local mainstream school. Thus, going to British local school is challenging for them. This teacher expressed that *Hoshuko* is ‘the buffer zone’ where PECs can use the Japanese language they are familiar with, while learning English language that they need.

The above examples highlight the opportunities for the newly arrived Japanese children to learn English from long-time residents in the UK, and likewise, for long-time residents to learn Japanese from the newly arrived through their interactions. Importantly, it is not always the case that newly arrived students always teach Japanese to long-time residents and *vice-versa*. The following observation data (field notes: March 2013) indicate that a child who grew up in the UK has learnt English expressions from newly arrived children. This was an episode after class, when two children – Shun (aged 4), who is grown up in the UK, and Yasuki (aged 4), who is a PEC after about one year of arrival – were playing together with toy building-blocks. I was sitting beside them, and watching their play. During their play, they started talking about the shapes of those building-blocks, and exchanged their knowledge of shape names by pointing at each block. Some discussion emerged as Yasuki said ‘this is cube!’ to Shun, and Shun answered ‘I think it is actually a rectangle.’ Yasuki explained to Shun that it can be a two-dimensional rectangle, but the one they are talking about is a ‘cube’ as it is

three-dimensional. Shun continued asking Yasuki each English name for those block shapes in 3D. Their conversation consisted of a mixture of Japanese and English, but the names of the shapes Yasuki explained were all in English (e.g., cylinder). Shun seemed to learn some of those shape names in English during this interaction.

I talked about this episode with Yasuki's father, Yukio, on the day, and he told me that his son was very interested in learning the names of different shapes in English, and that he taught him some of those words, including the concepts of 2D and 3D, in both English and Japanese (Yukio, ethno-interview: March 2013). This episode highlights how children gain multiple learning opportunities through their interactions. In this case, they were able to acquire specific linguistic knowledge regarding the name of shapes and the concepts of 2D and 3D. This shows again how knowledge is independent of one's status as PEC or IMC, and in this case it was a PEC who was more familiar with the names of shapes in English. Such multilingual interactions as those seen above, enable children to make use of any knowledge they have access to during their interactions, and this facilitates possibilities for children to maximise their learning. However, since the use of the English language is not institutionally allowed or welcomed at *Hoshuko*, such multilingual interactions – creating multiple learning opportunities – are restricted largely to informal settings (e.g., outside classrooms, after class), and its possibilities are limited.

5.3.4 Displays of Multilingual Ability at the *Hoshuko*

In section 5.1.3, I have already pointed out how multiculturalism is accepted and valued at *Hoshuko*, and in this section I will focus on multilingual acceptance.

For example, Atsushi (aged 6), who has been in the UK for about 2 years, often told teachers he knows the English equivalent for every Japanese word when the teacher taught the class new Japanese vocabulary. Tsugumi (aged 6), who grew up in the UK and speaks fluent Japanese, told me that she can also speak English very well. Yasuki (aged 4), likewise, often asked me during activities: 'do you know how to say this in English?' These are a few examples of how children were keen to demonstrate their multilingual abilities in the *Hoshuko* classroom. One morning, before the class, I asked children whether they sometimes told their friends at the mainstream school that they can speak Japanese (Fieldwork: March 2013). The children who were in the classroom answered:

Shun (aged 4): No! it's very strange (if I speak Japanese)

Atsushi (aged 6): I only speak when my friend asks me to do so, but I feel a bit embarrassed!

Rie (aged 6): Why should I speak Japanese, when nobody else speaks Japanese!

As seen in children's reaction, speaking Japanese in local mainstream schools are perceived as 'strange' and 'embarrassing.' Considering this, it is interesting to see that *Hoshuko* appears to play a specific role as the only place where children's multilinguality is approved of, and not a source of embarrassment, even though at an institutional level they encourage a 'Japanese monolingual policy.'

5.3.5 *Hoshuko* as a Space for Community Support for Parents

At *Asahi-Hoshuko* most of the parents take their children to the class in the early morning and stay at school until their children finish their classes. This is mainly due to the school management system, which requires parents to engage with and support the school activities. There are allocated tasks to do, such as library management, making photocopies of teaching materials, and ringing bells to signal the beginning and end of classes. Moreover, this is a time for parents to chat and exchange useful information, including sharing their concerns about their children's education. Risako, a mother, told me that *Hoshuko* is not only for children but for parents too, as there is an allocated time every Saturday for parents to meet with the same group of people (Risako, interview: May 2013).

One teacher mentioned that especially for the children's multilingual development, *Hoshuko* becomes a crucial place to discuss issues with parents who have similar concerns (interview: October 2012). She gave the example of the time when children start full-time education at the local school, and when children's language use at home dramatically shifts from Japanese to English, regardless of their family background (see further discussion in Chapter 6; e.g., enrolment in full-time mainstream education often increases the children's use of English). According to her, at *Hoshuko* parents are able to share their concerns with parents who have children of a similar age, as well as with the more experienced parents who had already gone through that period. Thus, *Hoshuko*'s role among parents is not only to provide education for children, but also becomes a community support centre for parents.

In addition, *Hoshuko* seems to play a role in maximising children's limited access to the Japanese language in the UK. Sachiko, a mother who has an English-speaking husband, mentioned that if she only raised her children at home, her children would only have access to 'her' Japanese. Although she sometimes takes her children to Japan to expose them to Japanese language, her children's access to Japanese is limited in their daily lives in the UK. She added that she can use multimedia resources – e.g., Japanese TV, games, and e-books – more easily nowadays and that they are very helpful, but she believes that her children should have real human interaction. Thus, according to her, *Hoshuko* provide a unique opportunity for children to meet other people who speak and use Japanese in naturalistic settings, where children experience the communicative need to learn Japanese.

5.4 Unacknowledged Multilingualism Practices

In the previous sections, I have mainly highlighted those *practices* of teachers, children and their parents, that go beyond the essentialist and nationalistic views found in institutional and governmental discourses. Such *practices* are not fixed but rather are dynamic. On one hand, many of the research participants acknowledge their own practices, which welcome *Hoshuko* as a multilingual learning space. My fieldwork data, on the other hand, also indicates that they also refuse these ideas of multilingualism, and prefer to uphold ideas of Japanese-only monolingualism in the *Hoshuko*.

For example, I discussed the nursery school teacher's multilingual support in the topic of *Tanabata* [star festival] and how effective this was (see section 5.3.2). However, after the class, this teacher explained to me that using English in the classroom is against her teaching philosophy, and that she just had to do it as she did not have any other option at that time. Maintaining a contrite voice, she added that she had always felt that she might be doing something wrong by using English, as she was not supposed to. This perception of this teacher could indicate her strong awareness of *Hoshuko*'s monolingual policy. Her self-reflection also shows that this was an issue of great concern to her, and she seemed to struggle with reconciling the reality of the students' diverse backgrounds and demands with the *Hoshuko*'s discourses (a teacher, interview: July 2012).

Another teacher, who related to me her multilingual teaching practice of the soya bean textbook story (see section 5.3.2), read my interview transcripts after the interview

and added her notes, saying that she does not mean that she encourages her students to use English in her class. She explained that English should *not* be encouraged, as long as this is a *Hoshuko* approved by the government (a teacher, email exchange: January 2013). Her remarks also indicate how strong *Hoshuko* discourses influenced the ways of perceiving ‘what is appropriate’ in the *Hoshuko*.

Further evidence is provided by interactions taking place in a teachers’ meeting. One of the teachers had an opportunity to present *Hoshuko* teaching practices in Japan (field note: June 2012). Since *Hoshuko*’s practices are not well-known in Japan, many people have shown their interest in her talk. According to her, one person approached her after her talk and asked why the *Hoshuko* replicates Japanese school practices rather than having ‘British-like’ ways of teaching, pointing out that British classrooms are often better equipped with IT facilities than the standard Japanese classroom, and that teachers could make good use of it. This story was reported at the teachers’ meeting, and instigated debate among teachers. One teacher said that the person who pointed this out was unaware of what kind of aims the *Hoshuko* has to achieve; another teacher asked what the meaning of *Hoshuko* would then be, would it not replicate Japanese schools. In the end, it was concluded that *Hoshuko* should be “a copy” – they actually used this word – of Japanese domestic schools (field notes: June 2013). Since I knew that *Asahi-Hoshuko* have been developing their teaching methods while using IT equipment especially in recent years and it could be more advanced than Japanese state schools – namely, at practical level, they maximise the use of their school equipment in their teaching – it was a surprise for me that there was no formal agreement with the person who pointed this out, and instead traditional *Hoshuko* discourses were maintained.

The strong desire for making *Hoshuko* a replica of Japanese domestic schools may also originate from a sense of insecurity in being able to maintain Japanese language proficiency in the context of a mainstream society dominated by English, to which children are extensively exposed. Hana, a mother, told me that once it is allowed for children to use other language than Japanese at *Hoshuko*, they would no longer try to speak their less proficient Japanese at all. Thus, some parents also want to maintain *Hoshuko* as a place where the use of Japanese is the only one allowed. Hana also told me that she knew that children at *Hoshuko* sometimes use English, but as long as it is not extensively used, she tries to ignore it. She added that it is no longer easy to

maintain Japanese use at home, and she therefore appreciated *Hoshuko*'s monolingual policy.

The children, parents and teachers coming to *Asahi-Hoshuko* are mostly bilinguals who use both English and Japanese in their daily lives. However, it seems that they see it as their duty to preserve Japanese at *Hoshuko*, as children intensively use English outside *Hoshuko*. Moreover, since the English language development of their children caused them to rely less on the Japanese language at home, it seems difficult for parents to allow bilingual practices at *Hoshuko*.

My argument here is that even though the recent change in students' backgrounds has caused change at the practical level (e.g., multilingual and multicultural practices, embracing diversity at *Hoshuko*), this is not overtly acknowledged. Multilingualism is thus not always welcomed, and often rejected for various reasons as seen above (especially by teachers who are in charge of conducting the classes). The governmental and institutional *discourses* appeared to have impacted upon individuals' *perceptions* of what should be 'appropriate' in the *Hoshuko*. At the same time, a much wider social *discourse* – English monolingualism in the UK – has reinforced the discourse of Japanese monolingualism in the *Hoshuko*. Namely, there seems to be a strong ideology of 'language separation' (see further discussion of language separation in section 6.1.5).

Chapter Summary: Dichotomous View in Discourse & Perceptions but not in Practices

In this chapter, I have analysed individual *practices* and *perceptions* in comparison to the governmental and institutional *discourses* discussed in Chapter 4. As seen above, the idea that '*Hoshuko* is for PECs' is maintained firmly in individual *perceptions*, and the evidence shows that binary categorisations – PECs versus 'the others' – are widely employed by parents and teachers in *Asahi-Hoshuko* too. However, the recent diversification in students' backgrounds seems to bring along a practical problem in using the above dichotomous categorisations; as seen in teachers' reports, there are quite a few students who cannot be fitted in either category, or who can fit in both categories. In contrast to the institutional *discourses* which simply assume that the Japanese proficiency of PECs is sufficient while that of 'the others' is insufficient, I have discussed how Japanese proficiency varies depending on the length of one's stay, family language use, one's history of moving between Japan, the UK and other

countries, and many other factors. Through the fieldwork, I also found that teachers generally attempted to focus on individuals, and not to prejudge students' skills only by their backgrounds.

I have also argued that despite the *Hoshuko*'s official position as a Japanese language learning environment, there are frequent instances of multilingual interactions. Moreover, *Hoshuko* provide a space where children's multilinguality and multiculturalism are being valued. The analysis also indicates that individuals use their linguistic repertoires – multilingual resources – flexibly according to their purposes, similarly to what other studies of complementary schools have reported (Blackledge & Creese, 2010a; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Creese & Martin, 2003; Lytra & Martin, 2010; Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Creese, 2006; Wei, 2006).

On one hand, I found that individuals often valued the multilingual flexibility in their language practices; however, on the other hand, I also observed their refusal to do so, by emphasising the context of *Hoshuko*, which is approved and supported by the government. In short, the centralised policies tend to be highly respected, and local practices are frequently understated even by those individuals involved in situated practices.

Despite such complexities at the individuals' level, I have witnessed *Hoshuko*'s institutional change to overcome the gaps between their social reality and their policies, as we have seen in section 5.2.4, for instance, in respect to the establishment of nursery classes in recent years at *Hoshuko* across the world. It was also seen that some schools' policies are changing as to reflect the local social reality (e.g., the diversification of student backgrounds). Thus, *Hoshuko* as an institution has been changing in recent years.

As stated above, there are more than 200 *Hoshuko* in the world, and therefore it is impossible to generalise the findings gained from the *Hoshuko* in the UK. This is because there is much more diversity depending on the country and region, the number of students, the percentage of PECs and many other factors (I will further discuss how I consider the *field* of my research context in Chapter 7). There are, for example, many *Hoshuko* in non-Anglophone countries; considering what we know about the role of English as a global language (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012), the situation in non-Anglophone countries (e.g., their language practices and the value of multilingualism) would be different from the situation I have presented in this thesis.

It is noted, however, that this study does not intend to ‘generalise’ from the practices observed at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, but to explore the macro level *discourse* and its recontextualisation process in individuals’ situated *practices* and *perceptions*. In this respect, this chapter has highlighted the discrepancies between governmental and institutional *discourses*, and the individuals’ *practices* and *perceptions*. It appears that *Hoshuko*’s policies are not able to keep up with the current social reality (e.g., change in education system in Japan for returnees; diversification of students’ backgrounds); however, the strong *discourse* emerging from the policies still plays a significant role. For this reason, individuals are struggling between *discourses* and the social reality, and this is evident in their *practices* and *perceptions*.

Chapter 6 Family Language Policy: Discourse and Individual Language Practices and Perceptions

Overview

In this chapter, I move my focus from the *Hoshuko* to the family home, looking at family language policy (FLP) and their language practice employed in the intermarriage families, in particular. Similarly to how I proceeded in Chapter 4 and 5, the first section explores parental *discourses* regarding FLP (in the section 6.1), while the two following sections turn to individual *perceptions* and *practices* (section 6.2 to 6.5).

As seen in section 2.3.2, Piller (2001) identifies four strategies of bilingual education at home: 1. One Parent, One Language (OPOL); 2. home language vs. community language; 3. code-switching and language mixing; and 4. consecutive introduction of the two languages. Among the four, according to her, OPOL policy has been “axiomatic in recommendations for bilingual parents and bilingual parents themselves regard it as ‘the best’ strategy” (Piller, 2001: 65; quotations in original).

The overall popularity of OPOL policy has also become evident from the comments provided by my research participants. Most of the participants reported that mothers (of Japanese origin) use Japanese with their children, often requesting the children to reply to them in Japanese, while most fathers (of non-Japanese origin) use English (I will further detail the diversity within each family in the later discussion sections). When I first met my research participants, I was also impressed by the parents’ eagerness to raise their children as multilinguals, especially as, what is called, ‘*balanced bilinguals*’ (see further discussion of ‘*balanced bilinguals*’ in section 6.1), and with their knowledge of multilingual childrearing. For instance, after my invitation to participate in the research project, some parents brought books and other written materials for me, suggesting that those might be of my interest. They varied from magazine columns and parental books to scientific articles, but they clearly showed the parents’ knowledge and efforts of multilingual childrearing.

It was also a surprising for me that some parents even used the word ‘*Ichioya-Ichigengo*’ [‘OPOL’ in Japanese] when I asked them about how they talked to their children. Thus, similar with what Piller (2001) points out, among the parent-

participants, OPOL policy also seems to be a well-known method for multilingual childrearing and considered as an efficient way of raising children as multilinguals.

In the next section, I first look at what kind of *discourses* lie behind OPOL policy; i.e., what is it believed as ‘ideal’ family language use in OPOL policy. Unlike in the case of schools, there is no written ‘policy document’ for FLP; however, as parents seem surprisingly aware of the academic and popular literature on the topic and these works have a markedly applied nature and have been mostly written with such purpose, I will integrate the existing literature on OPOL policy with my own ethnographic data to strengthen my argument in section 6.1.

6.1 Discourses of One Parent One Language Policy

6.1.1 Discourse of Authenticity: “Japanese Mother should Teach Japanese Language”

OPOL has been described as “a language strategy in which two parents who speak two different native languages use each of their native languages to converse with their children” (Park, 2008: 636). Growing concerns regarding ideological concepts such as ‘native speaker’ or ‘native language’ in recent research, however, has led some scholars who investigate OPOL policy to also cast doubt on the distinction between ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ (e.g., Holliday, 2006; Piller, 2001). Nevertheless, this notion of OPOL policy, a strategy in which each parent uses his or her ‘native language,’ seems to be still dominant among the parent-participants who employ OPOL policy.

One instance of parental *discourse* regarding OPOL policy emerging during my fieldwork occurred in a group discussion I had with several mothers. The mothers were of intermarriage families, some having children of primary school age, while others younger, pre-school aged children. The topic of multilingual childrearing came up during our conversation, as noted in my field notes:

One of the topics was if it is ok for their husbands (English-speaking in OPOL policy) sometimes to use Japanese to their children. Hiromi, a mother employing OPOL policy, who recently had a baby, said that her husband is now learning Japanese, and she would like him to use Japanese at home for exercise, but was in doubt whether if it would obstruct their children’s bilingual development. Hana, one of the experienced bilingual-childrearing mothers advised her not to do so. She said she used to allow her husband to use Japanese at home, but according to her, children easily picked up ‘strange

Japanese' from her husband. Hana continued to explain that fathers' 'non-native' Japanese could be grammatically incorrect and the pronunciation 'improper' and it is therefore better for their children to be exposed only to 'authentic' Japanese from a Japanese mother³⁷. Following Hana's comment, some of other mothers have immediately expressed their agreement (Field note: December 2013).

As it can be seen, Hana's value judgements, as transpire in the use of adjectives such as 'improper' and 'strange,' are based on a notion of *authenticity*. The ideologies of *authenticity* rely on the premise that 'a native speaker' is "the possessor of the right cultural and linguistic attributes to represent the target speech community" (Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi, 2014: 938). As Blommaert and Varis (2011) demonstrate, notion of *authenticity* can also emphasise membership and belonging. In this regard, Hana's statement, legitimating 'Japanese native speakers' as 'proper' persons to teach Japanese to children also indicates her positioning of herself and the other Japanese mothers, as members of a 'group' or 'community' of Japanese speakers, while excluding non-native speakers of Japanese. It is also important to point out that it is premised that only exposure to 'authentic language' is ideal for multilingual childrearing. Thus, ideological construction of "native-speakerism" (Holliday, 2006), and what is appreciated as 'authentic' seemed to be circulated and somewhat shared among parents who employ OPOL family language policy.

6.1.2 Discourse of Language Competition: "English Overtakes Japanese!"

There are many studies pointing out that parents encounter difficulties in continuing their children's minority language development through OPOL policy after children enter mainstream schooling (e.g., Barron-Hauwaert, 2004; Döpke, 1998; Noguchi, 1996). Importantly, some studies consider this start of the schooling period as "a crucial point where some children continue to speak in the minority language, whilst other children shift towards the majority language" (Takeuchi, 2006: 320).

Many of my research participants, for instance, also described their children's language shifts from Japanese to English in this schooling period as shown below:

Suddenly, my son's use of English has intensified so much! I think it is because he's been enrolled in full-time education since September (Sachiko, diary exchange: 2012 October).

³⁷ 'Improper,' 'authentic,' and 'non-native' are all my participants' evaluations, not the author's.

When they were small, I could communicate in Japanese as they spent long time with me, but when they enrolled to nursery, their speech suddenly became dominated by English. It is so difficult to maintain their Japanese (Emiko, ethno-interview: 2012 March).

When he was 2 years old, I was rather worried about my son's English as he mostly spoke Japanese. He started speaking English when he joined the play group around that time. And now, as you can see, he rarely speaks Japanese...! (Kumiko, interview: 2012 June).

As seen in the above examples, such shift seems not to be particularly welcomed by the Japanese mothers, who generally take the main parental responsibility for children's Japanese language acquisition through OPOL policy. It is even somewhat perceived as a kind of threat; for instance, Kumiko expresses her feelings as follows:

I thought this (children speaking English more frequently) isn't good – there was a sense of urgency, because I thought that my children would not be able to understand Japanese anymore (interview: 2012 June).

As seen in the above excerpts, mothers tend to perceive that their children's Japanese language acquisition is disturbed by them speaking in English. In their perceptions, English and Japanese language developments are often considered as conflicting. Moreover, their main measure of child language acquisition is perceived as the frequency of children's use of a specific language.

Such 'language competition' discourses seem to create unease for minority language speaking mothers, and there were two main reactions to this situation among my participants. On one hand, some accept the children's use of majority language use at home, and consequently ease their OPOL family language policy; on the other hand, others parents attempted to increase their children's exposure to Japanese language in order to 'compete with English' by, for example, trying to use Japanese more consistently at home, and/or sending children to local Japanese communities, such as Japanese reading-groups and *Hoshuko*.

6.1.3 Discourse of Pretended Monolingualism: "Sorry I don't Understand English"

Some mothers, like Emiko, consider that a strategy of 'pretended monolingualism' – where parents would not disclose to their children that they spoke both languages – could benefit their children's Japanese language development. Emiko explains that she first became aware of the possible benefits of such a strategy on the occasion of one of

her father's summer visits. According to her, at that time, her children, Ethan and Eiji (both aged 5), tried to communicate with their grandfather only in Japanese, even translating to him into Japanese their parents' exchanges in English. She also mentioned that her children were also more eager to learn new Japanese vocabulary in order to communicate with their grandfather.

After all, I realised that they can use Japanese if the situation requires it. It seems like the reason why they use English to me is that they know that I can understand English. So recently, I told them 'I don't understand English very well, so tell me in Japanese' (Emiko, diary exchange: September, 2012).

A similar statement was also made by Kumiko:

I told my daughter, 'I'm Japanese and don't understand English, so please explain in Japanese.' So, I think that she has been trying to use Japanese to me (Kumiko, interview: June 2012).

By pretending to be 'Japanese monolinguals,' Emiko and Kumiko seemed to believe that they could encourage their children to use only Japanese with them. Considering that some academic literature also observed the strategy of 'pretended monolingualism' (e.g., Saunders, 1988; Taeschner, 1983), this strategy may appear a common practice. At least among some parents in my study, it was regarded as an efficient strategy to increase their children's Japanese language use at family home.

6.1.4 *Te-shimau* Discourse: Negative Perceptions of English Use

Despite such efforts as those described above, many parents declared to strictly follow OPOL policy, also exemplify how difficult it is in practice. Similarly to the findings of many previous studies, I also witnessed during my fieldwork how those parents are "in fact often subconsciously code-switching in spite of their best intentions" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 144; see also Döpke, 1992; Takeuchi, 2006; Palvianen & Boyd 2013). As a result, many researchers became interested in how consistent parents' language use is when adhering to OPOL policy, and have investigated the impact of such consistency of language use on the children's 'success' in becoming bilinguals (Döpke, 1992; Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal, 2001; Lanza, 2007; Takeuchi, 2006).

Many mothers in this study, in fact, are aware of their occasional use of English, of which they often talk disapprovingly. The following are some examples showing some mothers' self-awareness:

- *I basically speak Japanese (to my children). But sometimes, I mix-te-shimau Japanese and English (Emiko, ethno-interview: February 2013).*
- *Mainly Japanese. But sometimes, especially when children reply to me in English, I speak-te-shimau in English, and this is not a rare case (Kumiko, ethno-interview: November 2012).*

The verb suffix ‘-te-shimau’ in Japanese reflects “the speaker's negative affect upon completion of certain events or actions” (Suzuki, 1999: 1423), and usually implies some sense of frustration (Ono, 1992). In other words, by adding the suffix, a speaker shows her disapproval of the action in question, in our case the mixing of Japanese and English. Since they often add ‘-te-shimau’ when talking about their use of English, I call it ‘-te-shimau discourse.’

Besides their largely negative opinions offend against the use of other language than Japanese (i.e., mixing Japanese and English), those mothers often commented on a consistent OPOL policy as key to their bilingual childrearing:

I failed (to raise my children as bilinguals). It was OK when they were small, but once they go to (mainstream) school, their English suddenly became dominant. Besides, when I visit (mainstream) school, I spoke in English, and my children have heard me speaking English – since then, (children) realised that ‘my mum understands English!’ – so here is a failure. (Hana, ethno-interview: December 2013)

This excerpt seemingly reflects many underlying discourses. Firstly, the consistent use of a certain language – Japanese in this case – seems to be considered as essential, and there is a negative perception of the use of languages other than Japanese (i.e., English). Secondly, ‘inconsistency’ in the mother’s Japanese language use (e.g., mixing languages) is regarded as ‘failure’ in multilingual childrearing. Thirdly, parents’ language use is described as if it is the only element on which children’s multilingual ‘success’ rests. Finally, although her children use English more often, from my observation, they can understand and speak both English and Japanese. In other words, the sense of ‘failure’ in multilingualism may refer only to a ‘failure’ in what is called ‘balanced bi-/multi-lingualism’³⁸. There appears to be a common understanding that if

³⁸ This is also called ‘ambilingualism,’ ‘equibilingualism’ and ‘symmetrical bilingualism,’ and refers to an almost equivalent level of knowledge of two languages (Wei, 2000). I am aware that such categorisations are rather problematic, as it is questionable whether such bilingualism exists. Moreover, they are based on a notion of ‘bilingualism as double-monolingualism’ as discussed in Chapter 2, which goes against the definition I use in this thesis. It is for this reason that I have placed them between inverted commas, to emphasize their ideologically constructed nature.

children cannot use English and Japanese to the same degree, then their bilingual education has ‘failed,’ although whether such ‘*balanced bi-/multilingualism*’ could at all exist remains questionable (see further discussion of ideological construction of ‘*balanced bi-multilingualism*’ in 6.1.5).

Similar discourses, emphasising that consistency in language use is key to a ‘*successful*’ OPOL policy, are also to be found in the scholarly literature on bilingualism (e.g., Döpke, 1992; Takeuchi, 2006). Takeuchi (2008: 319), for instance, has interviewed 25 Japanese mothers married to non-Japanese Australians, attempting to identify the factors leading to ‘*successful*’ Japanese – minority language – development in their children. She concluded that 1) consistency in language choice, 2) mothers’ insistence that their children speak Japanese to them, and 3) mothers’ commitment to engaging in regular interactions with their children in Japanese, are the key to children’s successful bilinguality (Takeuchi, 2006).

Despite such strong discourses shared not only by my participants but also by academic scholars as seen above, Japanese mothers in my study often used English against their intentions, as seen in *–te-shimau* discourses. Thus, there is a tension between their perception of ‘what they should do,’ and their self-awareness of ‘what they actually do.’ However, there is a dearth of research exploring the reasons why, despite such discourses, parents find it hard to adhere to a strict OPOL policy in practice. Therefore, the following sections (6.2 to 6.4) focus on this gap between discourses and social reality, and explore the individuals’ negotiation of language use at family home.

6.1.5 Summary: Discourses of OPOL Family Language Policy

Before continuing to the next section, I summarise the discourses, along with discursive statements, as identified in this section through the analysis of parental discourse of their multilingual childrearing as shown below (the words shown in italics with quotes indicates the ideological value constructions in those discourses):

- A) *Language authenticity*: ‘*Authentic*’ language is learnt from ‘*a native speaker*’
- B) *Language competition*: Japanese competes against English – Children’s frequent use of English language is a threat to their Japanese language development

- C) *Language consistency*: Japanese mothers should not use English because the consistency in language use is crucial in OPOL policy – mothers multilingual ability should not be performed
- D) *Absolute influence of Parents' language use*: If parents strictly follow OPOL practice, then the child will certainly be a '*successful*' multilingual
- E) *Parental Responsibility*: Child's '*failure*' in achieving multilingualism is the parents' '*fault*'
- F) *Balanced bi-/multilingualism*: this is regarded as the only case of '*successful*' bilingualism

These findings reinforce Piller's analysis of popular discourses in bilingualism and their influence on parental family language planning decisions and practices (Piller, 2001). Having analysed newsletters, online sources and mailing lists, as well as her own sociolinguistic interview data with 51 couples, she identifies the following 'popular discourses' in multilingual childrearing at family home:

- Childhood bilingualism as a result of parent's planning
 - overlapping with discourse D and E in my study
- Consecutive (additive) acquisition is not seen as '*real*' bilingual acquisition
 - overlapping with discourse F
- Language mixing strategy is portrayed negatively
 - overlapping with discourse C

Considering the overlaps with identified discourse among my participants and identified by Piller's (2001) study, those discourses seem to be very common ones widely accepted by parents wanting to raise their children as multilinguals (e.g., the study of Palviainen & Boyd (2013: 227) also point out those discourses as "commonly recurring discourses in society").

Based on the above discourses, I would argue that there are several ideologies behind the discourses of OPOL policy. Firstly, there is a strong ideology of '*bilingualism as a double monolingualism*.' OPOL policy itself attempts to deliberately create a '*double monolingual*' environment in childrearing at home. The underlying ideology maintains that for achieving a '*balanced bilingualism*,' children should acquire their languages 'unconsciously' and 'naturally,' which presupposes notions such as '*native speaker*,'

and/or ‘*mother tongue*.’ That is, ‘being a *native speaker of two languages*’ and/or ‘*having two mother tongues*’ are regarded as the most ideal model of bilingualism in those discourses, despite the fact that there is an increasing criticism of such notions of ‘idealised language proficiency of native speakers’ (cf. Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Rampton, 1990). As Piller (2001) points out, those discourses also consider that a ‘*balanced bilingualism*’ can only be achieved when starting at a young age, which is also debated in academic literature (cf. Birdsong, 1999; Marinova-Todd, Marshall, & Snow, 2000). In other words, bi-/multilingualism has been popularised – or even commodified – through a range of media, from books and online resources to even research papers. Furthermore, the debates taking place in the academic literature do spill over into public popular discourses, which remain highly selective of the scholarly sources available on the topic (see e.g., Piller, 2001 for further discussion).

With these OPOL discourses in mind, in the next three sections I will firstly focus on the gap between discourses and the social reality (section 6.2), specifically highlighting the fact that ‘English language as resources.’ I then move my focus on to the distinct and unique role created within families, where Japanese language is used as a resource, while looking at specifically multilingual children’s and parents’ perceptions and practices (section 6.3). Finally, I will highlight some cases where multilingual parents and children use their multilingualism as resources (section 6.4), arguing that their practices are very flexible, which go beyond the traditional conception of language.

6.2 *English Language as Resource: The Gap between Discourses and the Social Reality*

In the previous section, we have seen how consistent language use in OPOL family language policies is regarded as important, and how this conviction is reflected in individual *discourses*. At the same time, as I have argued in respect to ‘*te-shimau*’ discourse, it is also claimed that the consistent use of Japanese is not easy, and many families I observed were indeed struggling to maintain OPOL family language policy. Here I will therefore look at the manifestations of this ‘struggle’ by exploring the gap between *discourses* and the social reality of language *practices* in the family.

6.2.1 English as a Lingua Franca

Many participant mothers described how difficult it was for them to maintain a consistent use of Japanese in the presence of non-Japanese speakers, for instance, when visiting parents-in-law. Kumiko also describes her quandaries in this respect:

I usually use Japanese (to my children), but when (my children) play with (English-speaking) friends, I use English (to my children). With people of English background around, I just feel bad to keep using Japanese (Kumiko, interview).

When Kumiko related this episode, she also talked about a friend of hers, a French mother who also employed OPOL policy. According to Kumiko, this French mother was a good model of the parent who employs OPOL policy, since even when she was surrounded by non-French audiences, she usually used only French to her child consistently. Despite her belief that such a consistent use of minority language would be beneficial, Kumiko explained that she would ‘feel bad’ to exclude non-Japanese audiences due to her consistent use of Japanese. Importantly, she struggled to position herself in between ‘an idealised model of OPOL mother’ and ‘an idealised member of the wider community.’

Some mothers also commented on her feeling that it was inappropriate to keep using Japanese in the presence of the children’s father:

I don’t use Japanese when father is around, as I don’t want him to feel excluded (Noriko, interview: May 2012)

Japanese use within family has been less an issue when the children were young and mothers’ communication with their children was restricted to basic words which her husband could also understand. However, as the children’s Japanese proficiency developed and communication became more complex, their non-Japanese-speaking fathers were less and less able to participate fully in the mother-child conversations in Japanese. Faced with this dilemma, many of my research participants chose to employ English in order to maintain communication within the family, as English works as a family lingua franca. Some of my participants chose instead to translate parts of the conversation to their husbands, so that fathers could better understand the Japanese conversation between mother and child. However, “there are limits to translation, as it often distracts the flow of the conversation,” as one of the mothers contended (Honoka, ethno-interview; October 2012).

The obstacles posed to OPOL policy by the partners' limited language proficiency were reported by parents in other studies as well (e.g., Piller, 2001), and the literature provides examples for a variety of cases. In Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal's study (2001), for instance, both parents are bilingual in both English and Catalan. In such cases, even if they are strictly following OPOL policy and using one language each consistently, the conversation within family members can be shared. In contrast, Lanza's study (2007) focused on an American mother and Norwegian father living in Norway, who claimed to follow OPOL policy – the mother using English, while the father using Norwegian. As Lanza observed, the Norwegian father sometimes switched between Norwegian (majority language) and English (minority language). Thus, the minority language in this case could be shared among family members. However, if the minority language is not intelligible to both parents, as in the case of most of the participants in this study, then the Japanese mothers' turn to English (community language) in order for all family members to be able to join the conversation, could hinder the children's multilingual development. This seems to be one reason why my participants comment upon the parental dilemmas between maintaining OPOL policy and maintaining better family communication.

6.2.2 Restricted Japanese Language Access for Children

As children grow, they learn specific English terminologies at the mainstream school, which are not often used in daily conversations at home, and for which, therefore, they may not know the Japanese equivalent. This was Emiko's experience:

My children have gradually been having difficulties to express things in Japanese as they simply don't know how to say in Japanese, and it distracts their smooth speaking in a way (Emiko, diary: May 2012)

Noriko's children also faced similar difficulties in talking about their school activities:

My children often cannot explain what they have learnt at school in English, because they don't know the equivalent Japanese words – they simply cannot translate! (Noriko, interview: May 2012)

Noriko provided an example. Her daughter, Naomi (aged 7), after learning about dinosaurs at school, wanted to tell Noriko about the difference between 'carnivores' and 'herbivores' in Japanese. As she was unfamiliar with the respective Japanese words,

but knowing that her mother wanted her to use only Japanese in their conversations, she could only resort to describing them as “dinosaurs who eat meat, and vegetarian dinosaurs” (note that this was originally in Japanese; Noriko, email exchange: May 2012).

While visiting one family home, I also witnessed the difficulty for mothers to use Japanese consistently. I was accompanying Kumiko, a mother, to pick up her children, Ken (aged 4) and Kyoka (aged 6) from the local mainstream school after classes, when Kumiko asked Ken about his day at school. Ken seemed enthusiastic to describe the school events and to tell about his friends to his mother in English, but when Kumiko encouraged him to speak in Japanese, Ken reluctantly answered, “okay, then I don’t want to talk anymore” (Field note: June 2012).

These situations, which appear to become more frequent as children’s knowledge of English develops, can cause difficulties in maintaining even basic conversations (e.g., relating about school events). Having had similar experiences, many mothers question whether they should continue their strict OPOL family policy. As Junko expressed it,

It is just so difficult sometimes to force them to use Japanese to me. I feel sad if I spoil a family conversation because of my strict Japanese language rule. I’m not a speaking machine, but a mother (Junko, Diary: March 2013)

The above instances all appear to reflect a tension between the perceived positioning of a ‘good mother in general’ and a ‘good bilingual educator in OPOL.’ That is, on the one hand, the role of ‘good mothers’ would require mothers to listen to their children’s utterances regardless of the language they use – the aim is to understand what is being said by children; on the other hand, the role of ‘good bilingual educator’ requires mothers to use Japanese consistently – the aim is for a ‘*successful bilingual*’ education and thus the main concern is for children to speak in Japanese. It is important to note that Japanese mothers could understand what their children had told them in English, but for the purpose of bilingual development, they pretended to be Japanese monolinguals, or at least, encouraged their children to use Japanese.

Another issue highlighted by the excerpts was that by adhering to a strict OPOL policy, mothers also restricted their own access to their specific linguistic resources (English in this case) and denied their own bilinguality, at least towards their children, which could bring further tensions and limitations to their lives.

6.2.3 Language Priority: 'English is More Important'

The difficulty of consistently using Japanese at home also seemingly derives from the inequality in the importance of English and Japanese for their children. Harumi said, for instance, that as long as her family lives in the UK, English language proficiency is the most important for her child, and if her child had any difficulties with the English language, then she would not hesitate to quit using Japanese at home. Sachiko also expresses how English language is more important than Japanese:

When I went back to Japan with my children for 3 weeks, my daughter's Japanese dramatically improved. My husband joined us at the end of our stay in Japan, but that time, my daughter only said "hi dad" and couldn't really have a real conversation with my husband in English after this. Since then, I try to maintain the child's English proficiency even when we are in Japan. Otherwise, they will have a problem when they're back in the UK (interview: January 2013).

Sachiko also commented that even though she said that she was pleased about her daughter's Japanese language development, it was not ideal, as her daughter could not better communicate with her father, and she had a problem when going back to mainstream school in the UK (Sachiko, interview: January 2013). This became a reason for her to maintain the children's English proficiency even when they are in Japan.

Considering that one of the reasons for regularly visiting Japan is to develop their children's Japanese language proficiency (this is not only because Sachiko explicitly told me, but seems to be a widely adopted strategy for Japanese mothers living abroad who want to raise their children as multilinguals; see e.g., Takeuchi 2006 and Okita 2002), this episode captures vividly the importance of English for children from Sachiko's viewpoint. She also said that in order to maintain bilingual rearing, it was important for her husband to agree with the family language strategy, saying that "if he doesn't understand, or cannot communicate with his own children, he will no longer be happy about Japanese use at home!" (Sachiko, interview: January 2013). Sachiko's husband, Samuel, also told me that even though he appreciated his wife's devotion to their children's multilingual development, he was sometimes in dilemma when he could not understand what his children were saying (Samuel, ethno-interview: August 2012).

Nicholas made a similar comment to Samuel's when he spoke about the time when he lived in Japan for a few years with his family. The following is an interview excerpt with a Japanese mother, Noriko, and a German father, Nicholas (note that this family,

living in the UK, employs OPOL policy; the father uses German and the mother uses Japanese; see further discussion of this family's language use in section 6.4.4).

Group Interview with Nicholas and Noriko (interview was conducted in English)

Nicholas: *It was very hard for me, because I really had communication problems with my children when we were in Japan*

Noriko: *Because their Japanese became so strong...*

Nicholas: *They did not learn very much English there, because we didn't have much opportunity to send them to have English-speaking education, apart from Naomi who attended an American pre-school one day per week. (At other times), it was all in Japanese, and when I talked to them in German, they could understand, but the answer (to me) was always in Japanese*

Noriko: *I had to translate*

Nicholas: *They could understand (me) but I could not even understand what my children wanted*

This is a comment regarding the time when this family was living in Japan, hence it is difficult to directly compare it with the UK context. However, this excerpt at least tells that although both parents agreed to raise their children as multilinguals, if any family member does not understand a particular language, this may obstruct communication between family members. In addition, not being able to understand one's own children's utterances seems emotionally difficult for parents to accept, as it may diminish their parental status to some extent.

Noriko, following this interview, sent a follow-up email concerning further information regarding her perception of the language priority in her family's case:

It would be ideal if our children could use English, German as well as Japanese equally, as mother tongue ... But it is difficult to acquire 3 languages at the same time; and especially while living in the UK, it is natural (for our children) to have less opportunities to be exposed to German and Japanese – so it cannot be helped that there is a different progress ... it would be more problematic if they did not understand or did not follow what they learn at the local British school due to their English, even if they could understand everything in German or Japanese (Noriko, email exchange: May 2012).

Under their OPOL strategy (Noriko Japanese; Nicholas German), English was not extensively used by either parent in this family – thus, their children mostly learned English mainly outside the family home. However, from Noriko's comment, children's English acquisition was paid great concern as they were living in the UK. Thus, the dominant language used in the wider society (i.e., English) has much more relevance than the ones used in the family. In the case of Noriko and Nicholas, both of them use a

minority language to achieve child-trilingualism in the English-speaking community. Compared with this family, it might seem easier for other families to conduct bilingual childrearing in English and Japanese. However, the unbalanced power distribution between Japanese – minority language – and English – majority language – made the mothers' Japanese language use more difficult. This further proves, as Juan-Garau & Pérez-Vidal (2001) have pointed out, that the minority parent's maintenance of consistency in OPOL policy demands great conviction and effort.

6.2.4 Japanese Language as an Intruder

Towards the end of my data collection, one mother recorded the following in the research diary (Megumi, diary exchange: March 2013):

Regarding my son's Japanese, he had a stutter when he was very small. At that time I switched to English, so that we (I and husband) use only one language (i.e., English) at home. Later on, when his stutter was cured, I again started speaking to him in Japanese. But I did not push (him to speak) Japanese that much, being afraid that his stuttering may reappear (if I encourage him to speak Japanese too much). ... Although the speech therapist did not advise anything about bilingual language use at home, I thought he might stutter due to my Japanese use – this was just my own interpretation though.

A similar comment was made by Junko. According to Junko, her youngest son also developed a stutter, and similarly to Megumi, she decided to use only English until he was cured (Junko, ethno-interview: May 2012). It is worth noting here that some Japanese mothers tend to think that their children's language-related issues might be caused by their use of a minority language at home, by bringing in 'unusual' linguistic practices at home.

According to them, even though Megumi and Junko took their children to a speech-therapist, they could not receive any useful advice regarding multilingual use at home, as those therapists were not specialised in multilingualism. As a result, mothers seemed to believe that their child's language problems occurred due to their 'unusual' language practices (i.e., bilingual exposure) at home. However, there is a lot of evidence in the academic literature on multilingualism, stating that it rather contributes to linguistic, cognitive, as well as interpersonal development. It may be that the episodes and comments described above are rather due to the OPOL discourse of 'absolute influence of parents' language use,' which emphasises the responsibility of parents in early-child multilingual development. More specifically, Megumi and Junko seemed to believe

that their children's Japanese is currently somewhat less proficient due to their inconsistency in Japanese use when their children were small, even though there is no evidence to support this. In other words, they seemed to feel responsible for two 'failures': their child's language issues in childhood due to their Japanese language use at home, and the child's current, somewhat lacking proficiency in Japanese due to their inconsistent use of Japanese in early childhood.

Thus, in addition to the differing priority of English and Japanese, some parents encounter difficulties in managing such extreme responsibility. In short, the OPOL discourses' overemphasis on parental role for children's multilingual 'success' may rather create difficulties for parents to employ the policy in practice. Moreover, when issues occur, some of the Japanese mothers blame themselves, in believing that their 'unusual' FLP (bilingual use at home) might be the cause of the problem; that is, Japanese language is construed as an 'intruder' in such occasions.

6.2.5 Children's Avoidance of Japanese: 'It is Okay Here, but Not There'

It is often the children who decide not to acquiesce to the family policy instituted by their parents under all circumstances, and instead ask their mothers to switch to English:

When I take my child to (mainstream) school, I was told that she does not want me to speak in Japanese to her in front of the other children and parents, but in English (Sachiko, interview: January 2013).

In the above episode, children expressed the rejection of Japanese language use in the certain context. However, sometimes, children express it in more implicit ways. I have experienced this myself during the fieldwork.

I was asked to babysit for Harry (aged 8) and I went to a local sports club to pick him up. He spotted me and smiled at me; he then came to me and rushed us away from the crowd of people. After being away enough from the crowd, he started talking to me in Japanese (Field note; July 2012).

Harry's reaction surprised me, as I had known him for a while by that time, and he was a very friendly and talkative person. When I mentioned this episode to his mother Harumi, she told me that Harry often reacted this way in order to avoid his friends hearing him speak Japanese. It is not that he disliked the Japanese language, she added, but that he did not want to stand out among his English-speaking peers (see further

perception of Harumi about her FLP in section 6.4.2). Namely, Harry negotiates his positioning across contexts.

It is important to point out in these examples that children do not reject the use of Japanese itself, but rather try to limit the use of Japanese to a certain space. The issues raised in these examples seem more connected with the children's desire to belong and be accepted by their mainstream settings. Namely, children wish to use language according to the norms of mainstream society. Hence, although the *discourse* of OPOL emphasises the importance of consistency in language use, it does not always fit with social realities, and the overemphasis on consistent use of Japanese rather goes against multilingual speakers' capabilities of flexible language use.

6.3 Japanese Language as Resource: The Language Practices of Children and Japanese Mothers

In the previous section, 6.2, I discussed the difficulties of strictly following OPOL family language policy, while focusing on the role of English in the social reality where those families live, and highlight English as linguistic resources both for multilingual parents and children. In this section, my focus moves on to the role of Japanese language within the family. By highlighting the distinctive role of Japanese language among family members, I will argue that the role of Japanese language goes beyond the idea of language as a communicative tool.

6.3.1 The Responsibility of Japanese Mothers as the Primary Multilingual Educators

OPOL requires parents to strictly use one particular language; in the case of this study, mothers primarily communicate with children in Japanese, while fathers in English. Although this may seem to secure children's equal exposure to both languages, it should be noted that children are living in the UK and therefore are also exposed extensively to English outside the household, whereas contact with the Japanese language is highly limited.

Although in most cases both parents share in the aim of raising their children as bilinguals, and the majority-language speaking partner – the predominantly English-speaking fathers in the case of this study – is highly cooperative in this endeavour, actual steps towards bilingual education can only be taken by the minority-language

speaking mothers. Without saying, this is a considerable difference in comparison with families where both parents are minority language speakers (e.g., professional expatriate families).

The Japanese mother participants in this study communicate with their children in Japanese as well as prepare Japanese language learning materials at home; e.g., books, DVDs, toys, and mobile-applications related to the Japanese language. The following examples show Japanese mothers' efforts to create a Japanese language environment in their daily lives:

- *I read Japanese children's books at least every night (Kumiko, Emiko, Sachiko, ethno-interview, 2011-2012)*
- *Whenever I drive, I play Japanese children songs in the car and sing together with them (Emiko, ethno-interview: October 2012)*
- *DVDs (in Japanese) are also very helpful for the children's Japanese language development (Sachiko interview, August 2012)*
- *I always bring Japanese teaching materials wherever I go, so that we can make use of any spare time (Sachiko interview, January 2013)*
- *I try to talk to them a lot even when we are going for grocery shopping. I keep speaking in Japanese to them even about very small things, like 'ah this expires much later, so I'll get this.' I try to expose my children to Japanese as much as possible (Sachiko ethno-interview, March 2012)*
- *When I visited the S family home, I found the book shelf filled with a massive number of Japanese books. Children are very familiar with Japanese folk stories and games. I also found a Hiragana chart (a chart of the Japanese syllabary) in the bathroom (S family Observation: June 2012)*

The above are only a few examples of how OPOL, as a family language policy, has been employed at home, yet they capture the broad strategies employed by mothers to create and reproduce a Japanese environment conducive to 'successful multilingual education' at home. In some cases, the enthusiasm and devotion to multilingual child-rearing can go even further, as in the case of Hiromi who explains as shown below:

Considering that it is only me who can teach Japanese to my child, I took some years off from work" (Hiromi, ethno-interview: December 2013).

All these examples show the enormous efforts made by mothers to create Japanese language learning opportunities for their children by adopting an OPOL policy in their daily lives, and even by taking some more radical professional sacrifices, explained by their position as primary multilingual educators of their children.

6.3.2 Children's Perceptions of their Own Language Use

From the children's perspective, the above insights mean that Japanese language is almost always mediated by their mothers. Besides fostering their multilingual upbringing, this situation also creates unique emotional environments that strengthen the association between motherhood and the Japanese language. This way, the parent-child bond becomes linguistically coded, which is confirmed by children from a very young age. The following conversation I had with Kyoka (aged 6) is very telling of how some children adapt to and perceive OPOL family language policy (Kyoka, aged 6, interview: September 2012):

C: Which language do you use when talking to your mum?

K: Japanese.

C: Do you sometimes use English (to her)?

K: No, English is for my dad.

It should be noted that I also observed her extensive use of English language with her mother around this time. However, she perceived that English is to be reserved for conversations with her father. Observational data of the same girl, Kyoka, further shows her perception of English and Japanese, and her perceptual distinction between the two (field notes: June 2012):

When I visited her family home, Kyoka was doing her homework for the local mainstream school. I was observing her doing the homework which involved remembering the spelling of English words. After finishing she said she would ask her father if she correctly remembered the spellings, on his return. She said that English homework was always checked by her father, while Japanese homework from Hoshuko was checked by her mother.

The following excerpt is the interview data from another girl, Tsugumi (aged 6), who demonstrated a similar perceptual distinction between Japanese and English (Tsugumi interview: July 2012):

T: Can you speak English?

C: Me? Yes, a little bit.

T: I can speak English very well as well. I speak Japanese and English at home.

C: To whom do you use Japanese?

T: To my mum. I use English to my father, because he is from the UK.

It was Tsugumi herself who initiated this conversation, perhaps indicates her awareness of her own multilinguality. Also, the context of our conversation is significant here, as it took place during a walk in the park as part of *Hoshuko* class activities, and while we were in a Japanese-speaking group, we had exited the ‘Japanese-only’ social environment of *Hoshuko*. The change in social setting, where we had physically come into contact with an environment associated with English as the dominant language, may have driven Tsugumi to inquire about my knowledge of English. Most importantly, as we could see, Tsugumi also associated Japanese with her mother and English with her father.

Emiko, a mother, provided a further example, indicating the strong association between the Japanese language and the mother:

On the other day, while trying to encourage my children to tend to their Japanese studies, Ethan (aged 7) said that ‘it is you (i.e., a mother, Emiko) who want me to do it (Japanese studying), isn’t it’? I lost my words... (Emiko, ethno-interview: October 2014).

The above excerpts clearly show how children associate one particular language to a particular parent, in the way also prescribed in the ideological discourses of OPOL policies. It could be argued that children’s perceptions can raise further pressures on the mothers’ position as primary carriers of the responsibility in Japanese language. This may be so, because, while through encountering other English speakers and developing a sense of the predominance of English in society upon entering full-time education, the association between the majority language and the father-figure could weaken; this same increase of social contact and awareness would further reinforce the association between Japanese language and the mother-figure. In the following sections I will look more closely at this relationship between Japanese and mother-figure, and the linguistic practices it entails.

6.3.3 Children’s Strategic Use of Japanese Language: Showing Attachment

The strong relationship between motherhood and Japanese language seems to have an impact on both the mothers’ and the children’s perception of Japanese language. When I asked Kyoka, how she has learnt the Japanese language, she answered: “Because my mum is Japan” (Kyoka, aged 6, ethno-interview, September 2012). What

is interesting in this answer is that Kyoka's perception of her mother coalesces into 'Japan,' a composite of Japanese language, nationality, and geographic place. In other words, the mother-figure becomes the symbol and carrier of all traits Japanese, of everything related to 'Japan.'

Japanese mothers showed a similarly strong emotional attachment to Japanese language and to their children's Japanese language skills: e.g., "It's my pleasure to see them (my children) speaking in Japanese, because this is the result of *what I've done!*" (Sachiko, ethno-interview: March 2012). Similarly to how children associate the mother-figure with 'Japanese language,' mothers also often appeared to associate their sense of achievement, compensation, and/or approval of their efforts, with their children's Japanese language development.

As discussed above, for many of the children observed, the mother takes up a dual role as both a 'mother' – in a communicative understanding – and an 'educator of Japanese' in a majority English-speaking society. Japanese, ceasing to be a 'language,' in this way, takes on an increasingly important role in the mother-child relationship. The following data are indicative of this unique role of the Japanese language in the relationship between Japanese mothers and their children:

I'm a full-time worker and there is generally not much time I can spend together with my children. I think the reason my children like learning Japanese is that this is when they can spend longer time with me (Emiko, ethno-interview: April 2013).

In addition to the difficulties caused by her full-time employment, Emiko's twin sons, Ethan and Eiji (aged 6), have also entered mainstream school and started speaking intensively in English. Emiko also complained about how difficult it is to encourage her children to study Japanese since they now have homework from the mainstream school, which is of course in English. Despite her worries, however, she also described that her children generally remained positive to learn Japanese. Interestingly, she explained the reason of this as learning Japanese language secures the time for her children to spend with her.

The following is an excerpt from a conversation with another mother, Kumiko, in which she also talked about her efforts to maintain Japanese language learning opportunities for her children:

Since they now have to do (mainstream) school's homework after school, I maintain some time in the morning (before children go to school) for Japanese

studying. It's about 10 to 15 minutes, and not that long, but I believe that this would help their language development (Kumiko, interview: June 2012).

The time and space where Japanese language learning is taking place is thus created by Japanese mothers, and interestingly, this can often be achieved by isolating themselves – the Japanese mother and her children – from English speakers and English-speaking contexts. More specifically, some mothers told me that they made use of the time the father was absent to teach Japanese intensively. For children, the time and space dedicated to Japanese language learning is also one which they share exclusively with their mothers, and it therefore provides unique opportunities for child–parent bonding.

When adapting the concept of ‘language as linguistic resource,’ we can see how unequal the distribution of linguistic resources among children may be. On one hand, English language is used to communicate with people more widely; on the other hand, Japanese language use for children is often limited mainly to communicating with their mother. For those children, as a consequence, Japanese language can become a means to maintain private time with their mothers. This relation between ‘motherhood’ and ‘Japanese language’ is also often utilised by children as an available linguistic resource, something that Kumiko has also noticed in her daughter’s language practices:

Since my child, Kyoka, entered full-time education, she recently tends to speak more English than Japanese even with me. But one morning, when she spoke to me in English as usual, and she noticed that I was not in a good mood, she switched to Japanese! She knows I am happy when she uses Japanese (Kumiko interview: June, 2012).

When I had an argument with my daughter (Kyoka) the other day, she told me that she would no longer study Japanese (Kumiko, interview: November 2012).

The above excerpts indicate how strategically Kyoka, aged 6, Kumiko’s daughter, employed ‘Japanese language’ when interacting with her mother. In the first excerpt we witness her attempt to liven up her mother’s mood and gain her approval by resorting to using Japanese language. Conversely, in the second instance, Kyoka used Japanese language and language learning as an efficient tool and a means to challenge her mother. Kumiko told me, this argument was unrelated to the topic of language and/or language learning. Considering this, Kyoka’s sudden change of topic can be interpreted as her awareness, at least subconsciously, of the relationship between Japanese language and

her mother. The refusal to continue her Japanese studies may thus be a defensive resource against her mother.

I have observed such ‘strategic Japanese language use’ by children during many of my home visits, as noted down in field-notes. Below are some examples:

Ken (aged 4) and Kyoka (aged 6) (siblings) were drawing pictures; they wrote their names in English at first. Just before they showed the pictures to their mother, they added their names in Japanese, following which their mother applauded them for using both Japanese and English writing (K family, observation: May 2012).

Shun (aged 3) and Saori (aged 6) (siblings) were speaking to each other in English when we (Sachiko, Shun, Saori and I) were in the supermarket. When one of children asked her mother to buy her a snack, she quickly switched to Japanese (S family, observation: June 2012).

These excerpts seem to shed light on children’s strategic use of Japanese language in their everyday lives. Children seek a particular purpose – e.g., gaining the mother’s approval, attention or even material goods – through their Japanese language use. Thus, the particular language use within the family brought by the OPOL family language policy seemed to have an impact on children’s language practices.

The Japanese language is, in this way, no longer an impersonal, abstract ‘language’ in the children’s utterances but one to which a created meaning has been *indexed*³⁹ (e.g., Japanese is the language which makes my mother happy). This is evidence to the *dialogic* nature of *heteroglossia*, as formulated by Bakhtin; i.e., utterances are always appropriated by the language user. In this case, the strong relationship between the mother and the Japanese language could thus be reinforced through everyday practices in the specific *fields* where Japanese language is repeatedly used by specific individuals who have a relatively high motivation. Children often utilise this *indexicality* – of mother and Japanese language – as a resource in their interactions.

6.3.4 Parents’ Strategic Use of Japanese Language: Maintaining Parental Position

Similarly to the practices of their children, Japanese mothers also utilise their Japanese language as a resource. As will be seen in this section, however, for them, it is

³⁹ Silverstein’s original concept of *indexicality*, especially *non-referential indexicality*, refers to macro sociocultural, political and historical constructs of specific meanings attached to language. However, I use ‘index’ and ‘indexicality’ in this thesis also for a smaller scale meaning construction too, such as in the family home and in the *Hoshuko*.

frequently associated with the maintenance of their pride of parenthood. In order to understand their language use, it is necessary to consider their linguistic situation as a migrant living in the UK. I will firstly look at how mothers themselves perceive their English proficiency. In the following interview excerpts, Japanese mothers relate their dissatisfaction with their English proficiency:

I sometimes don't understand the (English) conversation among children and their friends (Emiko, ethno-interview: February 2013).

I cannot 100% understand what I am told in English. Sometimes I think I understood, but there are gaps between what I understood and what my children understood... and they tell me that that person meant this and this. Well, they are much smarter than me. I am just wondering how to deal with this (Sachiko, interview: January 2013).

During the fieldwork I often heard mothers' complaints that they sometimes have difficulties in understanding their children's English-speaking conversations with other children or family members. As also shown in the second excerpt above, mothers often recalled such episodes, describing their children as 'better' or 'smarter' than themselves. The excerpt captures, to some extent, the mothers' sense of inferiority regarding English proficiency compared to their children, and the use of comparative adjectives such as 'smarter' and 'better' seem to allude to perceptions of inferior intelligence in cases. Most importantly, as we could see from Sachiko's account, she seemed to worry that she soon might not be able to understand her child's English utterances, and that her limited English proficiency could affect her relationship with her children more generally. These worries seem to stem from her belief that mothers should be able to speak the language spoken by their children at a more proficient level than they do, or at least to a broadly similar level of proficiency.

Although it may seem that English proficiency is the main problem for many Japanese mothers to maintain their parenthood, when paying close attention to the data below, we can see other issues besides language:

As they're growing up, I find it harder and harder to help them with their homework; the other day I couldn't explain something because I didn't know the word 'cumulonimbus,' which I definitely would have understood in Japanese (Hana, ethno-interview: December 2013).

My children started learning 'English phonics' at (mainstream) nursery. It was difficult to help with their phonics homework, since we don't learn English pronunciation that way in Japan (Kumiko, ethno-interview: November 2012).

Hiro: I am sometimes invited to volunteer to support children at (mainstream) school during classes, but I am hesitant to participate in, for example, mathematics classes. I am not familiar with mathematics terminology in English, nor the way they solve the mathematic tasks. It's different from how we learn it in Japan.

Kumiko: I agree! I know the answer, but I am not familiar with the process of calculating taught at school. I'm very happy to support, for instance, arts classes, but not mathematics. (Hiro and Kumiko in conversation, ethno-interview: November 2014).

As seen in the above excerpts, mothers expressed their discomfort with scientific and/or mathematic terminologies (e.g., cumulonimbus), as well as particular practices (e.g., phonics, mathematic calculations) that were specific to the *school practices* in the local mainstream schools. In other words, they seemed to feel uncomfortable due to their unfamiliarity with the mainstream schools' *habitus*. As mainstream schools require a particular knowledge that these mothers are not familiar with, mothers' capacity to perform certain expected parental duties may become fairly limited in the field of mainstream school, and it may consequently restrict their participation in the mainstream schools.

What we see in the above cases is that some mothers seemed to feel that they were losing their sense of 'parenthood' due to their limited English proficiency or unfamiliarity with the school *habitus*. Such feelings seem to further reinforce the mothers' motivation to use Japanese at home. It becomes clear from many interviews that mothers position themselves as experts in anything Japanese, and thus a clear distinction between the two language roles also allows them to maintain their position relative to the English-speaking father:

I told my daughter to consult with her father about homework from the (mainstream) school. I can answer anything from the Japanese complementary school, though. Sometimes, I feel sorry for her, because even if she needs immediate help, she has to wait until her father is back. But I cannot teach because my answer might be wrong. (Kumiko, ethno-interview: June 2012)

Thus, by clearly differentiating her role from that of the 'English-speaking father,' Kumiko uses her Japanese linguistic resource to construct her parental position. A similar statement was made by Sachiko:

Based on my linguistic level, I understand things more easily in Japanese than in English. So when I teach something to children, I can only teach in English till level 3 out of 10, let's say. But if it is in Japanese, I can teach until level 8. I'd like to go for my strong area rather than my weak area, I thought it would be better if I can attract my children towards my strengths (Sachiko, interview: January 2013).

Sachiko continues:

Recently, it is not my children but I, who often appreciate the children's Japanese language proficiency. The study contents at mainstream school have been getting difficult, and the support which Saori needs became more complicated. But (because Saori understands Japanese), I can explain it in Japanese and this has saved me (Sachiko, comments on interview: November 2013; Saori was 7 years old at this time).

Sachiko views Japanese proficiency as beneficial for both her children and herself, since it allows the use of Japanese through which she can better perform certain parental duties. The following excerpt indicates an even more explicit recognition of the value of children's Japanese proficiency for the mothers:

When children asked why they have to learn Japanese, I always told them it was for communicating with grandparents in Japan. But, to be very honest, I sometimes feel that it might be only for my ego that I want my children to learn Japanese. I can express myself easier in Japanese, so I may just want to be lazy in a way (by using Japanese). (Junko, ethno-interview: March 2013)

The above excerpts appear to indicate that by teaching Japanese to their children, some mothers also find it easier to maintain the use and value of their own linguistic resources. Therefore, children's Japanese language development could be of benefit both to the children's multilingual development and the mothers' personal efficiency.

To sum up, the sense of inferiority, which may be induced by a lack of familiarity with the language and educational *habitus* of the mainstream school and society makes OPOL family language policy more attractive for mothers. OPOL family language policy could reinforce their position as Japanese language speakers, and in this way mothers can utilise their available Japanese linguistic resources, which eventually contribute to maintaining their parental position. For this reason, Japanese language plays an important role other than merely as a communicative tool, and therefore Japanese and English are not contested in this regards. Thus, although we have identified the 'language competition' *discourse* in section 6.1, the roles played by

English and Japanese within the family home differ greatly, and thus it is impossible to understand them following the dichotomous view as sustained in the *discourse*.

6.4 Multilingualism as Resource: Flexible Use of Language Resources

In the previous section (6.3), we have seen the interesting role that Japanese language plays for intermarriage families, by highlighting specifically multilingual children's and parents' – mostly mothers' in this study – language *perceptions* and *practices*. For children, Japanese language is strongly related to the figure of the 'mother,' due to its very specific and unique language distribution within the family OPOL policy. On one hand, children often make use of the strong relationship between the Japanese language and motherhood as a resource, and use it to show their affection, gain attention from, and even challenge their mothers. On the other hand, as I argued, Japanese language is a very important resource for mothers too, who can utilise it to maintain their parental position.

In this section I will continue the discussion based on the notion of 'language as resource,' focusing not only on either Japanese or English, but on multilingualism as a whole. For this purpose, I will highlight the cases of four mothers. Firstly, looking at the perceptions of Sachiko, I will explore her practical dilemmas regarding OPOL policy, arguing that OPOL discourse can actually cause extra burdens for parents. Secondly, I will turn to the cases of three Japanese mothers who described that they have changed their language practices at home, by shifting from a strict OPOL practice to a more relaxed approach allowing for multilingual practices. It is important to note that many of my research participants usually do not talk about their 'mixing' practices in positive terms, but rather they often perceive it negatively (e.g., as their '*fault*,' as '*giving up*' or '*failing*'), as in the discourses previously analysed (section 6.1). In this regard, those three cases in this section represent relatively rare cases in my study, where Japanese mothers accept – at least to some extent in their perception – their multilingual practices at home.

6.4.1 Sachiko's Dilemmas: Own Experience and Decision of Bilingual Childrearing

The excerpts in this section are all from Sachiko, centring on her dilemmas regarding their language policy at home. Sachiko is married to Samuel, and the mother of two children, Shun and Saori. She met her husband in the UK, and since they got married

they have been living in a small town in England. She participates actively in local events as well as interacting with neighbours. She is also very keen on learning about bilingual-rearing through journals, books, newspapers and other means. Samuel does not speak Japanese to a high level of proficiency, and between Sachiko and Samuel they use English.

The following two excerpts indicate her strong desire for her children to be bilinguals (both from interviews with Sachiko, January 2013).

I've been thinking that I cannot reach the ideal level in English even if I study a lot. I have been experiencing it. So I want my children to acquire Japanese.

I have been struggling with my English (proficiency), so I don't want my children to be in my position, if they decided to live in Japan in the future.

As seen in both excerpts, she describes her English proficiency as insufficient based on her experiences. This seems to be a main reason for her to raise her children as bilinguals. In this sense, what she means by 'ideal level' is likely to refer to 'native speaker' level – as we have also seen this reflected in the OPOL discourse of *authenticity*. Her goal in bilingual upbringing could thus be considered as one of 'balanced bilingualism.' She positions herself as a 'non-native speaker,' and seemingly differentiates herself from her 'bilingual' children. From her statements, it appears that she is also considering the future possibility for her children to live in Japan, and thus, she does not want them to experience the same 'frustrations' she experienced in the UK. In short, she wants to avoid her children being in a position similar to hers.

As I have had various opportunities to observe during my fieldwork, Sachiko was one of the mothers very committed to raising her children as bilinguals, successfully implementing her teaching techniques in the limited time available to her for this purpose. However, she also mentioned the hidden difficulties in employing OPOL policy:

I used to speak in English before having a child, and I sometimes feel strange to keep using Japanese, which actually distances me from the local people here.

This excerpt describes the change in her own language use after becoming a mother. Before it, she had used mainly English. However, due to adopting an OPOL policy, her own linguistic practices have become restricted. Similarly, the following excerpt highlights Sachiko's struggle of consistent use of OPOL policy:

Especially at my child's (mainstream) school, I try not to use Japanese. It might be because in a small community in the countryside, speaking Japanese stands out very much and I feel that (they) wouldn't have a positive impression towards (speaking a minority language). (Sachiko, comments on interview: November 2013)

As we could previously see in the excerpt I cited from Sachiko in section 6.2.5, her child, Saori, has also asked her not to use Japanese at the mainstream school. However, she herself feels that using Japanese in a mainstream setting is not advisable. Thus, although she is keen on strictly following OPOL policy, she has a clear understanding of the value of multilingual practices, and utilises her bilingual resources according to her specific aims – in this situation, she used English language as a resource for becoming integrated in the mainstream society. We should note here how her experience of bilingualism in an English-speaking community sometimes urges her to adopt OPOL policy in order to achieve her child's *balanced bilinguality*, while at other times it drives her towards multilingual practices.

Although I have only focused on Sachiko's case in this section, these dilemmas have been expressed by several other Japanese mothers I observed. In the following sections (6.4.2 to 6.4.4), I will therefore focus on Japanese mothers' attempts to overcome such dilemmas. For this purpose, I will highlight the cases of three mothers who negotiate their FLP.

6.4.2 Harumi's Decision of Bilingual Language Use in the Family Home

During summer 2012 Harumi decided that she no longer send her son Harry (aged 8) to *Hoshuko* on Saturdays, and she explained her reasons for doing so as follows:

He is British, with a British father, living in the UK. So we can raise our son as British. I still use Japanese to him, but also use English. I feel much more comfortable this way (Harumi, ethno-interview: July 2012)

In the above excerpt, Harumi emphasises Harry's '*Britishness*,' and she also described how she felt more comfortable using both Japanese and English to him. She worked as an interpreter, and thus bilingual ability is one of the important skills in her profession. This might be somewhat confronting with her previous stricter OPOL practices.

Moreover, when I talked with her about Harry's avoidance of using Japanese at the sports centre (see 6.2.5 above), she commented that:

I believe that it is an important skill to have, as it means that he can 'kuki yomeru' ['sense the mood', understand what is expected].

According to Harumi, Harry often asked her not to speak Japanese in mainstream settings; in addition he also asked her not to pack rice-balls in his lunch box when he goes to football training. As she said, she saw these requests as positive rather than negative, and she genuinely seemed to value her son's ability to 'go between languages as well as between cultures.' This shows that although she emphasised her son's 'Britishness,' what she means by 'British' seems to be less fixed and rigid, and rather a flexible skillset to help adaptation in various linguistic and cultural environments. This was also evidenced by Harumi's explanation for why she engaged in receiving international home-staying students in their family home:

Of course Japanese is an important language, but I believe that, as a whole, I want Hurry to be a person who gets along well with anyone, regardless of their linguistic and cultural background.

In other words, she values being multilingual and multicultural, and she negotiated her purpose of teaching her son Japanese along these values. By doing so, Harumi also allows her to express herself both in Japanese and English rather than strictly following Japanese language use through OPOL policy. In this way, FLP has been renegotiated so that both the mother, Harumi, and her son, Hurry, could maximise their linguistic resources.

6.4.3 Tomoko's Negotiation: Parents as Bilingual Models

Tomoko has two children: a girl, Tsugumi (aged 6), and a boy named Takuya (aged 8). She describes her family language use, including that of her husband Thomas, as follows:

Basically, in our daily conversation, it is Japanese between me (mother) and the children, and it is English between my husband and the children. ... Thomas's mother tongue is English, but (...) he is studying Japanese. Since he is in the process of learning Japanese, he wants to talk with the children in Japanese.

She also spoke about her decision to change her language use a few years back:

A few years ago I also started speaking in English with my children, as well as in Japanese with my husband (it was only English before that). I try to show them my flexible use of languages. It is because I want them to use English, as well as I want them to practice switching between languages. ... By us acting as a model, I think children can learn from us (Tomoko, diary exchange: July 2012).

These excerpts emphasise the bilingual ability of parents. According to Tomoko, she gradually changed her and her husband's language use from Japanese monolingual to a Japanese-English bilingual. Importantly, Tomoko and Thomas speak a few more languages other than Japanese and English. In this sense, their successful experience as multilinguals may also influence their decision in negotiating FLP.

6.4.4 Noriko's Overseas Experiences and Negotiation in FLP

Noriko and her German husband have two children, Noa (aged 6) and Naomi (aged 8). They met each other while Noriko was studying for professional skills for her work in Germany, and after getting married, they lived together in the UK, Japan and Singapore, while Noriko had also spent a few months in the US on her own. She grew up in Japan, and speaks Japanese, English and German. When I met this family in the UK in 2012, they reported that Nicholas was using German with the children, while Noriko used Japanese. According to her, she and Nicholas spoke German with each other because they have never lived in Germany together, and felt that German is the weakest of their children's languages.

About children's language development, I am recently thinking about using English for academic purposes ... and children learn (German and Japanese) as long as these are not too much of a burden. As they grow up, the study contents get difficult, and the amount of homework (at mainstream school) increases... I also want them to spend some time on sports or learning to play musical instruments which they want to learn (besides language learning).

She listed two reasons to legitimise her decision not to insist upon Japanese language learning on their children if they find it too burdensome:

I have already planted the seeds of Japanese language – I think this should be okay as they now can cultivate those seeds when it is needed in the future. I may be thinking in this way because of my positive experience of resolving my issues even with limited language skills of (German and English) (Noriko, email exchange: June 2014).

What is especially interesting in her comment is the way in which she negotiated FLP according to her own experiences of working and living around the world. She has learnt English and German later in life, and she is using those languages in her work. Thus, individuals' experiences, again, appear to play an important role in negotiating FLP.

Before summarising my findings regarding individuals' use of multilingual resources (sections 6.4.1 to 6.4.4), it is important to emphasise again that most of the Japanese mothers in this study are multilinguals who grew up in Japan, but currently live – and some of them have worked – in an English-speaking society. For them, strictly following OPOL policy could set limits to their own linguistic resources. Hence, the shift in mothers' language roles from Japanese to multilingual seems to be a well-grounded phenomenon. Much of the research on OPOL strategy has focused on the early childhood period, and such negotiation processes in FLP as those discussed above – from monolingual to multilingual – have rarely been highlighted. However, the data presented here also casts doubt on the feasibility of OPOL policy in the family home, especially following children's enrolment into full-time mainstream education. My argument here is that the discourse of OPOL policy may limit multilingual families' flexible *multilingual practices*, at least at the level of *perception*, since many mothers do not appreciate such *practices*. For this reason, these three cases I have discussed in sections 6.4.2 to 6.4.4 can provide an insight into the negotiation process that led to decisions to soften a strict OPOL policy and shift towards more flexible multilingual family language policies. Based on the data gathered through my fieldwork, I would argue that flexible family language policies could bring benefits to multilingual families in terms of maximising their access to linguistic resources. In addition, more flexible approaches also help parents to bridge the unavoidable gap between OPOL discourses and the social reality.

6.4.5 Kyoka and Ken's Use of Multilingual Resource: Beyond Dichotomous

In this section, I turn my focus from the parents to the children. I will focus particularly on the interactional data collected among two siblings, Kyoka (aged 6) and Ken (aged 4) in the family home. This interaction shows the flexible language use among siblings, and indeed, as discussed in previous sections, children also use their multilingualism as a resource.

Excerpt 6.1 below is from audio-recorded data of verbal exchanges between Kyoka, Ken and I, while playing together pretending to be ice-cream sellers and buyers. Kyoka wanted to take over the role of ice-cream seller from Ken, and asked him to pass her his toys. Prior to the speech section presented in the excerpt below, they used Japanese consistently until Kyoka's English utterances, as seen in line 1. English exchanges then continued until line 8, following which they switched back to Japanese (L9 onwards).

Excerpt 6.1 Negotiation of Toys

1	KY: あ、ちょっとね [Well, a bit] Ken, can you give me one of the coins? <authoritative voice>
2	KE: <Ken shakes his head for showing "No">
3	KY: Ken! Can I be? Can you be a 子ども [a child]?
4	KE: No
5	KY: Why? Can I be, one time please? <she coaxes>
6	KE: No!
7	CH: ((Laughter))
8	KY: Um...I want to... <she sounds like almost crying>
9	一回だけ～ [Only for once]<she changes her voice in a coquettish way>
10	KY: <turns to researcher for help, whining>一回だけでもきょうちゃんダメって、アイスクリーム屋さん[(He said) 'no' for Kyo-chan ⁴⁰ , even only for one time, (to be) an ice-cream seller]
11	CH: アイスクリーム屋さんなりなよ [You can be an ice-cream seller]
12	KY: 一回だけ、お願い! [Only for one time, please!] ((coughs; 3 seconds))
13	お願い、けんけん [Please, Ken-Ken] <her voice turns almost crying>
14	CH: けん君、けん君、きょうちゃんをお願いだって[Ken-kun ⁴¹ , Ken-kun, Kyo-chan says 'please']
15	KE: は～い [OK] <he sounds reluctant to do so>
16	CH: いいよ～って。じゃあ、けん君こっちおいで [(He) said 'OK'. Then, Ken-kun, come here] <he comes and sits on C's lap>
17	KY: え、でもアイスクリームコーンどこ? [Well, but where is an ice-cream cone?] <she changes her voice to her normal tone immediately>

Source: Audio Recording; 23 May, 2012

This interaction shows Kyoka's negotiation with Ken over the usage of toys, a common cause for conflict among children in their age group. As we can hear in the

⁴⁰“-chan” is a Japanese honorific form taking a suffix position at the end of someone's first name, usually when referring to a small, young and/or cute person.

⁴¹ “-kun” is also a Japanese honorific form, but usually refers specifically to males.

recording, there was a tension between them, which required my intervention in their conversation (L7, 11 and 16).

As seen in the excerpt, until Line 15, Ken refused to allow Kyoka to play with the desired toys, and Kyoka had to make use of her linguistic resources in order to convince her brother. In the following I will analyse in more depth Kyoka's utterances, to discover the linguistic strategies that have helped her achieve her aim.

Kyoka started by asking Ken in English (L1), but following Ken's initial refusal, she reformulated her request, making it more specific (L3). In these first requests she sounded authoritative, but as Ken kept refusing to comply with her requests, she changed her voice to a more flattering tone (L5), by adding a polite "please," and maintaining this polite attitude throughout the rest of the verbal exchange. She also specified her request by emphasising that it would be only for one time. Despite her efforts, Ken refused her request more categorically (L6), and it was at this point that I felt the need to intervene, initially by breaking the tension with laughter (L7). As a clear sign of the tension building up, Kyoka's voice turned almost crying (i.e., high-pitched, nasalised voice quality), and we can also perceive a hesitation on her part as she was struggling to continue (i.e. pose) with her request (L8).

This was the moment when she switched language from English to Japanese, mainly repeating what she had said before in English, but changing her voice quality again, this time in a coquettish way (L9). She then turned to me and asked for my help by complaining about Ken's refusal (L10), after which I intervened on her behalf (L11). She then continued by asking him again in Line 12 and 13. In Line 13, her voice quality turned almost crying again (high-pitched, nasalised voice quality). Her coughs between those utterances lasted for approximately three seconds, a relatively long period, which could be seen as another plea for help.

This time, due to the tension which built up between Kyoka and Ken, I had to intervene in their argument again, telling Ken what Kyoka asked and reminding him that she said the words "please." My intervention as an authoritative adult consequently led Ken to comply with his sister's demand, although remaining reluctant to do so. By this point Ken was on the verge of crying too (L15), and for this reason I asked him to come and sit on my lap (L16). Kyoka, on the other hand, coming out victorious from the negotiation, instantaneously changed her voice back to her normal tone, and prepared to take on her duties as the new ice-cream seller (L17).

When paying a particular attention to Kyoka's utterances, we can see her enormous efforts in order to convince Ken. She seemed to subconsciously but strategically use various methods of persuasion, like paraphrasing, specification of "only one time," politeness, altering her voice quality, and even her coughs could be of strategic importance even if they were not purposefully intended. Her ways of changing voice quality seem to emphasise her girlishness (i.e., gender) and/or childness (i.e., age), seemingly reflecting her attempt to be recognised as the weaker party in need of support.

Most importantly, her switching between languages (L9) appeared to be yet another strategy. From my ethnographic experience with Kyoka, at point reflected in Line 8, I expected her to either burst in tears, or to ask for help from their mother. Instead, however, she switched languages, continuing her negotiation with Ken. Although my – a Japanese speaker – presence could be a reason for her to switch, we must take account of the fact that Kyoka was facing Ken, addressing him directly in a markedly different voice quality in Line 9 than what she used when addressing me in Line 10. For this reason, it seems more probable that she had initially switched to Japanese, coupled with a high-pitched nasalised voice quality, with the intent of using her linguistic resources for persuasive purposes, and had only turned to me in Japanese after this initial strategy failed.

By using Japanese, she also successfully involved Japanese cultural features, such as '–chan,' which may emphasise her 'cuteness' and/or childishness (see footnote 40 for the meanings). Also, it is interesting to notice the use of a repeated name in line 13, 'Ken-Ken.' From my experience, Kyoka only calls her younger brother 'Ken-Ken' when she wants to show her affection towards him – e.g., when she enjoys playing with him in Japanese; when she acts a mother-like role –, and the use of the repeated name in the circumstances related in the passage is meant to touch her brother's conscience.

Overall, throughout this excerpt, we have witnessed Kyoka's clever and strategic use of various linguistic resources to achieve her aims. By examining the interaction between Kyoka and Ken, I argue that switching between languages is only one available linguistic resource at any given individual's disposal. This view of 'language resource' enables us to go beyond the concept of multilingual individuals as having access to two separate language systems, but rather consider their multilinguality as a complex linguistic phenomenon. The interactional data of bilingual children presented in this

section, therefore, indicate that children are actively making use of linguistic resources to achieve aims (see section 2.1.2; the notion of translanguaging).

It should also be noted that the linguistic resources used by children here are not restricted to interlinguistic elements (e.g., Japanese, English, politeness), but also intralinguistic elements, such as suprasegmentals (e.g., whining, coquettish tone), as well as non-verbal elements (e.g., turning to me), to which Gumperz' and Bakhtin's notions of language referred. In addition to such linguistic elements, Kyoka also used other resources that were culturally (e.g., -chan), physically (me, as an authoritative adult), and socially (e.g., girlness, childness) available to her.

It is also important to point out that Kyoka seems to have used Japanese in order to show her affection towards her brother. As pointed out before, Japanese language is likely to be strongly related to motherhood in the minds of the children, having gained an *indexed* meaning of love and care due to the distinctive role of Japanese language in the family home. It is therefore important to understand how these resources might be (re-)produced through daily practices. As it has been shown in my previous analysis, children often make use of this *indexicality* of the Japanese language in their language practices.

6.4.6 The Practical Difficulties of Language Separation

In the previous section I have discussed multilingual interactions that are difficult to grasp through a traditional conception of language as a bounded and countable system. Therefore, I have employed the concept of 'language as resource,' in which the boundary between languages is more ambiguous. Yet one may argue that Japanese and English are still very different and delineable, and indeed this was the position of my research participants, as highlighted in the individual *discourses* discussed before (see, for instance, the *language competition* discourse in 6.1.2).

However, throughout the fieldwork, I encountered many occasions when my research participants – and I as a researcher – had difficulties in distinguishing between 'Japanese' and 'English.' In this section, I will particularly highlight a few such episodes, and argue that discourses of *language separation* are very difficult to meet in practice.

Many of the situations I encountered during the fieldwork, when the separation of languages proved difficult to maintain in practice, involved the use of English '*loan words*.' For the purpose of my analysis, I define '*loan word*' in a constructivist and

contextual way, based on the frequency of different forms as they appear in BCCWJ corpus (see NINJAL 2009; also cf., footnote 22). This allows me to define a ‘*loan word*’ through its common usage, and thus spot those uses which can be considered at present time as ‘irregular’ among Japanese speakers in Japan.

The phonological changes, occurring when foreign words become ‘*nativised*’ in the ‘*Japanese language system*,’⁴² have been detailed by Kay (1995)⁴³; the main characteristic is that all the syllables in Japanese end in vowels, and this rule is also applied to ‘loan words’ (e.g., bed becomes *beddo*; see detailed explanations by Kay in footnote 43). Since loan words are usually transcribed in *katakana*, a writing system specifically designed for scripting ‘loan words,’ many of my research participants called this phonetic characteristic as *katakana pronunciation*. For this reason, I refer to this linguistic feature of ‘ending syllables in a vowel’ as *katakana pronunciation* in the following argument.

During the fieldwork, children often made use of this phonological characteristic of ‘English loan words’ in Japanese (i.e., *katakana pronunciation*), and applied this knowledge in their language practices. The excerpt below provides one example for this. The data was audio-recorded during one of my visits to the K family home, after children had just come back from the mainstream school/nursery. Only Kumiko, the mother, and her son Ken (aged 4) appear in this recording, as I and the older sister, Kyoka, were in a different room. Ken was drawing a picture of his family, and just before the excerpted section Kumiko had asked Ken about his drawing. As Ken involved English words in his answer, Kumiko encouraged him to repeat in Japanese what he had said, or use the equivalent Japanese vocabulary. This excerpt captures a moment when Kumiko seemed to encounter difficulties in correcting him, as some of his English utterances were pronounced in *katakana pronunciation* (note: the underlined

⁴² The expression “nativised” in the “Japanese language system” is adopted from Kay (1995) for demonstrative purposes, although I would argue, as indeed I have in this thesis, against drawing such a clear boundary between languages.

⁴³ Kay describes the phonological change in loan words in Japanese as follows: “[t]he Japanese sound system is based on a pool of about 100 syllables. Apart from five pure vowel sounds (a i u e and o) and the ‘n’ sound, all others are consonant-vowel syllables. Borrowed words are adapted to this system. Consonant clusters in English (except those beginning with ‘n’) are broken up with vowels, as in *tekunosutoresu* (technostress), and English loanwords ending in a consonant other than ‘n’ must end in a vowel, as in *beddo* (bed). Some vowel and consonant sounds in English which do not exist in Japanese are represented by the nearest Japanese equivalents; for example, ‘th’ is usually represented by ‘s’ or ‘z’, and the ‘schwa’ sound which is so common in English is replaced in Japanese by one of the Japanese vowels, such as ‘a’” (Kay 1995: 69).

expressions in the following transcription were in *katakana pronunciation*; see Appendix B).

Excerpt 6.2 Drawing Ice creams?	
1	KE: みてー。[look] <showing his drawing to Kumiko >
2	KU: 上手じゃん！[That's good!] <Kumiko praises Ken's drawing>
3	KE: aisukurimuzu ！[ice creams]
4	KU: aisukurimuzu [ice creams] ((laughter)) <seemingly speaking to herself>
5	KE: 二つに。[for two]<adding one more ice cream in his drawing>
6	KU: 二つ食べるの？[Are you going to eat two?]
7	KE: Mamu も二ついいよ。[Mum also can have two] <adding one more ice-cream in Kumiko's hands in his drawing> << sound of drawing in the background for 12 seconds >>
8	KU: 今日アイス食べた、学校で？[Did you eat ice creams at school today?]
9	KE: ううん。[No] <drawing sounds continue behind>
10	KU: 今日何食べた？[What did you eat today?]
11	KE: Cake and custard. <drawing sounds continue in the background>
12	KU: Keiku とカスタード、ほかは？[cake and custard, what else?] <<the remainder of the conversation will be omitted>>

Source: Audio recording; 23 May, 2012

The excerpt starts with Ken showing his drawing to his mother, followed by his mother's words of praise (line 1 and 2). He was drawing his family eating ice cream. In Japanese, 'ice cream' is a widely used English 'loan word,' usually pronounced as *aisukurimu* (see corpus data in the footnote 44). It is also worth noting that English loan nouns usually do not have different forms for singular and plural in Japanese, reflecting the general noun rules in the Japanese language. Notwithstanding, Ken's utterance in line 3 used a plural form, *aisukurimuzu*⁴⁴. This is seemingly why Kumiko laughed while repeating Ken's pronunciation (Line 4). Interestingly, instead of correcting him as she had done previously, Kumiko allowed Ken to continue his speech. A similar

⁴⁴ The BCCWJ corpus indicates 528 frequencies of アイスクリーム(*aisukurimu*), and 0 appearances of アイスクリームズ(*aisukurimuzu*).

pattern of interaction can be observed in Line 7, where Ken pronounced ‘mum’ as *mamu*⁴⁵.

In Lines 8 to 10 Kumiko shifted to casual topics, asking Ken what he ate that day, to which Ken replied “cake and custard” in Line 11, with an English pronunciation. Kumiko then repeated what Ken had said but in Japanese pronunciation. The loan words ‘cake’ and ‘custard’ are usually pronounced in Japanese as *keki* and *kasutado*; however, interestingly, Kumiko pronounced cake as *keiku* – an irregular adaptation of the English word to Japanese pronunciation, making it difficult for me to judge whether she used the ‘loan word’ or the ‘English word’ (in Line 12)⁴⁶. I often encountered such cases in my data, and could not decide whether to transcribe it in Japanese or in English, finding it more appropriate to develop some symbols which can be used for English words pronounced in Japanese phonological manner.

In this excerpt I have highlighted the widely used loan words such as ‘ice cream,’ ‘cake,’ or ‘custard.’ Often, however, children were creating their own ‘loan words’ by adapting *katakana pronunciation* in an ‘irregular’ way – in respect to our definition of ‘loan word’ as outlined above. For instance, Ken often used English words such as ‘airplane’ pronouncing it as *eapureinu*, or ‘trousers’ as *torauzazu*⁴⁷.

More interesting for the purposes of our analysis were the instances when parents and teachers seemed to encounter difficulties in how to respond to such utterances, given that both the OPOL policy enforced at home and the Japanese monolingual policy followed at *Hoshuko* required teachers and parents to correct children’s utterances if they were not complying with the set rules. However, as shown in the excerpt above, sometimes it is highly difficult for them to judge whether the words were uttered in English or Japanese.

Hisako was aware of these difficulties posed by the ambiguity in her children’s use of ‘English words’ and ‘loan words,’ described one occasion when she was unsure

⁴⁵ In my experience of observing this family, Ken often called his mother as *okasan*, *mama* or *mami* in Japanese, and mum or mummy in English. The BCCWJ corpus shows 7517 frequencies of お母さん・おかあさん(*okasan*); 5606 frequencies of ママ(*mama*); 94 frequencies of マミー(*mami*). Although ‘*mamu*’ hit 438 frequencies, those were not referring to ‘mother’ (I have checked the first 50 in the random list), but instead to parts of other words (such as the word, *makishimamu* [maximum]). Therefore, *mamu* can be considered an irregular case.

⁴⁶ The BCCWJ corpus indicates 3164 frequencies of ケーキ(*keki*), and only 14 for ケーク(*keiku*). It also shows 186 frequencies of カスタード(*kasutado*).

⁴⁷ エアプレーン[eapureinu] has 0 instances, while トラウザズ[tarauzazu] makes 6 appearances in the BCCWJ corpus.

whether to correct *appuru* [apple] – in *katakana pronunciation* – to *ringo* – the Japanese equivalent – or not. She eventually corrected her child’s utterance from ‘*appuru*’ to ‘*ringo*’ [apple] at that time, and commented as follows (Hisako, interview: June 2013):

Paradoxically, when you go to Japan, katakana pronunciation is widely recognised. So, when I ask children ‘what is a word starting with “a”,’ children may say ‘appuru’ [apple]. In Japan, this answer might not be recognised as a ‘wrong answer,’ since we sometimes use ‘appuru’ for ‘appuru jusu’ [apple juice], for instance.

As Hisako was well aware, *appuru* is often used in Japanese, especially in compound nouns such as *appurupai* [apple-pie]⁴⁸; thus, it would be difficult to state that *appuru* is not Japanese, considering its regular use. However, she explained her general concerns regarding the use of English words in *katakana pronunciation* as follows:

I sometimes wonder whether my children really can speak both languages (i.e., English and Japanese); I think they may actually not be able to speak either language perfectly. It may be because, we as parents, often use English words in our conversations, like ‘A-chan no mama ga pikku appu [pick up] suru’ [A’s mum will pick you up], instead saying ‘mukae ni iku’ [pick up] in Japanese.

As seen from Hisako’s comment, she was concerned that the use of English words in *katakana pronunciation* might spoil her children’s bilingual development. Another mother, Tomoko, also described an episode regarding the use of *katakana pronunciation*. The following excerpt is from a diary entry where Tomoko described the conversation between her children (Tsugumi aged 6; and Takuya aged 9) and her:

Tomoko wrote: “This is what we often have in our conversation:

Tsugumi: paku 行って来てもいい？[can I go to park?]

Tomoko: 日本語で言いなおしなさい。[Say it in Japanese again]

Tsugumi: あ、公園行って来てもいい？[ah, can I go to koen [park]?]

Takuya: Paku もカタカナで書けば日本語だと思う。Manga や Magajin も日本語でしょ。[I think park could be Japanese if written in katakana (i.e. a Japanese orthography). Manga and magazine are also Japanese, right?]

Tomoko: ...

⁴⁸ The BCCWJ shows 502 frequencies of アップル[*appuru*], indicating that it is *not* a very ‘irregular’ usage. 1220 frequencies for 林檎・りんご[apple].

It is often the case that I cannot find the right words, and I don't really correct children's katakana pronunciation recently" (Tomoko, diary exchange: August, 2012).

This diary excerpt shows the very interesting metalinguistic awareness of Tomoko's older child, Takuya. He pointed out the widespread use of English words in Japanese, and that 'park' in *katakana pronunciation* could therefore also be Japanese⁴⁹. Moreover, he brought in two more examples to make his point to his mother. Interestingly, one of his examples, *manga*, is usually considered as 'Japanese loan word' used in English. However, as you can see in Tomoko's diary, Takuya seemed to recognise it as an English word, presenting it as an example of 'English loan words' used in Japanese. This really tells how difficult it is to categorise word as either English or Japanese, or even as 'English loan words,' or 'Japanese loan words.'

Similar issues were also observed in the *Hoshuko*. The following Table 6-1 lists some similar occurrences of *katakana pronunciation*, which I observed at other children.

Table 6-1 Examples of 'Katakana Pronunciation'

Name of child	English word	Katakana pronunciation	Frequencies in BCCWJ corpus	Observation date
Tsugumi	rooster	<i>Rusuta</i>	25	March 2013
James	bat (mammal)	<i>Batto</i>	878 but mostly indicate 'bat' as a sport equipment	December 2012
Shun	animal	<i>animo</i>	0	January 2013
Saori	guess (verb)	<i>gesu suru</i>	0	November 2012

Some of the English words shown in the table above were not commonly used in Japan as the corpus indicates, and some were not pronounced exactly as in Japan. For instance, Shun pronounced *animo* for 'animal,' which is usually pronounced as *animaru* in Japan (179 hits for *animaru* but no hit for *animo* in the corpus). These, therefore, are more likely to be children's creations of 'Japanese sounding English' words, building on their knowledge of how Japanese syllables tend to end in vowels. These utterances were often observed when children wanted to say something in Japanese, but they did not know how to say it. That is, children most often 'created' such words in order to comply with *Hoshuko*'s Japanese monolingual policy during classes – this could be

⁴⁹ BCCWJ indicates 1890 frequencies of パック [paku]; 596 of magajin.

considered as a *translanguaging practice*, where children create their own ways of using language according to their aims.

As the *katakana pronunciation* of English words goes against the Japanese monolingual policy, teachers often encouraged children to avoid them, even those which are more commonly used in Japan. For instance, when singing the adaptation of the famous birthday song ‘*happi basude tu yu*’ [happy birthday to you], one teacher replaced the *katakana pronunciation* which is usually sung in Japan, with the Japanese *otanjobi omedeto* (field note: December 2012). I remember being surprised by this, as it was the first time for me to hear it being sung in that way. This teacher later explained that she believed she should not ‘mix’ languages, because once she would allow children to use English words in the class, they would cease developing their Japanese vocabulary. However, she also added that this is very difficult to achieve, as there are so many ‘English *loan words*’ used in Japanese (ethno-interview: December 2012).

As we could see from the episode described above, there might be a strong sense among teachers and/or parents that the use of English in *katakana pronunciation* obstructs the children’s Japanese language development. This is another dimension in the gap between ideals of *language separation* and its practice. It should also be noted that describing such verbal exchanges and interaction was a challenge for myself, as a researcher, finding it difficult to describe them without resorting to language categorisations, even though my claim in this thesis is that such categorical boundaries should be treated as ambiguous and malleable. This shall stand as a reminder that no one is freed from under socio-historically constructed ideological categorisations of language, as seen in the section 2.3.2.4.

Chapter Summary: Flexible Multilingual Practices against OPOL Discourses

Some studies have reported that the OPOL policy brought successful achievement in early childhood multilingualism; however, the same studies have also reported that the parents most often do not follow OPOL policy strictly in their practices (e.g. Döpke, 1992; Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Takeuchi, 2006). These ‘inconsistencies’ in language use are often recognised as ‘*failures*’ in family multilingual education, and have rarely been explored further in previous studies. This chapter, therefore, attempted to explore

the reasons behind the difficulties in language use, revealing the gap between OPOL discourses and social reality.

Many previous studies of OPOL policy have also tended to focus on child language acquisition, treating child multilinguality as the result of parental consistency (or inconsistencies) of language use at home, and consequently considering parents only as tools for the children's multilingual development, as seen in the section 2.3.2.3. However, as Okita (2002) points out, parents have a much greater role in real-life situations, than purely that of language educators. In my treatment of the issue, therefore, I have considered the family as a social construct where members position themselves in various social roles while utilising their available linguistic resource. As a whole, this chapter highlighted the complexities of language roles played within families, and revealed that individuals' language *practices* could rather challenge OPOL *discourses* and *ideologies*.

Firstly, although we have identified the discourse of *language competition* in OPOL, which holds a strong ideologies of 'language separation' as well as 'bilingualism as double monolingualism,' the data discussed in this chapter show that languages – English and Japanese in most families participating in study – are not always competitive elements in practice. I have highlighted the different roles Japanese language and English language play within the family. For example, due to the distinct distribution of Japanese language at home through the medium of the 'mother,' children strongly associate Japanese language with the mother-figure. Importantly, these unique roles attached to Japanese (i.e., *indexicality* developed through family language use) are being further reproduced and reinforced through OPOL family language policy. For children, on one hand, Japanese is the language in which they can confirm a strong relationship with their mothers. As a result, when children seek their mothers' approval, attention or care, they tend to use Japanese language. Parents, on the other hand, also employ their Japanese linguistic resources to maintain their parental position, and to overcome their unfamiliarity with mainstream *habitus*. Thus, for bilingual parents, the minority language plays a critical role, and thus OPOL policy seems to become attractive not only for their children's bilinguality, but also for their own purposes. In this sense, the simple contrast between languages, as seen in discourses – English versus Japanese – does not really come to terms with the social reality. As a result, parents struggle to maintain OPOL policy at home. I have also discussed the gap between

‘language separation ideology’ and ‘language use in practice,’ building on examples of the use of English ‘*loan words*’ and English words with a *katakana pronunciation* in Japanese. It became obvious in those examples that languages are not easy to categorise and separate, and even teachers and parents, who are policing children’s language use, have found it difficult to judge whether some words were uttered in Japanese or English.

Secondly, we have seen that there was also a strong OPOL discourse about the importance of ‘consistency’ in language use. My research participants also shared this stance, and therefore most of the mothers considered ‘inconsistency’ as deterioration, as seen in ‘*te-shimau*’ discourse (a voiced disapproval of one’s own actions). At the same time, however, I have frequently witnessed Japanese mothers’ use of English in situations where their language policy would not allow, and they also seemed to be self-aware that they sometimes used English. When paying attention to the inconsistencies in OPOL practices, however, many situations in an English-speaking society require Japanese mothers to speak in English. As seen in *practices* and *discourses* of ‘pretended monolingualism,’ mothers sometimes willingly renounce their multilingual abilities for the sake of being able to maintain a strict OPOL policy, which actually restricts their access to available linguistic resources.

In this chapter, I also highlighted Japanese mothers’ multilinguality and its influence on their decision and negotiations of FLP. A few mothers seemed to realise that their multilinguality is one useful resource for multilingual childrearing and shifted their language use from a monolingual to a multilingual one. These cases, however, were rare among my research participants, most of the mothers resisting to acknowledge the validity of multilingual practices for their multilingual educational purposes. Nevertheless, this resistance, so deeply entrenched in their *perceptions*, was being often challenged in their everyday *practices*, causing further difficulties for the parents. In this sense, although there are huge gaps between OPOL *discourses* and social reality, parents and children are already exercising multilingual *practice* to minimise such gaps. Thus, the gaps are larger in *perceptions* than in *practice*.

It is important to point out that the parental negotiations of FLP from monolingual to multilingual also challenge the ideology of ‘language authenticity’ – the idea that language should be always taught by ‘*native speakers*,’ as their multilingual use are not based on such native speakerism discourse (see section 6.1.1). Moreover, presenting

themselves as models of multilinguals also challenged the ideological idea that ‘*balanced bi-/multilingualism*’ should be the only goal.

Admittedly, in this chapter I have primarily focused on multilingual parents who are in charge of teaching children the minority language in OPOL policy, and have largely ignored the viewpoints of the parents who are in charge of the majority language. This is because this thesis is interested in the minority language use by multilinguals. Therefore, further research would be required for investigating the negotiation process of FLP from the perspectives of parents who teach majority language in OPOL policy. Moreover, since the multilingual parents I observed were mostly females; and due to the lack of data, I could not fully discuss the role of gender in language practices. Since some studies point out the gender difference in the maintenance of FLP and language use at family home (e.g., Lyon, 1996; Souza, 2015), this area also needs to be further explored. Furthermore, since the existence of siblings is likely to have an impact on family language use, this aspect also needs to be further considered in the future research.

Despite the limitation, this chapter, as a whole, has revealed the complexities involved in multilingual childrearing, and the various roles family members and language play within the family home. At least, I believe that the parents’ inconsistency in adhering to OPOL policy – mixing languages – should not be seen as a ‘*failure*,’ but as one useful resource for multilingual childrearing from a much wider social perspective.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

Overview

This thesis has looked at (pre- and early-school age) multilingual children's and their parents' negotiations of their language practices in the contexts of family home and Japanese complementary school, *Hoshuko*, in the UK. Applying Bourdieu's notion of *theory of practice*, I have explored *discourses* in different *fields* – structured structures – (e.g., *discourses* of governmental and institutional policies regarding *Hoshuko*, and *discourses* of FLPs) and the reproduction of such *discourses* through *habitus* – structuring structures – in comparison with individuals' situated *practices* and *perceptions*. Overall, this thesis has explored phenomena linking together macro and micro sociolinguistic processes like *discourses*, *practices* and *perceptions* of language use.

I have conceptualised language not as a countable, systemic unit, but as a wide pool of linguistic resources to be used by individuals. From this standpoint, it is important to acknowledge that 'resources' are not equally distributed in society, but concentrated in particular groups. I applied this notion of 'language as resource' in my argument when exploring unequal language distributions in the contexts of *Hoshuko* and the family home.

After reviewing the theoretical and empirical scholarly literature (Chapter 2) and discussing the methodology used in this study (Chapter 3), Chapters 4 to 6 have provided a data-driven discussion. In Chapter 4, I have looked firstly at *Hoshuko* discourses. By employing the analytical framework of CDA, I analysed Japanese governmental policies and the institutional policies of all nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. The concept of *recontextualisation* was particularly useful when examining the ways in which the *discourses* found in governmental policies are appropriated in institutional policies. Chapter 5 investigated micro-level individual *practices* and *perceptions* through the analysis of qualitative data collected through ethnographic fieldwork at *Asahi-Hoshuko*, one of the nine *Hoshuko* in the UK. The chapter examined how the *discourses* are appropriated and challenged in individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*. The focus in Chapter 6 was directed specifically on intermarriage families who reported to employ OPOL family language policy. Similarly to the previous chapters, in this

chapter I also explored the mutual influences among OPOL *discourse* and individuals' *practices* and *perceptions*.

I have already summarised the main findings of each chapter, and their limitations, in the 'Chapter Summary' sections of each discussion chapter. Therefore, in this concluding chapter (Chapter 7), I will detail some further arguments regarding the overall findings and implications of this study by integrating the findings from the *Hoshuko* and family contexts. I will also refer to some additional data in order to extend my argument, when necessary.

7.1 Overall Findings in Respect to the Research Questions

The research questions addressed in this thesis relate to four substantive areas on inquiry: 1) policy discourse; 2) language practice; 3) language perception; and 4) relations among discourse, practice and perception.

1) Policy Discourse: What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in governmental, institutional, and family language policies?

- 1-i). What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in governmental and institutional policies regarding *Hoshuko*?
- 1-ii). What kinds of discourses and ideologies are embedded in OPOL family language policy?

2) Language Practice: In what ways do multilingual individuals use language in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?

- 2-i). In what ways do the multilingual children and parents use their linguistic resources in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
- 2-ii). What kinds of meanings are created by their specific selection of available linguistic resource in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?

3) Language Perception: In what ways do multilingual individuals perceive their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?

- 3-i). In what ways do multilingual children and parents describe their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?
- 3-ii). In what ways do they rationalise their language use in the *Hoshuko* and in the family home?

4) Relations among Discourse, Practice and Perception: How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses (*Hoshuko* policies and FLP) influence one another?

- 4-i). How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses influence one another in the *Hoshuko*?
- 4-ii). How do individual language practices, perceptions and policy discourses influence one another in the family home?

The above questions contain a double comparative aspect: the first one is in exploring *discourses*, *practices* and *perceptions* in order to identify their mutual influence on one another; the second one compares the fields of *Hoshuko* and the family home. In this first section 7.1, I will focus on the former aspect, and I will discuss the second aspect in section 7.2.

7.1.1 Dichotomous Views in Discourses and Flexible Multilingual Practices

One of the major finding of Chapters 4 to Chapter 6 is that there are dichotomous views and values (e.g., what is ‘*appropriate*’) contained in the identified discourses in both the *Hoshuko* policies and FLP. For instance, the discourse of ‘*Hoshuko* is for future returnees (i.e., PECs)’ has been supported and reproduced at all levels (i.e., governmental, institutional, and individual), and therefore teaching contents replicate strictly the Japanese domestic education, this practice going uncontested among teachers and parents. Such discourses are based on essentialist and nationalist dichotomous perspectives towards country, language, nationality, and students’ backgrounds. The identified binary views at *Hoshuko* are, for example, the following:

Table 7-1: Dichotomous Views in *Hoshuko* Discourses: Centralised ‘Japan’ vs. ‘the Others’

Centralised ‘Japan’	VS ‘the others’	Levels of discourse:
Japan	VS Foreign Countries	governmental
Japan	VS Britain	institutional, individual
Japanese language	VS English language	governmental, institutional, individual
Japanese national	VS Foreign national	governmental, institutional, individual
Japanese expatriates	VS intermarriage	institutional, individual

As you can see in Table 7-1, the dichotomous view places ‘Japan (e.g., Japanese language, Japanese culture)’ at the centre, and considers the rest as ‘the others,’ while emphasising a clear boundary between ‘Japan’ and ‘the others.’ This is why, even though the government tries to deal with the issue of diversity – for example, through photographic imagery representations of diverse ethnicities in the context of *Hoshuko* – their conception is still based on a dichotomous viewpoint, since they highlight ‘Japaneseness’ through the contrast between ‘Japan’ and ‘the others.’ Such views do not allow for diversity *within*, and thus, consequently lead to ignoring the existence of those who can either fit in both categories or in neither. In other words, such an essentialist binary view attributes high value to ‘Japaneseness,’ and in order to protect those values, it attaches negative traits to – and/or ignorance towards – ‘the others.’

Interestingly, similar to *Hoshuko* discourses, FLP (i.e., OPOL discourse in this study) also embraces a dichotomous standpoint. For instance, English language is described as a competitive element against Japanese language. Moreover, there is a strong *discourse* on the part of Japanese parents that they need to protect and maintain Japanese language as it is a minority language in the UK. Their role of being in charge of children’s *minority* language development seems to encourage them to celebrate ‘Japanese’ to a degree, in order to compete with mainstream ‘English.’

As seen above, such dichotomous *discourses* involve an ideological conviction that languages have to be separated in order to maintain child bilingualism, and if they mixed, children could not become ‘*balanced bilinguals*.’ The existence of this ‘language separation’ discourse has also been pointed out by previous studies in multilingualism. For instance, Conteh and her colleagues’ (2013) study discloses mainstream teachers’ *discourse* that language mixing causes confusion among pupils, and therefore languages other than English should be avoided. Blackledge and Creese (2010a) also report on how Turkish complementary school teachers clearly separate Turkish from English, implementing a monolingual policy of community language at complementary schools. Blackledge and Creese call such practices as *separate bilingualism*, while noting that interactions among individuals at the complementary school show in the direction of more flexible multilingual practices, which they designate as *flexible bilingualism*.

The present thesis has also disclosed this *flexible bilingualism* of individuals’ language practices, utilising all the available resources. For instance, in analysing

moment-to-moment interactions at *Hoshuko*, I found that the multilingual practices of teachers and children are going beyond the dichotomous views, and embrace the benefits of situated learning and teaching opportunities appropriate for children's needs.

The flexible use of linguistic resources was extensively observed in the family home context as well. Despite the strong *discourse* of OPOL, which views negatively 'inconsistencies of language use other than Japanese' by the Japanese parent, at the actual *practices*, both the Japanese parents and children make use of their multilingual resources in very strategic ways, utilising the meanings constructed through interactions with other members in the family (see further discussion later in section 7.2.2).

To sum up, the macro *discourses* are frequently contradicted by individuals' *practices* at the micro level. However, as seen in the next section, when looking at individuals' *perceptions*, the relationship between the institutional macro level *discourse* and individuals' micro level *practices* is more complex.

7.1.2 Contradictions in Individuals' Practices and Perceptions

The individual *perceptions* observed in this study indicate the existence of some interesting relationships between the above mentioned *discourses* and *practices*. As I have pointed out in the previous section, there was certainly a discrepancy between *discourses* and individuals' *practices*. Importantly, individuals' *perceptions*, instead of acknowledging and supporting their own *practices*, they rather replicate the wider governmental and institutional *discourses*. Consequently, even when the discrepancy between *discourses* and their *practices* is acknowledged, individuals themselves tend to perceive their practices as 'not ideal' and/or 'not appropriate.' In short, *multilingual practices* are generally not appreciated in individuals' *perceptions*. At *Hoshuko*, for instance, teachers seemed to have awareness of, to some extent, the effectiveness of multilingual practices on certain occasions. Despite this awareness, however, teachers often hesitate to promote multilingual practices explicitly. This hesitation seems to be originating in the strict *Hoshuko discourses*, and their responsibility in behaving as a 'Hoshuko' teacher. Thus, governmental and institutional *discourses* are strong in the sense that they constrain individuals' *perceptions*.

The devaluations of *multilingual practices* were also observed in the family home context. For example, *te-shimau discourse* (see section 6.1.4) represents the parents' negative *perceptions* of multilingual practices, especially in OPOL family language policy. Although I have introduced a few parents who accept *multilingual practices* in

section 6.4, they were the rare cases in this study, and most parents tended to perceive *multilingual practices* negatively, or at least struggling to accept *multilingual practices* they actually do in their daily practices at their *perception* levels.

Besides parents and teachers, children also often reproduce the dominant *discourses* in their *perceptions*. My observations and discussions with children have highlighted that while many children, in fact, often use English to their Japanese mothers, many have stated that English should be reserved for their English-speaking fathers, thus replicating a strong perception that Japanese and English should be clearly separated as they correspond to different parents (see the detailed discussion in section 6.3.2).

To sum up, one main argument put forward in this thesis is that we should deepen our understanding of the dynamics between the macro-level ideological influences emerging from policy *discourses* and the micro-level situated *practices*, and consider the complexity of individuals' *perceptions* involved in the legitimation of their *practices*.

7.2 Focusing on the Field: Hoshuko and Family Home

In the above section 7.1, I looked at the common features uniting the *Hoshuko* and the family contexts. As addressed by the research questions, however, my investigation also involved comparing the two, and in this section, 7.2, I will therefore focus specifically on the fields of *Hoshuko* and the family home, and identify some of the implications of this thesis.

7.2.1 The Field of *Hoshuko*: Celebrating Japaneseness or Multilingualism?

In Chapter 5 I highlighted the two main features of *Hoshuko*: one was that through the creation of a specific *habitus* it attributes an increased value to 'Japaneseness,' the other aspect was that even though this *habitus* reproduces the value of 'Japaneseness,' it also produce a multilingual and multicultural *habitus* at the *Hoshuko*.

As expressed in several interview excerpts, intermarriage parents often decide to send their children to *Hoshuko* because children begin using English at home more extensively after enrolling in mainstream schools. Therefore, in the parents' perceptions, *Hoshuko*, through its institutional emphasis on 'Japaneseness,' is clearly contrasted to the mainstream school. However, a close inspection of *Hoshuko* reveals that it is far from being a setting dominated by Japanese monolinguals, most of those attending being in fact multilinguals. It is understandable that such a *field* should be dominated by both a 'Japanese' *habitus*, as well as a 'multilingual' one. In fact, as it

has been observed in this thesis, children often emphasise their multilinguality (e.g. see section 5.3.4) despite the strict Japanese monolingual policies at *Hoshuko*. For many children, *Hoshuko* was a ‘safe space’ for multilingual practice, unlike mainstream school settings, where English monolingual norms dominate, and multilingualism would be socially sanctioned. The following comment was made by Tomoko, an intermarriage mother (ethno-interview: October 2012);

Recently, even mainstream schools encourage the acknowledgement of the diversity of languages and cultures. But among children, especially since the majority of local children are monolingual, being able to speak more than one language is not always appreciated. Although the Hoshuko insists upon a “Japanese only policy,” children actually encounter more benefits from being ‘bilingual’ at the Hoshuko during breaks and informal talks with other kids. ... I think it is quite important for them to realise the benefits of bilingualism in this way at Hoshuko.

The above comment details an interesting comparison between the *Hoshuko* and the mainstream school. As seen in this excerpt, in Tomoko’s evaluation of *Hoshuko*’s role goes beyond children’s Japanese language development and involves multilingual education. In one of the very few studies to look at multilingualism in mainstream school contexts, Conteh and Riasat (2014) argue that despite a seeming appreciation of language diversity at the national policy level in England, mainstream schools’ approach towards language diversity “can be viewed as a pragmatic response to global events and trends, over which they have no control and which have led to the changes in the population [of classrooms]” (Conteh & Riasat, 2014: 603), and in reality teachers do not prioritise promoting children’s awareness of language diversity in their classrooms. Due to a lack of data of mainstream school in this study, I cannot engage in such an argument; however, Conteh and Riasat’s (2014) insights may be helpful for the interpretation of Tomoko’s comment, and suggestion that *Hoshuko* has a unique role in multilingual education, despite a strict monolingual discourse at the policy level.

The overall findings of this thesis regarding *Hoshuko* cast doubt on several fundamental *Hoshuko* policies, and these doubts could best be formulated as questions to guide any future inquiry:

- Considering the diversity at *Hoshuko* around the world, is there really a need for centralised governmental policies?

- Should *Hoshuko* (part-time complementary schools) have the same aims as *Nihonjin Gakko* (full-time Japanese schools) even if they function differently?
- Is the use of Japanese government approved textbooks, and classes taught by Japanese qualified teachers really ‘ideal’ for *Hoshuko*?

Although this thesis does not focus on aspects of language teaching, the practices of teachers and students observed in this thesis may also have some implications on pedagogic practices. Canagarajah (2005) claims as that it is important to empower local practices in language teaching in the global era. In this sense, the example I explored in this thesis could be regarded as one case of the process of globalisation – the diversification of students’ backgrounds and demands – at *Hoshuko*, where we have observed “the difficulty in defining people and communities in exclusive ways” (Canagarajah, 2005: xxiii). Canagarajah (2005) also proposes alternative priorities for language teaching in comparison with traditional ones, as shown in Table 7-2 (Canagarajah, 2005: xxv; adopted from *FIG. 1.1. Shifts in pedagogical practice*).

Table 7-2: Canagarajah's Model of Shift in Pedagogical Practice

From:	To:
‘target language’	repertoire
text and language as homogeneous	text and language as hybrid
joining a community	shuttling between communities
focus on rules and conventions	focus on strategies
correctness	negotiation
language and discourse as static	language and discourse as changing
language as context-bound	language as context-transforming
mastery of grammar rules	metalinguistic awareness
text and language as transparent and instrumental	text and language as representational
L1 or C1 as problem	L1 or C1 as resource

Source: Adapted from FIG. 1.1. Shifts in pedagogical practice in Canagarajah, 2005: xxv

Canagarajah’s proposed new orientations in language teaching are indeed synchronic to the individual practices at *Asahi-Hoshuko*. More specifically, rather than focusing only on Japanese language, in practice teachers relied on children’s multilingual abilities and involved a wider knowledge of language as a learning resource. Children themselves took the initiative in creating new games shuttling between communities (e.g., *sakana* and *chippusu*) in which everyone could join while integrating their

knowledge of the games. There were also many opportunities for children to learn new non-Japanese lexical items – as in the example of *sausage* and *wiener* – at *Hoshuko* (i.e., meta-linguistic awareness). Thus, *Hoshuko*, in practice, creates a space that fosters pluralism rather than imposing one variety (i.e., Japanese language and culture).

It is important to clarify that I am not claiming that the ‘Japanese’ *habitus* of *Hoshuko* should be diminished. To the contrary, I am arguing that because *Hoshuko* reproduces the added celebration of ‘Japaneseness,’ it can create this very specific multilingual space within an English-speaking society. My main argument is that *Hoshuko* does not have to aim at replicating ‘Japanese national education’ and ‘*school culture*’ as described in the policies; this is because that the members of community and their backgrounds, as well as children’s aims of coming to *Hoshuko* seems to be different from the schools in Japanese context. Importantly, Japanese education policies and systems have themselves been changing in recent years to reflect the realities of the globalising age, as well as the diversification of educational demands in Japan. In such a milieu, *Hoshuko*’s attempts to replicate a ‘*traditional*’ – and very essentialist – ‘*Japanese school culture*’ could easily become outdated both in respect to the context of *Hoshuko*, as well as in comparison to contemporary domestic education in Japan. In my view, therefore, *Hoshuko* could instead strive to enrich themselves as true multilingual and multicultural *fields* where individuals can evaluate and maximise their multilingual resources. From the detailed analysis of local practices, I believe that *Hoshuko* has the potential of becoming leading models for new language learning spaces in a globalising world.

7.2.2 The *Field* of Family Home: Complex Use of Language Resources

The research design of this thesis was aimed at including and contrasting the two *fields* of *Hoshuko* and the family home, since both provide minority language education in addition to mainstream schooling. Although, as seen above, the two fields share some common features, I have found that the family home plays a highly different role compared to *Hoshuko*.

Hisako, a mother, once told me the following:

By using Japanese continuously and consistently, I believe that children feel it more natural to use Japanese to me, and they would feel strange to use English. It is important to make this rule become an unconscious selection for our children. (Hisako, ethno-interview: November 2012).

Hisako's comment is interesting, as according to her, children should feel it as '*natural*' to use Japanese, and '*strange*' to use English to their mother at an '*unconscious*' level. In other words, what Hisako attempts is to turn OPOL policy into a *family habitus* for her children. Bourdieu posits, however, that *habitus* is first acquired within the family and then transformed through schooling. Moreover, he emphasises that *habitus* is something restructured continuously (Bourdieu, 1998). Through this study, I found that it is very difficult to maintain the same policy consistently. Even in the *Hoshuko*, where institutional discourses are firmly established in their support of the governmental *discourse*, we have seen a change in their policies along with the recent diversification in students' backgrounds. In contrast, families are much smaller social settings consisting of fewer members, where the acting individuals are fully involved in making family language policies. Therefore, policies could be more flexible and negotiable to reflect here-and-now social realities (e.g., life events, children's growth, or any other social changes). The difficulty is that there is a firm discourse which refrains from, as well as adds a negative perception to such negotiation processes of FLP.

From this viewpoint, the widely accepted OPOL discourse – that “if parents use a specific language consistently, children would become *balanced bi-/multilinguals*” – prevents parents from successfully engaging in negotiations of FLP, and from realising the advantages and efficiency of multilingual practices. In this respect, further research is required to focus more on exploring such negotiation procedures of FLP, rather than seeking for and promoting '*definite*' and '*right*' all-encompassing language policies that most probably do not exist.

I have also discussed the unique meanings *indexed* to minority language – Japanese language in this study – due to the very specific language practices at family home. For instance, I pointed out that for children, Japanese language is almost always mediated through their mother; therefore, Japanese language seems to be associated strongly with the mother figure, and children utilise such Japanese language resource to show their attachment – and sometimes even challenge – to their mothers.

One interesting finding is that in contrast to *Hoshuko* where children actively and explicitly showcase their multilingual abilities (e.g., see section 5.3.3), I did not observe such behaviour of 'displaying multilingualism' by children during my family home visits. Unlike *Hoshuko* which restricts membership (e.g., Japanese nationals living in

the UK) and therefore most community members are at least bilinguals in Japanese and English, the family home context opens up to those who with diverse linguistic backgrounds. In such a milieu, English is the central communicative tool as it often plays a role as a lingua franca, and therefore, Japanese language gains a more unique role. The interesting *indexicality* of Japanese (i.e. the association between mother and Japanese language), therefore, has developed in the family context, rather than in the *Hoshuko*.

For mothers, Japanese language is also an important and unique resource for maintaining their parental position; as some mothers' comments have shown, especially in a mainstream setting, mothers lack an intrinsic understanding of mainstream society's and schools' *practices* (this is not restricted to language knowledge but involves much wider issues), and therefore, 'specialising' themselves in the Japanese language seems to compensate, to some extent, their diminished position in the mainstream society, and serves to protect their position.

As discussed above, the family home provides a space for very interesting language practices, and appears to create and develop unique *indexicalities* of the minority language. Although this thesis has had to rely on limited empirical data in this respect, its findings disclosed unique family language practices. So far there is a dearth of research comparing multilingual practices across different fields, and further research investigating the roles played by minority languages in the family context, in comparison to those they have in mainstream schools and complementary school context, will be required.

7.2.3 Policy Implications: Education Policy and Family Language Policy

To sum up, I would also like to highlight some future 'policy' implications concerning multilingualism in the *fields* of *Hoshuko* and family home. One aspect of language I recurrently invoked in this thesis is its political – or rather 'politicised' – nature, in the sense of being perceived as a practice having a declared aim, and thus, requiring various forms of planning and interference that would aid reaching those set objectives. The respective planning tools discussed in the chapters of the thesis were Japan's *Education Abroad* policy, its reflection in institutional *Hoshuko* policies, and the family language policies adopted in individual households. Based on the in-depth analysis of these policy discourses and of individual situated practices and narratives undertaken in this thesis, there are several propositions that could be made in order to

enhance the interpenetration between individual needs and practices, and language planning, and therefore to raise the effectiveness of the various policies.

First, since, as we have seen, various social forces (e.g., diversification of students' backgrounds) undermine the prescribed linguistic expectations set by essentialist ideologies embedded in policies (e.g., language separation), *Hoshuko* should strive to reflect these changes in their institutional policies. This would require a more active engagement with and constructive criticism of official governmental education policy. In this respect, one way forward could be the setting up of a federal consultative framework, by which *Hoshuko* leaders from around the world could meet to discuss the various local challenges faced by their institutions, and collectively designing a general recommendation guide that could be submitted to the Japanese government in order to inform relevant policy. Such a political tool would have the advantage of generating a unified platform of global experts able to influence central policy making, as well as guaranteeing that *Education Abroad* policy could remain an unified design tool, yet flexible enough to allow for addressing the various local circumstances.

Secondly, the findings of this research also suggest that the mainstream views held regarding family language policy – and primarily OPOL – would require major reconsideration. For family language policies to successfully achieve their set aims, they will need to become more self-reflective. In this respect, considering the great influence which academic research and textbooks have on the formation of *ideologies* and *discourses* underpinning FLP decision-making processes, the academic research community bears a significant responsibility. What this research has disclosed, is that the prescriptive character of unequivocal OPOL prescriptions often found in publications digested by readers in search of guidance, is unlikely to yield the expected results. It would be therefore more useful for families in search of guidance to be advised regarding the significance of individual family contexts and personal trajectories, and be offered alternative examples of OPOL uses and abuses, failures and successes. While such a less prescriptive approach would be less likely to provide definitive recommendations, it would also be less bound to engender the sentiments of failure and distress documented in this thesis. It would represent a more participatory and reflexive approach, able to provide multiple anchors to the various particular aims that different family members may have while jointly engaging in practices of multilingual homemaking.

7.3 *Future Research Areas*

The above outline of the main findings of the thesis has already highlighted some areas that would require further research. Here, I will focus on two such substantive areas, or rather approaches to the study of multilingualism in practice, which I believe could enrich our understanding of the issues discussed in this thesis and identify new dimensions that due to the limitation of the present research could not be fully assessed.

One such ‘area’ is more methodological, and relevant to the argument that I put forward above in section 7.1, regarding the necessity to explore contradictions at the different levels of analysis and the lived experience, and what the best methods to explore these contradictions may be. The second ‘area’ has a more ‘empirical’ nature, drawing conclusions from the discussion of the ‘field site’ in the previous section, and placing it within the Bourdieusian framework that I have used in this thesis to capture the analytical unity of the topic which I tackled (section 7.2).

7.3.1 *Exploring the Contradictions*

The discrepancies between *discourses*, *practices* and *perceptions* that I have discussed above cast doubt on the validity of research approaches and paradigms based on an unquestioned conviction that what research participants report to be doing is what they really do, and therefore there is no need to observe their actual everyday practices. The relationship between individuals’ *perceptions* and *practices* is much more complex, and could have many different manifestations besides those observed and reported in this study. The research participants’ evaluations of certain language *practices* often strongly relate to the *discourses* and *ideologies* which circulate within a certain community. Reactions to such widely circulated *discourse* vary from individual to individual, but it was widely observed that such *discourses* have an impact on the ways in which *individuals* ‘perceive’ their *practices*.

This highlights the potential of critical ethnographic study for multiple reasons. First, related to the above, in order to disclose and interpret everyday practices and their collision with upheld ideological discourses, ethnography is a particularly useful approach. Second, critical ethnography is highly compatible with critical interpretative perspectives, through which this thesis was able to disclose self-contradictions *across* different levels (i.e., the governmental, institutional, and the individuals), as well as *within* them. For instance, I identified the self-contradiction *within* the governmental

level between textual statements and the imagery content of their policies. Although the imagery representations used involved mixed-ethnic children attending *Hoshuko* classes, the textual statements never mentioned their existence. At the institutional level, the contradictions became more obvious; on the one hand, the schools' purpose is clearly aligned to the policy ideal that '*Hoshuko* is for PECs'; on the other hand, enrolment requirements have disclosed openness to non-PECs – this also suggests that non-PECs form a relatively big number in the actual *Hoshuko* contexts. Despite this fact, the *discourse* of '*Hoshuko* is for PECs' is still maintained firmly in the enrolment, since non-PECs is considered an exceptional and irregular case. At the individual level, I highlighted the individuals' contradictions between their *practices* and *perceptions*.

Contradictions were not only observed *within* but also *across* different macro to micro levels. For instance, it is not always the case that the macro level governmental *discourses* are reproduced at the meso-level *Hoshuko* context, or at the micro individual level. It was often recontextualised and appropriated according to needs and purposes at certain times and in certain places. As mentioned above, even if the discourses were strongly supported at the level of individuals' perceptions, individuals' practices often challenged them. Thus, the relationship between *discourses*, *practices* and *perceptions* is not unidirectional and straightforward but full of hesitations, struggles and challenges. Looking at such contradictory elements can highlight the issues regarding language use in multilingual contexts, and I believe that identifying these 'contradictions' is an important area to be explored in future research in order to understand the complexities the role of language plays.

I have also found self-contradictions in longitudinal trajectories. In the case of *Hoshuko* in the UK, for instance, the increasing diversification of the students' backgrounds in recent years necessarily leads to policy adjustments (e.g., founding nursery, accepting non-PEC, the modification of teaching contents). In the case of families, children's aging and different life-events (e.g., enrolment to mainstream school, family relocation) seem to play key roles in negotiating FLP. Thus, it was observed that family negotiations of language use and self-contradictory practices manifest themselves differently at different points in time, implying that *practices* and *perceptions* change, and therefore a cross-sectional examination cannot be exhaustive for an understanding of multilingual processes. These observed phenomena should be rather understood as part of a continuous negotiation process. For example, I believe

that the association between ‘mother’ and ‘Japanese,’ as observed in this thesis, may only occur at the age of early childhood, when children require particular attention from their parents. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that individuals’ negotiation of language practices always take place in a temporal-spatial framework.

7.3.2 Exploring Different ‘Fields’

In section 7.2, I discussed that although both *Hoshuko* and the family home are fields creating a space for minority language learning, they seem to have different functions. In order to grasp such differences on a theoretical level, I will briefly return to Bourdieu’s notion of *field*. Individual practices are always occurred within a certain *field*, and each *field* determines its rules and values – that is, it shapes individuals’ *practices* and *perceptions*. Most importantly, these rules and values are sociocultural and historical products (*structured structures*), which have existed well before the observed practices took place.

Although this thesis has looked at *Hoshuko* in the UK context, it is therefore obvious that it would be an overstretching of the argument to generalise its findings to the hundreds of *Hoshuko* worldwide, each nested within their local, rule-setting context. Socio-political history, demographic features (e.g. students’ backgrounds and population), the locally spoken languages, and many more elements can all impact on the process of constructing the structured rules and values in the given *field*. For instance, as I have mentioned above, due to the commodification of English on the global market (e.g. Block et al., 2012), individuals in a *Hoshuko* context in non-Anglophone settings would necessarily attach a different value to the local language than what we have observed in an Anglophone setting. Another example could be places such as East- and South-East Asia, where the children of professional expatriates are numerically dominant at *Hoshuko*, and where, therefore, values and rules could considerably differ from what I have found in this thesis. For similar reasons, we must remember that *Hoshuko* is only one type of complementary school, specifically focusing on Japanese language maintenance, while other linguistic communities may have to deal with social influences and values of a very different nature. It is therefore required that more research be done in the various different geographical settings that shape the *field* of complementary schools. Here I am not arguing that further studies are needed for purposes of generalisation, but instead, that by involving different

sociocultural, historical, and political settings we would be able to better understand the influence of different *fields* on the situated practices of individuals.

Within this general assessment, I believe that the current thesis has delineated five concrete areas in which further research would be highly beneficial. First, this thesis was mainly concerned with the situated practices of multilingual children and their multilingual parents, and this contained the empirical focus of the research. It would be a very interesting to investigate in more depth the language practices in the home context of those children who stay only for a short term in the UK (i.e., expatriate families). Although such an inquiry may seem to stretch too far beyond the ‘language practices of multilinguals,’ it arguably has a great potential to enrich our understanding of multilingual development. We should not forget that expatriate families must take into consideration that their children are most likely to go back to Japan and to reintegrate into the Japanese schooling system. In the UK for instance, as I have previously mentioned, there is only one full-time Japanese school which Japanese government approved (i.e., *Nihonjin Gakko*) located in London, and therefore, all Japanese expatriates families based in other regions only have the option of *Hoshuko*, with all the advantages and disadvantages that I have mentioned throughout the thesis. Nevertheless, expatriates families may also have a desire to facilitate the bilingual development of their children, especially in an Anglophone setting like the one examined in this thesis, given that such multilingual skills would be a valuable asset to their children even after their return to Japan. Furthermore, parents themselves may want to seize the opportunity to develop their own language skills. In either case, children are consequently becoming a member in the mainstream environment of local mainstream schools when they come to the UK, and this can lead to very interesting manifestations of multilingual situated practices in the home settings. As mentioned before, while this has not been among the central questions of the present research, it is an area that still awaits a proper exploration and understanding.

Another related area is the mainstream school setting itself. As discussed before, very valuable research – such as that of studies of Conteh and her colleagues (Conteh, 2010; Conteh & Riasat, 2014; Conteh et al., 2013) – have already been conducted in relation to the *field* of mainstream schools, but more would be needed, especially in the comparison of multilingual practices with the other *fields* (such as complementary

schools and family homes). As the data I collected through interviews with parents and children regarding their language use in mainstream school settings are limited, more research in this respect is recommended. A wider grasp of such phenomena could also provide explanations for *practices* observed in the *Hoshuko* and in the family homes, which have remained only partially understood in this thesis. To stress this point, I would highlight that there may be explanations – for instance to the points raised by Tomoko, a mother, which I presented earlier in this chapter – that cannot even be hypothesised without a proper understanding of processes taking place in mainstream schools.

A third area has less to do with the *field* we examine, but with certain practices. In this thesis I have specifically explored in depth the situated *practices* at home of two families who reported to be using OPOL as a family language policy. While OPOL is certainly one of the most widespread family policies, it is not the only one worth exploring. Also, as discussed by Lanza (2007) for example, the policing of monolingual or multilingual language practice at home can take many shapes. Hence, OPOL itself has diverse family language practices within. I would urge therefore, that more research be done on other family language policies than those utilising OPOL, while at the same time being attentive to the various OPOL practices – in more pragmatic sense – that stretch the boundaries of this specific policy, potentially enriching it.

The fourth and fifth areas of future research that I would like to highlight are somewhat related both to each other, as well as the issues of family language policy raised in the previous point. As mentioned at various points throughout the thesis, the perspectives of the parents who are not fluent in Japanese could not be fully explored in this thesis, due to methodological difficulties as well as time- and financial considerations. This would be, however, a very interesting and indeed necessary viewpoint to explore, both through in-depth interviews with the parents and through extensive participant observation of every-day interactions among all the family members in a household and beyond. This would presumably also require a different research design, one centred on a single site to which full access is granted. In this thesis, I have taken a different, perhaps more integrative route that could explore different emerging contradictions across various sites. The in-depth investigation of

multilingual practices in the family home – one fully covering interactions among both parents and children – therefore remains a task for future research.

Related to this, the *field* explored in this research was merely the cases that the parent who is not fluent in Japanese was the ‘father.’ I consider the complex issues identified in the connection between ‘Japaneseness’ and the ‘mother’ figure to be one of the essential findings of this thesis. Nevertheless, this complex set of socially embedded problematics were of an ‘emergent’ kind, in the sense that they have emerged in the course of the fieldwork; therefore, the research design was not prepared – neither methodologically, nor theoretically – to fully assess them. What would be needed, therefore, in future research is a focused examination of language practices from a solid ‘gendered’ perspective. As a final remark, I would like to reconnect this point to the one made in the previous section regarding the methodological areas proposed for future research. It seems to me that the critical ethnographic approach, for all the reasons mentioned previously, is one that is best fitted to engage with such a task of combining a sociological ‘gendered’ perspective – with all its meta-linguistic concerns – with that of multilingualism research.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Data Collection in Timeline

	Pilot visits	← 16 months (primal fieldwork period at <i>Hoshuko</i> and family home) →																	
Year	2012	2013																	
Month	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	01	02	03	04	05	06	07		
<i>Hoshuko</i>	<i>Hoshuko</i>	Data collection (<i>Hoshuko</i> visits: 29 times) - Participant observation (classroom audio-recorded between September 2012 and March 2013) - Ethno-interviews - Diary exchanges (5 times within 16 months) – email exchanges throughout this period - Field notes																	
	Visits (times)	2	1	3	3	2	2	0	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	0	2	3	1
	Diary exchanged			X			X			X			X						
	Family Home	Data collection (<i>Hoshuko</i> visits: Family 1 – 6 times; family 2 7 times; other families 4 times in total) - Participant observation (partially audio-recorded) - Ethno-interviews (during the visits) - Structured interviews (approx. 1 hour per interview with parents from different families/cipants)																	
Family 1 (times)				1		1		1	1					1					
Family 2 (times)			2	2		1	1		1				1						
Semi-structured interview (times)			1	1				1				1			2			2	

- *Hoshuko* visits: 31 times (including the visits in pilot fieldwork)
- Family visits: 13 times in total (Family 1: 5 times; Family 2: 8 times)
- Semi-structured interviews: 8 times with parents from different families (2 was conducted at *Hoshuko*, the others at outside *Hoshuko*)

Appendix B: Transcription Symbols

The following transcription symbols were used in this thesis.

CH / KY	Participants (CH represent a researcher ⁵⁰)
S/ Ss	Student(s) at <i>Hoshuko</i> during classes
T	Teacher at <i>Hoshuko</i> during classes
((laughter))	Spontaneous sounds and movements of the face and body
...	Short pause (between 0.5 and 2 seconds)
[5]	Longer pause (number: the length of the pause in seconds)
(-----)	Speeches which are difficult to decipher
(text)	Speeches which are difficult to discern, analyst's guess
<<an omission for X>>	X seconds of speech have been omitted from the transcription
!	A sharp rising intonation at the end of the phrase or word
?	Rising intonation at the end of the phrase or word
CAPITALS	Speeches which are given extra stress
<children are playing>	Researcher's additional description based on field notes
[translation (supplement)]	Translation by a researcher; brackets inside show supplement part of translation omitted in original Japanese speech
English	Speeches in English
日本語[translation]	Speeches in Japanese [English translation]
<u>Ingurishu</u>	Speeches difficult to identify in either English or Japanese (I followed Japanese <i>roma-ji</i> autographic [romanisation of Japanese] with an underline)

⁵⁰ As discussed in 3.7, this study describes a researcher as one individual of researched community. For this reason, this study describe a researcher as "CH," the initial of Chisato, as the same way I do for the other research participants, and does not differentiate my own as "RE," the initial of a researcher.

Appendix C: Explanation for Observation Notebooks

This note was used for explaining the purpose of exchanging observation data with parents, by attaching emails, and in the front page of each notebook.

必ずお読みください Please make sure to read the following :

このノートは、私が補習校で観察した内容（特に言語に関する個人のエピソードなど）を、保護者の方と共有するためのものです。観察されたすべての内容が研究に使用されるわけではありませんが、ノートに記入された内容は、研究に使用される可能性があることをご了承ください。倫理的観点上、お手数ですが観察したデータを研究に使用することを承認するサインをお願いいたします。（データとして研究に使う場合、ここで使われているお子さんの名前はすべて匿名・仮名にて表現します。）

This notebook is designed for sharing the contents which I obtained from observations at *Hoshuko* with parents, particularly individuals' linguistic episodes. Please be aware that contents of this notebook will be possibly used as data for my research. From ethical perspectives, please give your (guardian's) signature which allows me to use observed data for the research. (When I use the observation data for my research, I will show names of the children as anonymous/pseudonym.)

特定の観察内容を研究に使ってほしくない場合、その箇所をノートに記していただければ研究には使いません。

If you are not happy about allowing me to use particular contents, please show me the contents; I won't use those contents for my research.

もし、私の解釈が間違っている場合、ご指摘/訂正をお願いします。

If my interpretations are not correct, please point out and refine/revise them.

もし、私の観察したことに付け加えるエピソードやコメントがあれば、ぜひこのノートに書き加えてください。観察データ理解・解釈する上でとても参考になります。

If there are any comments / episodes which you want to add to my observation contents, please feel free to do so. It would be very helpful for my understandings/ interpretations of the data.

観察データは、論文の表現形態や文字制限により、この先、少し修正される可能性があります。その場合には、内容(意味)が変わらないように十分配慮させていただきます。

The contents of observation data might be modified slightly in the future, according to ways of presentation in a thesis, word-limitations etc. In the case, I will pay full attention to maintain the meaning of content.

ご協力ありがとうございます！ Thank you for your cooperation!

Chisato Danjo

Northumbria University, PhD researcher in linguistics

Email: chisato.danjo@northumbria.ac.uk

Appendix D: NVIVO: Examples of Thematic Codes

20140130 Critical Ethnography at Jap Satnvp - NVivo

File Home Create External Data Analyze Query Explore Layout View

Go Refresh Workspace

Open Properties Item

Cut Copy Paste Merge Clipboard

Format Paragraph Styles

Reset Settings

PDF Selection Text Region

Select

Insert Replace Delete

Find

Spelling

Proofing

Look for: Search In Nodes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Nodes

Relationships Node Matrices

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Culture	1	1	2005/2013 12:15	CD	2005/2013 12:25	CD
British Culture	2	3	2005/2013 12:15	CD	2005/2013 12:47	CD
Japanese culture	10	32	2005/2013 12:15	CD	2005/2013 15:06	CD
Identities	4	11	29/01/2014 13:32	CD	30/01/2014 14:51	CD
Languages	1	1	2005/2013 11:19	CD	2005/2013 14:41	CD
Children's perception	4	10	29/01/2014 12:27	CD	30/01/2014 14:51	CD
FLP	7	47	29/01/2014 11:26	CD	30/01/2014 14:51	CD
KATAKANA and Eng	3	4	29/01/2014 12:26	CD	30/01/2014 12:22	CD
Language usage	5	9	2005/2013 12:30	CD	2005/2013 14:55	CD
Language and Hosh	7	17	2005/2013 12:17	CD	30/01/2014 12:44	CD
Language Communit	3	4	30/01/2014 12:15	CD	30/01/2014 12:43	CD
Language Concerns	6	10	2005/2013 12:21	CD	30/01/2014 12:46	CD
Language scaffoldin	1	2	2005/2013 12:29	CD	2005/2013 12:33	CD
Linguistic change acr	1	1	07/03/2014 18:18	CD	07/03/2014 18:25	CD
Linguistic Resources	1	1	30/01/2014 12:18	CD	30/01/2014 12:18	CD
Mother-Jap, Father-	1	1	30/01/2014 12:19	CD	30/01/2014 12:19	CD
Parents' experience	1	4	29/01/2014 12:51	CD	29/01/2014 13:36	CD
Translation	2	3	2005/2013 12:38	CD	07/03/2014 18:01	CD
People	0	0	2005/2013 10:57	CD	2005/2013 10:57	CD
Places	0	0	2005/2013 11:16	CD	2005/2013 11:18	CD
Home	0	0	2005/2013 11:18	CD	2005/2013 11:18	CD
Hoshuko	0	0	2005/2013 11:16	CD	2005/2013 11:16	CD
Restaurants cafes	0	0	2005/2013 11:17	CD	2005/2013 11:17	CD
Themes	0	0	2005/2013 12:16	CD	2005/2013 12:16	CD
Belongings JapanBrit	3	4	2005/2013 14:30	CD	29/01/2014 12:41	CD
Difficulties of living	1	1	29/01/2014 13:26	CD	29/01/2014 13:26	CD
Hoshuko System	5	18	2005/2013 12:16	CD	29/01/2014 13:43	CD
Language and mothe	1	1	2005/2013 14:43	CD	2005/2013 14:43	CD
Names	1	1	2005/2013 12:19	CD	2005/2013 12:19	CD
Parents' perspective	2	2	2005/2013 14:27	CD	2005/2013 14:51	CD
Positionality	6	6	2005/2013 12:23	CD	30/01/2014 12:17	CD
Yojibu context	10	35	2005/2013 12:40	CD	2005/2013 15:12	CD

Sources

Nodes

Classifications

Collections

Queries

Reports

Models

Folders

CD 100 Items

Appendix E: Research Project for Parents of Participating Children

研究について About research 5th May, 2012 at the Parents' meeting

多言語環境での言語使用 The usage of languages in multilingual context

Northumbria University : ノーザンブリア大学
PhD in Sociolinguistics : 社会言語学 博士課程
Chisato Danjo : 段上 知里
Email address: chisato.danjo@northumbria.ac.uk

現在ノーザンブリア大学の博士課程（社会言語学）に在籍している段上知里と申します。補習校を取り巻く環境が、多言語環境として非常に多くの示唆を含んでいることを受け、調査を行わせていただきたく、本日お話をさせていただきます。もし、ご質問やご不明な点などありましたら、話の途中でかまいませんので、遠慮なくおっしゃってください。

●略経歴

Made hidden for confidentiality

●研究について

研究では、多言語環境における言語使用を観察・分析することを目的としています。子どもたちの成長とともに起こる言語変化なども取り扱いたく思っていますので、ボランティアとして補習校とかかわっていくなかで一年(2012年4月から2013年3月)かけて観察させていただきたく思っています。

This study aims to observe and analyse ways of using languages in multilingual context. Since I intend to deal with linguistic changes like those brought by children's growth, I'd like to observe throughout a year (April 2012 – March 2013) by participating in *Hoshuko* as a volunteer staff.

以下のようなことに関心があります I'd like to know such topics as shown below.

- 多言語環境と言語習得 : multilingual context and language acquisition
- 補習校に来てからの変化 : Changes which have appeared after coming to *Hoshuko*
- お家や現地校、補習校での言語に関するさまざまなエピソード : Episodes about languages at home, local school, and *Hoshuko*

具体的にどんなことをするか。 What do I exactly do?

- 補習校で観察したことをフィールドノート(研究日誌のようなもの)に記録する。
(もし可能ならば、個人的にインタビューで詳しいエピソードをお聞きする。)
To write down events and episodes occurred at *Hoshuko* into field notes (research diary).
(If possible, I'd like to interview some themes individually.)

本研究では、さらに、個人の言語との関わり方を深く知るために、家庭訪問やインタビューなどに定期的に協力して下さるご家族を募集しています。詳しくは、chisato.danjo@northumbria.ac.uk までお問い合わせください。
This study also invites an individual family's participation (regular interviews and researcher's home visits etc.) in order to understand individual ways of using languages in more depth. For more details, contact me at chisato.danjo@northumbria.ac.uk

What is this research? これは何の研究?

This is a part of PhD research (project ID 713), which is approved by a supervisory team, a research committee, and an independent ethical committee at Northumbria University. これは博士課程における研究で、ノーザンブリア大学の指導教官、リサーチ委員会、独立の倫理委員会が承認したものです。

Aims and Length of the research 研究の目的と期間

This study aims to observe and analyse ways of using languages in multilingual context. Since I intend to deal with linguistic changes like those brought by children's growth and specific daily events, this is a longitudinal study which is assumed to collect data throughout an academic year (April, 2012 to March 2013). During this period, I will participate in kindergarten classes at Hoshuko as a volunteer staff. この研究は、多言語環境における言語の使い方を観察、分析することを目的としています。子どもたちの成長や環境の変化とともに起こる言語変化なども取り扱いたく思っています。で、一年 (2012 年 4 月から 2013 年 3 月) かけて長期的に観察させていただきたく思っています。この期間中、補習校の幼児部の授業にボランティアスタッフとして参加させていただく予定です。

Why choosing Hoshuko? なぜ補習校で?

Since the environment surrounding Hoshuko is one of salient multilingual contexts, I'd like to study here in order to see such as the process of language acquisition in multilingual context, linguistics episodes occurred within Hoshuko. 補習校を取り巻く環境が、多言語環境として非常に多くの示唆を含んでいることを受け、補習校にて多言語環境における言語習得の過程や、学校内での言語エピソードなどを観察させていただきたく思っています。

What will happen in this research? どんなことをするの?

Since I am particularly interested in the naturally occurring data, the observed events at Hoshuko will be written down in the field notes. When interesting episodes come out, I may conduct a private interview for asking details. The analysed data will appear in the doctoral thesis, and also will possibly be presented in academic conferences, academic journal articles and books etc. (see privacy and confidentiality concerns in the next part.)

自然な環境のもとで発生するデータにとりわけ興味があるので、補習校で観察したことをフールドノート(研究日記のようなもの)に記録します。興味深いエピソードなどが出てきた場合は、個別にインタビューで詳しくお聞きするかもしれません。観察・分析されたデータは博士論文に使われます。また、学会や、学術論文誌、本などに出版される場合もあります。(プライバシーについては次の項目をご覧ください。)

How to protect privacy? どうやってプライバシーが守られるの?

Any data generated by the research will only be used for the research purposes, and will remain confidential (e.g. The name of participants will be shown in anonymous or pseudonym). The transcribed data of interviews can be confirmed by each participant. Research data will be saved on university storage system which is password protected and secured by university data protection criteria. Also, the paper documents are kept in a locked locker in PhD students' office at the university. 研究で発生するいかなるデータも研究の目的にのみ使用され、個人情報厳守されます(参加者の名前は匿名または仮名で表現されます)。個別インタビューに関しては、文字おこしされたデータを確認していただけます。研究データは、パスワード付の大学のデータ保管システムに保存します(大学の情報保護規定により厳重に保護されています)。また、書類は博士課程の学生オフィスの鍵付ロッカーにて保管します。

Your rights 私にはどんな権利があるの?

You have the right not to sign this consent form that allows me to use data. You have the right to withdraw your permission for me to use data. If you want to withdraw, you must notify me in writing. あなたには、研究者にデータ使用を許可する同意書にサインをしない権利があります。あなたには、研究者にデータ使用を許可したことを中止する権利があります。研究への参加を取りやめたい場合は、研究者に書面にてその旨を知らせてください。

If I have questions or concerns, where I can contact to? 質問や不明な点があれば、どこに連絡すればいいの?

You are always welcome to ask your questions or concerns directly to me at Hoshuko. You can also contact me at Email: chisato.danio@northumbria.ac.uk or at Tel: 07864051586. 質問や不明な点があれば、補習校にていつでもご遠慮なくお聞きください。また、Email (chisato.danio@northumbria.ac.uk) や電話(07864051586)を通じてご連絡可能です。

Appendix F: Individual Consent Form

多言語環境での言語使用 The usage of languages in multilingual context

Northumbria University : ノーザンブリア大学
PhD in Sociolinguistics : 社会言語学 博士課程
Chisato Danjo : 段上 知里
Email address: chisato.danjo@northumbria.ac.uk

Participant Consent Form (参加同意書)

1. I confirm that I have been told the purpose, meaning and methodology of this research.
この研究の目的と意義、その方法についての説明を受けました。
2. I understand that I will be recorded during the research and my taking part is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.
研究の期間、データが記録されることを承認したうえで、この研究への参加が自発的なものであり、いつでも理由を述べることなく参加を辞退できるということを理解しました。
3. I have been told that any data generated by the research will only be used for the research purposes, and will remain confidential.
この研究で得られるデータが研究の目的にのみ使われ、個人情報を守られることについて説明を受けました。
4. I understand that the data generated by the research will be securely managed and disposed of in accordance with Northumbria University's guidelines.
この研究で得られるデータが、ノーザンブリア大学のガイドラインの下、安全に取り扱われることを理解しました。

I understand the above information, and agree to take part in this research project.

以上のことについて理解したうえで、この研究に参加することに同意します。

Name of parent : 保護者の名前
Names of children : お子さんの名前 (18 歳以下の場合)
Signature of participant (Signature of parent if a participant is under 18 years old) 参加者のサイン (18 歳以下の場合は保護者のサイン)

Date (日付)

/ /
(日 / 月 / 年)

研究者記入欄 : I can confirm that I have explained the nature of the research to the above named parent and have given adequate time to answer any questions concerning it.

Names of Researcher: Chisato Danjo

Signature of Researcher

Date

Appendix G: Institutional Consent Form

A Letter of Acceptance

承諾書

I have read about the document describing a research project, “the usage of languages in multilingual context,” and give consent to Chisato Danjo, for the study to be conducted in

School name made hidden for confidentiality

研究プロジェクト「多言語環境での言語使用」についての書類を読み、段上知里が:
にて研究することを承諾しました。

School name

School name

運営委員長: Chairman of

School name

Signature _____ Date _____

幼児部担任: Teacher of Kindergarten Class

Signature _____ Date _____

幼児部事務: Administrator of Kindergarten Class

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix H: Questionnaire about Background of Children and Families

言語のバックグラウンドに関するアンケート (実施：2013 年 2 月) お子さんのお名前 ()

Questionnaire about background of children and families (conducted in Feb. 2013) Name of your child

いつも研究へのご協力、ありがとうございます。以下の項目について分析の参考に使わせていただきたく、今回アンケートを実施させていただきます。ご多忙のところ申し訳ありませんが、ご協力をお願いします。(これらの情報は、研究の目的にのみ使用し、他目的で使用されることはありません。また、記述したくない箇所があれば、空白で提出して構いません)。Thanks for your cooperation in this study. I would like to have the following information to deepen my analysis. Many thanks for your time. (I will only use provided information only for research purpose. If you do not want to provide specific information below, please leave that area as blank).

1) 年齢・学年 [Age and Grade]

● お子さんのお誕生日[Children's Birth Month]

西暦 年 月 [YEAR/MONTH]

2012/4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	2013/1	2	3	4	5	6	7
年齢 [age]															
現地校での学年 Grade at British school															
補習校での学年 Grade at Hoshuko															
e.g. Year1															
e.g. Nenchu															
e.g. Year2															
e.g. Nensho															

2) 日本語・英語との接触 [Contact with Japanese/English]

● おさんはイギリスにいつからいらっしゃいますか？ Since when, your child has been in the UK?

● イギリスで過ごすようになって以来、今までにおさんが日本に行つてすごしたことはありますか？いつごろの期間いらっしゃいましたか。
Since your child has lived in the UK, have you ever been to Japan with him/her? How long did you spend at each time?

いつごろ about when	どれくらいの期間 for how long	その他 Other notes
例) 2009 年の 12 月ごろ e.g. Dec 2009	3 週間 About 3 weeks	私の父母宅ですごした。日本の幼稚園に 2 週間通った。 Spent at my family's home in Japan, went to kindergarten in Japan for two weeks

3) 家庭の言語バックグラウンド [Language in your family]

- 普段お家の中で、誰がどのような言語で子どもたちに話しかけてらっしゃいますか。(お家においちゃんおばあちゃんが同居してらっしゃる際、そのときのお子さんを取り巻く言語使用の様子が書きたいだけです。また兄弟姉妹間についても教えていただけますか。)

Who talks to your children in which language at home? (It would be appreciated if you could tell the languages among siblings).

誰 Who	国籍 Nationality	母国語 First language	どのように子どもたちに話しかけているか How to talk to children
例) 母 e.g.) mother	日本 Japan	日本語 Japanese	基本的には日本語。お父さんがいるときには家族で英語で会話することが多い。現地校でのフルタイムの授業が始まってから、子どもたちの英語の割合が増え、私が子どもたちに話す際も、英語で話すことがある。Basically in Japanese. When father is around, we talk in English. Since the full time education has started, the children spoke much more English than before --- and therefore, I sometimes use English to them.

4) 個人情報について [Ethics]

本研究において、子どもたちの音声録音データを一部再生したり(学会などの発表の際)、写真を一部掲載する場合(博士論文や学術論文にて)があります。いずれも、研究目的(分析・論証など)のためであり、それ以外の用途には使用しません。また、個人が特定されないよう十分に配慮させていただきます(顔の大きく写っているものを選ける、写真をぼかす など)。それを含めて、以下にお答えください——「個人的な希望」がある場合には、柔軟に対応させていただきます。

Regarding this research, there would possibly be the place where I play audio-recordings (e.g. at the academic conference), show photos (in thesis, academic articles etc.). In any case, these are for research purpose, and will not be used for any other purposes. Also, I consider anonymity. Please answer the following questions as appropriate:

私の個人及び家族の情報を、研究の目的に限り、提供することに同意します。また、下記の「情報提供に関する個別的な希望」については、適切な対応を希望いたします。I agree to provide information of my family and myself for the purpose of the research. Also, I ask a researcher to take an appropriate action if

I describe specific preference below for dealing with the above information.

情報提供に関する個別的な希望 [specific preference in dealing with information of my family and myself]

☐ ある[I have] —— (具体的に[specifically]) ;

☐ ない[I do not have]

Signature of parent

保護者のサイン